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University of A Coruña, Spain [0274] p. 1085

**63B. ACSS - Session Topic: Natural, Environmental and Health Sciences - Panel B
Friday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Jyotsna Sinha

Water Accessibility and Child Health: Use of the leave-out strategy of Instruments
Dirga Kumar Lamichhane
Eiji Mangyo
International University of Japan, Nepal [0681] p. 3060

Exploring the Parallels of Eastern and Western Medicine
Vijeta Gautam
Jyotsna Sinha
Motilal Nehru National Institute of Technology, India [0330] p. 1092

FRIDAY SESSION 5 – 16:00-17:30

**67. ACAH/ACSS - Session Topic: Politics, Philosophy, Ethics, Consciousness - Panel B
Friday 16:00-18:00**

Session Chair: José-Miguel Bello y Villarino

Economy and representation: Sabri Ülgener
Türker Armaner
Galatasaray University, Turkey [0166] p. 1101

Dialogue and Its Limits: How Confucian Moral Reasoning Excludes Dialogue with the Nazis
Galia Patt-Shamir
Tel-Aviv University, Israel [0186] No Paper

A global moratorium on the death penalty: Where are East and South East Asia in the global debate?
José-Miguel Bello y Villarino
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spain [0131] No Paper

What is the Function of Press Council in Civil Society? (An Evaluation: Turkish Case)
Halil Gurcan
Anadolu University, Turkey [0178] p. 1113

**80. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioural Sciences - Panel G
Friday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Chia-Pin Kao

Why Does Social Support Affect Prosocial Service Behavior? The Moderating Role of Service Climate
Mei-Ling Wang
Fei-Fan Yang
Tamkang University & Ming Chuan University, Taiwan
Taiwan [0370] p. 1120

Elementary school teachers' attitudes and motivation toward web-based professional development
Chia-Pin Kao
Hui-Min Chien
Ying-Tien Wu
Chin-Chung Tsai
Southern Taiwan University, Cheng Shiu University, National Taichung University & National Taiwan University of Science and Technology, Taiwan [0315] p. 1133

**106. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioral Sciences - Posters Session – E
Friday 16:00-17:30**

Health-Related Quality of Life during the First Year in Women who Fracture at the Hip, Vertebrae, and Distal Forearm due to Falls
Mau-Roung Lin
Hei-Fen Hwang
Taipei Medical University, Taiwan [0419] No Paper

Factors Influencing Moral Behavior of Ministry of Social Development and Human Security Officials
Daranee Karnchanasuwan
Satatham Ruangrong
Prince of Songkla University, Thailand [0536] p. 1145

SATURDAY SESSION 1 – 12:30-14:00

**11. ACSS - Session Topic: Economics and Management - Panel C
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Tai-Yun Cheng

The Marketing Strategies of the Servitization Performance in Manufacturing- An Example of Giant Manufacturing Co. Ltd.

Nien-Hsin Kuo

Ding-Bang Luh

Shiann-Far Kung

National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan [0273] p. 1150

Performance Appraisal Process: Linkages of Fairness, Satisfaction and Commitment

Suhaimi Sudin

Mafuzah Mohamad

Juraifa Jaiz

Universiti Tenaga Nasional, Malaysia [0109] p. 1160

Influence of Limited-Edition Strategy on Consumers' Purchasing Intention

Tai-Yun Cheng

Kuo-Hsiang Chen

Meng-Dar Shieh

National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan [0452] p. 1176

**23. ACAH - Session Topic: Ethnicity, Difference, Identity - Panel C
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Michael Stetson

Japanese Kamishibai: Using Traditional Storytelling for Cross-Cultural Narratives and Learning

Patrice Pendell

Kinjo Gakuin University, Japan [0340] p. 1189

(At)tuned to difference: East meets West in Turkish Pop Music

Can Yalcinkaya

Macquarie University, Australia [0395] No Paper

Trans-ecological Exchanges and Ethnic Identity

Michael Stetson

Miyazaki International College, Japan [0494] No Paper

**41. ACAH - Session Topic: Language, Linguistics - Panel D
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Barry Kavanagh

Eastern Tunes to Western Words: Prosody in Contact Varieties of English

Ying Ying Tan

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore [0597] No Paper

Team projects facilitate language learning

Nurshuhaida Mohd Shokri

Nora Dato' Yahya

Mohd Ariff Ahmad Tarmizi

Universiti Industri Selangor, Malaysia, Malaysia [0761] No Paper

The use of paralinguistic cues in high and low context cultural communication: An examination of the language of Japanese and English weblogs

Barry Kavanagh

Tohoku University, Japan [0535] p. 1199

SATURDAY SESSION 1 – 12:30-14:00

**44. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel A
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Myles Chilton

Japanese Novel Meets Western Genre - Miyuki Miyabe's Brave Story

Grzegorz Trebicki

Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego, Kielce, Poland, Poland [0100] p. 1212

The Liquid Stranger in David Mitchell's Ghostwritten

Ching-chih Wang

National Taipei University, Taiwan [0407] p. 1220

The Death of the English Department?: Reconceptualizing English Studies Outside the Anglosphere

Myles Chilton

Chiba University, Japan [0318] No Paper

**58B. ACSS - Session Topic: Media and Communications - Panel E
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Ece Karadogan Doruk

China's Propaganda in the Information Age: The 50 Cent Party (Internet Commentators) with Chinese Characteristics

Chin-Fu Hung

National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan [0183] p. 1232

Racial representation in children's cartoons in Taiwan: a content analysis examining the stereotypes in imported cartoons

Wei Chun Victoria Wang

Ohio University, USA [0673] p. 1273

A New Communication Environment for the City Government: A Comparison of Two Different Cities: Istanbul-Osaka

Ece Karadogan Doruk

Murat Güresci

Istanbul University, Turkey [0372] p. 1286

**65. ACAH - Session Topic: Performing Arts Practices: Theatre, Dance, Music - Panel B
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Mihaela Buhaiciuc

Stylistic convergence and cultural exchange: authority and identity in recently-composed Australian art music

Timothy McKenry

Australian Catholic University, Australia [0515] p. 1297

The use of new technology for violin after 1960

Ang-Cheng Kris Ho

United International College, China [0695] p. 1311

Asian Music in Puccini's operas: An analytical study of Turandot's and Madama Butterfly's music

Mihaela Buhaiciuc

University of Mobile, United States [0286] p. 1321

SATURDAY SESSION 1 – 12:30-14:00

**69. ACSS - Session Topic: Politics, Public Policy and Law - Panel A
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Clive Begg

The Temporality of the Political: Between History, Memory and Politics

Xavier Guillaume
University of Geneva, Switzerland [0160] No Paper

The Socio-Economic Impact of Liberal Reform and Political Corruption in Developing Countries

Eunjung Choi
Jongseok Woo
University of South Florida, United States [0387] p. 1331

Globalisation: The Bull in the China Shop

Clive Begg
The University of Queensland, Australia [0752] p. 1348

**74. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioural Sciences - Panel A
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Dannii Yeung

Workaholism and Its Adverse Psychological Consequences among Full-time Workers in Macao: Some Preliminary Analyses

Anise M. S. Wu
Kwok-kit Tong
Vivienne Y. K. Tao
Shu Fai Cheung
University of Macau, China [0233] No Paper

Work Related Variables and Mental Health of Employees in Manufactory

Kanda Janyam
Prince of Songkla University, Thailand [0282] p. 1359

Age-related Changes in Work Motives and Regulatory Strategies

Dannii Yeung
Helene Fung
Darius Chan
City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong [0632] No Paper

SATURDAY SESSION 1 – 12:30-14:00

**91. ACSS - Session Topic: Sociology and Geography - Panel B
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Marcus Martins

Managing Mixed Emotions in the Layered Ritual Reality of Networking Events

Juha Klemelä

University of Turku, Finland [0358] No Paper

The environmental movement in Okinawa

Emma Mendoza

Universidad de Colima, Mexico [0480] p. 1364

Reflections on a Paradox: Seeking Peace in a Violent World

Marcus Martins

Brigham Young University-Hawaii, United States [0207] p. 1377

**93. ACAH - Session Topic: Teaching and Learning - Panel A
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Mine Dikdere

A Comparison Of Distance And Regular Pre-Service Teachers' Perceptions Of The Effectiveness Of Their Pedagogical Courses In Preparing Them For The Real Classroom

Belgin Aydin

Anadolu University, Turkey [0379] No Paper

Research on the Different Relationship between Learning Community Interaction and Career Planning among Aboriginal and the Han's Junior Students in Taiwan's Education Universities

YaFang Chiu

Hsin-Sheng College of Medical Care and Management, Taiwan [0185] No Paper

Pre-Service Teachers' Perceived Strengths and their beliefs about Self-Efficacy

Mine Dikdere

Anadolu University, Turkey [0375] No Paper

**107. ACAH - Session Topic: Language, Linguistics - Poster Session A
Saturday 12:30-14:00**

Translation Problems Creating Misunderstandings Across Cultures

Ridvan Tuncel

Anadolu University, Turkey [0300] No Paper

Pseudo-positive discourses of ageing in over 50s life insurance marketing

Chin-Hui Chen

Cardiff University, United Kingdom [0120] p. 1385

SATURDAY SESSION 2 – 14:15-15:45

12. ACSS - Session Topic: Economics and Management - Panel D
Saturday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Anaam Hashmi

Challenges Faced By Malaysian Small Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs) Entrepreneurs To Sustain In The Global Business

Zaleha Mohamad
Zalinawati Abdullah
Norliza Abd Samad
Universiti Malaysia Terengganu, Malaysia [0364] p. 1401

Innovativeness and Small Business Performance of the Southern Province of Sri Lanka

Fairoz Fauzul Mafasiya
Hirobumi Takenouchi
Yukiko Tanaka
University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka & Shizuoka University, Japan, Japan [0446] p. 1413

Sustainability measures adopted at home and abroad by large U.S corporations

Anaam Hashmi
Minnesota State University Mankato, United States [0392] p. 1427

24. ACAH - Session Topic: Ethnicity, Difference, Identity - Panel D
Saturday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Betsy Forero-Montoya

Factors affecting the practice and non-practice of Filipino-American families in the United States

Felinore Angelica Valera
De La Salle University-Dasmariñas, Philippines [0439] p. 1437

Role of the Family in the Cultural Overlaps of Half Japanese/Latin Americans in Japan

Betsy Forero-Montoya
Tsukuba University, Japan [0421] p. 1501

42. ACAH - Session Topic: Language, Linguistics - Panel E
Saturday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Simon Thomas

Contributions of Age Factors to L2 English Phonology

Jee Hae Lim
University of Pennsylvania, United States [0666] p. 1511

Arousing EFL learners' linguistic and cognitive awareness by readability statistics from in-class writing

Zhenping Zhu
Aiqun Chen
China university of Geosciences, China [0462] p. 1518

East Meets West Online as a Precursor to an International Exchange Program

Simon Thomas
Ritsuko Yamagata
Osaka Prefecture University, Japan [0497] No Paper

SATURDAY SESSION 2 – 14:15-15:45

45. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel B
Saturday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: John Griffith

"(Hu)man-made" Money in Linda Hogan's Mean Spirit and Karen Tei Yamashita's Through the Arc of the Rain Forest

Ana Maria Cotelo Cancela
University of A Coruña, Spain [0213] p. 1541

De-creation and Re-creation of Self in Japanese and British Fantasized Worlds

Michelle Chan
Royal Holloway, University of London, United Kingdom [0328] p. 1551

Angels and Mecha, Crosses and Revolvers: Western Medievalism in Japanese Science Fiction

John Griffith
National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan [0624] No Paper

66. ACAH - Session Topic: Philosophy, Ethics, Consciousness - Panel A
Saturday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Patrick Laude

"The Divine Ordinary: What the West can learn from Chinese Philosophy"

J. Randall Groves
Ferris State University, United States [0630] No Paper

The Role of the Perennialist School in the Encounter of East and West

Patrick Laude
Georgetown University, USA [0063] No Paper

70. ACSS - Session Topic: Politics, Public Policy and Law - Panel B
Saturday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Patrick Strefford

Japan's Basic Trust System toward East Asia in the Cold War Years: An Ontological Security Perspective

Hakan Gonen
Middle East Technical University, Japan [0599] p. 1562

Climate Change As A Catalyst For Internationalisation: The non-Kyoto Member Taiwan

Armin Ibitz
Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages, Taiwan [0545] p. 1573

US and Japanese diplomacy towards Myanmar: Policy Shifts and Common Ground

Patrick Strefford
Kyoto Sangyo University, Japan [0587] No Paper

SATURDAY SESSION 2 – 14:15-15:45

**75. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioural Sciences - Panel B
Saturday 14:15-15:45**

Session Chair: Andrew Tiedt

What makes you happy? A further analysis on the happiness indicators of Malaysian and Indonesian adults.

Jas Jaafar

Khairudin Che Tak

Yogi Sugandi

University of Malaya, Malaysia [0046] p. 1589

Factors associated with the abuse of older Chinese with dementia by their family caregivers: Results of a 6-month longitudinal study

Elsie Yan

University of Hong Kong, China [0426] No Paper

Gendered Outcomes in Depressive Symptoms among Japanese and U.S. Elders: Does Culture Explain the Gap?

Andrew Tiedt

Fordham University, United States [0759] No Paper

**88. ACSS - Session Topic: Social Sciences: Interdisciplinary - Food and Sustainability
Saturday 14:15-15:45**

Session Chair: Paul Hansen

“Imported Animal-Human Relationships in Japan: The sustainability of friend and food”

Paul Hansen

SOAS, London, UK [0511] p. 1600

Seeking Sustainable Cattle Production in Protected Forest Areas of Northern Thailand

Takashi Masuno

Japan [0384] p. 1610

A worldview of changing human-cattle relationships

Kazunobu Ikeya

National Museum of Ethnology, Japan [0540] No Paper

Why Cattle are Easier than Water Buffalo: Lessons on Sustainability from Nepal

Kazuyuki Watanabe

Ritsumeikan University, Japan [0517] p. 1620

**94. ACAH - Session Topic: Teaching and Learning - Panel B
Saturday 14:15-15:45**

Session Chair: Patrick Rates

Drama and Cultural Awareness

Gerald Williams

Kansai University of International Studies, Japan [0408] p. 1628

Background Music in the Classroom

Patrick Rates

Ritsumeikan University, Japan [0264] p. 1633

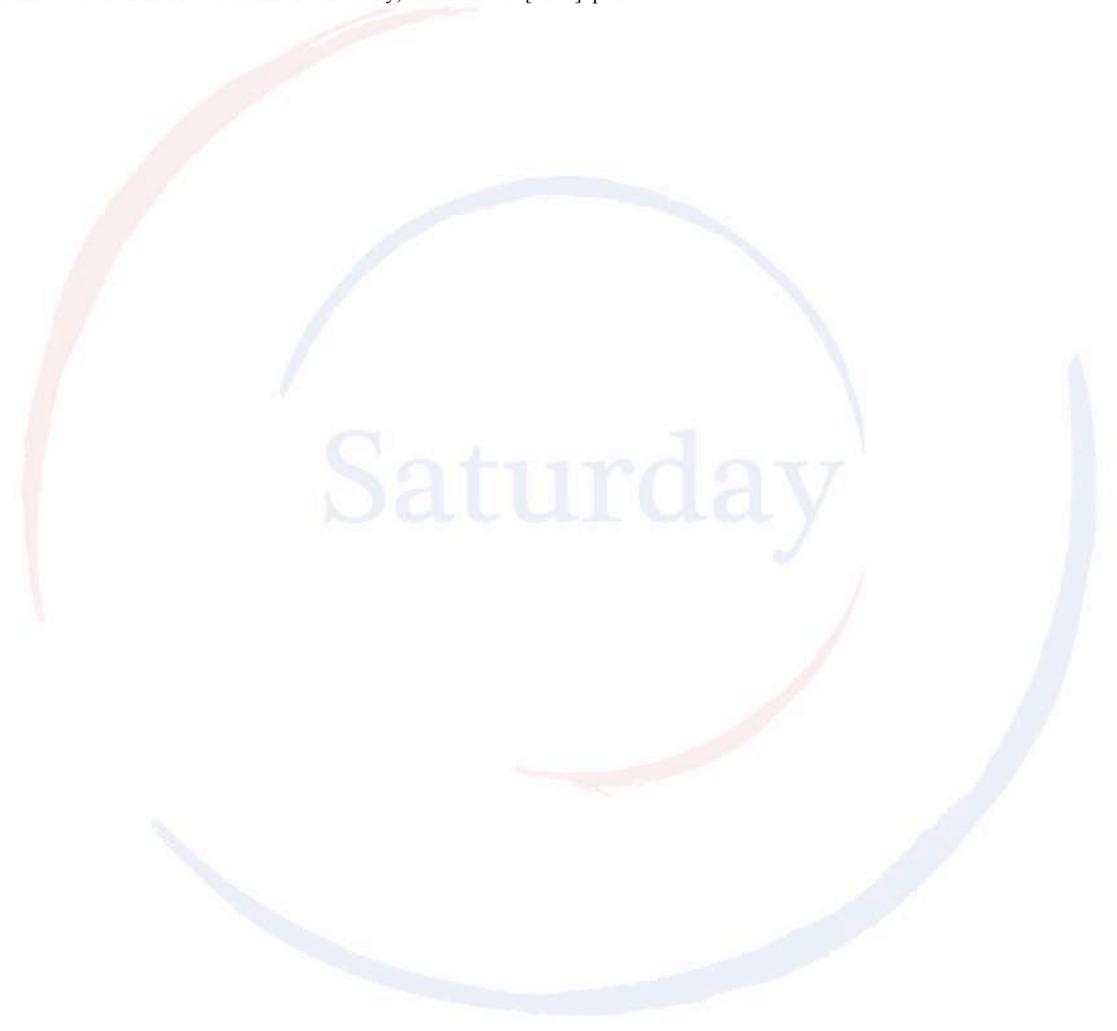
SATURDAY SESSION 2 – 14:15-15:45

**108. ACAH - Session Topic: Interdisciplinary - Poster Session B
Saturday 14:15-15:45**

Life History of Male to Female Transgender: The Use of Self Technology for Success in Education
Phitak Siriwong
Silpakorn University, Thailand [0132] No Paper

East meets West in gardens
Veli Ortacesme
Akdeniz University, Turkey [0204] No Paper

Redesigning the Artistic Heritage of the Ancient Civilizations in KSA
Maha Khayat
Princess Nora Bint Abdul Rahman University, Saudi Arabia [0167] p. 1643



Saturday

SATURDAY SESSION 3 – 16:00-17:30

**89. ACSS - Session Topic: Food and Sustainability: Featured Speaker
Saturday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: June Henton

Sustainable Food Projects: The Role of Higher Education in Cultural Change

Peggy Barlett

Emory University, United States [0622] No Paper

**29. ACAH/ACSS - Session Topic: History, Historiography - Panel A Sakura
Saturday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Ivan Evans

Asian States' Diplomatic Communications with Medieval China

Rachel Lung

Lingnan University, Hong Kong [0164] p. 1652

Changes of Chinese Modernity Discourse: A Case Study of Chinese Cultural Conservatism

Xuying Ying

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong [0355] p. 1665

China, Africa and the "development" question: old wine in new bottles?

Ivan Evans

University of California San Diego, United States [0523] p. 1675

**43. ACAH - Session Topic: Language, Linguistics - Panel F
Saturday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Wua Park

Sojourning in "Our Town": Three Taiwanese English Language Teachers' Cross-cultural Adaptation in America

Szu-Yueh Chien

University of Georgia, United States [0490] No Paper

Taiwanese Junior High School Teachers' Perceptions of TBLT

Tzu-Bin Lin

Chiao-Wen Wu

National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore [0674] p. 1688

Social and Psychological Factors in Child Second Language Acquisition

Wua Park

University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education, United States [0661] p. 1700

SATURDAY SESSION 3 – 16:00-17:30

**46. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel C
Saturday 16:00-18:00**

Session Chair: Stephen Filler

From Big Brother to Little People: Postsecular Themes in Murakami Haruki's IQ84

Jonathan Dil
Chuo University, Japan [0198] No Paper

The Underground Man and the Woman in the Dunes

Roy Rosenstein
The American University of Paris, France [0128] No Paper

Western references in Murakami Haruki's works: A literary reflection of today's Japan

Salagnon Benjamin
Yamanashi University, Japan [0414] p. 1703

The Reputation of a Mendicant: Emma Goldman in the Autobiographical Fiction of Itô Noe

Stephen Filler
Oakland University, United States [0750] p. 1711

**71. ACSS - Session Topic: Politics, Public Policy and Law - Panel C
Saturday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Savita Shankar

Philippine National-Local Elite Collaboration and its Implications for Sustainable Development

Raymund John Rosuelo
University of Makati, Philippines [0241] p. 1722

Sustainable Democratic Governance: Some Issues in Women's Political Participation

Wan Asna Wan Mohd Nor
Salfarina Abdul Gapor
Mohamad Zaini Abu Bakar
Zainon Harun
Azeem Fazwan Ahmad Farouk
Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia [0232] p. 1737

The Microfinance Sector in India: Contrasting the Self Help Group Bank Linkage Model and the Grameen Bank Model

Savita Shankar
National University of Singapore, Singapore [0686] p. 1747

**25. ACAH - Session Topic: Ethnicity, Difference, Identity - Panel E
Saturday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Rachel Suet Kay Chan

Ethnic relationships among graduates in public institutions of higher education (IPTA) and private institutions of higher education (IPTS) in northern Malaysia

Norazli Md Daud
Sivamurugan Pandian
University of Science Malaysia, Malaysia [0768] No Paper

Institutions and Social Mobilization: The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia

Ming Chee Ang
National University of Singapore, Singapore [0192] p. 1760

The Myth of the Ah Beng: How Consumption Shapes Identity Among the Malaysia Chinese

Rachel Suet Kay Chan
University of Malaya, Malaysia [0175] p. 1775

SATURDAY SESSION 3 – 16:00-17:30

**76. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioural Sciences - Panel C
Saturday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Cheng-Shung Huang

Using the ARCS Motivational Model to Promote Technical and Vocational College Students' Motivation and Achievement: A Quasi-Experiment Study

Pai-Lu Wu, Cheng-Shiu University
Ching-Hwa Tsai, National Sun Yat-sen University
Che-Hung Lin, Cheng-Shiu University
Tzu-Hui Yang, National Sun Yat-sen University
Sih-Han Huang, National Kaohsiung University of Applied Sciences
Taiwan [0289] p. 1794

A Structural Equation Model of Math Self-Concept and Mathematics Achievement: A Longitudinal Study in Taiwan

Hsin-Yi Kung
Graduate Institute of Education, Taiwan [0038] p. 1810

The effects of pay raises on career advancement and work exhaustion: a longitudinal study among IT professionals in Taiwan

Cheng-Shung Huang
Chang Gung University, Taiwan [0322] p. 1829

**85.B ACAH - Session Topic: Sexuality, Gender, Families - Panel C
Saturday 16:00-18:00**

Session Chair: Piyaluk Potiwan

The Marginalization Process of the Transgendered

Piyaluk Potiwan
Maneimai Tongyu
Khonkaen University, Thailand [0398] p. 3054

Health Risks at the Thai-Lao Border Area - Mekong-Subregion

Benyapha Prakobsang
Dr. Yaowaluk Aphichatwanlop
Khonkaen University, Thailand [0399] p. 3038

Sexual Harassment Against Women Teenagers through Virtual Space

Anugoon Manochai
Dusadee Ayuwat
Khonkaen University, Thailand [0401] p. 3047

Transnational Human Trafficking Processes in Thailand

Pattakorn Sasanasuphin
Dusadee Ayuwat
Khonkaen University, Thailand [0400] p. 3028

SATURDAY SESSION 3 – 16:00-17:30

98. ACAH - Session Topic: Theory and Criticism

Saturday 16:00-18:00

Session Chair: Afsaneh Ardehali

eCRM as a Postmodern Marketing Approach

King-wah Yeung

Po-yan Chu

Community College of City University of Hong Kong, China [0126] p. 1842

Chinese images in Europe in the seventeenth century: A study on Johan Nieuhof's images of China

Jing Sun

Leiden University, Netherlands [0200] p. 1856

East Meets West in Nudescape: A Fresh Look at Picasso's Nude through the Eye of Chinese Landscape

Leon K. L. Chew

Zayed University, United Arab Emirates [0238] No Paper

The Otherwise of the Silk Road: the gap between photographic representation and artistic expression

Afsaneh Ardehali

University of Cincinnati, United States [0660] p. 1878

109. ACAH - Session Topic: Interdisciplinary - Poster Session C

Saturday 16:00-17:30

Studies on Shandong Bronze Decorations in the Eastern Zhou Period

Bi Jing-wei

Shannxi Normal University, China [0496] p. 1894

Virtual-Reality Hybrid, Urban Space Ideas of Future Asian Cities

Sheng-Yang Huang

National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan [0577] p. 1905

SUNDAY SESSION 1 – 9:00-10:30

**5. ACSS - Session Topic: Anthropology, Archaeology, Cultural Studies and Humanities - Panel B
Sunday 9:00-10:30**

Session Chair: Scott Johnston

Differences in Concepts of Friendship between Chinese and Japanese University Students

Naoko Oka

Cisco Asset Management, Japan [0506] p. 1911

Cross-cultural Understanding, Translation and Other: A Dialogue between Reflections on my experience of Taiwan Rukai indigenous fieldwork and remarks of reading Rukai indigenous literature.

Ying-Tang Wang

Graduate Institute of Multicultural Education, Taiwan [0543] No Paper

Developing Cultural Sensitivity: An Intercultural Simulation Plus

Scott Johnston

Osaka Jogakuin College, Japan [0344] p. 1931

15. ACSS - Session Topic: Economics and Management - Panel G

Sunday 9:00-10:30

Session Chair: Wong Sonia

Cross-Country Comparison on Directors' Compensation in the Banking Industry.

Logasvathi Murugiah

Nor Hayati Ahmad

Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia [0302] p. 1940

Sales maximization or profit maximization? How state shareholders discipline their CEOs in China

Wong Sonia

Opper Sonja

Yang Yong

Lingnan University, Hong Kong, Lund University, Sweden & The Shanghai Stock Exchange, China [0451] p. 1956

30. ACAH - Session Topic: History, Historiography - Panel B

Sunday 9:00-10:30

Session Chair: Hui-Ju Chang

Ambiguous Meanings in Appropriated Iconography

Romeo Galang, Jr.

Institute of Philippine Culture and Far Eastern University, Philippines [0592] No Paper

Western symbols of power in occupied Taiwan: a study of the architectural 'form' of the Governor General's Office in Taipei

Hui-Ju Chang

The University of Sheffield, United Kingdom [0499] p. 2002

SUNDAY SESSION 1 – 9:00-10:30

32. ACAH - Session Topic: Humanities: Interdisciplinary - Panel A
Sunday 9:00-10:30

Session Chair: Mehmet Atalay

Animism in Cambodia: Bioregionalism in Practice

Gregory McCann
Tamkang University, Taiwan [0212] p. 2015

Sri Aurobindo's Critique of Modern Western Culture

Ratikanta Panda
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, India [0570] p. 2038

In Search of a Better World: East is East and West is West and These Twins Are Doomed to Meet

Mehmet Atalay
Istanbul University, Turkey [0669] No Paper

48. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel F-1
Sunday 9:00-10:30

Session Chair: Shu Jen Chien

Sufism as the Blooming Branch in Doris Lessing's The Four-Gated City

Sima Aghazadeh
University of Malaya, Malaysia [0260] p. 2048

Literary Texts in Cultural Contexts: Problems and Possibilities in Stage Adapting Prescribed Plays for College Students

Rani Paul Ukkan
St. Joseph's College, Irinjalakuda, India [0049] p. 2055

Niklas Luhmann's Observations on Eastern Wisdom and Zen Buddhism

Shu Jen Chien
Tamkang University, Taiwan [0341] p. 2062

52. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel I
Sunday 9:00-10:30

Session Chair: Erin Jones

Gender Neutrality Discourses and the Subjectivity of Socialist Women—Reading the novel “Nüren”(Woman) by Wei Junyi

Xi Liu
University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong [0176] p. 2072

Strength, Dominance and Sexualities: The Presentation of Masculinities in Thai Erotic Literature

Orathai Piayura
Khon Kaen University, Thailand, Thailand [0689] No Paper

The (Un)gendered Warrior: Agency and Power in Silence and Mu Lan

Erin Jones
Abilene Christian University, United States [0538] No Paper

SUNDAY SESSION 1 – 9:00-10:30

**72. ACSS - Session Topic: Politics, Public Policy and Law - Panel D
Sunday 9:00-10:30**

Session Chair: Paul Higgins

Evaluating the Universal Health Insurance Coverage (UC) scheme in Rural Thailand-Using a 'Wellbeing Focused Evaluation (WFE) approach

Farung Mee-Udon
Khon Kaen University, Thailand [0234] p. 2081

East meets West? Sustainable quality of life practices in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom

Paul Higgins
City University Hong Kong, China [0501] p. 2098

**90. ACSS - Session Topic: Sociology and Geography - Panel A
Sunday 9:00-10:30**

Session Chair: Martin Heintel

Adelaide's 30 Year Plan: a sustainable urban growth machine?

Lou Wilson
Kathryn Davidson
University of South Australia, Australia [0243] p. 2117

The Decision-Making Process in Donor Nation's Contribution: A Case Study of Kuwait

Bader Alhajji
Kuwait University, Kuwait [0252] p. 2128

Sustainable Development and Protected Areas in Austria

Martin Heintel
University of Vienna, Austria [0180] No Paper

**99. ACAH - Session Topic: Visual Arts Practices - Panel A
Sunday 9:00-10:30**

Session Chair: Paul Stephen Cooper

Voice of Place: The Role of the Built Environment in Bridging Cultural Gaps

Brett Kearney
Virginia Commonwealth University, Qatar [0415] No Paper

Pecking and Pooing at Pigeon Square. Revisiting Site-Specific Interventions in the Johannesburg CBD.

Paul Stephen Cooper
Greenside Design Center, College of Design, South Africa [0596] p. 2134

**110. ACAH - Session Topic: Teaching and Learning - Poster Session C
Sunday 9:00-10:30**

A Case Study on Writing Anxiety: Students' Reasons for Their Failure in Writing Classes

Selma Kara
Anadolu University, Turkey [0352] No Paper

Listening comprehension strategy inventory

Funda Gercek
Anadolu University, Turkey [0365] No Paper

SUNDAY SESSION 2 – 10:45-12:15

6. ACSS - Session Topic: Anthropology, Archaeology, Cultural Studies and Humanities - Panel C
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Jerrod Hansen

Differences in Process of Friendship Development between Chinese and Japanese University Students

Naoko Oka

Cisco Asset Management, Japan [0507] No Paper

Japanese Abroad: Preparing Japanese students to study abroad

Jerrod Hansen

Osaka Jogakuin College, Japan [0516] p. 2143

16. ACSS - Session Topic: Economics and Management - Panel H
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Fatma Göksu

The Informational System Management

George Balan

Mihail Aurel Titu

Gabriel Avram Radu

Romanian - German University of Sibiu Romania, Romania [0544] p. 2149

Complexity and Departmental Leadership: perceptions of leadership and organizational change in one US research-intensive academic department

Fabio Bento

Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway [0710] p. 2159

The Effect of Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility Activities on Job Satisfaction and Corporate Loyalty

Fatma Göksu

Istanbul University, Turkey [0656] p. 2171

31. ACAH - Session Topic: History, Historiography - Panel C
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Sandra Barkhof

The Image of Russia and Great Britain in Late Nineteenth Century Japan: A Comparative Analysis of "Kokumin Shinbun" Publications (April - June, 1895)

Kovalchuk Marina

Far East State University, Russian Federation [0377] p. 2186

Perceptions of Southern Thai People through World War II

Rachanee Kalayakunawutti

Prince of Songkla University, Thailand [0559] No Paper

'Germany's Forgotten War'- German POW from Tsingtau in Japanese POW camps during WWI

Sandra Barkhof

University of Plymouth, United Kingdom [0070] p. 2195

33. ACAH - Session Topic: Humanities: Interdisciplinary - Panel B
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Guler Koca

A study of the core value of cultural property as a development strategy for creative & cultural parks in Taiwan

Ying-ming Su

National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan [0572] p. 2205

Western Influences on Planning Problems in Turkey

Guler Koca

Anadolu University, Turkey [0614] p. 2221

SUNDAY SESSION 2 – 10:45-12:15

36. ACSS - Session Topic: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Gender - Panel A
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Santwana Mishra

Women In Muslim Societies

Baher Ghosheh
Edinboro University, United States [0041] No Paper

Empowerment among farmers in Nepal: aren't we all talking about the same thing?

Annemarie Westendorp
Van Hall Larenstein/Wageningen University, Netherlands [0237] p. 2228

Emotional Intelligence of the trainee teachers in relation to their gender and method subjects

Santwana Mishra
Dr. Babasheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, India [0560] p. 2244

49. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel F-2
Sunday 10:45-12:30

Session Chair: Mark Sheehan

C.S. Lewis's The Voyage of the Dawn Treader and Christian Postmodernism: East and West, and Beyond.

Kyoko Yuasa
Hokkaido University, Japan [0493] p. 2250

"Gloriously Anomalous?" or "Slush?" C. S. Lewis and Reformed Theology

Adam Barkman
Yonsei University, Korea, Republic of [0775] No Paper

Connecting cultures through language: British Literature at Japanese University

Mark Sheehan
Shizuoka University of Art and Culture, Japan [0345] No Paper

53. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel J
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Bashabi Fraser

East is East and West is West: A reading of Jhumpa Lahiri's Namesake

Binod Mishra
IIT Roorkee, India [0437] p. 2263

A Meeting of Two Minds

Bashabi Fraser
Edinburgh Napier University, United Kingdom [0298] No Paper

Romancing 'occidental longings': a reading of interracial romance by East Asian women writers

Lisa Yinghong Li
J. F. Oberlin University, Japan [0524] No Paper

SUNDAY SESSION 2 – 10:45-12:15

73. ACSS - Session Topic: Politics, Public Policy and Law - Panel E
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Mei-Fang Fan

"Merger Control for Consumer Welfare towards Economic Sustainability"

Ernie Melini Mohd Jamarudi
Universiti Teknologi MARA, Malaysia [0443] p. 2283

The Precautionary Principle and the Controversy of Genetically Modified Crops and Foods in Taiwan

Mei-Fang Fan
National Yang-Ming University, Taiwan [0329] p. 2299

Conserving Biodiversity on Private Land' Collaborative Environmental Governance in the Case of of Twin-Lake, Taiwan

Ching-Ping Tang
Yi-Hsuan Lin
National Cheng Chi University, Taiwan [0676] p. 2318

100. ACAH - Session Topic: Visual Arts Practices - Panel B
Sunday 10:45-12:15

Session Chair: Krzysztof Krajewski-Siuda

Breaking modernism: Buddhist epistemology in the work of Ad Reinhardt and minimalism

Ken Namkha
The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, Denmark [0626] No Paper

Polish anti-alcohol poster campaigns 1945-1990: an analysis of visual public health strategies in an authoritarian state

Krzysztof Krajewski-Siuda
Medical University of Silesia, Poland [0726] No Paper

109.B. ACAH - Session Topic: Teaching and Learning - Poster Session D
Sunday 10:45-12:15

No Need For The Whole Text

Nilufer Ozgur
Anadolu University, Turkey [0612] No Paper

Perceptions about Vocabulary Teaching

Dilek Altindas
Turkey [0618] No Paper

SUNDAY SESSION 3 – 12:30-14:00

7. ACSS - Session Topic: Anthropology, Archaeology, Cultural Studies and Humanities - Panel D
Sunday 12:30-14:00

Session Chair: Lydia Kiroff

On the bridge between east and west which lane is fastest?

Muhammad Gamal
University of New South Wales, Australia [0529] p. 3100

The Gaze Construction of Nordic Cross-cultural Consumption: From the "Nordic Trend" to IKEA in Taiwan

Shih Piao Chao
National Taiwan University, Taiwan [0741] p. 2330

The geography of Auckland's design creative industries

Lydia Kiroff
Unitec Institute of Technology, New Zealand [0045] p. 2344

26. ACAH - Session Topic: Globalisation - Panel A
Sunday 12:30-14:00

Session Chair: Mylen Yamamoto

Superflat Worlds: Cross-cultural strategies in Art

Kristen Sharp
RMIT University, Australia [0115] p. 2358

Indian Folk Culture Vs Global Culture: Challenges and Opportunities

Ravindra Katyayan
Maniben Nanawati Women's College, India [0581] p. 2373

East Meets West: Studying Abroad for the Sake of Music

Mylen Yamamoto
California State University, Los Angeles, United States [0291] p. 2382

34. ACAH - Session Topic: Humanities: Interdisciplinary - Panel C
Sunday 12:30-14:00

Session Chair: Thomas Chung

Meeting of late Ottoman architecture with the West

Rana Karasozen
Anadolu University, Turkey [0607] p. 2396

Commemorative Space in Modern Japan: Understanding Yasukuni and Kudan as architectural and urban problems

Thomas Chung
The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong [0707] No Paper

37. ACSS - Session Topic: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Gender - Panel B
Sunday 12:30-14:00

Session Chair: Yi-Chien Wang

Gender Perspective in History Writing

Amrit Varsha Gandhi
Himachal Pradesh University, India [0463] p. 3090

Transgressing the boundaries to install within marginality. Zhai Yongming's lyrical voice.

Justyna Jaguscik
University of Zurich, Switzerland & University of Warsaw, Poland [0485] p. 2406

When Mandarin Color Vocabulary Meets Lakoff's Gender Differences

Yi-Chien Wang
National Kaohsiung Normal University, Taiwan [0410] p. 2417

SUNDAY SESSION 3 – 12:30-14:00

**50. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel G
Sunday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Patrick Meadows

The New Rugged Individualism: Modernity and Countersystem in Postwar Fiction
Andrew Madigan
UAEU, United Arab Emirates [0137] p. 2430

West Runs Over East: Belief, Confrontation and Globalization in Taiwanese Nativist Fiction
James Barton Rollins
Baochai Chiang
National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan [0610] p. 2441

Antidotes to a Homogeneous World: Henri Michaux's A Barbarian in Asia and Victor Segalen's Essay on Exoticism
Patrick Meadows
Georgetown University, United States [0141] No Paper

**77. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioural Sciences - Panel D
Sunday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Alessandro Nai

Human Sustainability in the Face of Incidents of Mass Violence: The Psychological Dynamics and Effects on Trauma on Emergency Response Interventions
Patricia Levy
Fort Hays State University, USA [0647] p. 2450

Framing preferences? Congruence between elite and citizens' arguments in Swiss direct and representative democracy
Alessandro Nai
Anouk Lloren
University of Geneva, Switzerland [0556] No Paper

Negative campaigning effects on participation. Mobilizing or demobilizing effect in Swiss political context?
Annie Guex
Alessandro Nai
University of Geneva, Switzerland [0645] No Paper

**86. ACSS - Session Topic: Social Sciences: Interdisciplinary - Panel A
Sunday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Salvator-John A Liotta

Sustainability - What Should We Do?
Rick Hölsgens
Maastricht University, Netherlands [0309] p. 2460

Corporate Social Responsibility, Sustainable Development and Tourism; A Bridging Effort
Muhammad Arif
Bodø University College, Norway [0625] p. 2472

A critical study about Language and Architecture: relations between Kanji, Alphabet and Urban Space in the East and West
Salvator-John A Liotta
University of Tokyo, Japan [0449] No Paper

**101. ACAH - Session Topic: Visual Arts Practices - Panel C
Sunday 12:30-14:00**

Session Chair: Christin Bolewski

The wisdom of Chinese Calligraphy Imagery
Suoqiang Yang
School of Humanities and Social Science, China [0766] p. 2492

West Meets East: Cross-cultural Art from the Western Perspective
Christin Bolewski
Loughborough School of Art and Design, UK [0124] p. 2503

SUNDAY SESSION 3 – 12:30-14:00

**111. ACSS - Session Topic: Interdisciplinary - Poster Session E
Sunday 12:30-14:00**

An exploration of consumer resistance to mobile advertising

Peng-Ting Chen

Hsin-Pei Hsieh

Jian-Hong Chen

Shu-Chen Kuo

Taiwan [0744] No Paper



SUNDAY SESSION 4 – 14:15-15:45

ACAH Invited Panel: ESL
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Elizabeth Yoshikawa

“Beyond the textbook: Using YouTube to motivate discussions.”
Elizabeth Yoshikawa
Kwansei Gakuin University, Japan [MK 0801] No Paper

Motivating EFL intermediate learners in writing clear compositions
Marian Wang
Kwansei Gakuin University, Japan [MK 0802] No Paper

Drama-based Pedagogy: From Instrumental to Integrative Motivation
Eucharía Donnery
Sophia University, Japan [MK 0804] No Paper

8. ACSS - Session Topic: Anthropology, Archaeology, Cultural Studies and Humanities - Panel E
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Georges Depeyrot

Critique and Reconstruction: The Reflection on Preservation of War Landscapes in Kinmen-Matsu Areas
Chien-chung Chen
Chao-ching Fu
National University of Tainan, Taiwan [0579] p. 2514

Eastern and western monetary systems from difference to similarity
Georges Depeyrot
Centre National de la recherche scientifique, France [0146] p. 2528

19. ACSS - Session Topic: Education and Social Welfare - Panel C
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Yasushi Miyazaki

Reviewing the reformed welfare system in Indonesia
Sitta Rosdaniah
Australian National University, Australia [0582] p. 2539

The history of definitions for Hattatsu Shōgai (Developmental Disabilities and Developmental Disorders) in Japan
Yasushi Miyazaki
Kwansei Gakuin University, Japan [0615] p. 2551

SUNDAY SESSION 4 – 14:15-15:45

27. ACAH - Session Topic: Globalisation - Panel B
Sunday 14:15-16:15

Session Chair: Victoria Miroshnik

Globalization and Cultural Identity: A Sociolinguistics Study in the United Arab Emirates

Abdullah Al Banna

The United Arab Emirates University, United Arab Emirates [0306] No Paper

The Becoming Enemy of the East for the West: Islam and Muslim Immigrants in Europe

Meyda Yegenoglu Mutman

Middle East Technical University, Turkey [0048] No Paper

Cultural Networks: Abu Dhabi's emergence as a global city

Yasser Elsheshtawy

UAE University, United Arab Emirates [0411] p. 2566

Corporate Citizenship Creation in the Era of Globalization: Evidence from Japanese multinational companies

Victoria Miroshnik

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan [0736] p. 2576

35. ACAH - Session Topic: Immigration, Refugees, Race, Nation
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Salwa Nugali

The Memories of Exile, Disorientation, and Self-identity in Li-Young Lee's "Persimmons"

Osmond Chien-ming Chang

Shao-ming Kung

National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan [0477] p. 2613

When WE meet, a new culture is born: A Case Study of Hijazi culture in Saudi Arabia

Salwa Nugali

King Saud University, Saudi Arabia [0343] No Paper

51. ACAH - Session Topic: Literature, Literary Studies - Panel H
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Susan Miller

Change and Conundrum in Spiral Road

Chun Fu

National Ilan University, Taiwan [0526] p. 2625

Narrative Levels and Metafictional Structure of "Dream of the Red Chamber"

Gailan Wei

City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong [0436] p. 2637

Frankenstein: The Offspring of Happy Days

Susan Miller

Nippon Sport Science University, University of Glasgow, Japan [0339] p. 2652

62. ACAH - Session Topic: Media, Film Studies, Theatre, Communication - Panel D
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Charles Exley

Lesbian 'Desis' in deepa mehta's fire: redefining the boundaries of the (glo)bal and the lo(cal)

Arudhra Krishnaswamy

National University of Singapore, Singapore [0550] p. 2667

Cross-dressing as Cultural Critique: the Art of Morimura Yasumasa

Charles Exley

University of Montana, United States [0650] p. 2684

SUNDAY SESSION 4 – 14:15-15:45

78. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioural Sciences - Panel E
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Tomoko Itoh

Alexithymia in relation to craving in an alcohol dependent sample

Fred Thorberg

Ross Young

Karen Sullivan

Michael Lyvers

Jason Connor

Gerald Feeney

Queensland University of Technology, Australia [0248] p. 2690

Cross-cultural Study between Japanese and Korean Office Workers on Self-disclosure

Noriko Nakagawa

Ryutsu Kagaku University, Japan [0557] p. 2705

Difference in Probabilistic Judgment Processes between Children and Adults

Tomoko Itoh

Waseda University; Research Fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Japan [0281] p. 2723

92. ACSS - Session Topic: Sociology and Geography - Panel C
Sunday 14:15-15:45

Session Chair: Lale Berkoz

Mapping the Geographical Distribution of Duanfen Markets

Tung-Yiu Stan Lai

Chu Hai College of Higher Education, Hong Kong [0724] p. 2735

Spatial Transformations in Istanbul

Lale Berkoz

Istanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Turkey [0112] p. 2753

SUNDAY SESSION 5 – 16:00-17:30

**20. ACSS - Session Topic: Education and Social Welfare - Panel D
Sunday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Hui-Chin Yang

The role of the middle class in the development of welfare policy standards

Alla Salmina

State University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation [0705] No Paper

Examining the roles of risk and protective factors in the presence or absence of problem behavior among Chinese Male Adolescents

Haibin Li

Andrew Martin

Derrick Armstrong

The University of Sydney, Australia [0758] p. 2773

Effective Online Teaching and Learning-A Case Study in a Teacher Education Program in New York State

Hui-Chin Yang

Mercy College, United States [0738] No Paper

**28. ACSS - ACSS - Technology and Applied Sciences
Sunday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Tzu-Yi Liu

Bringing robotic education into a Girls' Senior High School in Taiwan: Probing into the problem solving model of creative project work from BLOG

Chih-Yang Chao

Yuan-tai Chen

Yu-Te Wang

Yong Shun Lin

Kai-Fu Yang

National Chunghua University of Education, Taiwan [0583] p. 2780

Technology and Applied Science - Augmented Reality Applied on Furniture Allocation in Real-State Pre-sale House to explore Users' Configuring Behavior and Satisfaction

Tzu-Yi Liu

Chien-Hsu Chen

Tay-Sheng Jeng

National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan [0220] p. 2791

**39. ACAH - Session Topic: Language, Linguistics - Panel B
Sunday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Mahmut Mutman

Discourse and Sustainability

Arran Stibbe

University of Gloucestershire, United Kingdom [0378] No Paper

Language Reform in Nationalism and Globalism

Mahmut Mutman

Bilkent University, Turkey [0054] No Paper

Save Our Languages: Act Now!

Gajendra Singh Chauhan

Birla Institute of Technology & Science, India [0295] p. 2806

SUNDAY SESSION 5 – 16:00-17:30

**40. ACAH - Session Topic: Language, Linguistics - Panel C
Sunday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Jonathan Britten

Tensions between Standardisation and Diversity: Sign Languages in Trinidad and Tobago and Japan.

Ben Braithwaite

Trinidad and Tobago [0498] No Paper

Beyond East and West: Co-evolution of a Globally Shared Language in the 21st Century.

Jonathan Britten

Nakamura University, Japan [0502] p. 2822

**59. ACAH - Session Topic: Media, Film Studies, Theatre, Communication - Panel A
Sunday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Nicholas de Villiers

Friend or Enemy: The Role of Japanese in Chinese War Films

Shuk Ting, Kinnia Yau

The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong [0058] p. 2836

New Auteursism of the Urban Generation Chinese Cinema in a Global Age

Ran Ma

University of Hong Kong, China [0208] No Paper

"Chinese Cheers": Hou Hsiao-hsien and Transnational Homage

Nicholas de Villiers

University of North Florida, United States [0313] p. 2852

**79. ACSS - Session Topic: Psychology, Cognitive Science and the Behavioural Sciences - Panel F
Sunday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Muchu Yu

Promote people of low sport willingness to sport by group encouragement

Ming-Chiao Wu

Chien-Hsu Chen

Cheng-Kung University, Taiwan [0354] p. 2862

Stress Image Representation Applied to Eastern Asians

Muchu Yu

Tay-sheng Jeng

Cheng Kung University, Taiwan [0504] p. 2872

SUNDAY SESSION 5 – 16:00-17:30

**87. ACSS - Session Topic: Social Sciences: Interdisciplinary - Panel B
Sunday 16:00-17:30**

Session Chair: Chao-Shen Cheng

Globalisation, postcolonialism and education for sustainability: Notes on pedagogy

Julie Matthews

The University of the Sunshine Coast, Australia [0353] No Paper

The Construction and Implementation of Energy and Power innovative curriculum integrated with blocks in Life Technology Courses

Yu-Te Wang

David W. S. Tai

Yuan-Tai Chen

Pao Chin Yang

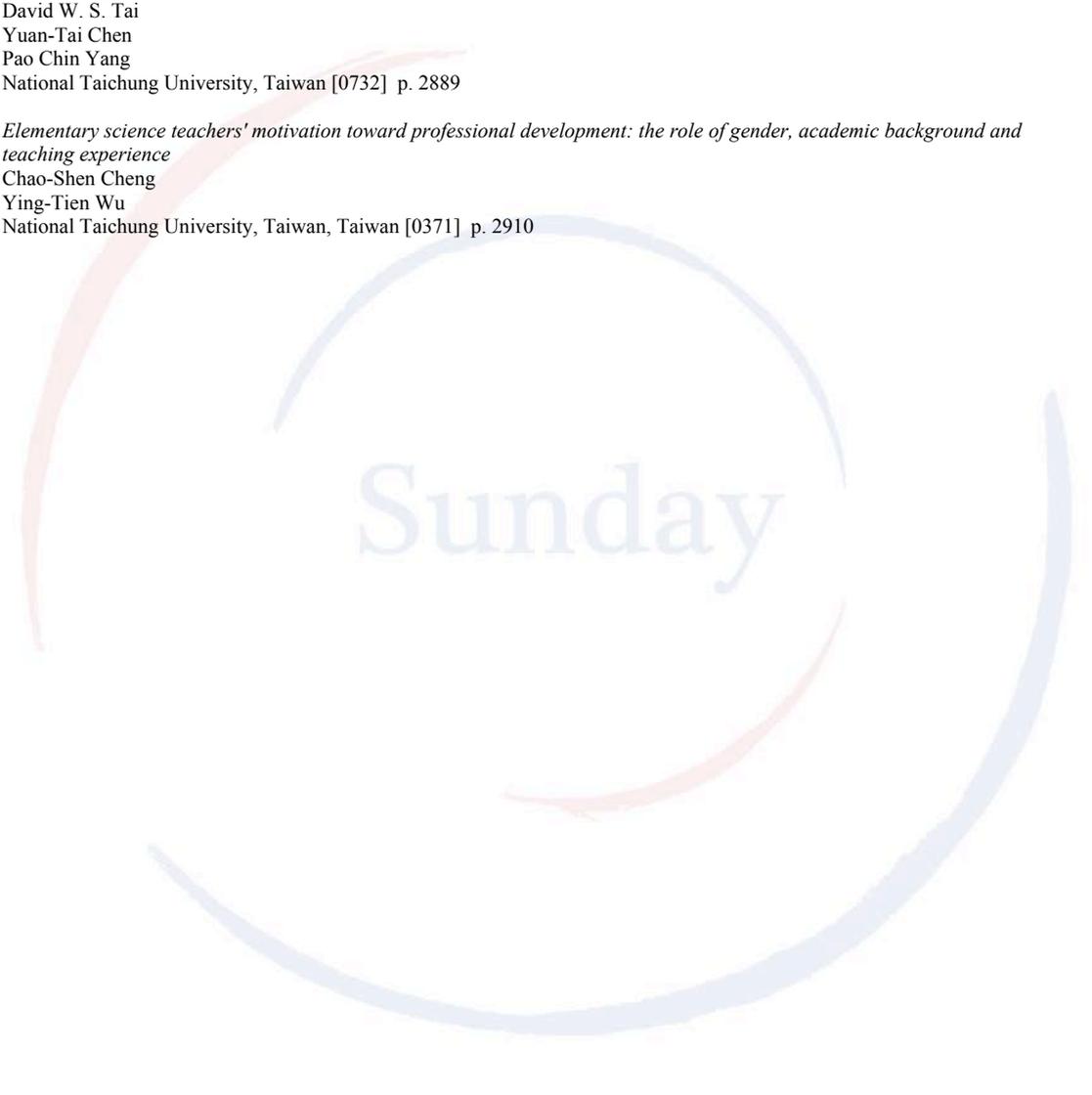
National Taichung University, Taiwan [0732] p. 2889

Elementary science teachers' motivation toward professional development: the role of gender, academic background and teaching experience

Chao-Shen Cheng

Ying-Tien Wu

National Taichung University, Taiwan, Taiwan [0371] p. 2910



Sunday

Virtual Presentations

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ACSS - Economics and Management

The scientific analysis of the competitive advantages provided by the production system

Toyota - Just in time

Mihail Titu

Constantin Oprean

Daniel Grecu

Cristina Tanasescu

Mariana Titu

Lucian Blaga of Sibiu Romania, Romania [0717] p. 2920

A study on mapping processes in organizations based on acquaintances. A Case Study

Constantin Oprean

Mihail Titu

Daniel Grecu

Cristina Tanasescu

Camelia Oprean

Mariana Titu

Lucian Blaga of Sibiu Romania, Romania [0719] p. 2928

*The Analysis of the Influence of Stress on the Climate in the Knowledge-based Organizations
in the Educational System*

Constantin Oprean

Mihail Titu

Viorel Bucur

Lucian Blaga of Sibiu Romania, Romania [0720] p. 2939

Excellence - Quality Feature of Institutional Communication in the University Milieu

Mihail Titu

Daniela Flucsa

Mariana Titu

Alina Vanu

Lucian Blaga of Sibiu Romania, Romania [0721] p. 2949

ACSS – Media and Communications

The Rise of the Objective Newspaper in Malaysia-Sustaining the Readers and the Industry

Siti Suriani Othman

Nottingham Trent University, United Kingdom [0308] No Paper

ACSS – Sustainability

*Chinese Humanitarianism and Human Sustainability: An Explanatory Study on the Europeanization of Chinese
Humanitarianism through a Comparative and Historical Approach*

Mao Weizhun, School of International Studies, RENMIN University of China, China

Li Shoushi, School of International Studies, RENMIN University of China, China

Lu Yang, School of International Studies, RENMIN University of China, China [0459] p. 3111

ACSS - Social Sciences: Other

*Student housing, The relationship between sense of attachment to place and satisfaction
among undergraduate students, case study Universiti Sains Malaysia*

Fatemeh Khozaei

Nadia Ayub

Ahmad sanusi Hassan

Zahra Khozaei

Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia [0107] No Paper

Research for Research's Sake: The Challenges Facing Kenyan Universities in their Efforts to Address National Development

Nancy Gakahu

Masinde Muliro University, Kenya [0542] p. 2958

ACAH - Language, Linguistics

Balkanising Taxonomy

Nela Milic

Goldsmiths University, United Kingdom [0757] p. 2965

Raising EFL learner's motivation via information technology integrated instruction

Michelle Kawamura

Kwansei Gakuin University, Japan [MK 0800] No Paper

ACAH - Language, Linguistics

ESL or EFL teachers an opportunity to learn how to include the cultural led discussions on media topics for motivating EFL learners in speaking
Matthew Sanders
Kwansei Gakuin University, Japan [MK 803] No Paper

The English language for Oriental Studies students as a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures
Julia Falkovich
Tomsk Polytechnic University, Russian Federation [0125] p. 2980

ACAH – Interdisciplinary Arts and Humanities

Play and Kill - Film Teenage Violence in Western and Eastern contemporary societies: Van Sant's Elephant and Fukasaku's Battle Royale
Ana Barroso
Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal [0184] p. 2989

Values in the modern world.
Natalya Mischenko
Tomsk Polytechnic University, Russian Federation [0404] p. 3003

Diaspora Circulation and Cultural Amnesia as Agents of Change in V.S. Naipaul's "Half a Life" and "Magic Seeds"
Helya Hemmesian
Azad University/ Karaj, Iran, Islamic Republic of [0014] p. 3011

Online circulation of US TV dramas among Chinese fans: A case study of "YDY" fansub group
Guanxiong Huang
Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong [0383] No Paper

Papers

Dr Alison Broinowski
Visiting Fellow, Australian National University
Senior Research Fellow, University of Wollongong
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Civilisation, convergence, community

ACAH 2010 'East Meets West', ASIAN CONFERENCE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES, Osaka, 18-21 June 2010

'Civilisation is in fact the longest story of all'. Fernand Braudel *The Identity of France: History and Environment*, tr. Sian Reynolds, 1988: 34

Everything that passes from hand to hand, or blood to blood, or mouth to mouth, such as coins or banknotes or syringes, becomes tainted by use. Words are no different. The meaning of *liberal, gay, discrimination, torture, Orientalism, and values*, for example, has been attenuated by uses which have narrowed their focus. On the other hand words and expressions like *political correctness, racism, Occidentalism, terrorism, and national security*, have been expanded to mean whatever their users want. 'Civilisation' hovers between being tainted, attenuated, and expanded, but ever since Samuel Huntington used it in his 1993 essay and 1996 book, the idea of a *Clash of Civilisations* has stopped many people and made them think: why?

The word 'Civilisation', and the various things that people use it to mean, is only part of the answer, as I will show. The word 'Clash' is another.

For a millennium and a half, Westerners became satisfied that their civilization was superior to all others, the antithesis of 'barbarism', and many even saw it as singular and universal, progressing on an endless upward trajectory - the 'march of civilisation'. But colonialism was hardly 'civilised', in spite of the claims made by the colonizers about their civilizing mission. Colonisation is in effect 'the submergence of one civilization by another'. (Braudel 1988: 33) So when 120 years ago, some Asian countries, most of them colonized, began to claim that their civilizations were superior to and more ancient than anything in the West, and hence deserved equal respect, they were disparaged, in terms that we still hear used today. Huntington warned that although the impact of Western civilization on all others had been overwhelming, it had been in decline since the early twentieth century, would face competing civilizations in the 21st century, and its decline could be terminal. (Huntington 1996: 302) As Asian societies gradually converge towards a community, Huntington's proposition that a Clash between them and the West is inevitable continues to resonate. Some leaders in Asian countries welcomed it as providing validation of their exasperation with the West and distaste for its values. Today, the Clash deserves re-examination as competition emerges between an East Asian Community to be composed of East Asia hemisphere countries, and an Asia Pacific Community to include the United States and possibly others.

In order to appreciate what is happening, it is important to remind ourselves that the history of Asian regionalism is much longer than many realize. I will do so with reference to Huntington's Clash in each

of three stages: civilization, convergence, community. I will end with a speculation about civility, which is not what the Clash envisaged.

Civilisation

‘Asia is one’, a Japanese cultural historian daringly declared in 1903. Okakura Kakuzō foresaw civilisational streams flowing together in a great commingling Asian flood. Since the late nineteenth century Japanese and Indian scholars had urged the West to acknowledge that the Asian cultures and ancient civilizations that imperialism had displaced deserved respect on equal terms. Swami Vivekananda, at the World’s Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, asked his ‘brothers and sisters of America’ to abandon their mission to convert the ‘heathen’ and acknowledge the spiritual brilliance of Asia, as did a Ceylonese Buddhist, Anagarika Dharmapala and a Japanese Buddhist, Hirai Kinzō. (Snodgrass 2003: 183-237) Hirai and other Buddhist revivalists argued that by embodying the truth and wisdom of Western philosophy and religion, Japanese Buddhism was not only superior to all others, but the most appropriate for the modern world. Soon afterwards, D.T. Suzuki began with great success to promote Zen to the West as uniquely Japanese, the basis of Japanese culture, and the essence of Buddhism. (Suzuki 1907)

But only Asia-enthusiasts in Western countries appreciated these messages, and their responses largely reflected their Western standpoints. Theosophists and Spiritualists perpetuated the Orientalist notion, *Ex occidente lex, ex oriente lux*, merely exchanging their preference from West to East, and devising their own synthesised faiths and practices. Those who were inspired by Edwin Arnold’s *The Light of Asia* included Australian writers, clergymen, and politicians: the novelist Marcus Clarke, for example, had already in 1877 envisaged ‘Australasia’ as a vast archipelago, an ‘Asiatic Mediterranean’. He didn’t know that this was also what the Japanese had in mind.

At the Columbian Exposition that hosted the 1893 Parliament of Religions, ‘Japan’s primary object was to challenge this Western presupposition of cultural superiority and protest the lowly position assigned to the Japanese in the hierarchy of evolutionary development’. (Snodgrass 2003: 2) Following the slogan of the great educator Fukuzawa Yukichi, ‘leave Asia, enter the West’, (Fukuzawa 1875) Japan had rapidly modernized, and by 1895 like Western powers had acquired colonies, in Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria. Less than a decade into the Meiji era, Fukuzawa had urged Japan to seek full membership of the international community. To do so, he wrote, it would have to become a nation-state of self-respecting citizens with a sense of independence. Borrowing the Ching dynasty compromise *Ti-Yong* (‘Chinese learning for the fundamental principles, Western learning for practical use’), Japan reshaped it as *Wakon, yōsei* (Japanese spirit, Western technique). By proving that it could combine Japanese tradition with the best of Western modernity, while maintaining *Nihonjinron* (Japanese uniqueness), Japan was staking its claim to be respected and taken seriously, more than China could. Japanese applied hierarchies to everything, including to civilisations. So Fukuzawa in the late nineteenth century found Europe and the United States to be highly civilized, while China, Turkey and Japan were semi-developed, and Africa and Australia were ‘still primitive lands’. (Fukuzawa 1875: 17)

When in 1905 Japan defeated the Russian fleet it demonstrated, if not the imminent eclipse of Western civilization, at least the truth of Kenneth Clark’s adage: ‘All great civilizations, in their early stages, are based on success in war’. (Clark 1969) But in 1919 the Western victors of World War I disregarded Japan’s claim for equal status, fuelling the nationalists’ fervour for Japan to lead Asia against the West.

In the 1920s-30s young Japanese supported Sun Yat-sen and Huang Hsing's revolt against the Manchus, and Chinese, Indian, Burmese and Philippine nationalists joined in the effort to reclaim Asia that became the Pacific War. In 1940 the Shōwa Emperor declared that Japan would 'enable' all nations and races to assume their 'proper place' in the world. Japan then launched its military campaign to rid the region of Western colonizers – and replace them with Japanese ones.

A Kanematsu Gōshō survey in 1942 declared that Australia had always been part of Asia, as did other Japanese publications of the period, which urged Australia to join other Asian countries in seeking independence of Western domination. But Australia, having feared Japan for half a century, and being allied to Britain, was at the forefront of countries that denied Japan the status it sought. In 1939, the year Japan declared 'Asia for the Asiatics', Prime Minister Menzies stated: 'The British countries of the world must stand or fall together'. Both were monocivilisational assertions. But few in the United States or in alliance-bound Europe saw Japan as other than an exception to their rules about which countries were civilised. Having carved up Asia between them, they expected it to remain prostrate and exploitable. Huntington was right to point out that 'Every civilisation sees itself as the centre of the world and writes its history as the central drama of human history', and also to observe, citing Spengler, Braudel and Toynbee, that such monocivilisational views were losing relevance. (Huntington 1996:54-5) But he did so six decades later in what had become a war-torn century.

Convergence

On the three occasions in the second half of the twentieth century when unity through Asian identity was again advocated, political and economic convergence of Asian societies was more explicitly sought. Again, for different reasons each time, it was met by Western resistance or indifference.

After 1945, Indians anticipated an Asian Commonwealth and Asians saw the 'beginnings of a new era in Asian history'. Prime Minister Nehru called on countries represented at an African and Asian conference in 1947 to 'build a new Asia'. At Bandung in 1955, Indians and Indonesians instigated the Non-Aligned Movement, calling again for the 'Asianisation' of Asia and predicting 'some sort of Eastern Commonwealth' that would include 'the nations of awakening Asia'. (Nag 1957) Importantly, they merged the five elements of the Hindu *Pancasila* with ideologies of other member countries to form ten principles that centred on non-interference in each others' internal affairs and opposition to threats or acts of aggression against any country.

When in 1967 Southeast Asians formed ASEAN, these principles were in its founding document, and were also enshrined in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in 1976. Seeking unifying discourses as their numbers grew from five to ten, the ASEAN leaders stressed the essential difference of Asia from the West, and the superiority of their traditions and values. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir convened a Commission for a New Asia in 1993, and then proposed an East Asia Caucus (Group) that some called 'Asia without the Caucasians'. Together with a co-author, Tokyo Governor Ishihara Shintarō, he claimed to be the 'voice of Asia', (Mahathir and Ishihara, 1995) and asserted 'East beats West'. (Mahathir 1995) Writing in the Australian press, he claimed that it was outrageous 'that Westerners should criticize our ways simply because they are not theirs'. (Mahathir 1996)

With Japan established in economic leadership of the region by the 1980s, Ishihara advocated saying 'No' to the West, (Ishihara 1991) and his book's title was echoed by nationalist writers in China. Anwar

Ibrahim in Malaysia called the regional revival *The Asian Renaissance* in 1996, advocating Western technology and Asian religious and traditional values in a blend that resembled early Japanese practice. The ASEAN countries, having steadfastly refused to let APEC overshadow their organization, now positioned themselves as the indispensable magnet to which the Northeast Asians, Japan, China and South Korea, were drawn. By the late 1990s, when Japan's economy and politics were stagnant, and China's were resurgent, ASEAN countries were anticipating the 'Century of Asia', and Kishore Mahbubani was proud to see Chinese seeking to emulate the Singapore model. The West was declining and increasingly irrelevant, he proclaimed in *The New Asian Hemisphere* (2008), and an East Asian Community that was forming.

Throughout the period, Western countries successively opposed the NAM, the New International Information Order, and ZOPFAN, Southeast Asian countries' attempt at a nuclear weapons free zone, and scoffed at its efforts at economic integration. Without acknowledging the wedges that their own colonization drove between Southeast Asian neighbours, they disparaged ASEAN as an ineffective, consensus-driven talk shop, and resisted signing the TAC. Huntington spoke for much Western opinion in criticising the 'the west versus the rest' agenda that he saw pitting the familiarities of America and Europe against the unknowns of the rest of the world. (Grant 2006) In his book he made brief and peripheral mentions of ASEAN, expecting little of the organisation, since regions are only a basis for cooperation among states 'to the extent that geography coincides with culture'. ASEAN didn't fit into Huntington's eight civilisations, since as Joan Grant observes, it was multicivilisational, not merely multicultural, and included what he calls Sinic, Buddhist, Christian and Muslim member states. Hence it could not succeed. The fact that ASEAN was not a military alliance and could not achieve defence cooperation was further evidence of its failure.

Similar critiques of ASEAN continue. Sydney's Lowy Institute director Michael Wesley admitted in 2009 that APEC had failed to deliver, but he saw ASEAN as fundamentally compromised and imperfect. It favoured 'developmental regionalism' while rejecting Western economic advice in order to sustain regional solidarity. He described an ongoing 'duel between Pacificism and Asianism' in which Australia and the United States were on the non-Asian side. (Wesley 2009)

Community

Since the 1990s, advocacy of an Asian *community* has grown. Yet still, the responses of some in the West evoke the attitudes that had been evident for over a hundred years: disdain for Asian civilisations, distrust of Asian convergence, and dismissiveness of Asian capacity to build a regional community.

From 1996 ASEM met to consider how Asian countries could adapt Europe's experience of regionalism. Australia tried to join the process and failed, largely because of the objections of Mahathir, who in 1998 said including Australia in ASEM would be 'like admitting Arabs to the European Union'. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 10 March 1998) Singapore's Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong said Australia would not be Asian for 80 years. Surprisingly, then, Australia is to attend the 2010 ASEM in Brussels on the Asian side.

In 2007 the ASEAN secretariat studied the future of East Asian regionalism, and defined the options as bringing the United States (and maybe Russia and other dialogue partner signatories of the TAC) into the East Asia Summit (EAS), and/or bringing India into APEC, but adding no new regional institutions.

Since then, some leaders in the region have made comments whose vagueness and hyperbole should not indicate a lack of reflection about an East Asia Community (EAC). On 14 January 2008, for example, Indian PM Manmohan Singh and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao signed a 'Vision Document for the 21st Century', envisaging 'a harmonious world of durable peace and common prosperity'. As 'the two largest developing nations...representing more than one third of humanity', they accepted 'historical responsibility to ensure ...economic and social development of the two countries and to promote peace and development in Asia and the world as a whole'. (Nihal Rodrigo, December 2008) On 22 May 2008, Prime Minister Fukuda proposed that the Pacific Ocean should become an 'Inland Sea' of peace and development (scarcely mentioning Australia, New Zealand, or India). In August 2009 the US signed the TAC, as Australia had reluctantly done in 2008, removing one obstacle to its attendance at the EAS. Defense Secretary Gates had earlier stated that there would be no regional organisation without the United States. On 15 November 2009, Prime Minister Hatoyama outlined his initiative for an EAC, with no details on membership, emphasizing friendship and respect and open regional cooperation in a 'sea of fraternity'. (*Japan Reports*, Summer 2009-10: 3) Although China would clearly prefer an EAC composed of East Asian countries only, and is not likely to give up its current regional leadership, to include India, Australia, and New Zealand would be a trade-off for not bringing in the United States. Russian membership is another counter-balancing option, suggested in Thailand. (Kavi 2010)

On 4 June 2008, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd made a radical move, proposing that the region was facing challenges that the existing structures could not handle. He proposed a new organization for the Asia Pacific region, an Asia Pacific Community (APC), to be established by 2020, with membership not clearly specified, but to include the United States. In the face of polite skepticism in East Asian capitals, he scaled it back somewhat, and held a semi-official consultation with representatives of 22 countries in Sydney in December 2009, the result of which was an agreement to talk further. But seeking to accommodate the growth of China and India within a United States-led regional order is hardly innovative for Australia: Western protection against threats from Asia is what all Australian governments have sought since 1901. But because an APC would potentially overshadow ASEAN as APEC threatened to do, and could become a forum for American/Chinese competition, and because, as well, Rudd consulted his neighbours after making his announcement, not before, the Australian plan is unlikely to prosper.

Huntington was highly critical of Australian policies under Prime Minister Keating, which he warned would make it a 'torn country'. Australia's leaders were 'in effect proposing that it defect from the West, redefine itself as an Asian country, and cultivate close ties with its neighbours'. The last part of that was true, but not the first. Huntington asserted that 'Successful economic association needs a commonality of civilisation', which Australia did not have with Asia. But the coming Clash about which he was more concerned was between what he called the 'multiculturalists and the defenders of Western civilisation and the American Creed'. Revealingly, after being so tolerant of the rise of other civilisations, Huntington asserted that 'Whether the West comes together politically and economically...depends overwhelmingly on whether the United States reaffirms its identity as a Western nation and defines its global role as the leader of Western civilisation'. (Huntington 1996: 307-311)

Huntington confirmed in later work that he feared a Hispanic takeover of the culture of the United States. Multiculturalism, in his view, rejected America's cultural heritage, and its advocates wished 'to create a country of many civilizations, which is to say a country not belonging to any civilization and

lacking a cultural core'. A multicivilisational United States would not be the United States of his upbringing but something like the United Nations, so hated by American conservatives. (Huntington 1996: 308) That prospect led him to predict conflict, and almost to welcome its perpetuation as a way of reasserting American power: 'It is human to hate. For self-affirmation and motivation people need enemies: competitors in business, rivals in achievement, opponents in politics... The resolution of one conflict and the disappearance of one enemy generate personal, social and political forces that give rise to new ones'. (Huntington 1996: 130) It is not surprising that some commentators have detected in Huntington's *Clash* a promotional strategy for American arms sales. (Muzzaffar 1994) Having little familiarity with Asia, Huntington recoiled into a 'West versus the rest' position: 'Civilisations are the biggest "we" within which we feel culturally at home as distinguished from all the other "thems" out there'.

Civility

If this is the Century of Asia, its promise is more likely to be fulfilled if an 'Asian Renaissance' can occur. If only because conflict is counter-productive, soft power and civility will be more potent unifiers of people than the contending forces of politics and economics. Regional interchange in the arts and humanities, much of it funded by Japan, has much potential for expansion. Australia too has potential, as yet unrealized, to make itself interesting, relevant, and the best informed country on the affairs of the Asian region.

Southeast Asia scholar Anthony Milner urges a dialogue of difference that does not ignore or silence other views, either inside the region or among its outside observers. He recommends a more sympathetic attitude towards 'the painstaking, culture-sensitive, norm-focussed, region building that has been going on in ASEAN'. The slow process of consensus-forming and conflict avoidance, Milner argues, involves not only formal structures but reliance on 'kinship, kinlike relations', non-interference, and 'sublimating and diffusing conflicts' as well as resolving them. (Milner 2003) This is the often-derided 'ASEAN Way', which ideally recognises diversity, identity and integrity, but requires the suspension of exceptionalism and exclusive claims to truth. (Oakeshott 1962: 304)

Whether the ASEAN Way is the way of the 21st century, and the way out of endless armed conflict, will depend upon the success of the 'dialogue of difference'. (Niall Ferguson, quoted by Ikenberry 2009) It will gain from the experience of Europeans in deliberately evolving beyond war. It will also depend upon how the United States, including Huntington's successors, respond to the fact that the 20th century has seen both 'the descent of the West' and a re-orientation of the world to cede mastery to the East.

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**Eastern influences in Western Modernism
- multiple faces of International Style**

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**Arts and Humanities
Design and Architecture**

Eastern influences in Western Modernism - multiple faces of International Style

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This study does not focus on the history of buildings and urban developments, but instead on the patterns of inspiration and the implementation of specific Eastern ideas in architecture and social patterns that influence the Modernism initiated by the Western world. It deals with the theme of the intersection of influences that may emanate from fascination as well as notions of progress and the implications of international attitudes. This study culminates in the search for international architectural and social values that were contributed to by both East and West. The proposed investigation intends to illustrate the different opinions of East and West as well as openly playing with apparently divergent points of view that could lead to a more balanced and creative society. The intention is to introduce the implications and interconnections of East and West using empirical evidence drawn from international conditions.

Modernism, defined as ideas that are contrasted with earlier ideas and methods [Sinclair 1987: 930], was a rejection of the tradition of the ‘codified’ form of expression. Modernism stressed freedom of expression, experimentation, radicalism, and primitivism and a disregard of conventional expectations. Somehow the label Modernism was applied to a tired Western artistic tradition. Modernism was influenced by other (traditional?) cultures. Many artists found what seemed like an ‘uncodified’ form of expression in non-Western cultures. The ‘civilised’ sought for inspiration by tracking ‘uncivilised’ cultures that were seemingly uncluttered by the weight of tradition. Mostly African and Asian cultures were introduced as discoveries when Europe colonised the world. The world witnessed the rise of modern industrial capitalism and the emergence of organised political dominance. Powerful nations established large colonial empires at the turn of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The criticism of their tendency to turn a cross-section of people into faithful servants of the colonial administration was suppressed by the image of an imperial power improving the lives of the ‘natives’ in the colonies. The world divided into powerful principally Western dominant nations versus powerless, traditionally rooted and mainly non-white dominated societies.

Modernism evolved during the peak of European colonial empires – although this is seldom acknowledged. Did Modernism mark the empires’ end or their continuation by other means like globalisation? Modernism spread from Europe to America and was acclaimed as international, but the history of how it spread and how it was translated to the rest of the world is fragmented. In addition, the term ‘*international*’ has been implied rather than articulated. Does it stand for a world culture unconstrained by national ties or global technological development? Somehow the non-Western world has been ignored in the standard histories of Modern architecture. According to many mid-twentieth century statements, Modernism was credited with the salvation of the underdeveloped [Crimson 2003: 1-3].

Japan, representing the East, was strong enough to stop the relationship of unequal cultural and socioeconomic exchange. Driven by the desire to create a more favourable image in the West, Japan participated in series of exhibitions in Europe and America. The largest international exposition (the Japan-British Exhibition in 1910) that the Empire of Japan participated in was a demonstration of products that would lead to a more favourable image in the West and in return an increased transfer for the East. The Japanese were interested in convincing the public that they were equal to any Western nation, worthy of being considered a modern and civilised nation, and that by following in imperial footsteps they were influencing and improving other territories so

they added displays about Taiwan, Korea, Kwantung and the Ainu from Hokkaido. The intention was to illustrate the progression and present their highly developed civilisation. Japan succeed and obtained favourable reviews in almost all British newspapers that focussed on manufactured goods, fine arts, crafts and gardens, although negative reviews dominated Japanese newspapers. The exhibition caused a lot of pressure and generated many different expectations in the West and the East when translating the East to the West. ‘The Japan-British Exhibition’ in 1910 (figure 1) was dominated by Japan and the exhibition is widely known in the West as ‘the Japanese Exhibition’. The Japanese intangible (emotional) and tangible (physical) factors/remedies were highly appreciated by the West and left a lasting mark on this new territory (figure 2). The exhibits were partially sent to international exhibitions in other European cities (like Dresden and Turin in 1911), partially presented to institutions or moved to the Kew Gardens in Britain (like the Gateway of the Imperial Messenger) where they still can be seen. Many valuables were sent back to Japan. The idea of modernisation from the West was faced with a strong Eastern representation of its worldview and modern vision and provided evidence that the East had the capability to invent and produce without assistance from the West.

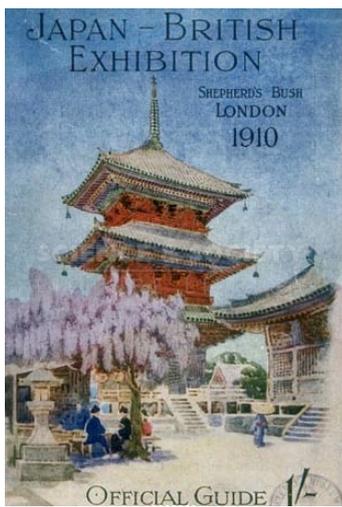


Figure 1. Japan British Exhibition Guide Figure 2. Japanese garden visited by British
1 Credit: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d3/Japan-British_Exhibition.jpg
(Access: 17.03.2010)
2 Credit: <http://www.phoenixbonsai.com/bigpicture/Britgarden.jpg> (Access: 17.03.2010)

The influences and inspirations rooted in the traditional Japanese architecture powerfully represented the East in the West during the Modernist era – particularly in Frank Lloyd Wright’s architecture – have been a recurring source of discussion from the 1900s to the present. The role of traditional Japanese art and architecture in the work of Frank Lloyd Wright has been illustrated in a book by Kevin Nute [2000: 5-256]. The study of the creative process and the fruitful interaction of two great Western and Eastern cultures through a mixture of textual and drawn analyses are comprehensively referenced. The book presents the extent of Frank Lloyd Wright’s formal and philosophical debt to Japanese culture when examining channels of influences starting from Japanese prints (woodblock prints and the geometric abstraction of the natural), following by specific individuals and publications on the ‘organic’ nature of Japanese art and architecture. The aesthetic and social ideals of the East are presented. Analogies with Japanese built-forms are a confirmation of the universal manifested in the particular in aesthetic line-ideas in the composition of pictures, patterns and plans.

Frank Lloyd Wright was practising architecture in Chicago when Japanese architecture was on display at the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893. He had been collecting Japanese prints for more than a decade before his first trip to Japan [Kaufmann 1966: 292] in 1905. In 1902 Wright

designed a home for a prosperous businessman, Ward Willits, that clearly betrays the influence of Japan. He longed to visit Japan and this was made possible when Willits who journeyed with him financed the trip [Gill 1987: 135]. Wright documented his architectural legacy before his trip to Japan, completing the extraordinary Larkin Administration Building in Buffalo in 1904 proving his flair as an architect and that the established Chicago style of the commercial architecture no longer led the field [Kaufmann 1966: 292]. In 1905 after his trip to Japan, he built two homes and the Unity Temple (figure 3 and 4) that have remained notable among Wright's designs.

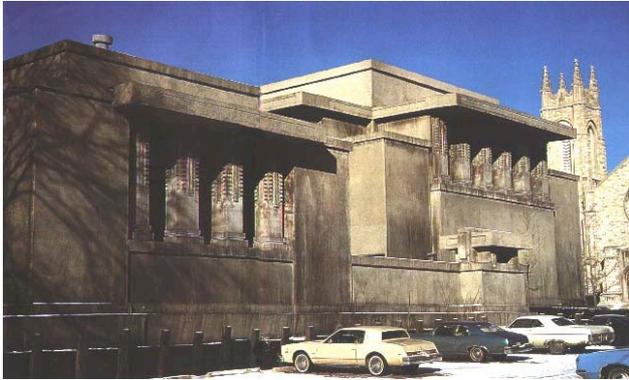


Figure 3. Unity Temple Oak Park, Chicago, Illinois, 1905

3 Credit: http://designmuseum.org/media/item/4948/-1/116_2.jpg (Access: 03.03.2010)

4 Credit: <http://www.hort.purdue.edu/wright/homes/unity.jpg> (Access: 03.03.2010)



Figure 4. Interior, Unity Temple Oak Park, Chicago, Illinois, 1905

Frank Lloyd Wright was very strongly influenced by Japan, but it is also necessary to admit that he had many external influences. Between 1909 and 1911 he travelled to and appreciated the architecture of Germany, Austria, Italy and France and he was influenced by the British Arts and Craft movement. He also looked to native US cultures for inspiration. When analysing his houses built in early 1900s the Japanese influence is visible, but at least two more influences can be identified, namely the Swiss Chalet style and the Tudor style. These three styles could have clashed if it were not for Wright's contemporary, highly individual personality and the tradition they all employed of using exceptionally heavy methods of framing [Gill 1987: 133-4].

In the early 1900s most American architects looked to Europe and European architects for inspiration. Frank Lloyd Wright did so as well, but Japan and Japanese design and art were more inspiring to him, although he also visited Europe. He collected and put on exhibitions of Japanese art. His interest in the Japanese lifestyle, approach to design and talent granted him important clients in Japan (figure 5), although it remains a mystery how he gained the commission to design the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo (figure 6 and 8) while he was working in obscurity. At the time he did not get the right clients to expose and communicate his increasing architectural knowledge and creativity/innovations; he was designing buildings that no one had asked him to design and many of them were never built. An act of nature in Japan helped revive his career in the early 1920s. When things in America did not work out as he had hoped, he went to Japan. The design for the Imperial Hotel that he had prepared in America and took with him to Japan was more playful in feeling and less exotic in look than the design he developed in Japan and according to which the building was constructed. The Japanese expected to get something American and Americans visiting the hotel expected something Japanese (figure 7) and the building was neither. If it was anything, it was Mayan [Gill 1987: 256-261]. The architecture that he admired included the Minoan architecture of the island of Crete, but he considered the ancient Greek architecture 'largely a sham' because it was not sufficiently sensitive to the natural

environment, largely not responsive/sensitive to native materials, and the form had no real connection with the function (the opposite to the Modernist approach).

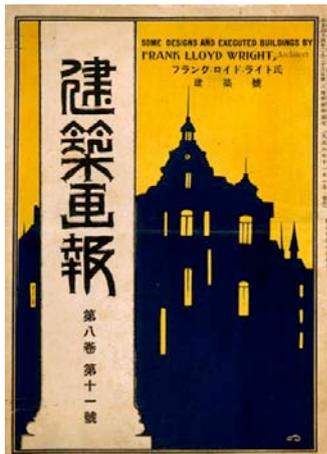


Figure 5. A Japanese journal from 1917 highlighting Wright's work



Figure 6. Wright's plan for the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, Japan

5 Credit: "Some Designs and Executed Buildings by Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect," cover of Japanese journal issue devoted to Frank Lloyd Wright, with Japanese and English text. 1917.

6 Credit: Wright, Frank Lloyd, architect. "Model of Proposed Imperial Hotel, Tokyo." Between 1890 and 1940. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

http://www.americaslibrary.gov/assets/aa/wright/aa_wright_japan_2_m.jpg

(Access: 03.03.2010)

Wright's work on the Imperial Hotel was an attempt to not only embody merely the sense of Japanese style in the style of the hotel, but also to embody what he called the Japanese's sense of themselves. The bedrooms of the hotel were small (to American standards and based on their experience compared with the size of a ship's cabin), but because much of the furniture was built-in, they struck a snug note (that was part of Japanese tradition) [Gill 1987: 257]. The public spaces of the Imperial Hotel were commented on as overpowering and more than a trifle foreboding. Wright was warned by the Japanese that the highly porous and incapable of being waterproofed lava-stone – *oya* in Japan – was rarely made use of for building purposes. Characteristically, he brushed the warning aside and embraced the *oya* for aesthetic reasons – proving his passion for native materials.

The Imperial Hotel was a freak offspring of the genius of Frank Lloyd Wright who was strongly interested in innovation. The foundation of this building was structurally designed to float allowing it to balance like a tray on a waiter's fingertips. His innovation allowed the hotel to survive the devastating earthquake of 1923 [Gill 1987: 257], but it was dismantled in 1967. From the beginning he was aware that earthquakes were common in Japan. However, the Japanese approach was different - they historically protected themselves by erecting structures of light wood and paper that were easily rebuildable - but such an approach was impractical for his design for the hotel. The experience of '*the terror of the temblor*' (a wave move-movement – not of sea but of earth) never left him while he worked on the design for more than four years [Wright 1943: 214-216]. Wright claimed that long piles would oscillate on a rock structure and therefore the foundation should be short or shallow. The reflecting pool in the front of the main entrance was threatened with being withdrawn from the plans (because of its high cost), but Wright argued for keeping it as a ready source of water in case of fire. The water in the pool was put to a good use when the earthquake and fire in 1923 devastated Tokyo. Wright's innovations prove that he was not 'borrowing' but 'lending' and not 'taking' but 'giving'.

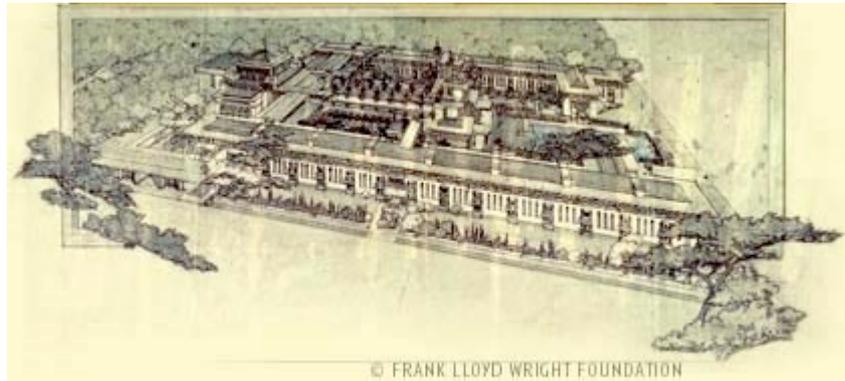
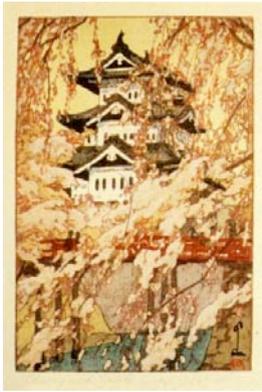


Figure 7. Japanese printing Figure 8. The drawing of the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo
7 Credit: http://woodblock.com/encyclopedia/entries/011_07/images/front.jpg
(Access: 03.03.2010)
8 Credit: http://www.pbs.org/flw/buildings/imperial/images/imperial_intro.jpg
(Access: 03.03.2010)

The drawings above (figure 7 and 8) illustrate Japanese printing and the Imperial Hotel drawn by Wright. The architect became quite taken with Japanese printmakers who in his eyes caught the essence of natural materials in a rare and beautiful fashion. He collected views of Japanese landscapes as well. His photographs taken during his first trip to Japan were published in book form (figure 9).

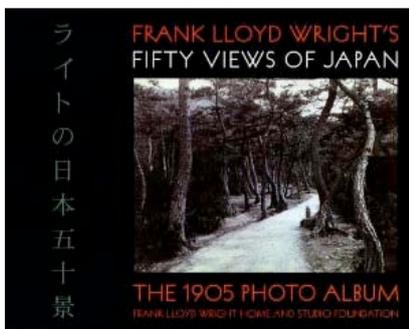


Figure 9. Wright's views of Japan Figure 10. Robie House Chicago, Illinois, 1906
9 Credit: http://g-ecx.images-amazon.com/images/G/01/ciu/26/f7/c2b8810ae7a05e4e5773d110.L._SL500_AA300_.jpg (Access: 01.03.2010)
10 Credit: http://designmuseum.org/media/item/4949/-1/116_3Lg.jpg architect: Frank Lloyd Wright (Access: 01.03.2010)

Frank Lloyd Wright's work (figure 10) as one of the master builders of modern architecture appeared alongside architects like Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe in the International Style Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932. They stressed the interdependence of form and function. Walter Gropius acknowledged that he was influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright. Frank Lloyd Wright did not return the complement. In his opinion, the work of Modern architecture was impersonal, cold and sterile. While he rushed to embrace nature, he believed that modernists turned their back on it. For him modern cities were unnatural with skyscrapers blocking out the sun and light. His distinctive nature adored organic architecture and he had great faith in democracy [Wright on line]. He hoped to reform society through architecture by designing buildings that aimed to improve the morale and productivity of people (in particular, the Johnson Wax Building built in 1936 strove to achieve this).



Figure 11. Johnson Wax Building, 1936

11 Credit: <http://szarka.typepad.com/.a/6a00d834515cf669e2011570a9a1d8970b-800wi>
(Access: 08.03.2010)

When talking about architecture that:

- is never treated in isolation from the external environment,
- uses planters and pots/urns to soften the hard edges of the building,
- breaks the division between inside and outside,
- expands fenestration inviting nature inside,
- pays great attention to lighting, heating, and climate control,
- is sensitive to its surrounding and rich in emotion,
- unites space and creates an intimate space,
- captures the warmth and designs a place for keeping an open fire,
- is interested in familial rather than in individual privacy,
- creates harmony within the home,
- uses horizontal lines to form domesticity,
- has furnishings that are not to be viewed apart from one another or the home,
- takes all internal details (including the furnishings, light fittings, rugs, pots and art) as one design,
- uses native materials in their natural form for the exterior and interior,
- is built with materials that have the stamp of authenticity upon them, and
- is confident with a sense of national identity

are we talking about Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture (figure 11) or traditional Japanese architecture? Do not think in images but in ideas and judge how deep these features are rooted. Was it mastered by Wright or by traditional Japanese architecture?

The opening of Japan to the West at the end of the nineteenth century generally led to the adaptation of Western architecture in which forms were introduced following the design along European classical lines. Notable buildings which still exist today include the Tokyo Train Station (figure 12) and the National Diet Building.

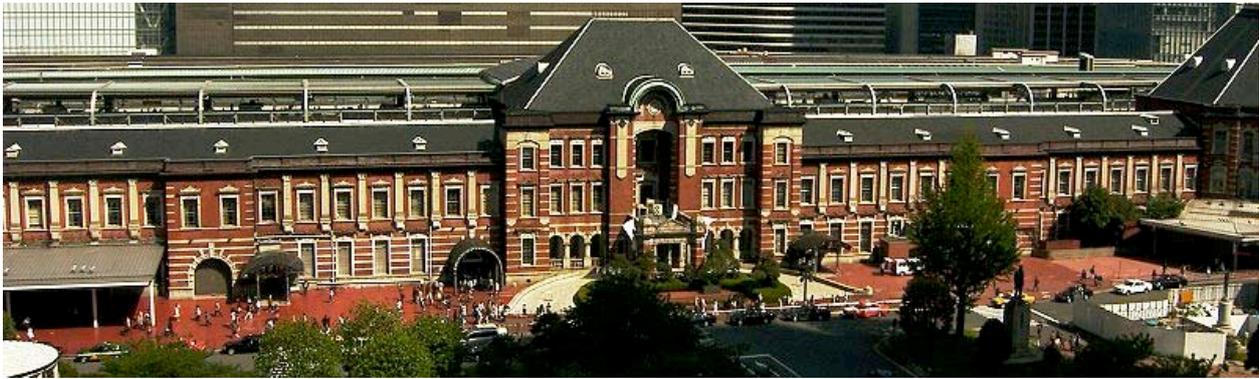


Figure 12. Tokyo Train Station

12 Credit: <http://www.usedcarexport.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2008/04/tokyo-station.jpg>
(Access: 08.03.2010)

After World War I the Japanese began to make their own original contribution to the International style in Modern architecture. During the pre-World War II period the pseudo-European (*Giyōfū*) architecture flourished. The style outwardly resembled Western construction, but was executed using traditional Japanese techniques. The mimicking architecture disappeared as knowledge of Western techniques became more widespread and modernists emerged. Kunio Maekwa and Junzo Sakakura joined Le Corbusier's studio in France. In the early 1930s they returned to Japan and started practising architecture. The influence of Modernism spread to Japanese architecture. This caused bilateral East West and West East amazement. The German modernist and expressionist, Bruno Taut, visited and reviewed the Katsura Imperial Villa (figure 13) – often described as the 'quintessence of Japanese taste' – in 1933. His admiration and later visits by pillars of the modernist establishment, Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius, and their fascination by Katsura's 'modernity' gave Japanese modernist architects confidence. Katsura stunned the architectural community of the West. His modular and orthogonal spaces, devoid of decoration were lauded as a 'historical' example of Modernity and showed clear parallels to essence of Modernism. A marked characteristic of Modernism is the tendency towards minimalism and social improvement [Sinclair 1987: 930]. The simplicity of Eastern architecture (figure 14) influenced the codification of a modern architectural vocabulary. The modern architects were not only changing architecture, but also questioning old authorities - they wanted to change the world and make it better. Eastern architecture and lifestyle are good motivations for social improvements in the Western world.



Figure 13. Katsura Imperial Villa – *tatami* mats and movable panels screen

13 Credit: http://ecx.images-amazon.com/images/I/4164Y0XPNTL._SL500_AA300_.jpg
(Access: 05.03.2010)



Figure 14. Katsura - set of shelves and cabinets



14 Credit: <http://www.orientalarchitecture.com/japan/kyoto/photos/katsura35.jpg>
(Access: 05.03.2010)

Traditional Japanese woven mats (figure 13), *tatami* (meaning ‘folded and piled’), are made in uniform sizes that differ slightly between different regions in Japan [Tatami online]. Rules concerning the etiquette of seating and sleeping determined the arrangement of the *tatami* in the rooms (figures 15 and 16). The mats must not be laid in a grid pattern and in any layout there is never a point where the corners of three or four mats touch. In Japan, the size of a room has been measured by the number of *tatami* mats. The measure reflects the number of beds/mats to sleep on [Osamu 1994: 58-62].

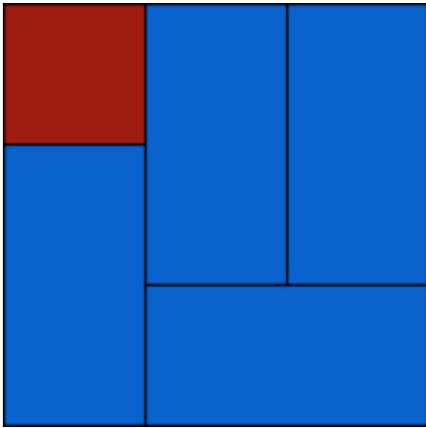


Figure 15. One possible layout of a 4 1/2 mat room. Figure 16. Takamatsu interior with *tatami* mats room.

15 Credit: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/91/Tatami_layout_1.svg/220px-Tatami_layout_1.svg.png (Access: 01.03.2010)

16 Credit: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/ththu/e/e1/Takamatsu-Castle-Building-Interior-M3488.jpg/800px-Takamatsu-Castle-Building-Interior-M3488.jpg> (Access: 28.02.2010)

The measure based on the number of mats on the floor is illustrated in the Le Corbusier's Modulor (figure 17 and 18) – his system for scale and architectural proportions. It was a more complex system and was a continuation of the long Western tradition of Vitruvius, Leonardo da Vinci's ‘Vitruvian Man’ (figure 17) and the work of Leon Battista Alberti. The proportions of the human body were used to improve the appearance and function of architecture. Le Corbusier explicitly used the golden ratio/section in his Modulor system for the scale of architectural proportion. The Japanese system is simpler and concentrates on improving the functionality of architecture rather than the design philosophy and faith in the mathematical order of the universe.

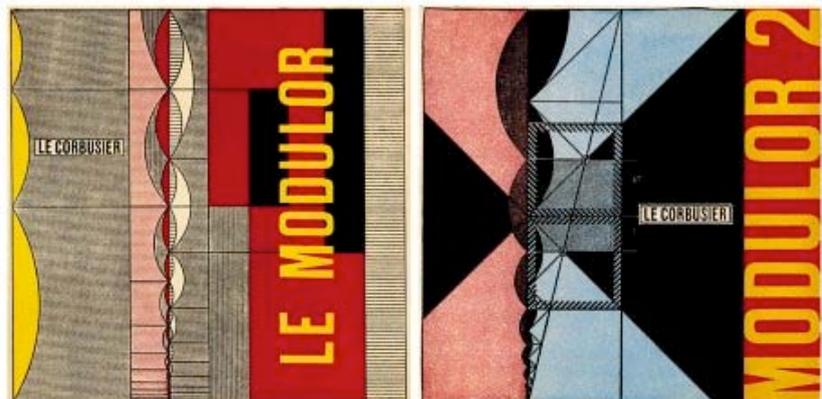
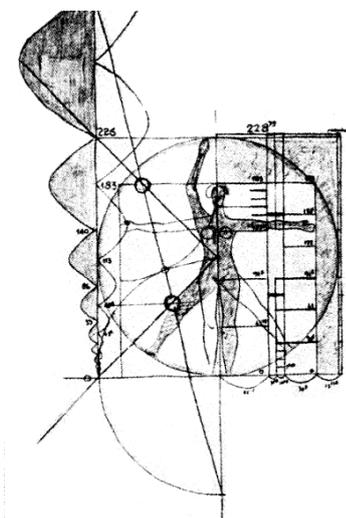


Figure 17. Modulor creation

Figure 18. Covers of Le Corbusier's books of 1948 and 1955

of the 'Vitruvian Man' by Le
Corbusier

17 Credit: <http://www.marcus-frings.de/bilder/nnj-abb9.gif> (Access: 01.07.2007)

18 Credit: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/d/df/Modulor-Modulor2.jpg>
(Access: 01.03.2010)

Maekawa Kunio (a student of Le Corbusier) and Kenzo Tange produced thoroughly international functional modern works. Tange first worked for Maekawa and supported this concept in his early career (but later fell in line with Postmodernism). Both architects were notable for infusing Japanese ideas into contemporary buildings, integrating gardens and sculpture into design, implementing traditional Japanese spatial concepts, and using the modular proportions of *tatami*. They used textures to brighten the ubiquitous concrete and steel. Tange followed the Le Corbusier tradition and then turned his attention toward the further exploration of geometric shapes and cubic silhouettes. He amalgamated Western high-technology building concepts with peculiarly Japanese spatial, functional, and decorative ideas to create a modern Japanese style. He applied the cantilever principle in a pillar and beam system reminiscent of ancient imperial palaces. Japanese traditional monumental timber structures became fundamental to his designs. Tange's National Gymnasiums for the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 (figure 20) are a dramatic expression of form and movement. The contrast and blending of pillars and walls and the sweeping roofs recalls the *tomoe* (an ancient Japanese abstract whorl-shaped heraldic symbol) – which resembles a comma and is a common design element in the family of Eastern emblems in Korea (*sam-taegeuk*), Tibet (*Gankyil*) and China (*yin-yang*) (figure 19).

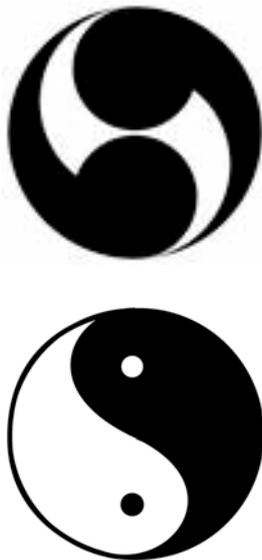


Figure 19. A two-fold *tomoe* and *yin-yang* Figure 20. National Gymnasiums, Tokyo
21 Credit: http://image.guardian.co.za.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/index_gifs/2005/03/23/APtangegyms3.jpg (Access: 05.03.2010)

Japanese aesthetic principles reflect Buddhist spatial ideas too. The architectural concept of the 'metabolism' of convertibility (dominant in the 1970s) provided for changing the functions of parts of buildings appropriate to their use, and continues to be influential.

Isozaki Arata, known mostly for his pioneer design of the New Wave of the late 1970s and 1980s and originally a student and associate of Tange, had a fondness for the cubic grid and the trabeated pergola in large-scale architecture. A number of striking variations in domestic-scale buildings and elongated buildings, such as constructing semicircular vaults and extended low

barrel vaulting, brought him wide recognition; his designs influenced architects of the 1980s. They modified and reconsidered the formal geometric structural ideas of Modernism by introducing metaphysical concepts and producing fantasy effects in architectural design. In contrast to these innovators, Tadao Ando represented an experimental poetic minimalism and expressed concerns for a more humanistic and balanced approach rather than the rigidity of formulation found in structural Modernism. His buildings provided a variety of light sources and spaces opening up to the outside air. He adapted the inner courtyards of traditional Japanese architecture. These ideas were widely applied in the 1980s when buildings were commonly planned around open courtyards often with stepped and terraced spaces, pedestrian walkways, or bridges connecting building complexes.

Japanese architects incorporated Western innovations into architecture combining traditional and modern styles after World War II when the need to rebuild stimulated Japanese architecture. With the implementation of Western building techniques, materials and styles, a new steel and concrete architecture was acquired which offered a strong contrast to traditional Japanese architecture. With the rapid growth of cities, steel mostly replaced wood (which is easily flammable in the case of earthquakes and bombing raids). Japanese cities sprouted modern skyscrapers reflecting the absorption/integration and transformation of modern Western forms. Japan played an important role in the modern cantilever design because of its long familiarity with this type or structural principle associated with supporting the weight of heavy tiled temple roofs. Frank Lloyd Wright was strongly influenced by Japanese cantilevers as well as spatial arrangements and the concept of interpenetrating interior and exterior spaces, which has been long achieved in Japan by opening up walls made of sliding screens.

The international strength of Eastern and particularly the input of Japanese architects (Kenzo Tange, Tadao Ando and Shigeru Ban) who produce important structure not only in their country of origin, but also abroad were awarded medals from the France's Prix de L'académie D'architecture. Three Japanese architects (Kenzo Tange, Fumihiko Maki and Tadao Ando) were awarded the Pritzker Architecture Prize (the equivalent of a Nobel Prize in architecture) to honour their talent, vision, commitment, and consistent and significant contributions to humanity and the built environment. These architects proved that they always have something individual and in-depth to contribute to world architecture and humanity. They were not only skilled practitioners in the modern idiom, but also enriched designs worldwide with innovative spatial perceptions, unusual use of materials, subtle surface texturing and an awareness of ecological problems.

Shigeru Ban is known around the world for his innovative work with paper, particularly recycled cardboard paper tubes (figure 21 and 22), to construct buildings and bridges. He was profiled by *Time* Magazine for his innovations in the field of architecture.



Figure 21. Shigeru Ban and his paper bridge



Figure 22. Nomadic Museum

21 Credit: <http://www.inhabitat.com/wp-content/uploads/shigerubanbridge1.jpg>
(Access:03.03.2010)

22 Credit: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d2/Nomadic_Museum_Tokyo_1.jpg (Access:03.03.2010)

Japanese architects strongly represented the East by creating outstanding international architecture, influencing others and having their own identity. Only in later accounts do Modernist pieces become bridges from the West to ‘approved/trained’ non-Western architects [Crinson 2003: 1-3]. Somehow the non-Western influence has been disregarded in the standard histories of Modern architecture and little room was left for real dialogue to take place between East and West in the mid-twentieth century.

The public appreciation of Japanese culture and the East became a fascination which many individuals admitted more or less openly. The discussion about influences and inspiration can provoke a lot of disputes. Sometimes influences and inspirations are openly stated by the individuals and movements, sometimes they are elaborated on by critics, but usually they are very complex and have a life of their own. When Frank Lloyd Wright was 26 years old when he practised architecture in Chicago and Japanese architecture was on display at the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893. He had been collecting Japanese prints for more than a decade before his first trip to Japan and he designed a home that clearly betrays the influence of Japan. He consistently rejected suggestions that Japanese architecture had any direct impact on his work. Wright maintained that he found in Japanese culture not the inspiration but the confirmation of his own organic design principles [Nute 1994: 169]. Wright denied that his love for Japanese art had influenced him. Any claim that he adapted Japanese forms were vehemently rejected as a false accusation. In contrast, Picasso openly claimed that the ‘virus’ of African art that struck him in Paris in 1907 (when he was 26 years old) stayed with him all his life although he never travelled to Africa. Only 100 years since Picasso's first encounter with African art, the exhibition in South Africa has been the strongest statement formalising the acknowledgement of the substantial influence of African art on Modernism [Martin 2006: online].

The East and Japan in particular have been described as an inspiration to Modernism proving that simplicity, human factors and a deep understanding of our natural environment should be the starting point of any design. The East has a lot to offer and communicates better and better, inspiring and adding real value to West. The Eastern interpretation and transformation of Modernist ideas illustrates a comprehensive understanding of nature combined with spiritual intensity. This spiritual intensity is not easy to investigate, explain and prove using formal, aesthetic and stylistic principles - it is more profound than that – it has a beauty springing from the deepest resonance of man and nature and the ability to translate the poetic essence of a place into form. Picking and choosing from ‘others’ may be intellectually stimulating, but the other cultures should speak for themselves and should not be understood solely through Western interpretation.

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**What makes women's life sustainable?
Investigating on abortion issues in Cambodia**

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**East Meets West in Pursuit of a Sustainable
World Asian Conference on the Social Sciences,
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**What makes women's life sustainable?
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Background

Twenty years ago, Feierman et Janzen document how the global interdependence of health determinants leads to the fact that any mortality and morbidity rates found locally is, at least partly, the result of political and economic international relations (1992 in Fassin 2001). Following this view, Fassin (Ibid.) also document how widely health becomes the subject of concern for states, of negotiation and conflict between international, national or local collectivities. He states that health is an object of public concern as well as a shared expression of recognition of health as a principle of legitimacy. Pushing further this proposition he argues that the imposition of bio legitimacy (as the power of life and not the bio power, the power over life as defined earlier by Foucault) as “become a crucial issue in the moral economies of contemporary societies” and “a generalized mode of governing.” The imposition of bio legitimacy results also in “deciding the sort of life people may or may not live” and such lead to define what he calls “bio inequalities”.

Using this theoretical framework, my aim is to explore various concerns related to maternal mortality as an example of “bio inequality” by excellence. Indeed, according to recent estimates, an absolute number of 529.000 women die each year during pregnancy, childbirth and within 40 days after birth. 99.6% of these women live in developing countries and in economic and social contexts where access to care is limited. Of all the health indicators monitored by the United Nations, Maternal mortality is also the biggest discrepancy between developed and developing countries (Main 2000). Since more than half centuries, many initiatives have been undertaken by various actors and institutions including the World Health Organization (WHO), UN organizations in charge of the health of mothers and children (UNICEF, UNFPA) and World Bank. The cause of maternal mortality and the efficient strategies to reduce it are well known since more than 30 years (Maine 2000). However in most of limited resources settings, maternal mortality is still very high.

My aim today is to look on this issue and to document *what makes women's life sustainable* in the case of Cambodia while investigating on abortion issue.

Objectives

In another term, my aim is to follow those given propositions and to explore from an anthropological perspective, what shape the maternal mortality rate in Cambodia, in focusing particularly on the maternal mortality case due to unsafe abortion.

Methodology

The study is based on an ongoing ethnographical research carried out since March 2008 in various health institutions in Phnom Penh, private and public, formal and informal, as well as in some karaoke place, massage place and garment factories. On other part of fieldwork was conducted rural province, mainly with peasants' women, nurse midwives, traditional birth attendants and social workers. Interviews related to contraceptives and abortive uses were conducted with 130 people (mainly women and 25 caregivers, 5 stakeholders). Various observation of reproductive health practices have been done in formal and informal sector of care.

Before to go in the Cambodian context, we need to give some key element related to the:

Social construction of maternal mortality as a public health problem

This issue has been documented by Campbell (2001) and it is very relevant to recall her findings in order to analyze further the situation in Cambodia. Besides the economic status of the country and configuration of the health system four ideologies have influenced maternal health policies: family planning, primary health care (PHC), neo-liberal economics and women's status. In the first half of the 20th century little attention was given to maternal health internationally. Most tropical medicine or international health efforts were oriented around war and trade and around the protective measures applied to colonizing population and its workforce. In 1958, in the report of the first 10 years of WHO maternal and child health was identified as an area of action.

By the 1970s, the family planning movement influenced those involved in maternal health. In 1974, WHO document clearly describes a maternal health strategy that prioritizes family planning as a way of improving maternal health. During the same period, the international women's health movement, which had emerged in the 1970s in the industrialized West, started global campaigns for women's rights and advocate for women's health issues to be added in the agenda donor agencies. They had also specific demands for abortion services (not for delivery services). Finally, in 1985, Rosenfield and Maine (1985) wrote a highly influential paper and put the issue of maternal mortality on the international health policy agenda.

The first international conference devoted to maternal mortality (Safe Motherhood Conference, Nairobi, Kenya, 10-13 February 1987) was sponsored by the World Bank,

WHO and UNFPA and led to the launch of the Safe Motherhood Initiative (SMI). In 1987 the international women's movement also launched a day of action focused around maternal mortality. Indeed it was not until the mid-1990s that international actors funded large-scale programmatic activity. Currently, various factors have shaped maternal mortality as political priority (particularly unacceptability of maternal death accepted as a global norm by international agencies, provision of financial and technical resources, deployment of evidence to show policymakers a problem existed) (Shiffman, 2007). It contributed to launch the "Millennium Development Goal" (MDG 5) initiative aiming at reducing maternal mortality by three quarters in 2015.

Now our main question is why do woman dye from abortion in Cambodia?

Maternal health issue

In Cambodia, the sanitary situation is not such an exception compared to other developing country. However, since the end of the Khmer Rouge regime Cambodia is the poorest country that receives each year more than the budget of the state from the UN and from various public and private donors. The governmental counterparts are supposed to use those millions dollars to strengthen the health system. However the main health indicators are still very bad. Such results are also mainly explained by various structural determinants as the lack of transparency in program's implementation, predation generally short term program, multiplicity of interlocutors and strategies. Low salary given to the staff, hierarchical relation between caregivers and remaining poverty are also eminent barriers to health access (Crochet 2008).

According to the last estimates, there are 377 000 births per year in Cambodia. Each day, five women die while giving birth and the maternal mortality rate is 472/100 000. Mortality rate for infants under 5 years is 82/1000 (UNICEF, 2008). Better management of mother and child health has been laid out as a priority by the government in the 'Health Strategic Plan 2008-2015', with specific actions to be implemented in this field. These activities are part of the Millennium Declaration signed by the Kingdom of Cambodia in September 2000, specifically Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 4 which aims to reduce child mortality, and MDG 5 which aims to reduce mother mortality, Despite many improvements noticed with the increasing number of prenatal consultations and deliveries made by qualified people over the last three years (NIPH, 2006), the main challenge is still the lack of midwives practicing in public health institutions, particularly in rural areas (Bunnack, 2009).

According to WHO (2004) maternal mortality rate related to abortions in Cambodia is 130/100 000. 26% of maternal deaths could be due to high-risks abortion practices. Considering that women death are not always declared and linked to unsafe abortion practices, this rate may be underestimated.

Until recently Cambodia was still restricting access to family planning services and contraceptive technologies (Sadana and Snowb, 1999). Since 1994, the National

Reproductive Health Program (NRHP) leads reproductive health activities in this country (MOH, 2005). The knowledge level concerning contraception is estimated as being rather high and fertility rates have considerably decreased for the last 20 years (6 in 1980, 3.3 in 2004). However, according to data provided by Cambodian Demographic and Health Survey (NIPH, 2006), contraceptive prevalence is at 27%. Since 1995, public health institutions provide contraceptive methods (condoms, oral or injectable contraceptives, contraceptive implant, intrauterine device, urgency contraceptive). Except free distribution of condoms, particularly by NGOs within HIV prevention programs, access to contraceptive methods is not free. Private clinics, local and international NGOs, caregivers of private and informal sector also provide a large part of those services. In spite of the availability of contraceptive, particularly in urban area, abortion is a common practice in Cambodia.

Legalization of abortion and its limitations

Following the International Conference on Population in Cairo in 1994 and its recommendations in term of unsafe abortion limitation¹, various international organizations and NGOs involved in the field of reproductive health launched activities aiming to provide prevention and post abortion care. The abortion law was reformed in 1997 in Cambodia. It allows abortion on request through the twelfth week of pregnancy and in certain circumstances during the second trimester. Nevertheless, liberal abortion laws, however, do not guarantee that women can obtain safe abortions. In 2007, ten years after the law promulgation, the Ministry of Health 2007, had not established medical protocols in order to implement safe abortion activities. Few services are available in the public sector to furnish this service (IPAS 2008). According to a recent study, 40% of caregivers interviewed ignore that abortion for less than 12 weeks of pregnancy is legal in Cambodia (Hemmings and Rolfe 2008). The care givers that we met were also not aware of abortion practices legalization in specified circumstances; they had no idea of the term of pregnancy, practices conditions, the health structures location where legal abortion is available.

As documented by various scholars, it is well known than in Cambodia, a promulgation of a law does not guaranty its further implementation. Indeed, funds provided by the international community, development norms, ideology and jargon, and international experts are always welcomed in Cambodia. However, it appears that they are often subjected to local interpretations in the Cambodian political frame (Mikaelian 2008).

Now I would like to take a broader perspective in order to describe also, how international politics of health impact on women daily life in Cambodia. In Cambodia, 2/3 of the public expenses in term of the health are supported by international organizations. In the field of reproductive health and family planning the US is the most important donors via the USAID Agency. Thus what has become known as the "Mexico

¹ During and after the ICPD, some interested parties attempted to interpret the term 'reproductive health' in the sense that it implies abortion as a means of family planning or, indeed, a right to abortion. These interpretations, however, do not reflect the consensus reached at the Conference (UNFPA 1995).

City Policy" and referred as "global gag rule" by NGOs have had a tremendous impact on reproductive health in Cambodia. Indeed, under this policy, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has to stop any activities related to abortion access and to withhold USAID funds from NGOs that use non-USAID funds to engage in a wide range of activities, including providing advice, counseling, or information regarding abortion, or lobbying a foreign government to legalize or make abortion available. Locally, International Organizations providing abortion have also been condemned by Christian aid organization and force to close their programs. On 23 January 2009, President Obama lifted a ban on U.S. funding for international health groups that perform abortions, promote legalizing the procedure or provide counseling about terminating pregnancies (Obama 2009). Since, many organizations do start new activities related to safe abortion access in Cambodia.

Why do Cambodian women seek abortion?

Limited access to birth spacing information and methods

Pre-marital sex is widely socially disapproved of in Cambodia, and unmarried women are not supposed to have access to information related to sexuality and reproductive health. However, various data suggest that for various reasons that I will not detailed here, it is a commonplace for unmarried women to be involved in sexual relationships often leading them to unplanned pregnancy.

Besides, various scholars document the high unmet need for family planning, with the 25% reported in the CDHS 2005 likely to be an underestimate. However under use of contraceptives method appears to be linked with a what is called a "poor understanding of side effects" and what woman declared as a "poor tolerance" of its. Let us describe from an emic perspective how women deal with contraceptives method.

Social representations related to menstrual blood

Researching on issues related to the social organization of reproduction in Cambodia, various authors documents popular representation and practices on menstrual blood and cycle. Menstruation is described as the process that renew the blood of woman and that man do not have (Crochet, 2001). According to a popular belief in Cambodia, there are 14 days of fertility. It begins several days before menstruation and ends seven days after the end of menstruation (Sadana and Snowb, 1999, Ministry of Health, 1998). During this period, the uterus is supposed to be opened, allowing penetration as well as evacuation of blood and sperm (Chap and Escoffier, 1996). An abundant blood discharge during the menstrual period is viewed as a sign of good health and fertility.

Popular representation related to contraceptives methods

Some authors previously reported that modern contraceptives are perceived in Cambodia as methods which prevent pregnancy by altering the body temperature. It is often

thought that to conceive a child, a woman must be in good health, with a regular menstrual cycle and a cold body temperature (Fishma et al., 1998; Van de Put, 1995; Chap and Escoffier, 1996). Our data pointed out that medicinal contraceptives are often perceived by many women as being at the root of badly tolerated physical disorders (nauseas, vomiting, headaches, irregular bleedings, absence of menstruation, weight fluctuation). Moreover, according to them, medicines intake is altering the body (apparition of black spots on the skin, paleness, weight gain). Finally, fear of infertility due to a long-term use of oral contraceptives is often reported. Such signs lead women on specific “contraceptive itinerary”. They suspend or cease definitely modern contraceptive methods, or change methods, or have recourse again to traditional methods, or use condoms temporarily and/or punctually. At last, many young women fear side effects they hear about and don’t use any modern contraceptive method. In this context, occurrence of unwanted pregnancies and recourse to medical abortion, by aspiration or by the curettage method, are very common in Cambodia.

Many interviewed women stressed also that contraceptive use would be similar to a chronic disease whereas abortion would only be an acute pathologic episode and without consequences. In care institutions visited, there was no patient prescription for blood analysis in order to evaluate their tolerance to this medicine and the most adapted method. Thus, only women having enough incomes can buy better quality pills with fewer side effects. Most of women we met, often from urban or modest rural environment, bought the “OK pill” or other brand pills in specific care places, or pharmacies or in markets. Many are given depoprovera injection by itinerant caregivers that are not always trained in the biomedical system. Also, we need to stress that no investigation has been done yet on the quality of contraceptives drugs available in Cambodia. Taking in to account the existence of fake medicine widely spread in this country and in the neighborhood countries (Newton et al., 2002), the counterfeit drug trade, unregulated pharmaceutical companies, and the business interests need also not to be ignored.

Why do Cambodian women go for unsafe abortion?

Abortion is common in Cambodia and several public health studies have documented the extent of this problem (Curtis 2007, Delvaux et al. 2003, Feters and Samandari 2009, Rathavy et al. 2007). Recently, the study conducted by Feters and Samandary (2009) concludes that Cambodia’s current abortion rate and ratio could be among the highest in Southeast Asia. Although termination of pregnancy has been legal in the Kingdom of Cambodia since 1997 most induced abortions are still being performed by unskilled or at least untrained abortion providers., a number of barriers to safe termination services persist and many women continue to induce their own terminations or seek unsafe services that result in complications requiring ‘post-abortion’ care (Feters, Vonthanak et al. 2008).

Indeed, abortion cost is very high in Cambodia 20 to 30 USD in public institutions and 50 to 150 USD in private clinic. Such cost that majority of women can’t afford to pay.

For example, a 38 year old married woman who had had several abortions with several different practitioners in informal settings said the following:

“Well, I’ve gone to several places for abortion. It was at the health workers’ houses, as you know, and the hygiene isn’t the same as in the hospitals, the hygiene in those health workers’ houses is lower than in the hospitals. But if you go to the hospital, it’s expensive. You can’t afford to pay!”

A part from economical reasons, other factors related to the hierarchical care givers-patient (Guillou 2009) lead women to go to private « neo traditional » practitioners through their family, neighboring or colleagues networks. Also for many women the informal sector of care appears more appropriate to overcome taboos and preserve intimacy.

Here is the comment of Mrs. Thol, midwife since nearly 30 years who told us having provided “abortion for thousands and thousands women” She said:

“Some clients came to my place for abortion and for some, they didn’t want due to they were shy to be recognized by some people. So they call me to provide abortion at their homes especially when there’s nobody there. Some women who are pregnant with their partners, and they do not want their relatives being aware of that. For instant, many women garment workers are pregnant with their boyfriends or sometimes with married men, so they cannot keep the baby. They call me to provide abortion at their rooms, when their roommates are not there and neighbours gone to work”

Several caregivers have reported cases of women who had recourse to high-risk abortion practices in informal care system and who had to be taken in their care services due to infectious complications, bleedings, inertia or uterine perforation. Several studies describe traditional abortion method used in Cambodia by traditional birth attendants (TBA) and *kru Khmer* (abdominal massage, decoction, insertion of plants in the vagina and uterine cervix) (MOH 2006). TBA we met in Kompong Chnang province report that they use their thumbs to give sharp hits on the belly. A *Kru Khmer* practicing in Phnom Penh outskirts confides that he has developed a formula with abortive property, based on plants and minerals he anticipated to be validated by the Ministry of Health Department in charge of traditional medicines revitalization program. Many illicit abortion practices by curettage or aspiration are performed by health workers trained in biomedical settings (nurses, midwives) or by non-trained persons. We have met some of those caregivers practicing in informal care sectors and have noticed precarious locations and used material: used and corroded scissors, clamp and curette, multiple use of the same abortion kit containing a 500 ml syringe and a cannula bought in a market from 8 to 15 USD depending of the material origin.

Our investigation underlines how and to which extents abortion practices may be at risk when they are performed by trained or non-trained caregivers, practicing outside the formal health care setting. We also wonder if in some circumstances such practices may

be at risks when they are performed “informally”, particularly during night and week end by caregivers in the public sector of care. Finally, because of expensive cost of abortions in institutions allowed to provide this service, many women have recourse to informal care sector, where used material and techniques as well as the lack of trainings for practitioners seem to be at the origin of hemorrhagic risks and consequent infections.

Implementation and effects of safe abortion practices

Since 2008, various actions are launched by local authorities, international organizations and NGOs in order “save women lives” while improving safe abortion access. Those programs are launched under the Millenium Development Goal 5 initiative aiming to reduce the maternal mortality. In some place women are given coupon in order to access to free and safe delivery and post abortion care. The Ministry of Health began to establish medical protocols in order to implement safe abortion activities in the public sector. Caregivers working in the public sector are receiving training in various places and one abortive pill use called Metabon is now legal and legitimized.

Those programs mostly aim to solve the lack of technical guidance and training in safe abortion for providers, the lack of equipment to conduct safe abortions, the lack of reliable information regarding preventing unwanted pregnancies and accessing reproductive health services. However we may wonder how and to which extents such activities may have an impact on limiting the lucrative business opportunities have created a thriving market in unsafe abortion services, the unwillingness of providers to conduct abortions in government facilities, the unwillingness of clients to use government facilities for abortion services as well as the negative provider attitude towards treating the poor and adolescents. Such factors are embedded in the historical construction of the role of caregivers in Cambodia (Guillou 2009) as well as in the whole political, economical and social interrelations that despite three decade of intervention, development ideologies mostly fail to tackle in Cambodia.

Conclusion

After decades of limitation in donor’s involvement and activities implementation in the field of maternal health, it seems that recently, under the MDG 5, maternal mortality issues as been defined as a priority. This international recognition may be interpreted as an imposition of a new form of bio legitimacy. In other term, over the world, pregnant women are supposed to have gained a ‘bio-logical citizenship’ (Fassin 2009).

In asking this provocative question “*What makes women lives sustainable?*” my aim was to investigate the construction of maternal mortality issue as a form of bio legitimacy at international and at local level. Then I described from various perspective what shape maternal mortality due to unsafe abortion in Cambodia and what is currently done to reduce it. However, we may wonder about the efficiency of such activities to achieve the

proposed objectives as they rarely consider the overall context of health decision making in the Cambodian environment.

Furthermore, recalling the slogan expressed at the 1978 Alma Ata Primary Health Conference "Health for All by the Year 2000" and considering public health as a discursive practice as well as the public health rhetoric as recurrence of themes, interrogations and polemics (Fassin 2000) we may wonder about the deep signification of the MDG5 declaration. If such strategy seems actually efficient in mobilizing donors and key actors we need to continuously observe and analyze the effective deployment of what has been promise and the sustainability given to what is now defined as a priority. Lastly, in the new configuration of world order and political forces, we need also to consider how and to which extends the international recognition of maternal mortality as a priority may also be, as quote by Fassin a form of "the reappropriation of the rhetoric in service of broader and diffuse political issues" (2000:71).

To end, and in thinking of all those Cambodian women I met who put their life at risk while having an abortion because they fear to lose their partners, their job, or the family support I would like to stress a final question "Could gender equality makes women's life sustainable?" Rather than to focus on how gender inequalities shape maternal mortality, which has already been highly documented, further research are needed in this field. Indeed, maternal mortality issue seems to offer a relevant entry point to go beyond the analysis of the gender hierarchy as proposed by Butler (1990) and to foresee the conditions of its production.

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Cultural Rules and Patterning in the Food Systems of *Orang Asli Temiar*: Indigenous People of Peninsular Malaysia

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Introduction

This paper looks at how cultural rules and patterning in the food systems of the indigenous *Temiar* people of peninsular Malaysia have changed as some *Temiar* communities experience the process of urbanization in rapidly developing Malaysia.

Indigenous people as described by Durning (1992), are the rapidly changing and geographically diverse populations known by different names in different parts of the world, for example small nationalities, remote area dwellers, tribes, aboriginal peoples, primitive tribal groups, *orang asli*, native peoples, autochthonous peoples, First Nations, or Founding Nations. These people are defined as the original inhabitants of areas that became occupied by more powerful outsiders, and whose language, culture and/or religion remain distinct from the dominant group. They often consider themselves caretakers-not-owners-of their land and resources, often maintaining ties to subsistence economies derived from hunting-gathering, fishing, nomadic or seasonal herding, shifting forest farming, or subsistence peasant cultivation (Durning, 1992).

The *Orang Asli*, are the indigenous minority peoples of Peninsular Malaysia, and number more than 150,000 people. *Orang Asli* is a Malay term which translates as 'original people' or 'first people'. They are generally classified under three main groups (Negrito, Senoi and Proto Malay) with each group comprising 6 sub-groups with ethno-linguistic differences (JHEOA, 1997, see Figure 1). They reside in scattered villages, camps and estates, in the rainforest, mountains, and coasts, as well as in some towns and cities.

The *Orang Asli*, nevertheless, are not a homogeneous group. Each sub-ethnic group has its own languages ranging from forms of Austroasiatic to Austronesian dialects almost indistinguishable from Malay; equally various cultural values and forms of social organization. Each sub-group perceives itself as different from the others (Laderman, 1987; Nicholas, 1997). The *Orang Asli* have equally varied occupations and ways of life (Nicholas, 1997) and also vary in their accommodations to the environment from foraging, through shifting agriculture, to sedentary village life (Laderman, 1987).

The *Orang Asli* are a peripheral community of Malaysia due to their impoverished condition and lack of access to resources. According to Kessler (1993), the definition of marginal or peripheral communities is 'communities that consist of small populations with somewhat fundamental technology where they usually work with simple basic tools'. Another definition of marginal communities is that 'they are basically poor, having limited access to or control over the country's material resources' (King and Parnwell, 1990). These communities also lack infrastructure and basic amenities such as piped water, electricity, sanitary latrine, adequate housing and health care services.

Figure 1: Groups and sub-ethnic groups of Indigenous People of Malaysia and the location

Groups	Sub-ethnic groups	Location
Senoi	Semai Temiar Jah Hut Mah Meri or Ma' Betisek Che Wong Semoq Beri	Perak, Pahang, Kelantan, Selangor, Terengganu
Negrito	Jahai Kintak Kensiu Lanoh Bateq (nomadic) Mendriq	Kelantan, Perak, Pahang, Kedah, Terengganu
Proto Malay	Semelai Temuan or Belandas Jakun Orang Kanaq Orang Kuala Orang Seletar	Pahang, Johor, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan

Source: JHEOA, 1997

Culture is defined by Gittelsohn and Vastine (2003) as the set of rules and norms that are used to guide behavior of a group of people. Culture also has several properties: it is shared, learned, symbolic, transmitted cross-generationally ((Axelson, 1986; Bodley, 1994; Gittelsohn and Vastine, 2003), adaptive, and integrated (Bodley, 1994). Culture is not biologically inherited, and involves arbitrarily assigned, symbolic meanings (Bodley, 1994). The present generations are the product of previous generations, not only biologically but also culturally (Llobera, 1999). The primary locale for this transference is the household. Culture determined what appropriate and inappropriate foods are, and this has had an impact on the nutritional values of the community.

Processes of urbanization have transformed many developing countries into key players in the world market economy. People have migrated from the rural areas to the towns and cities for reasons such as: biased education in the rural areas, income disparities between rural and urban income, better urban facilities or the lure of the city (den Hartog, 1981). McIntosh (1996) describing the theory of assimilation, or inclusion, maintains that as individuals migrate, their national and ethnic beliefs, and attachments will subside once exposed to the forces of cultural and structural inclusion. Mennell et al. (1992) observed that food habits changed in response to changing social and ecological conditions. Adaptive food patterns were learned and passed on to successive generation through socialization (McIntosh, 1996). However, Alba's (1991) research subjects reported that while the first generation of migrants successfully passed on food traditions, their authenticity decreased with each successive generation.

The concept of a 'food system' is used widely in agriculture, food science, nutrition and medicine to explain the complex set of activities involved in providing food for sustenance and nutrients for maintaining health (Sobal et al., 1998). The *Temiar* of Peninsular Malaysia have their own unique food system and eating patterns. The term 'traditional food system' is used below to identify all food items available from local, natural resources and which is culturally acceptable. The dietary pattern of indigenous people worldwide is changing to one containing many manufactured, processed, and otherwise non-traditional food (Whiting and Mackenzie, 1998). A traditional food item as defined by Kuhnlein and Chan (2000) is one from a range of local wild animals and plants and agricultural species. The harvesting activity and preparation of these traditional foods are often important parts of community life (Kuhnlein and Chan, 2000). For indigenous people, changes in lifestyle such as the shift to permanent housing, have led to a reduction in hunting and gathering and thus, a reduction in physical activity, along with a reduction in consumption of traditional foods (Whiting and Mackenzie, 1998).

Changes in the world economy have led indigenous peoples to take advantage of resources beyond those available in the local environment but the extent of development has not been consistent for all. Many communities still rely on traditional food items, by choice or by necessity, yet the extent of processed foods is still considerable (Kuhnlein & Chan, 2000). Recent work by Kuhnlein et al. (2004) suggests that indigenous peoples are recognized as having unique cultural, social and health needs, but are often expected to adapt within larger mainstream societies. Whether they live in resettlements, or are integrated within the population of their countries, or maintain residence in large territories under their own control, they strive to maintain close cultural ties to land and nature, and to the food resources they provide.

Urbanization means that more people cannot grow or gather their own food, but will depend on cash income for food and nutrition (den Hartog, 1981). Kuhnlein and Receveur (1996) indicate that the acquisition and selection of food can be dependant on income. They also added that the indigenous peoples are undergoing transition to a wage-based economy which would lead to decreased access to land use and decreased harvesting. The concept of affordability also includes the amount of time and personal energy available to harvest and prepare traditional food items.

This paper reports on a study to investigate the cultural practice and food systems of the aboriginal people of Peninsular Malaysia. The *Orang Asli Temiar* are undergoing dietary change, whether they live in forest, resettlement, or urban areas but this phenomenon has been little studied in Malaysia. The purpose is to understand how the *Temiar* relate to their traditional food systems in modern times, to understand the process of change in their food systems, and their changing patterns of food use. The outcome of this study will be useful for the Malaysian government in planning food and nutrition interventions for *Orang Asli* communities.

Background and setting

Three different locations of *Orang Asli Temiar* in Kelantan and one location of *Orang Asli Temiar* in Selangor were selected for the distinct purpose of comparing and contrasting the populations. The four different locations in this project which represent different lifestyle experiences of the *Orang Asli Temiar* were: Pos Tohoi and Pos Simpor, Kelantan, representing the experiences of *Temiar* who live in the forest; *Rancangan Pengumpulan Semula Orang Asli* (RPSOA) in Kuala Betis,

Kelantan which is a resettlement area; and Batu 12 in Gombak, Selangor, representing the experiences of *Temiar* who live in town.

In all locations, the unit of analysis for fieldwork study was the household, since the household is the locus of so many food decisions. A household was defined as a set of individuals from a nuclear family or from an extended family. A conjugal or nuclear family consists of one couple and children while an extended family includes more than one couple and children and sometimes other nuclear families. However, regardless of the size of the household, the owner of the house was always the head of the household with his wife.

All research participants in all selected locations were between the ages of 20 years old and 60 years old. In terms of occupation, most male participants in Pos Simpoh were rubber tappers. However, in Pos Tohoi, over a third of male participants were private employees, while around two thirds made a living through odd jobs or small-scale farming and agriculture. Half the male participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis were government employees and in Batu 12, Gombak, half of the male participants were retired. All female participants in Pos Simpoh, Pos Tohoi and Batu 12, Gombak listed homemaker as their principal occupations. However, half the female participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis were government employees.

Reporting of household income was grouped into three categories, <RM500 (A\$195.00), RM501-RM1000 and >RM1000 per month. More than half of the household participants in Pos Simpoh and Pos Tohoi earned less than RM500 monthly, while the majority of household participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis and Batu 12, Gombak reported an income of between RM501 and RM1000 at the time of the survey. Only a quarter of household participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis earned more than RM1000 monthly. The results on reported household income combined with occupational category suggests that most households in the study were of lower socioeconomic status, compared to the poverty baseline in Peninsular Malaysia of RM467 per month per five people in one household.

The majority of households had access only to shared and untreated piped water. All household participants in Pos Simpoh and Pos Tohoi received untreated piped water and were sharing with others. Some households in RPSOA Kuala Betis received treated piped water, but two households here received no piped water at all. Half of the households in Batu 12, Gombak received treated piped water.

In RPSOA Kuala Betis and Batu 12, Gombak, all households were provided with mains electricity. Three-quarters of the household participants in Pos Simpoh were using solar power generation and a quarter was using a generator. There was no mains electricity in Pos Tohoi. Households used other sources of power generation for electricity and light. As mentioned before, for the locations of Pos Simpoh and Pos Tohoi, which were in the forest, it was very difficult for them to receive mains electricity. There were electricity pillars in Pos Tohoi but no electricity supply. They used to receive electricity from a big generator but it was broke down so they had to switch to other sources of light such as kerosene lamps and torches. RPSOA Kuala Betis and Batu 12, Gombak were situated in more accessible areas and there was no problem in electricity supply for *Temiar* households.

Research Design

This is a comparative case study using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Comparative research as defined by Neuman (2003: 422) explores “patterns of similarities and differences across cases and try to come to terms with their

diversity”. Thus, a mixed qualitative-quantitative research designs was chosen for this study to compare four different locations which represent different lifestyles experiences of *Orang Asli Temiar* in Peninsular Malaysia.

This combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches which also incorporates a combination of different qualitative methods is known as methodological triangulation (Flick, 2002). Triangulation was used in this study in order to gain richness and relevant information, and to get both a broad and a deep view. The survey established the socioeconomic status and demographic profile of the selected populations. Observations made by the doctoral researcher provided data on source of food items, meal preparation and food consumed in households. Interviews consisted of broadly themed questions which invited interviewees to share information about their acquisition and selection of food, meal times, how they prepare their food, food allocation and the serving order of prepared food.

This study aims to hear the voices of *Temiar*. The gathering of both quantitative and qualitative data took place between January and June 2008. Prior consent was obtained from each study participant before data collection. Although this study does not claim to be representative of all *Orang Asli Temiar* in Peninsular Malaysia, the data collected and presented is rich in depth and scope. The research procedures were fully approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Newcastle. The approval number was H-592-0907.

Data Analysis

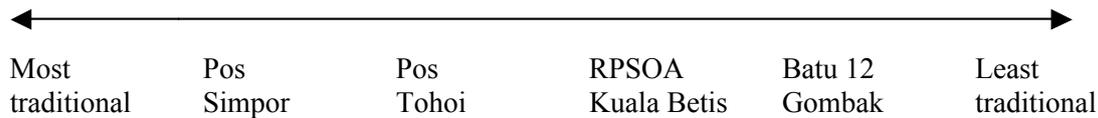
All participants agreed that data gathered in the study could be published. Interviews and focus group discussions were audio-taped and video recorded (with permission) and these tapes were then transcribed from oral language to written language. Observation notes were analysed for patterns, themes and categories. All the transcripts were coded and categorized as either a main category or sub category and then ‘thematized’ using the software package for handling qualitative data, NVivo 8. Demographic and other categorical (descriptive) information relating to each participant from the survey was also entered alongside other data records into NVivo and later used to establish categories and thematic links between selected locations. The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) for Windows version 16 was used to code and analyse the data collected from surveys, in the form of descriptive statistics such as background information and socioeconomic status.

Results and Discussions

Acquisition and selection of food sources

In this study, the *Temiar* were categorized according to their locations from the most traditional *Temiar* population, Pos Simpor which can be found in the forest to the least traditional population, Batu 12, Gombak (see Diagram 1).

Diagram 1: Categorization of research locations



From the interviews, I found that the *Temiar* daily diet basically consists of the main staple: cassava for the most traditional community and rice for the least traditional community. The main staple was complemented with fish or meat and vegetables. According to Jonsson et al. (2002) staple foods products are important to create the feeling of satisfaction and must be included in a culturally complete meal.

McIntosh (1996) points out that less modern community make extensive use of the animals and plants available in their surrounding. The *Temiar* participants who live in Pos Simpör which is situated in a remote area reported that they rely mostly on food sources from the river and forest. Their diet is supplemented by hunting, gathering, fishing, and sometimes by purchasing food. Their remote location means they lack access to shops or markets and thus depend on the travelling vendor who visits the village twice a month. While the *Temiar* who live in Pos Tohoi also rely on hunting, gathering and fishing, they have greater purchasing power than *Temiar* in Pos Simpör—evidenced by a grocery shop in Pos Tohoi and a travelling vendor from Kuala Betis who comes to the village on a weekly basis. Meanwhile, *Temiar* participants who live in RPSOA Kuala Betis reported that they have greater food choice again than those *Temiar* in Pos Simpör and Pos Tohoi. Their diet is supplemented mostly by purchasing food from shops and markets in Kuala Betis or Gua Musang. The Batu 12, Gombak participants reported that their diet is made up of purchased foods rather than items obtained from hunting, gathering and fishing like the *Temiar* in Pos Simpör and Pos Tohoi. They are even more dependent on purchased foods than the *Temiar* in RPSOA Kuala Betis.

When discussing the hunting activity done by the community at Pos Simpör and Pos Tohoi, the participants reported that animals are hunted by the men who go together on expeditions with blow pipes, poison darts and shotguns. Sometimes an individual may go off on his own for the day and bring back smaller game such as rat, frog and birds. Wild pig can only be eaten by men because the pig's blood is considered harmful to the women and children. They also mentioned that the preparation, for example, cleaning and cooking of the wild pig, is done by men away from their house as there is a belief regarding the blood of the wild pig. All participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis agree that hunting, gathering and fishing are done mostly as an activity to hunt for game that is not available in shops or market, to gather green leafy vegetable such as fern shoots and to pass their leisure time. The Batu 12, Gombak participants also noted that hunting is done sometimes to catch animals that are not available in a local market. They added that the blow pipe is sometimes used to hunt animals and is also used among the young *Temiar* males as a source of entertainment where they go into the forest to test their blowing accuracy.

The *Temiar* participants in Pos Simpör and Pos Tohoi stated that they rely primarily on cassava tuber and shoots as their main dish through out the day. Other plants are an addition to the main staple, cassava. Some participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis identified rice as the most important staple food, while some participants preferred cassava.

The *Temiar* in Pos Simpoh and Pos Tohoi still rely on their own vegetable patches to supply raw foods such as spinach, beans, sweet potato and cassava shoots. They added that their vegetables are only for their private consumption and are not produced for sale. Some women in RPSOA Kuala Betis reported to have a small vegetable patch where they plant cassava, beans, eggplant and spinach for their own consumption. Most of them prefer to buy vegetables such as cabbage, mustard and other raw foods. One participant claims that the soil is not fertile enough any more for her to plant anything:

“Takdelah, tanam tak jadi sini kan, tak subur.”

“No, I can’t plant here, it is not fertile.” (Hamizun, April, 2008)

However, all participants in Batu 12, Gombak stated that there is no space for them to plant a vegetable patch though some have planted fruit trees in the reserve forest near their village. They also tried to plant cassava and hill rice but with no success due to wild pigs and birds.

When asked about gathering, all participants in all research locations reported they do some gathering of various types of fungi and green leafy vegetables such as fern shoots and herbs or medicinal roots such as ‘Kacip Fatimah’ with their daughters. Gathering of the medicinal roots is done for their own consumption or when there is a request from a potential buyer. One of the participants in Batu 12, Gombak says that she gathers medicinal roots when there is a demand from buyers:

“... macam diaorang mintak apa Kacip Fatimah, Kacip Fatimah ke apa, Tongkat Ali ke, diaorang mintak kita yang cari lah, jual.”

“... for example when they ask for ‘Kacip Fatimah’, ‘Kacip Fatimah’ or ‘Tongkat Ali’, when they ask for it, we gather and sell it to them.”

(Jaloma, May, 2008)

The accessibility and availability of numerous sources of food from shops and markets for the *Temiar* in RPSOA Kuala Betis and Batu 12, Gombak make them dependent on money to maintain this type of modern lifestyle. Coveney and Baum (1996) found that supplies of food items are affected by access to shopping facilities. The *Temiar* in RPSOA Kuala Betis and Batu 12, Gombak are more likely to shop frequently compared to the *Temiar* in Pos Simpoh and Pos Tohoi. They are no longer dependent on hunting, gathering, trapping and fishing to supply their food sources. Although some participants reported that they still hunt, gather and fish, these activities are rare and tend only to be done if they feel like eating foods that are not found in shops or markets.

When asked about purchasing food, the *Temiar* participants in RPSOA feel like purchasing is much easier for them to get food items rather than going into the forest to hunt and gather. Their life has changed to a more government dependent - sedentary lifestyle. They spent less time engaging in physical activity such as ‘slash and burn’ cultivation and hunting wild animals. The *Temiar* in Batu 12, Gombak had a lifestyle similar to the *Temiar* who live in RPSOA—even though they have more exposure to the modern world they still return to their traditional food system at times.

Meal times

For *Temiar* in all locations, a ‘real meal’ consists of starchy food like cassava root or rice, plus fish, frogs and fern shoots, for example. Cassava root is the most

sought after food among *Temiar* because of two advantages. First, cassava produces more food per acre than any other crop. Second, cassava roots do not rot if left in the ground so that there is no need to rush to get the harvest in at any specific time (Dentan, 1968).

One key informant reported that traditionally, there are no set meal times in *Temiar* community. She then added that, as time has passed, the *Temiar* are beginning to follow the Malay pattern of three meals a day; breakfast, lunch and dinner. From the interviews, I found that the *Temiar* in all research locations have a preference of food for each meal. During breakfast, the *Temiar* participants in Pos Simpoh, Pos Tohoi and some participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis prefer to eat baked or boiled cassava roots and sometimes they eat *tepung*, a type of food that was made from mixing flour, water and salt, and then fried. Participants in Pos Simpoh and Pos Tohoi said that sometimes they only have a drink for example tea before starting their day. They added that they will never begin their new day with an empty stomach. Some participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis and participants in Batu 12, Gombak however prefer to eat bread, biscuits, fried noodle or fried rice:

“Biskut ke roti masa ada atau pun dia buat mee goreng, masa ‘mood’ baik nak makan mee goreng, sedia mee goreng.”

“Biscuits or bread, if there is any or she cook fried noodle, if there is feeling of eating fried noodle, fried noodle then.” (Abus, April, 2008)

Lunch is normally served between 12 noon and 1 pm. When the participants were asked what their preferred food is during lunch, all participants in Pos Simpoh, Pos Tohoi and some participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis stated that they choose to eat cassava root, baked or boiled together with fish or other meats and vegetables such as cassava shoots. However, some participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis and all participants in Batu 12, Gombak prefer to eat rice with fish or other meats and vegetables compared to cassava. From my observations, the difference of preferences is actually based on the availability and accessibility of the cassava and rice in their location. Participants in Batu 12, Gombak mentioned that they only eat boiled or baked cassava when there are special occasion or they crave for it since they have not been eating it for a long time. They added that cassava root is not easily available around their house like when they were in the village, they have to buy it at local shop.

Dinner was generally the last meal of the day and consumed around 6 to 8pm. Participants in all location reported that dishes for dinner are usually the same as lunch. When asked with whom they usually eat, either with family members or separately, participants in all research location agreed that they eat together with other family members:

“Kita semua makan ramai-ramai... he... he... (ketawa). Makcik tak biasa masa dulu sampai sekarang makcik, kira anak makcik kena makan ramai-ramai.”

“We all eat together...he...he... (laugh). My children and I always eat together until now.” (Halimah, May, 2008)

Participants in Batu 12, Gombak added that they will invite friends or neighbours to share meals with them if they happen to be eating when the neighbour comes by. According to one participant, they must share the food even if they only

have a little because the owner of the house might catch a disease if they failed to do so:

“Adat kami orang tu cakap ‘genhak’... aa... tak boleh tu lah... kalau kita tak bagi orang. Macam-macam penyakit la berlaku, kena bagi orang tu, sama rata makan.”

“Our custom we called ‘genhak’... aa... it can’t... if we failed to give other people. A lot of disease will happen, have to give to that person, eat together.”
(Mahani, June, 2008)

When asked whether there is any serving priority during meals, participants in all selected locations agree that everyone was served equally and there is no preferential distribution among the family members. The *Temiar* do not exhibit gender preferences in the allocation of foods. However, one key informant mentioned that in the old days, the males were given priority out of respect compared to females and children. In summary, meal time in this study is a time for the participants in all locations to strengthen the family bond and to share stories of what they have done that day. Meals gather the minority ethnic group together and strengthen their feeling of identity (Lupton, 1998). Moreover, foods served act as a form of social interaction or social relationship, if they are refused this can be misunderstood as unwillingness to establish or maintain a relationship.

Food Preparation

According to Fieldhouse (1995) methods of food preparation are diverse and many; they are related to types of food available, to the state of the material culture and to the cultural needs and preferences of the society. In the most traditional *Temiar* community, Pos Simpor, the study participants relied on a wood stove. Their location in the forest prevents them from using a gas stove as the gas supply was difficult to get. Meanwhile, Pos Tohoi household participants reported using both gas and wood stoves to prepare their food. This is because they lived close to RPSOA Kuala Betis and the gas supply was more readily accessible. Sometimes they used the wood stove to supply the heat they need especially during the wet season when the weather is cool and for preparing food in the traditional way. All household participants in RPSOA Kuala Betis and Batu 12, Gombak reported the gas stove as their most common method for preparing food. However, three quarters of households in Batu 12, Gombak still used both gas and wood stoves in preparing their food. A wood stove was used to prepare their food in a traditional way by using bamboo replacing the cooking pot or pan.

When I inquired how they prepare food in a traditional way, the study participants explained that they used bamboo instead of modern cooking utensils. They added that food cooked in bamboo will have a pleasant smell. When the men decide to go hunting, they will prepare food, usually *lemang ubi* (a type of food made from cassava root), which is baked in a length of bamboo. This food will last for days until the men return to the village:

“Biasanya kalau lemang ubi ni, biasanya kalau macam dia nak pergi dalam hutan kan. Pergi memburu ka, nak gi menjala ka, dia bawak sebagai bekal la. Dia boleh makan untuk 4 hingga 5 hari”

“Usually if *lemang ubi*, usually when he wants to go into the forest. He wants to hunt, or to fish, he will bring it to eat. He can eat for 4 to 5 days. (Pegawai JHEOA, March 2008)

The study participants also reported that they cooked rice and other meals in bamboo. According to one participant, all ingredients needed were put into the bamboo before baking it in the fire:

“Mm... isi macam ikan tadi kan, isi dalam buluh, pastu taruk la rempah-rempah dia tu, terus tu bakarlah. Rempah-rempah semua macam garam, aji, bawang semua, masuk dalam buluh la. Ha... air sikit, pastu bakar.”

“Mm... put in for example fish, put it in the bamboo, then put in spices and flavourings, then bake it. All the spices and flavourings for example salt, monosodium glutamate, onion, all goes into the bamboo. Ha... a little bit of water, then bake. (Jaloma, May 2008)

Whether the *Temiar* reside in the forest or city, they have a wood stove used to prepare food traditionally. They said that food prepared using bamboo not only smells nice; it is also one way to eat a healthy meal.

Conclusion

The *Temiar* food intake in all research locations seems to be more influenced by the accessibility and availability or otherwise of markets, shops and vendors, and their purchasing power. However, the movement of *Temiar* from their traditional land to settled villages and cities gives them little opportunity to maintain traditional knowledge of available food sources and cultural rules and patterns involving their traditional food system. The new generation of *Temiar* in places like Batu 12 in Gombak, Selangor will adapt quickly to new food patterns and will likely forget the traditional food knowledge. This happens when indigenous people change from being hunter-gatherers to a sedentary lifestyle when waged employment is undertaken, food items are purchased and traditional hunting, gathering and trapping is no longer practiced. There is a danger that one day the *Temiar* will completely lose their traditional food system. This would result in decreasing culture-specific food activities, decreasing dietary diversity and decreasing cultural morale.

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Allied Art Advisors and the Confiscation of Japanese War Art

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Allied Art Advisors and the Confiscation of Japanese War Art

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I. Introduction

War has always been a constant theme in the creation of art. Whether to commemorate or to record, to celebrate or to lament, to cajole or to inspire, their presence has often been felt. And Japan has a long history of depicting various wars in different forms.

During the period of the Second Sino-Japanese War up to the end of World War II, a genre of paintings called war record paintings¹ emerged in Japan. There were many war-themed artworks produced during this period. But war record paintings were highly esteemed because they were painted by some of the most prominent Japanese artists of the period under the commission of the Japanese military government. As their name states, their main purpose was to record the events of the then on-going war. Moreover, like other works that had a propaganda aspect, the paintings also aimed to increase the war morale of the Japanese people; encouraging them to work harder, be stronger and sacrifice more to ensure victory in what was perceived as a Holy War. Majority of these war record paintings were executed in the Western-style, that is, they were oil on canvass works and employed a realistic approach in depicting their subject matter. Some of the most accomplished Japanese artists of that time actively participated in their creation, including Fujita Tsuguharu, Koiso Ryohei and Miyamoto Saburo.

These Japanese war record paintings were shown to the public in widely publicized exhibitions sponsored by the military and the Asahi newspaper, one of the biggest newspapers in Japan. Most of the exhibitions were held at the Tokyo Municipal Museum (now the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum) in Ueno Park and were well attended by the public. The exhibition were also part of the anniversary celebrations of military victories like the attack on Pearl Harbor and military holidays like Army Day. Later, these exhibition of war record paintings would tour major Japanese cities such as Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto and Fukuoka. The publicity lavished on these exhibition helped in ensuring that these would be well-attended events.

When World War II ended, more than 150 Japanese war record paintings were confiscated by the Allied Forces that occupied Japan. A formal evaluation of the paintings was proposed to justify their seizure and to determine their final disposition. However, when the confiscated were eventually shipped to the US in 1951, no ushc formal evaluation seemed to have happened.

This paper will propose plausible reasons as to why no such evaluation occurred even if the justification for the seizure and shipment of the paintings' rested on a proper evaluation of them. By using Occupation era documents, this paper will explore the activities of prominent Occupation Fine Art Advisors like Sherman Lee and Howard Hollis, prominent authorities of Oriental art in the West. It will posit that the personalities most qualified to conduct the evaluation of the confiscated paintings were much more enamored with the amount of traditional Japanese art they could examine in the course of the fulfillment of their duties as Allied personnel. Thus, they paid scant attention to the confiscated Japanese war record paintings, which were mostly in the familiar Western-style.

II. The Confiscation of Japanese War Record Paintings by the Allies Forces

When the Allied Occupation of Japan officially started in September 1946, the confiscation of Japanese war record paintings followed soon after. The confiscation was generally seen as part of the mission of the Occupation Forces to suppress militarism and ultra-nationalism among the newly-defeated Japanese. However, Hirase Reita's research on the confiscation of the paintings showed that it did not start in such an organized manner.²

The collection and confiscation of Japanese war record paintings was started informally by Major Barse Miller, an official American Combat Artist of the Office of the Chief Engineer. Major Miller sought the help of the Japanese artist, Fujita Tsuguharu, one of the most prolific contributor of war record paintings, who was an old friend of Miller's from their days as art students in Paris.³ Orders to collect the paintings finally came in from Washington on 8 November 1945. It instructed Occupation officials concerned to collect works created by Japanese combat artists. After the collection is completed, all collected artworks were to be sent to the Historical Property Section of the US War Department in Washington.⁴

By early 1946, the Supreme Commander of the the Allied Powers (SCAP) in Japan, General Douglas MacArthur was informed about the activities of the Office of the Chief Engineer with regards to the collection of Japanese war record paintings. In a conference with Chief Engineer Gen. Hugh Casey on 6 February 1946, Gen. MacArthur was shown pictures and catalogs of some of the confiscated war record paintings to give him a general idea of the nature of the paintings. Gen. MacArthur voiced concerns over the controversial nature of the paintings and questioned the Occupation's authority in requisitioning the paintings and shipping them to the US. However, he issued instructions that the collection of the paintings should continue and that an evaluation of the paintings must be made to determine their value. Moreover, shipping the paintings to the US should be put on hold until further notice.⁵ And in a memoir of Gen. Hugh Casey, he mentions that MacArthur assigned personal responsibility of the confiscated paintings to Gen. Casey.⁶

Confiscation activities continued on for a few more months. Finally, on 21 August 1946, an exhibition of 129 confiscated Japanese war record paintings was held especially for Allied personnel at the Tokyo Municipal Museum in Ueno Park. The exhibition lasted until 2 September 1946.⁷ At the end of the exhibition, the paintings were stored in the same museum, occupying 5 out of its 26 rooms.

Due to the lack of exhibition spaces suitable for long-term exhibits, the art spaces for rent at the said Tokyo Municipal Museum was a highly-desirable venue for shows by art group. The Arts and Monuments Section of the Civil Information and Education Division, the branch of the Occupation body in charge of art-related concerns, received several requests for the release of the exhibition space occupied by the confiscated paintings as early as December 1946.⁸ These requests were made by newspaper companies like the Mainichi Newspaper who frequently sponsored exhibitions by art groups like the Nikakai Art Society.⁹ The stream of requests for the release of the requisitioned exhibition spaces, combined with the looming threat of the end of the Occupation of Japan, hastened the shipment of the confiscated paintings to the US in the middle of 1951.

At present 153 Japanese war record paintings are under indefinite loan from the US Government

at the Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo.

III. The Arts & Monuments Section and Fine Arts Advisors

The shipment of the confiscated war record paintings to the US was not a simple matter. Questions regarding its artistic, cultural and historical values made the issue complicated. During the early period of the confiscation of the paintings, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces (SCAP), Gen. Douglas MacArthur suggested that an evaluation of the confiscated paintings be made to determine the proper thing to do with them.¹⁰ Thus, even if the confiscation was started by a combat artist from the Office of the Chief Engineer, the Occupation branch most qualified to make this evaluation was the Arts and Monuments Division (A&M) of the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE).

According to Takemae Eiji, author of "Inside GHQ," CIE was formed in September 1945 and is best known for reforming Japan's educational system. Part of its task was also the "disseminating democratic ideals and principles."¹¹ With regards to art-related matters, CIE was also tasked to "advise to parties interested in the preservation of cultural properties and national treasures in Japan."¹² Art-related matters, of course, fell on the shoulders of A&M personnel.

The Arts and Monuments Section was put together in late 1945 at the insistence of George Stout, conservator at the Fogg Museum at Harvard and Lawrence Sickman of the Nelson Museum of Art. It was to be patterned after similar arts and monuments units in the European Front.¹³ Howard Hollis, then curator of the Cleveland Museum of Art was appointed as OIC. Like its name suggests, A&M dealt with art-related concerns. Takemae mentions that A&M made it possible for artworks in private collections to be made available for public viewing and worked to "democratize and upgrade museological techniques in Japanese museums."¹⁴ A&M personnel was also tasked to inspect and inventory all Japanese works of art to assess their condition after the war in order determine what has to be done in terms of protection, preservation and restoration.¹⁵

In order to fulfill these missions, Fine Arts Advisors were hired by Occupation officials to work under A&M. They included the previously mentioned Howard Hollis. Hollis brought in Sherman Lee whom he knew as a volunteer intern at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Walter Popham, landscape architect and Charles Gallagher.¹⁶ Later members of A&M included James Plumer, an expert in ceramics from the University of Michigan and George Kates.¹⁷

Aside from mundane administrative and office matters, the duties of CIE Fine Arts Advisor included the following: 1) planning and policy-making related to the fine arts, 2) inspecting of cultural property in museums, shrines and temples, as well as in private collections, and the study of these, 3) coordinating with other Occupation sections with regards to artistic and cultural matters, 4) conferencing with visitors needing information and assistance concerning culture and the arts, 5) encouraging public interest in art from private collections, 6) improving museological techniques in Japanese museums and 8) checking the objects on sale in antique dealers' shops.¹⁸

As can be seen from the enumeration above, A&M, with its Fine Arts Advisors, was well within its mandate to conduct a formal and thorough evaluation of the artistic and cultural merits of the confiscated war record paintings. This was requested, albeit orally, by Gen. MacArthur himself during the early phase of the confiscation. The outcome of the evaluation involved two possible scenarios. If the paintings are determined to have cultural or historical value, then these would

have to be preserved and protected. If the evaluation is otherwise, then the paintings can be considered as war booty and the Occupation forces will be free to do whatever it wishes with the paintings, including destroying them altogether and dividing the paintings among other Allied countries who requested for their own share of the confiscated Japanese art.¹⁹

Perhaps, the best time to conduct this evaluation was during the exhibition of the war record paintings for Allied personnel at the Tokyo Municipal Museum on 21 August 1946, where 129 confiscated works were shown. However, this formal evaluation never occurred. Instead, informal assessments and opinions were made. Clearly, no criteria were set on how these opinions were formed.

An article about the exhibit appeared in the pages of the Asahi Newspaper on 16 September 1946. In this article, Sherman Lee expressed an opinion that he did not find any merit in the confiscated Japanese war record paintings. He opined that these would soon be forgotten by the art world. However, he did praise the Japanese-style or Nihon-ga works in the exhibition because he believes that these excel in showing Japanese traits that reminded him of ukiyo-e.²⁰ So far, no document produced by A&M or CIE mentions this view of Sherman Lee that was published in the Asahi Newspaper. Thus, this may have been a personal opinion of his and not reflective of the official stance of CIE.

Occupation Fine Arts Advisors certainly did not lack for things to do. Mentioned earlier were the duties of the Fine Arts Advisors. An investigation of Occupation-era documents will shed more light on the activities of these advisors.

Numerous reports were filed by different Fine Arts Advisors during the fulfillment of their duties. One of the most prolific in the fulfillment of his duties was Sherman Lee, judging by the number of reports he filed everyday, recording the minutia of A&M activities.

In the course of the fulfillment of their duties as Fine Arts Advisors, Sherman and his colleagues were exposed to the best of Japanese art. This was a fortunate turn of events for the advisors. And their experience on this matter no doubt benefited them in their future careers.

The inspection of art objects in Japanese shrines, temples and museums alone was a massive undertaking. In an office memo written by Walter Popham, by 17 April 1946, 55 sites were already visited all over Japan.²¹ There was no mention of what these sites were, however. Still, it is an impressive number given the fact that all 55 sites were inspected within less than a year of the occupation of Japan. By 4 December 1946, the number of sites inspected reached 113 locations, spread over 9 prefectures, A total of 676 national treasures were examined and notes were made as to the state of the objects inspected, recommendations for repairs on any damage and their protection.²²

These flurry of inspections of various Japanese art found in shrines, temples and museums no doubt kept A&M Fine Arts Advisors busy. Moreover, this was a great opportunity for anyone to get to see the best of what Japanese art has to offer in such a short span of time. The Fine Arts Advisors virtually had free access to anything they wished to see in Japan. This fact was well-acknowledged by Sherman Lee in various articles written about his time with the A&M.

By his own admission, prior to his arrival in Japan, Lee's knowledge of Japanese art was lacking. One of the reasons why he accepted the post as Fine Arts Advisor was that the opportunity to see

and examine East Asian art was too good an opportunity to let pass.²³ This opportunity can definitely be called “once-in-a-lifetime,” especially for someone who, then, could still be considered a novice in the field. The exposure afforded to the Fine Arts Advisors was intense and quick. The quality of the artworks were of the highest caliber.²⁴ Lee admits that he was not too shy about taking advantage of such an tremendous opportunity.²⁵

By 1947, the inspections seemed to have lessened. However, this did not mean that there was a decrease in the workload for the art advisors. The first four months of 1947 saw A&M Fine Arts Advisors busy with helping in the organization of an exhibition at the Hakutsuru Museum in Kobe. The exhibition was led by Fukui Rikichiro of the Kansai Kobijutsu Dokokai but the organization requested A&M for help in its set-up the exhibition.²⁶ Fukui also worked for the Allies as a field examiner and represented A&M in Kyoto Prefecture. Items put on exhibit for this event came from different private collections like the Hosomi, Muto, Fujita, Sumitomo, Nomura, Moriya and Ueno collections. Because of the concerted efforts of both parties, this exhibition at the Hakutsuru Museum became one of the first major post-war exhibition of Japanese art in Japan.²⁷

The interest of A&M in the success of the proposed exhibition at the Hakutsuru Museum was multi-faceted. First of all, selecting which artworks were to be included in the exhibition would entail inspections of private collections. This was another great opportunity to examine works of art that were then not ordinarily available for public viewing. Opening up the private collections for public exhibitions also dove-tailed neatly with Occupation aims of encouraging the democratization of art in Japan. That is, making the artworks appeal to a wider set of audience. Preparations for the exhibition started in earnest in the latter months of 1946. Inspections were conducted by A&M Fine Arts Advisors on the private collections mentioned above, from October 1946 up to February 1947.²⁸

Second, the exhibition was also an opportunity to upgrade museological standards in Japanese museums. According to Occupation documents, Howard Hollis and Sherman Lee believed that the Japanese museums got left behind on the latest display techniques. They found exhibition in Japan to be substandard and amateurish.²⁹ Moreover, they opined that the educational aspect of exhibitions was sadly being neglected. The exhibition at the Hakutsuru Museum, they believed, presented an opportunity for A&M to help in upgrading the display and educational standards of Japanese museum. It was hoped that this exhibition would set the standard for other similar exhibitions in the future.³⁰ To achieve this objective, Hollis and Lee enlisted the help of their colleagues in the museum world in the US and requested them to send literature on museology to Japan. The Fine Arts Advisors intended to show these materials to their Japanese counterparts.³¹

There was no doubt that the A&M Fine Arts Advisors were heavily involved in the preparations for the exhibition at the Hakutsuru Museum and that they did what they could to ensure its success. In some quarters, maybe their enthusiasm for the project was too much. In an intra-section memo penned by CIE Chief Lt. Col Donald R. Nugent, he castigated the Fine Arts Advisors for being too involved in the preparations for the exhibition. He mentions that for a private endeavor, A&M already extended help more than once and it was taking up the time of 2 of the most highly-qualified A&M Fine Arts Advisors. This hints that there may be some duties within A&M that were going unfulfilled because of the attention given to the exhibition at the Hakutsuru Museum. Lt. Col. Nugent thought that this kind of attention was tantamount to hand-feeding the Japanese museum workers on how to do their jobs.³² This intra-section memo

stemmed from an earlier request made by Sherman Lee asking for a reconsideration for a request to travel to Kobe from Tokyo to attend to exhibition matter that was turned down by Lt. Col. Nugent.³³ One can only speculate why the request was turned down. But the document suggests that the CIE Chief thought that the frequent travels to the Kansai Region³⁴ were becoming too excessive.

At the start of 1948, a reorganization of CIE bodies occurred. The year saw the Arts and Monuments Section combined with the Religion Section to form the Religions and Cultural Resources Section (RCR). Many of the pioneers of the old A&M were also leaving for other endeavors. Moreover, there was a reorientation of goals for the newly formed RCR.

First of these changes involved what can be considered a downgrading of the duties of a Fine Arts Advisors. Instead of taking active participation in art-related matters, their roles were reduced to that of observers. They cannot initiate but only advice on matters regarding policy and other technical matters.³⁵ This is in sharp contrast to the activity mentioned earlier, when the earlier batch of art advisors took a more active role in the fulfillment of their duties, even to the point of spoon-feeding as mentioned by CIE Chief Lt. Col. Nugent.

Second, the only duty that was retained from the old A&M list of duties was the protection and preservation of cultural properties. And even on this matter, the role was reduced to an advisory capacity.³⁶ Inspections of cultural properties located in shrines, temples, museums and private collections were also kept to a minimum, unlike the flurry of inspections conducted during the first 2 years of the Occupation of Japan. The *raison d'être* for inspections probably did not hold true anymore at this point. Moreover, there was a relinquishing of functions to Japanese counterparts that Occupation officials feel that the Japanese can do themselves.³⁷

IV. Conclusions

One can say that the Arts and Monuments Section of 1946 to 1947 was a very different beast from the Religions and Cultural Resources Section of 1948 onwards. In 1946 to 1947, the Fine Arts Advisors were too busy with going around Japan, investigating and inspecting the numerous artworks in various shrines, temples, museums and private collections. Moreover, A&M was also very active in upgrading and modernizing the museological techniques of various museums around Japan, particularly the National Museum.³⁸

From 1948, when the Arts and Monuments Section was merged with the Religion Section to form the Religions and Cultural Resources Section, the section assumed a more passive position regarding cultural matters.

The great opportunity that was afforded to the Fine Arts Advisors in the inspection of the best of what Japanese art has to offer, it is not hard to understand why scant attention was given to the evaluation of the confiscated Japanese war record paintings.

First of all, there seemed to be no clear orders for the confiscated paintings to be evaluated. Instead, only verbal orders were given³⁹ and this seemed to have been forgotten as time went by.

Second, the A&M Fine Arts Advisors seemed to be very dismissive of the artistic and cultural value of the confiscated paintings. This can be seen in various opinions expressed by the art advisors when pressed to come up with an assessment of the confiscated paintings. In the 16

September 1946 Asahi Newspaper article about the exhibition of the confiscated war record paintings for Allied personnel, Sherman Lee expressed an opinion that was dismissive. He said that he did not find any merit in the confiscated Japanese war record paintings and that these would soon be forgotten by the art world. However, he did praise the Nihonga-style works in the exhibition because he says that these excel in showing Japanese traits that reminded him of *ukiyo-e* or “pictures of the floating world”.⁴⁰ But even this was small praise for the Japanese-style works if one considers that Lee did not have a high regard for ukiyo-e works.⁴¹ The same kind of opinion can be found again in May 1950, when George Kates, of RCR, together with DJ Dousman of the Procurement Command of the Headquarters and Service Group (HQ&Svc) found the paintings to be of “indifferent artistic value,” and that their only significance lies in the fact that they have a “strong anti-American value and propaganda bias.”⁴²

This kind of evaluation eventually found its way into the 28 May 1951 memo written by Lt. Col. Nugent addressed to the Chief of Staff of the US Army wherein he requested for orders on what to do with the confiscated paintings.⁴³ Approximately two months later, arrangements were made to document, pack and move the confiscated war record paintings out of the Tokyo Municipal Museum. Shipment to the US was completed on 17 August 1951.⁴⁴

Perhaps, in the minds of the various art advisors employed by the Occupation the opinions that they expressed regarding the artistic, cultural, historical or propagandistic value of the confiscated paintings already constituted a proper evaluation of sorts? In any case, this kind of opinion seemed to seem like the status quo opinion among Allied personnel regarding the confiscated paintings. As such, no attempt was made to go beyond it.

Furthermore, there was really no pressure coming from inside the Occupation structure to resolve the issue of the disposition of the war record paintings. If there was any sustained effort to get the Occupation officials to decide on what to do with the paintings, it came from Japanese art groups and the sponsors of their exhibitions. But even here, the interest of the groups was only incidental. They were less interested in the fate of the paintings once they were able to secure the release of the 5 exhibition rooms occupied for storage of the confiscated paintings. Requests for the release of the 5 exhibition spaces began in 1946 and continued up to 1947.⁴⁵ There were no requests made for the next 3 years. However, a barrage of requests was sent to CIE from the middle of 1950, which culminated in the release of the rooms in 1951.⁴⁶

Perhaps in the greater scheme of things, the issue of the disposition of the confiscated Japanese war record paintings, was not considered an urgent matter to be resolved quickly. The fact that the paintings in question were under lock and key at the Tokyo Municipal Museum and was not easily accessible to anyone⁴⁷ probably contributed to the delay in deciding its final disposition. Only the perceived threat of the confiscated paintings again falling into the hands of the Japanese government so soon after the end of the war brought a sense of urgency to determine a final solution to the long neglected problem of their disposition. Thus, what was left unattended for the better part of the Occupation of Japan was settled in a matter of months. The swiftness in which the paintings were brought out of Japan in July 1951 was one of the means by which Occupation officials to prevent the resurgence of a belligerent Japan.

Endnotes

- 1 Throughout the years, different terms have been used to refer to this genre of paintings. These include *sensou-ga* (war painting) and *sensou sakusen-ga* (war operation painting). For the sake of uniformity, the author will use the term adopted by the Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, the current home of the set of paintings, which is *sensou kiroku-ga* (war record painting.)
- 2 Hirase Reita "Sensou to Amerika" *Himeji Shiritsu Bijutsukan Kiyou dai-san-gou*, 1999, pp. 8-10.
- 3 Japanese War Propaganda Paintings, 21 February 1946, CIE (A) 08145, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 4 Incoming Message, 8 November 1945, AG (D) 03224, *ibid.*
- 5 Japanese War Art, 26 February 1946, CIE (C) 06719, *ibid.*
- 6 "Engineer Memoirs: Major General Hugh J. Casey." pamphlet no. 870-1-18, Department of the Army, US Corps of Engineers, 31 December 1993, pp. 267-268.
- 7 "Last Chance to See Jap Art," *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, 1 September 1946, p.4.
- 8 Conference Report, 30 December 1946, CIE (D) 05152, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 9 For a more detailed narrative of the requests for the release of the space used for storage of Japanese war record paintings at the Tokyo Municipal Museum, see Hirase Reita, 1999, pp. 8-10.
- 10 "Engineer Memoirs: Major General Hugh J. Casey." pamphlet no. 870-1-18, Department of the Army, US Corps of Engineers, 31 December 1993, pp. 267-268.
- 11 Takemae Eiji. *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy*. London: Continuum, 2002, p. 499.
- 12 Letter by CIE Chief Lt. Col. Donald R. Nugent to Vice Admiral O. Bevir, Secretary, The National Trust, London. 26 October 1948, CIE (B) 00011, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 13 Lee, Sherman. My Work in Japan: Arts and Monuments, 1946-1948. In Sandler, Mark (Ed.), *The Confusion Era: Art & Culture of Japan During the Allied Occupation, 1945-1952*, Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1997, p. 91.
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- 15 Rogers, Mary Ann. "Sherman Lee" *Orientalisms*, September 2008, p. 47.
- 16 Lee, 1997, p. 92.
- 17 Stokrocki, Mary and Lee, Sherman "The Making of a Curator: An Interview with Sherman Lee." *Art Education*, vol 36, no. 3, May 1983, p. 24.
- 18 CIE Classification Questionnaire, 8 February 1947, CIE (C) 05314 and CIE (C) 05317, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 19 Both Australia and The Netherlands were requesting for certain pieces of Japanese war record paintings which featured battles they participated. For details see Hirase Reita "Sensouga to Amerika" *Himeji Shiritsu Bijutsukan Kiyou dai-san-gou*, 1999, pp. 8-10.
- 20 "*Beijin no Me ni Utsutta Sensouga (War Art in the Eyes of an Amerikan)*," *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 September 1946.
- 21 Office Memo, 17 April 1946, CIE (C) 05139, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 22 Memo to Chief A&M, 4 December 1946, *ibid.*
- 23 Lee, 1997, p. 91.
- 24 Ulak, James T. "The Alchemy of Selection: Lee and the Japanese Collection" *Orientalisms*, June 2009, p. 41.
- 25 Rogers, p. 48.
- 26 Intersection Memo, 11 March 1947, CIE (C) 05312, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 27 Sandler, pp. 100-101.
- 28 Correspondences, 7 October 1946, 16 October 1946, 21 November 1946, 22 January 1947, CIE (C) 05315, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 29 Intra-section Memo, 11 March 1947, CIE (C) 05312, *ibid.*
- 30 Correspondence, 5 December 1946, CIE (C) 05313, *ibid.*
- 31 Correspondences, 13 and 22 January 1947, CIE (C) 05136, *ibid.*
- 32 Intra-section Memorandum, 12 March 1947, CIE (C) 05312, *ibid.*
- 33 Disapproval of Staff Visit to Osaka, 11 March 1947, *ibid.*
- 34 The Kansai Region is west of Tokyo and comprises Osaka, Hyogo, Kyoto, Nara, Mie and Wakayama Prefectures.
- 35 Memo to Chief, RCR, 31 January 1949, CIE (C) 05317, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 36 Memorandum, 15 January 1948, CIE (C) 05328, *ibid.*
- 37 Memorandum, 31 January 1949, CIE (C) 05327, *ibid.*

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- 38 Correspondence, 14 August 1947, CIE (C) 05316, *ibid.*
- 39 "Engineer Memoirs: Major General Hugh J. Casey." pamphlet no. 870-1-18, Department of the Army, US Corps of Engineers, 31 December 1993, pp. 267-268.
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- 41 Ulak, p. 46.
- 42 Memoranda, 17 May 1950, CIE (A) 08566, also CIE (A) 00788 and CIE (C) 06720, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library.
- 43 Disposition of Japanese War Art, 28 May 1951, CIE (C) 06720, *ibid.*
- 44 Shipment of Japanese War Paintings, 13 October 1951, CIE (C) 06719, *ibid.*
- 45 Weekly Report, 13 April 1950, CIE (D) 03794, *ibid.*
- 46 Conference Reports, 30 December 1946, 6, 11 March 1947, 31 July 1947, 1 August 1947, CIE (D) 05152; Correspondences, 3, 4, 5, 10 April 1950, CIE (A) 06720; Weekly Report, 13 April 1950, CIE (D) 03794, *ibid.*
- 47 Life Magazine was able to secure permission to photograph some of the paintings for publication in their international edition in 1947. Conference Report, 27 April 1951, CIE (A) 08580, *ibid.*

Submission Title:

Gray House, Black House: Japanese House 5 centuries before Le Corbusier 5 points

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Submission Abstract Text:

Comparison between Japanese traditional house modus and Le Corbusier manifesto 'Five Points' house from 1926 at the first sight could emerge with the statement of equality in spatial substance.

However, it is not the truth.

Dualities are apparent in the state of Being of architectural Body, a dichotomy between subject and object, the meaning of each constituent material element and the continuity within the environment.

Even separated headers of analysis, these key notions are overall embracing the discussion about immateriality of anti-object of Japanese house that is opposed to the Western objectifying intentions.

The cause of the cross genre comparative analysis is concentrated around substantiating the 'grey' status, the corporeality of the perceiving object, which flows through juxtaposition from micro to macro scale - from 'particle' to the urban landscape, where becomes new theory. Thus, it was consequently questioned:

What is the real 'engineering' tool to emerge with an anti/object comparison?

There are, however, two experiments achieved as a text extension; one using already existing artefact, and the another one with the patent pattern involved.

Firstly, it is drawn an analogy between *tatami* as Japanese spatial constituting element and chair as one of the western points of programming the space.

Second experiment is achieved with the laboratory patent material particle unit called 'water brick' in constructing a Third house as direct implication of the previous Two houses and experiment contrasting conclusion.

Key words:

Continuity, Grey, Shintai, Extension, Anti-object, Embodiment

Gray House, Black House: Japanese House 5 centuries before Le Corbusier 5 points

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‘The starry heavens above and the moral law within me’.
(Immanuel Kant, epitaph on Kant’s grave monument)

1. Introduction

“All ideas come from sensation or reflection. Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas. How comes it to be ‘furnished’ Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word from experience.”¹

Here lies first layer of introduction key words as maintaining the first comparative dichotomy. Hence, the ‘void’ of mind on one side and characters of the world are on the other side. Reflection with experience in between of opposed existences are emerging as leading to the direct awareness of dichotomy as distinctive between phenomenal and nominal world, between the objects of our experience and things ‘in themselves’ “which are unknowable as they exist apart from the perception”². Pure mind is a void, pure ‘nothingness’; as if there is no ‘materia’, no substance to perceive, to gain the experiential images.

The first key and research critique question would be if there is ‘universal form of human “knowledge” (Immanuel Kant) thus to bridge the gap among consciousness and matter.

Is there a material ‘bridge’ in between subject and object which now remains into two separated directions whereas physiology and psychology and other phenomenal sciences are opted to new ‘building’ technology which is flourishing each day in endless wave of firstly empirical and now spontaneous ‘informational’ sciences.

However, as it is assumed that technology increased the chance of material ‘science’ is to give the answer how to create a fantasy (consciousness) with pure matter as we cannot negate it at all. Oppositely, a material being as an artefact is a singular point created by humankind in the environment and it is always to some extent a pure object, dying object.

Before conducting the same emerging, it was questioned what about those centuries before in the humanity? How many answers are already there, without any hint of present technology available, and as much more successful in bridging the void between pure mind of a human and object that it is perceived as Nature or an artifact?

Comparison is a cross genre and argumentative in between two geographically and timely into centuries divided ideas of master Le Corbusier (20th century) and domestic masters as craftsmen of 4th (Ise Shrine) century Japan.

¹ John Locke: *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Penguin Books, London, 1997, pp. 109.

² Kengo Kuma: *Antiobject*, AA Publications, London, 2008, pp. 76.

However, the final key point whereas is circling the text is what is the ‘tool’ to manipulate the ‘distance’ between the environment where one human stands and the environment where one object of architecture stands.

How to develop that distance in both mental and material decision of an act as an architect and thus to establish and successfully discuss through creation what may reconcile the mind and matter; to create an experience and not just solemn ‘object’ nor solemn ‘impression’.

How to materialize the pure ‘existence’.

A the last pre comparison but last introduction issue would be that even Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius themselves (1953) had visited Katsura villa as an almost utmost act of distinct homage.

Thus, the comparison had already happened, as not more as direct it could ever happen.

2. Matter/mind correlation as comparison issue

2.1 Matter/mind correlation as comparison issue through Le Corbusier ‘5 point house’

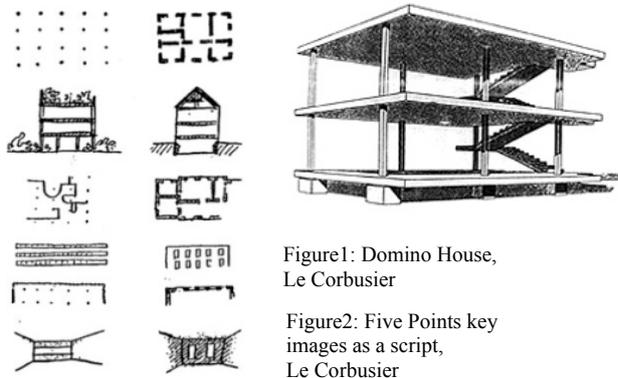


Figure1: Domino House,
Le Corbusier

Figure2: Five Points key
images as a script,
Le Corbusier

Le Corbusier genius mind development and revealing the manifesto of the ‘Five Points’ around 1926 culminated in 1927. when it was published together with his work for the Weissenhof Siedlung ‘exhibition’ as maintaining the concern through as known:

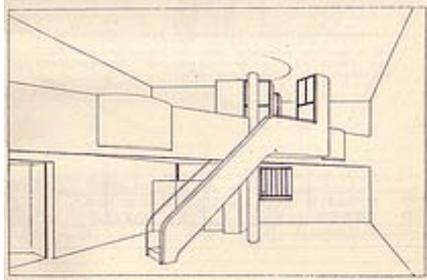
- (1) pilotis;
- (2) roof garden;
- (3) free plan;
- (4) horizontally continuous window;
- (5) free façade.

As well the architectural product was the question of aesthetics Le Corbusier was the maestro to transcend and purely integrate the status of sociological, economical as production and usage overview and technological discourse deeply into his spatial and marketing ‘spatiology’ of design. He successfully succeeded to contact the society mind through expressive media and manipulate extensively.

2.1.1 Black/White photograph as transcending media

The impact of building created was almost crucial to communicate and promulgate the mass society and to remain expressed absolutely through available technology media apparatus.

As primary objective of modern architecture as interpolation into society and ordinary human mind was determined greatly through media as black and white photograph, books, catalogues and perspective drawings..etc. However, the works of architecture were clearly detailed, well thought as a unity to be entirely as enough traced and experienced as a single photograph where the complete *oeuvre de design* may be concentrated among people. It became a recognizable manipulation as creating an object ‘people mass experience’.



Hence, it was the active mean of product involving into ordinary life of Modern architecture period.

Figure3: Interior perspective of a house with communication landscape

Photographs of the whole object of one building or interior perspectives of its apartments were as designated as pure, Euclidean forms – easily recognizable shapes. Monochrome photographs shots made from distance did

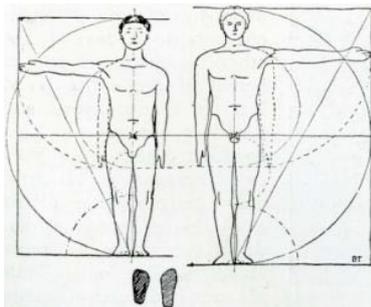
not require even texture details and shadows tracing as even the same were over painted by the side of Le Corbusier thus the photo surface may represent the impression of perfectly white walls and flat surface as untainted by shadows and protrudes of any size. Ms and professor Beatriz Colomina *Privacy and Publicity* for example as in depth study testimonies about the same expunging of all textures as a perfect media manipulation. None of them did not discuss the contextual continuity transgression as putting the building at the distance as solemn object.

First of five points noun named *pilotis* was of extraordinary status. As sculptor is distancing its work as an detached being using the pedestal or classical architect its work of architecture as constructing a podium, thus Le Corbusier proposed *pilotis* as to elevate his building off the ground. The main intention was rather to ‘isolate’ his buildings and make their pure forms more prominent and as creating the method to cut off the building out from its environment as an evident object. Here, the photograph could express its overall image because a building embedded, merged into its environment was not suited to the mass media of such character to express wished meaning of matter as extent object of Le Corbusier ideal to the mass human mind. Firstly, overall, we may conclude that matter/mind correlation was greatly directed.

The part of responsibility carries the situational state of society where among and after absolute state of mind in-depth revealing of neo-Kantianism influenced phenomenology and state of matter repeated but opposite scientific analyzing of constructivism led to the society real life need for certainty and comprehensibility. It was mirrored in the reconciled but accepted mind matter relation in Le Corbusier’s ‘Five Points’ proposal.

2.1.2 Architectural product as a matter of mind

Very strange true but possible due to the complexity of Modern society is about relation between human audience and De Stijl, Constructivism and modern architecture led by side of Le Corbusier and Mies van de Roe. Even first two architectural directions were spatial revolutionaries in formal and material definition through extensive composition theory the level of building emanation and spatial continuity was insensitive and not considerable. Thus,



created object demanded technology of moving images as developed to present very deeply the spatial conformation but as architects on contrary had created the objects which as non landscape continuous at the that time media product as 2d black/white image were not depicting wished meaning.

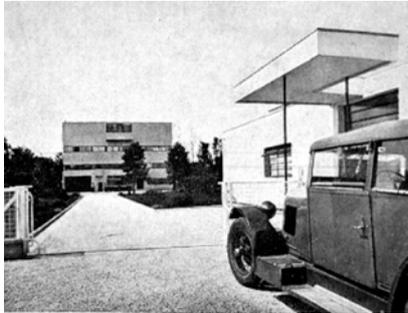
After all, Le Corbusier works as even more conservative modus 'understood' better the state of media as mean of influence to the mind as way of life and communication which leded the modern society through technological improvements.

He obviously inserted his work as theory as also successful as promulgated into ordinary state of human mind, which uses

products like 'dictated' tool in consuming society. 'Product' as key word was actually a bridging point in between mind of mass and matter of architecture. Le Corbusier recognized that fact and applied it widely.

"However, both, matter and consciousness were reduced to the status of object. Mater was reduced to 'products'..and consciousness was reduced to the objects called 'existences'³.

Le Corbusier also distinctively understood the need of classic society persona and how to appeal to the same. However, he did proposed for centuries influential building 5 points revolution but applied it in the very basic (not in negative connotation) and definitive image. Also, it is obvious his continued attachment to the concrete as material as those 5 point actually could question material definition. On contrary, he recognized the that period need for personal mediocrity escape form possessing personal products. Those 'Black' houses how I estimated their obvious contrasting objectivity were representations of possession that satisfied ones mind without further questioning about the archi/space as itself. Le Corbusier clearly declared those 'black' status house as 'machine for living in it'⁴. It is possible to discuss about *Maison Citrohan* with its famous black and white image,



positioned on hilly terrain with as famous French auto as a clear mind influencing and merging association of way of

life as space usage through mental bridge as nominal product usage. Media obviously took a legitimate victory.

2.1.3 Mind becomes matter

"The essence of space as it is conceived today is its many sidedness, the infinite potentiality for relations within it. Exhaustive description of an area from one point of reference is, accordingly, impossible; its character changes with the point from which is viewed. In order to grasp the true nature of space the observer must project himself through it."⁵

However, master Sigfried Gideon here questions directly what is the tool to connect time and space, to express materially that immanent presence. The flow and perceiving of created matter occurs even before consciousness fulfilling inside of human mind. The question is

³ Kengo Kuma: *Antiobject*, AA Publications, London, 2008, pp. 17.

⁴ Le Corbusier: *Vers Une Architecture*, 1923, trans. Frederick Etchells as *Towards a New Architecture*, John Rodker, London, 1931

⁵ Sigfried Giedion: *Space, Time, and Architecture*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1947, pp. 356.



only how architect dissolve that substance in between that utterly unconscious and conscious image of human mind.

Le Corbusier directly minded these words into space ingeniously. The character of mind unavoidable for experiencing, the character of matter is being static, pure material. Nevertheless this seems as not connectable he devised to create material determined for human moving through space for mind flow through house. He redefined,

otion about stairs, interior and exterior

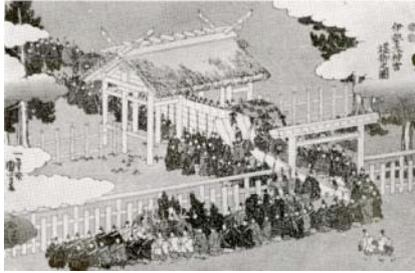
landscape ramps as constituting them as mind/matter bondage creation. What was the most striking is the position of those newly composed spatial part which remained open and allowed one person to observe and experience contextual in and out 'landscapes' as moving using their geometry. Of course, even the person on the ground could observe someone's flow through the space and thus the movement began to be constituent element of the 'house'. Its position was not peripheral but sometimes playing central compositional role in plan as being absolutely open thus including new material approach which defines the fence and stepping solution. Even its roof terrace had been directly leaded from ground as using ramps or stairs.

However, these facts had immense influence on architecture in coming decades as even today.

Le Corbusier

Additionally, one of the five points as continuous landscape window opening, which was allowed with the free plan pillar system, is almost the same act of physical to time flow definition. It was achieved in horizontal network as its part of living space as new space volume or pure meaning of usage through moving. Glass headed the main role as logical material with now headily different existence.

Figure7: Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier



Master Gideon's indirect critique of time and consequently movement and 'object' materiality were answered and applied with translating the mind hint as time into object and to transform usual definition of very object as house communications into more ephemeral creations with highly increased usage of glass as also industry issue.

In these means of new architectural five point language time as mind flow in both directions of view and being viewed was "captured" in photograph that was freely disseminated throughout the world"⁶. Overall, it is questioned was this a sort of compromise among media, object definition and basic character of mind matter inevitable coexistence and opposing as new product inside product as seemingly being solution.

It still steadily remains the inquiry about the meaning of mind and matter when they are not solemnly crossed in sociologically media and economic inventions. Thus, still exists the gap between time become an object and other housing part remained with time as pure flow. Still



remains the question of total approach to the volume of house, as how five points as new intelligent definition of design and construction did not express its greatest potentiality and unify as experience and substance transgression in total approach.

2.2 Matter/mind correlation as comparison issue through Japanese archetype 'house'

Central title says among all "...Japanese House 5 centuries before Le Corbusier 5 points". Someone could ask, which house, which century do you mean, who is an architect, how does it look like the house, do you have an image of it, does it exist today...? This is a hidden trap, clear fraud of the author. However, the question in itself summarizes very accurate answers. That 'house' had been constructed exactly five centuries before Le Corbusier established and announced 5 points manifest, in 1427. It had happened in the absolutely same moment. The only fact is that we do not know its architect, when it was first time designed and how the design looked like.

There is no preserved evidence of its existence from that century but today there is the same one that exists, at the absolutely same place, yet different.

Someone could easily be confused as thinking that those answers are not real and accurate. But they are. But, maybe they are not. However, the accuracy of those answers is not important at all.

Here is evident the hint of an idea that carries the accurate

meaning of physical, matter as timely flowing as transcending it but not negating it. Without the time the idea would be lost as its meaning. It becomes absolute mediating and merging and results in time as mind metaphor transcending matter. Even with these simple questions and answers we could emerge with a sort of clear conclusion about 'material substance' and 'thought about the substance' interrelation.

That story is being the utmost for general overview and generating utmost details of that 'grey' Japanese house. After all, we may say 5 centuries before like main title says as one of

⁶ Kengo Kuma: *Antiobject*, AA Publications, London, 2008, pp. 25.

the Ise shrine rebuilding occurred in 1433. and four other times in 15th century, or any other century before or future ones.

2.2.1 Rebuilding of a ‘matter’ as erasing the matter

Every twenty years of *Ise Shrine* carries a meaning that is more than just a mere physical remodel and as an act is not a cultural sign of preserving building as such. A sought to be preserved with ‘style’, the pure mental meaning of matter as actual structures embodying it.

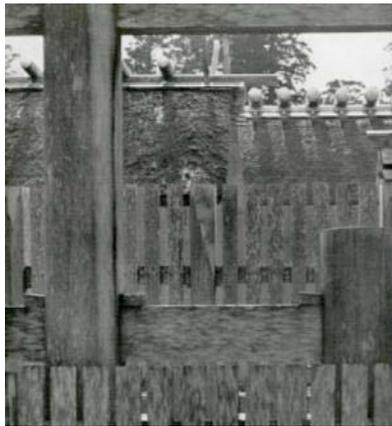
As a habit inserted in cultural heritage for a centuries into Japanese craftsman and even contemporary architecture is a wooden material as a pure meaning of style impermanence. However, it became a carrier not only of material and aesthetical literal being. With its character very sensitive to fire and physical destruction and its Natural reviving that is always happening, even now, it transfers more immaterial messages about ‘grey’ status, transitive status of Japanese house.

Hence, fire can destroy a wooden building in matter of minutes and thus everything that had physical, concrete form was doomed to decay in each sense during the time.

Only ‘style’ as mind creation was indestructible.

Figure9: Ise Shrine, shrine wooden 4
wooden fence enclosure overlapping

What was the action of making black and white photography at beginning of 20th century it was the aim to rebuild the ‘house’ temple each twenty years. It was not material, black and white or colour image, it was a mental image that even transmits more detailed scheme than pure plain, even the most sophisticated video technology of recording invented until present



times. The philosophy of hidden impermanence of all things was a solace of to a people that built only in wood. Le Corbusier mean of design was obviously insisted as apart of cultural script of society that style is inseparable from direct matter impression. Here we may even define more deeply: what Japanese craftsmen wanted to preserve “was not even the ‘style’ as such in all its details but something else, some intangible essence within the style”⁷. This is more than obvious if we just take a look over implementing the surface of wood. Its meticulous finish is without any sort of furnishing or finishing whereas its freshness and plainness as a mind awareness of eternal meaning of building ‘idea’ is rebuilt every twenty years or just simply may be easily changed in well minded construction anytime. Its characteristic fragrance as ‘grey’ status – always transformable, in between black and white, without any clear tone and ‘*valeur*’ – is always fresh in human mind.

⁷ Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965, pp. 202.



Nevertheless, a creative process so defined emphasizes subjectivity as an essential dimension, which in turn contributes its own nature to the principle of transformability whereas aesthetic transformation of ‘wood’ as erasing its materiality becomes impermanent. As such, as through subjective activity it occupies endless number of mind images due to each human different experience

Figure10: Ise Shrine, shrine wooden beam-post constructive joint view footage being possible.

The Ise Shrine rebuilding based on permanent appearance and disappearance of materially expresses itself as a continuous *circul viciousus* of maintaining mental representation where process of rebuilding itself occupies more attention than the product itself. This way of constant stipulating among mind and matter resulted in variability of Japanese architectural expression. This variability of material as successive process initiated the mind becomes a metaphor and even materialized as a static substance. In Ise Shrine Geku, outer shrine plan we may notice the main sanctuary enclosure which exists as a material coordinate and being at both sites – built and for future displacement of the ‘house’. It is named *shin-no-mihashira* which represents solemn presence of always ‘fresh’ relic of primitive antiquity.

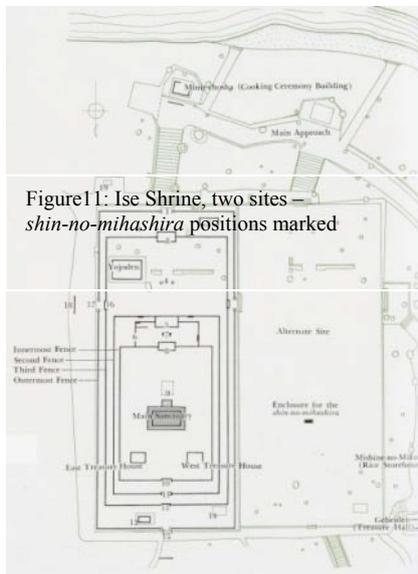


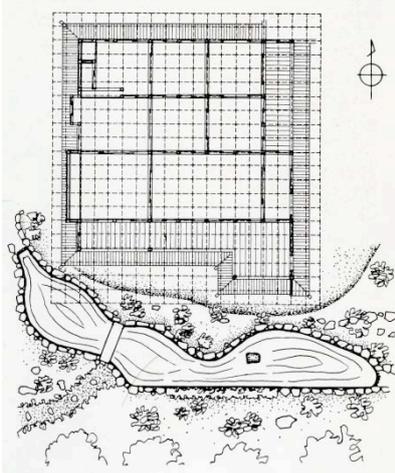
Figure11: Ise Shrine, two sites – *shin-no-mihashira* positions marked

As a direct timeless implication it represent the material fusion of immaterial and material as becoming the main sanctuary of Ise Shrine. It seems as it has always existed, as perfect representation of ‘*Amateratsu deity*’. Symbolically or unintentionally *shin-no-mihashira* is made of wood in a shape of posts – spatial postures- considered very sacred, positioned under the floor of Main Sanctuary, and in the roofed-over enclosure on the alternate site, of both Naiku (inner shrine) and Geku (outer shrine).

2.2.2 ‘Five points’ of Japanese ‘grey’ house

Someone might say after glance observation that there is a certain, almost identical point of analogy between spatial structure and definition between archetype of Le Corbusier 5 points manifesto and Japanese house structure archetype. The similarities are obvious firstly through inner open space pillar determination and façade treatment as also in ground floor surface level up from the mere ground. If the observation take a longer and more detailed in depth analysis the similar view point will become different mental understanding and thus accordingly different material meaning as secondary understanding.

It is not just about the literal and obvious spatial transformability, landscaping of façade, movement into architecture. It touches more deeply pure constructive being and existence of the body itself- out from the spatial arrangement to the pure material approach and meaning



of each constituent element quite different then in Western Le Corbusier aesthetical attachment.

Figure12, 13: Katsura Villa, ground elevation to Nature intact, free plan modulated

Pure understanding of the environment and Nature which carries earthquake as the main destructive issue, Japanese builders maintained perfect fusion of constructive system and wooden material as horizontal and vertical postures interplay. It was suitable for soft woods like cypress, which, by permitting a certain degree of swaying, allowed building to absorb some of the latitudinal shocks from the earthquake. Together with, even from Yayoi and primitive times highly developed iron material usage, it is defined the type of structural beauty “known as the “Mondrian pattern””⁸ relying on horizontal and vertical crossing ‘modulor’ cells. Subsequently, the ‘grey house’ was very dictated to withstand natural catastrophes as becoming elastic structure. This elastic structure gradually is interfered in tuning the living or sanctuary space or any other human enclosure. *Shiki* and *himorogi* or living comfort created screen were however those vertical surfaces, lines and points of pure meaning which were deriving the meaning of volume for human residing.

That constant transition is obvious in forecourts as material continuation of interior to the landscape which is specially purified and materially confined so that one may hear shaman oracles. That gave ever greater emphasis to the horizontal floor surface area through which temple archetype interferes even contemporary Japanese architecture as “a plane which predict possible event to happen inside the house” (*Kengo Kuma*).

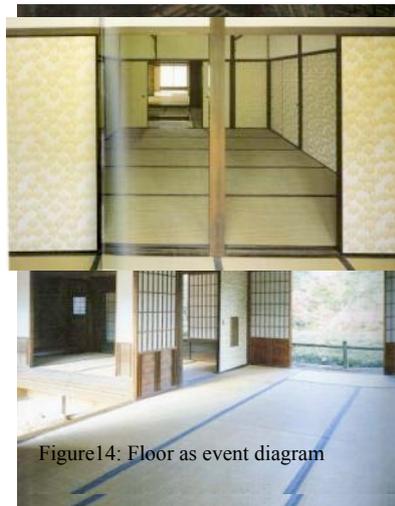


Figure14: Floor as event diagram

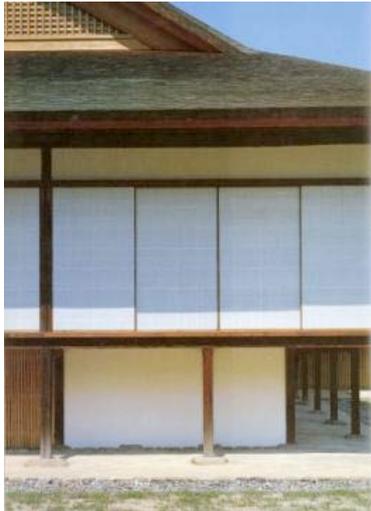
However, free façade plan emerged with its gradual transgression in material as mental aping. As connecting. wooden pillars hanging curtains were used in order to give a temporary privacy and *tatami* was positioned only as point positioned cushion only where people intended to sit. During the developing and fusion of housing types *tatami* covered the entire floor. Overall, even resembling there is very obvious and crucial difference. If you would like to make a photo of the same, there would not be the ideal perspective, ideal object enhancing as one unique image like Le Corbusier intended into his designs. Japanese ‘grey’ house has no privy, a special receptacle being brought as the need arose.



Figure15: Villa Katsura, tatami matrix continuation to Nature

Grid planning which took the distance between post centres as standard influenced the material usage as directly through creating *tatami* cushions where the same varied in the size from room to room. Here is obvious more scoping influence of free plan to even floor definition and entire space tactile, schematic and meaning scrutiny. As from micro to macro

⁸ Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965, pp. 203.



level gradual town development and planning institutionalizing questioned *tatami* standardization. It was measured as a standard floor unit leading to the room staggering “along straight lines rather than on straight axes, a solution which brought them into closer communion with the garden.”⁹

These changes logically led to the spatial rareness of Japanese archetypal house as almost direct continuity to the surrounding landscape as through grid network, inner gardens between rooms, different function volumes arrange as touching upon outside, the use of *engawa* verandas and unfloored areas (*doma*) whereas space assumed and almost merged the function of furniture in Le Corbusier Domino house in itself. Hence, a typified approach as a metaphor could

be a tea room which as without any furniture similar to the Western connotation made possible for host and guest to imagine almost any space that may exist through simple signing the space through tea ceremony and *tokonoma* material symbols. Thus, nothing become possible to be any thing as mental representation of the world.

Figure16, 17, 18: Villa Katsura, Modulative spatial variations as establishing *tatami* and *tokonoma* as integrative partials

It is very clear how the idea of first principles of “5 points” that happened centuries behind Le Corbusier Domino manifest passed the path from pure basic problem of standardization as prefabrication to the aesthetical touching upon ephemeral mind of human and composure of Nature deity discourse as inevitable Being. With few, standard elements of floor and screen it was possible to define each programmatic possibility and need and as well to be dismantled for a very short period of time like it had never existed before.

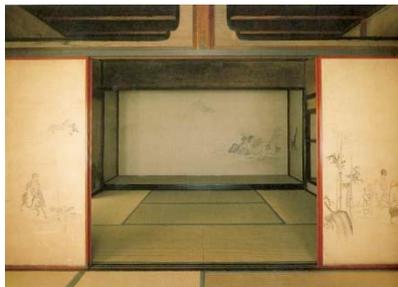


Figure19: Villa Katsura, Elevation as pure material void

What is striking within this archetype is that it is not absolutely possible to record the overall character of the even simple very complex interior/ exterior which as empty veranda volume is nothing more then pure nothingness, void as façade notion. The photo can not translate the minded photo into simple white and black plain. Professor Kuma Kengo once told a story about his childhood house where he as sitting in his room could not be seen, neither the living room with his parents being over there. The only ‘echo’ he could perceive is the presence as semi physical and through sound and smell of the other room. Those immersion of matter and mind cannot be drawn or represented through regular, purely material or perspective means of classifying bodies of architecture as ‘objects’ as master Le Corbusier did.

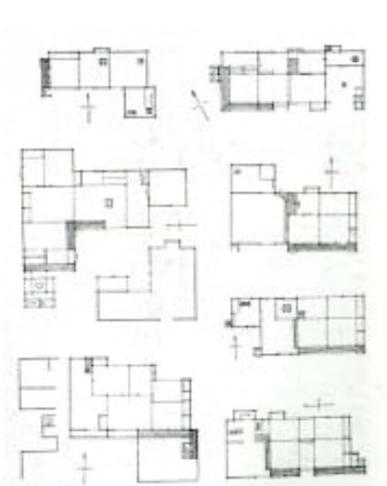


Figure20: Villa Katsura, *screen* spring motif

⁹ Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965, pp. 205.

Overall, ‘grey’ house design is also having its own metabolism, which kept the cycle of life into Nature and society. Fusuma, shoji, tatami – each could be with screen changed, recovered and by all means such a house however old it is was able to create an air of freshness. Even in December house has a different *tokonoma* representations comparing to April as atmosphere is transitioning in the same constructive circumstances. They are not detached but supporting those changes as clearly integrated in tactile experience of one human, not only defined as constructive aspects as in Domino house. These customs might be even described as an echo of the rebuilding of the Ise Shrine.

“For Japanese, it was no the case “life is short, art eternal”. They had only to look to the Ise Shrine.- ever new, yet ever unchanging- to know that it is art, in truth, that I short and life that is eternal”¹⁰. Here, matter as decaying substance is constantly being rebuilt through eternal mind ‘matter’.

Figure21: Landscape, painted by Gyokudo



2.2.3 “Nature” as mind material

“Focusing our experiencing gaze on our own psychic life necessarily takes place as reflection, as a turning about of glance which had previously been directed elsewhere. Every experience can be subject to reflection, as can indeed every manner in which we occupy ourselves with any real or ideal objects... through reflection, instead of grasping the matter straight-out – the values, goals, and instrumentalities – we grasp the corresponding subjective experiences in which we become ‘conscious’ of them, in which (in the broadest sense) they ‘appear’. For this reason, they are called ‘phenomena’”.¹¹

Ordinarily assumed, architectural ‘house’ is an object in ordinary human enclosure. When one speaks of a beautiful work of architecture, one generally means an architect with the ability to design beautiful objects. However, this civic, public opinion as facial ‘is not’ so important as long we as architects may instruct them through usage of the design of ours and how they would explain the memory, the experience of living inside designed house. As firstly the question is concentrated around how they describe relationship between the house and its environment. Basically, a “building is considered an object – an independent material distinct from its environment.”¹²



Figure22: Ise shrine, landscape mimesis

¹⁰ Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965, pp. 207.

¹¹ Edmund Husserl: *Ise, In ‘Phenomenology’*, his article for the Encyclopedia Britannica, revised translation of Richard E. Palmer, 1927,

¹² Kengo Kuma: *Antiobject*, AA Publications, London, 2008, pp. 5.

Japanese 'grey' status of object is more the matter of relationship with its environment. It is the crucial, the basic as primitive aspect of its Being. As becoming in need of Nature it is almost a 'grey' status as status of parasite; always in transitional state. Here we may even refer to the subject of Woody Allen's "documentary" about *Leonard Zelig* who becomes like whoever he is around depending of the necessity of the situation and his mind wish. It metaphorically testimonies how uncontrollable and vigorous is human subjectivity. When introduced in a space, each precision, even mathematical 'falls down' as 'failure'. Toyo Ito once said that if there is 100 different people there will be 100 different house appearances.

However, again the keyword becomes 'interrelationship'. Bruno Taut himself named *Katsura villa* as house of *style of relationships*. Here Taut was referring first of all to the relation between subject and the garden, or more punctually between mind through house and garden. The house becomes more like a materializing medium connecting the subject and garden as much vigorous as the human mind itself. While describing *Katsura villa* impressions in his book *Houses and people of Japan* he discusses the garden more than house itself. Here is



confirmed Kuma Kengo's impression that it is not important what is the architecture: the garden, the house or a landscape; thus everything became connected:

"A bamboo veranda for viewing the moon is in front of the waiting room for guests. From here one can see the entire garden including the pond.. the abundance of forms.. (it) leads the eye along its line to a deep growth of azaleas, and further to a bridge leading to a Buddhist hall (*Enrindo*) and hut (*Shokatei*).¹³

Here is alive testimony of an architect who was professionally confronted to the work of Le Corbusier. His lifelong intention was to emerge within a tool to bridge the gap between

Figure23: Ise shrine, *iwakuras*

consciousness and matter. He had opposed attitude to Corbu's which implanted consciousness to existences and mater to products "both linked to the statistical nexus of marketing"¹⁴.

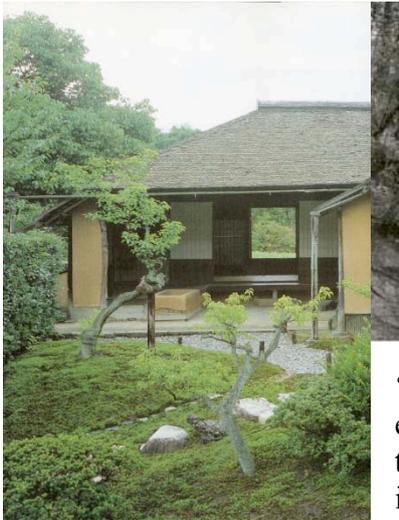
O contrary, 'grey' house is an air fusion in between the ceiling and floor plane as the only clear physical medium among mind and natural matter. Thus, the 'borrowed' scenery is mutually the wall as much as the *shoji* fence or it may be a distant part of interior space. If we look enough long maybe even that distant scenery will become interior. Our mind does not know the distance when time does not exist as we are sitting and mediating. The diversity of those experiences cannot be conveyed by a simple medium as a photograph.

Thus the individual human is having a distinct vigor, uncertainty where even objectified its body is enough ambiguous to question the opposite, created body in the connotation. Both, subject with its mind as inseparable and matter should not lose its allure as connected and intertwined.

Figure24: Ise shrine, *okutsu-iwakuras*

¹³ Kengo Kuma, *Antiobject* (Bruno Taut: *Katsura Detached Palace: in Collected writing of Taut*, Ikuseisha, Tokyo, 1946.) AA Publications, London, 2008, pp. 21.

¹⁴ Kengo Kuma: *Antiobject*, AA Publications, London, 2008, pp. 22.



If we just observe Ise Shrine complex in its artlessness and elementary primitive vigor, seldom we may find such a balance of vital and aesthetic. Its physical 4 fences of for example outer shrine are not the meaning of the distinct boundary as alienation of sacred complex. Nevertheless, even with more material (4 circles) it is a metaphor, over signage of how temple itself is limbed to the surrounding forests, waters, the stone terraces, rocks. Many subsidiary shrines are confined among trees as *iwakuras* or *okutsu-iwakuras*. The nature form is concerned as inhabited with ‘gods’- potentiality of event and being sacred that guest may experience during tea ceremony when the same ‘deity’ mark the mind space as attached to the *tokonoma*. Simply, Ise came into being through the sublimation of symbols into a basic *quintessential* form as becoming lesser materialized. While

negating the art of the material itself it became lesser distant to the state of basic human perceiving. Architecture here continued to be the extension, not mere enclosure of human body.

Even a ‘distant’ transition from the ‘outside’ to the ‘inside’ is beginning much more earlier than one may even see *villa*. Architect here manipulates very smartly with the level and scale of perception. Leadingly, object becomes not from the site view or photo recording but as gradual producing the entity of the field itself, from white to black existence.



Figure24: Villa Katsura, Garden approach stone bridge

“The path passing through the woods and leading to the tea-house is a philosophical preparation. First there is a quiet pastoral, a murmuring stream and a small waterfall – from around this point, a serious

transformation begins, with coarse stones.. The stern stones seem to command the visitor to meditate. A rough stone bridge leads to the tea house. The tea party .. once the party sits down to a meal in the larger room, sounds of the waterfall are heard once more and for the first time one sees sunlight falling on the cascading water. A turtle that had been sunning itself on a rock...Fish swim up to the surface and reveal their scales, and cicadas sings delightful songs in the shade.. The world is truly beautiful.”¹⁵



Figure25, 26, 27: Villa Katsura, landscape to house interior transgression as with inversed final image - view to landscape

¹⁵ Kengo Kuma, *Antiobject, Nihonbi no Saihaken*, AA Publications, London, 2008, pp. 23.



3. 'Tatami' and 'Chair' through comparison experiment questionnaire

Archetypal nominal representatives of matter inside the 5 points *Modern Domino house* and *Japanese house of tradition* may be intriguingly compared as a 'tatami' opposing to the 'chair'. In the period of Le Corbusier *oeuvre* had become that almost each architect had its own specific and distinguished

design of chair as also Mies, De Stijl architects.. etc.

Chair was an element of elaborative design as creating almost objects of pure admiration.

Tatami as had been luxurious item of nobility in *shinden-zukuri* style, and through *Kamakura and Muromachi* periods gradually became standardized element of ordinary civic houses continuous flooring as a numb tool in hands of an architect while creating a house programmatic distinction.

Analysis through same 4 key questions and 8 brief answers (classified table) has as its purpose to bring forward answers as more in detail textual comparison of the elements where more positive answer is marked with (+) and more negative with (-);

(+) means that that element posses more advantages or less failings:

Figure28: Chair LC, Le Corbusier design and *tatami mat*

Question/mark	Tatami	Chair
		
<p>a) What is the distinguished character of production?</p>	<p>T: The production is fully standardized. It is possible to create endless number of singular elements while using the same material and tools and the same working area as physically needed one. Thus, with very modest tools and working space but with specialized workers it is inevitable producing of high quality cushion mat as total one house floor occupancy. The size of <i>tatami</i> varies around (0.955m by 1.91m) as to the thickness of around 5cm to 6cm, and everything depending on area in Japan.</p>	<p>C: One type chair production is having the same character of prefabrication but only if there is one type. Up to present times there is an endless number of design ‘molds’ achieved so it cannot be said that the producing is fully standardized. Even today there are constantly emerging different design proposals as celebrating differences in each aspect, from dimensional to constructive. Of course, basic measures of human body are integrated but even sometimes the same are overviewed.</p>
<p>Mark A</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>b) What is the impact of producing character on the programmatic definition of the house?</p>	<p>T: Even being defined as standard of one dimension sum, <i>tatami</i> as through on element is defining spatial scheme in quite distinct way in a way of ground positioning and the role of each <i>tatami</i> to one human. The perfect example is tea room where each <i>tatami</i> cushion is having its role- entrance mat, guest mat, host mat, hearth mat etc. Thus, the richness of <i>tatami</i> is not in its uniformity but in general relation as (n x <i>tatami</i>) where few of them are creating</p>	<p>C: Chair as being diverse in its production system usually is defined through each trait as due to the function that it has to support in one house. Its materiality and dimensions and design are in behalf of designated program and then the area as for example dining room is created. Its design and disposition in space is quite internal and rarely achieves more the mere communication and logical relation to the rest of living areas in ‘house’.</p>

	the territory with distinct character and different meaning than one mat has; it even touches upon the landscape relationship territory.	
Mark B	+	-
c) What is the possibility of material changing as a reuse of the same design posture?	T: <i>Tatami</i> is made of rice straw to form the core with a covering of woven soft rush straw. On the long sides, they have edging (<i>heri</i>) of brocade or plain cloth, although some tatami have no edging. Hence, we may conclude that it is absolute process of changing the clothes of the old piece as within the range of natural materials. Nevertheless the fact of such distant moment of tatami establishing, it is perfect the sense of future eco architecture which as Kengo Kuma said is in rethinking/return to the material itself.	C: Chair generally is various demanding element. It may refer to the absolutely same character as tatami mat but ever great percent of means of production includes the leather and some rare and expensive materials. In last few decades even chair design went very far in system of usage and compositional structure which may be very smart and ingenious for such a small spatial element; also ever greater number of new materials as artificial ones is becoming invented and released but the price is not still reasonable.
Mark C	+	+
d) What is the number of applicable usages?	T: <i>Tatami</i> cushions could be used for sitting, kneeling, laying down, sleeping- bad, as for walking- floor, eating- table, stepping- few steps between two spaces. It is obvious that tatami does not exist as clear object. Mind freely may shape mats in a way to satisfy function. However, logically there are some reasonable limits and customs established.	C: Chair mainly is used for clear orthogonal sitting as some design differ in angle of body position and may present the status in between chair for resting or bad (laying down or sleeping- leisure).
Mark D	+	-

Table 1: Comparison table of 8 *tatami*/chair question/answer system of crucial analysis

As we may notice through tabular marks *tatami* as Japanese traditional house element parameter took 4 positive marks while chair is declared with 3 negative and 1 positive mark.

4. Experiment 2 – material experiment: Water Brick House

Place: Tokyo University, Graduate School of Engineering,
 Department of Architecture
 Professor Kengo Kuma Laboratory



Member of workshop experiment:
student: Koncarevic Milan Bojan

*Key positive words of this crucial analysis are selected and well integrated into material experiment which has been done in 2009. year at Tokyo University, professor Kengo Kuma Laboratory. However, those key words are elected as positive overviews for materializing the system for exhibition house whose function could be various but predicted as house for people without home due to catastrophes or war escalation. The implementation went from unit to system and final design conforming.

Experiment overview is very brief with key words listing and integrative key text and images enclosed.:

Key words:

Question A/answer A: measure, standardization, production;

Question B/answer B: interrelationship, unit, unit field, human unit, 'groundfloor', zoning;

Question C/answer C: eco-, super/material, composition, changeability;

Question D/answer D: potential, macro/micro, sameness, effectiveness, consciousness, limits;

Integrative key text: Water Brick is Kengo Kuma's patent unit as being invented as a new tool of architectural design and experimenting. In the year 2009. inside Kengo Kuma laboratory occurred the extensive student workshop design as using those units for minding and producing a house for refugees of all kind as temporary multifunctional shelter.

Design greatly fulfilled as a final result in a specific design and

house representation.



With using previous tabular experiment key words as leading motifs there is a pure theoretical mental construct from mind to matter transgression as using traditional and contemporary 'basics' and 'primitives' but as intelligent materiality and impressions into new mind/matter product.

Waterbrick is unit measured as five boxes connected within its half as overlapping with the caps at each end in the center. Thus, each unite may be connected axially. Box shifting also makes possible to connect each entity into volumetric secondary entity and to grow as creating a mass. This standardized unit as same measured enables through standardized method of connection interrelationship to produce a unit field as multifunctional and human needs satisfying. It may become floor, wall, roof or a floor extension as furniture. That furniture, as using the same material, detaches clear zones even not clearly separating volume as sharply as usual furniture. It becomes a status in between tatami mat and western furniture.

Figure30: Experiment2, interior, infrastructure to structure

Supermaterial, degradable, with highest character and satisfying human health standards. Overall, with such a system of composition and material achievement it is possible to reuse,

change or even upgrade the solemn definition of the patent unit basically and so influencing entire 'house'. Similar to tatami cushions it is present high level of potential and effectiveness through sameness in each sense, but within its reasonable limits of mental to spatial image and creation.

Each unit as being pure and through axial connection of material unit it connects also the void of each. As craftsmen mind or impress in his mind it is actually the whole structure the pure void connected or not connected. That void represent the metabolism infrastructure within the unit puzzle system and may possess the role of transferring the water supplies with ending screws linked to the water fixtures. It may even be housing the lightning fixtures inside the void or filling with any possible material as controlling the aesthetical judgment of transparency level.

Figure31: Experiment2, interior, structure to event to infrastructure

Accordingly, it may be said that the new quality emerged. The construction, the material and potential materialization plug ins, infrastructure - lightning, electricity, drainage, insulation, sunlight controlling, spatial diversity.. etc, everything is defined and put into relationship with invention of only one element. Here the mind/matter surpassing is within the greatest achievement. There is no hidden point of the space that mind cannot integrate into spatial



experience or directly control. Everything is put into inter correlation- for flow to static element that usually determine the 'house'.

As with direct interplay and constant questioning mind became a relevant part of a matter existence

5. Conclusion

Actual status in society is a leading point for architectural creation and that each design as being anti object has to be in continuity within the society and not with mere mind matter paper connotation? Even here, professor Kengo Kuma said, that he always seeks for Nature, even in Tokyo hectic Being: *sky, city Nature*, he said.

This makes another truth possible. Truth of eternal beauty, as Bruno Taut named his first experience of Ise Shrine.

The only question is whether ever it is going to be possible to create non failure super object that will entirely transcend the gap between mind and matter, between conscious image of space and drawing of ordinary human user to the architectural, real image and drawing of an architect. The critical question is: is it possible to create a pure meaning ?

Ise shrine carpenter *re-existence* probably is very close to that final essence. However, hence it should be mentioned that in Book X, Plato tells of Socrates' metaphor of the three beds: one bed exists as an idea made by God (the Platonic ideal); one is made by the carpenter, in imitation of God's idea; one is made by the artist in imitation of the carpenter's.

So the artist's bed is twice removed from the truth. The copiers only touch on a small part of things as they really are, where a bed may appear differently from various points of view, looked at obliquely or directly, or differently again in a mirror.

Though the better artist they are, the more faithfully their works of art will resemble the reality of the carpenter making a bed, nonetheless the 'imitators' will still not attain the truth (of God's creation).(The form taken by the deity at the Ise Shrine is a mirror in sanctuary housing whereas becomes the dwelling of the deity.)

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Figure1: Domino House, Le Corbusier: Catherine de Smet , *Vers une architecture du livre: Le Corbusier: édition et mise en pages 1912-1965 (French Edition)*, Lars Muller Publishers, London, 2004.

Figure2: Five Points key images as a script, Le Corbusier: Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2008.

Figure3: Interior perspective of a house with communication landscape: Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2008.

Figure4: Proportion of Japanese human body inserted compared with Leonardo Da Vinci classic representation: Bruno Taut, *House and People of Japan*, Sanseido Co.Ltd, Tokyo, 1958.

Figure5: Villa Stein, 1926-28, Le Corbusier: Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2008.

Figure6: Villa La Roche, Le Corbusier: Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2008.

Figure7: Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier: Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2008.

Figure8: Representation of annual rebuilding ceremony of Ise Shrine: Bruno Taut, *House and People of Japan*, Sanseido Co.Ltd, Tokyo, 1958.

Figure9: Ise Shrine, shrine wooden 4 wooden fence enclosure overlapping view: Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965.

Figure10: Ise Shrine, shrine wooden beam-post constructive joint view: Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*,

M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965.

Figure11: Ise Shrine, two sites – *shin-no-mihashira* positions marked: Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965.

Figure12, 13: Katsura Villa, ground elevation to Nature intact, free plan modulated:
Supervisors: Teijo Ito/Shojiro Obata/Kakichi Suzuki/Yoshiaki Kudo, *Katsura*, Shinkenchiku-Sha, Tokyo, 1983.

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Figure19: Villa Katsura, Elevation as pure material void: Teijo Ito/Shojiro Obata/Kakichi Suzuki/Yoshiaki Kudo, *Katsura*, Shinkenchiku-Sha, Tokyo, 1983.

Figure20: Villa Katsura, *screen* spring motif: Teijo Ito/Shojiro Obata/Kakichi Suzuki/Yoshiaki Kudo, *Katsura*, Shinkenchiku-Sha, Tokyo, 1983.

Figure21: Landscape, painted by Gyokudo: Bruno Taut, *House and People of Japan*, Sanseido Co.Ltd, Tokyo, 1958.

Figure22: Ise shrine, landscape mimesis: Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965.

Figure23: Ise shrine, *iwakuras*: Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965.

Figure24: Ise shrine, *okutsu-iwakuras*: Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise, Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge MA, 1965.

Figure24: Villa Katsura, Garden approach stone bridge: Teijo Ito/Shojiro Obata/Kakichi Suzuki/Yoshiaki Kudo, *Katsura*, Shinkenchiku-Sha, Tokyo, 1983.

Figure25, 26, 27: Villa Katsura, lanscape to house interior transgresion as with inversed final image - view to landscape: Teijo Ito/Shojiro Obata/Kakichi Suzuki/Yoshiaki Kudo, *Katsura*, Shinkenchiku-Sha, Tokyo, 1983.

Figure28: Chair LC, Le Corbusier design and *tatami mat*: Author personal photography

Figure29: Experiment2: Author personal photography_(copyrighted)

Figure30: Experiment2, interior, infrastructure to structure: Author personal photography_(copyrighted)

Figure31: Experiment2, interior, structure to event to infrastructure: Author personal photography_(copyrighted)

Environment Kuznets curve for GHG emissions: A panel cointegration analysis

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Environment Kuznets curve for GHG emissions: A panel cointegration analysis

Abstract

In this paper, we attempt to use recently developed panel unit root and panel cointegration tests as well as the fully-modified OLS approach to examine the long-run relationships among carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions, energy use and GDP for 22 OECD countries (Annex I Parties) over the 1971-2000 period. Furthermore, in order to investigate how robust these results are for other direct greenhouse gases (GHGs), we have estimated the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) hypothesis by using the total greenhouse gas (TGHG), methane (CH₄) and nitrous oxide (N₂O). The empirical results support the view that the long-run elasticity of CO₂ emissions to energy consumption is most statistically significant. In addition, energy use still plays an important role in explaining the GHG emissions for OECD countries. In terms of the EKC hypothesis, the results showed that a quadratic relationship was found to exist in the long run. Thus, other countries could learn from the developed countries in this regard and try to smooth the EKC curve at relatively less cost.

1. Introduction

In recent years, increased attention has been directed towards carbon dioxide emissions, as industrialized countries have had to find ways of reducing energy use in order to meet Kyoto targets. In contrast with the developed countries, the demand for energy in developing countries has risen sharply alongside the increases in economic growth. Thus, it has become critically important for policy-makers to strike an appropriate balance between the environmental problems, economic growth and energy demand.

According to Grossman and Krueger (1995), air pollution and income exhibit a quadratic relationship in the long run, a phenomenon that is commonly referred to as the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC). Over the last few decades, there have been many studies that have examined the EKC hypothesis and arrived at mixed results. If the EKC hypothesis is found to hold true, it would imply that there will be an automatic improvement in the environmental pollution situation as a result of doing nothing. On the other hand, it is difficult to achieve the Kyoto targets when air pollution and income do not exhibit an inverted U-shaped relationship with each other.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the long-run relationships among environmental indicators, energy use and GDP for 22 OECD countries over the 1971-2000 period. Our paper has therefore three objectives. First, the analysis in this paper is a first attempt to estimate EKC within the panel frameworks by using different type of global greenhouse gases (GHGs) as environmental indicator, namely, the total greenhouse gas (TGHG), methane (CH₄) and nitrous oxide (N₂O). Within the literature on EKC theory, a comparatively large body of research has focused on local air (SO₂, SPM, CO, etc.), global air (CO₂) and water quality. It is worth investigating these results by using other direct GHGs which can also cause the global warming. Second, in order to avoid the problem of missing variables, in the present study we consider the Ang (2007) model which includes a variable for energy use. Final, we model the relationships among environmental indicators, energy consumption and GDP within a panel framework that considers both the country effects and small sample bias. In recent years, the problem of spurious correlation in the variables has been highlighted in many macroeconomic studies. In this paper we provide panel unit root and cointegration tests to examine this issue. We also use fully-modified OLS (FMOLS) to estimate the long run EKC pattern for 22 OECD countries. Moreover, the present study compares the panel and individual FMOLS results. An increasing number of recent publications and empirical studies have criticized for EKC hypothesis within panel approach. Perman and Stern (2003) find that even there is a quadratic relationship in the panel result, but the common EKC cointegrating vector for all individual countries is also rejected. The results show that the EKC is may a problematic concept. Thus, in this paper we try to estimate the panel and individual FMOLS results and investigate them.

The remainder of this paper is divided into five sections. Section 2 presents an overview of the previous literature on energy demand models. Section 3 provides information regarding the data set. Section 4 introduces the panel approach in this paper. In Section 5 we discuss the empirical results, and Section 6 concludes.

2. Literature survey

The EKC phenomenon was introduced by the World Bank (1992) and by Grossman and Krueger (1995) as an inverse U-shaped relationship between environmental pressure and income. Grossman and Krueger (1995) showed that the low-income countries could learn from the history portrayed by this curve and try to avoid making the same mistakes. Moreover, the quadratic relationship between pollution emissions and income suggested that the environmental quality would improve as a result of doing nothing.

In addition, many authors used different measures to estimate air pollution. Huang et al. (2008) estimated the EKC by using different measures of air pollution, namely, the key greenhouse gases. The results showed that the 38 industrialized countries were unable to conform to the Kyoto Protocol and the EKC was not supported. Akbostanci et al. (2009) tested the EKC hypothesis for 58 provinces in Turkey by using two air pollution measures, namely PM₁₀ and SO₂. The panel results revealed an N-shaped relationship for the two forms of pollution. Esmaili and Abdollahzaden (2009) estimated the EKC model for 38 oil producing countries over the 1990-2000 period, using oil exploitation as an environmental indicator. They observed that the panel results supported the EKC phenomenon.

For the different types of method, Halkos and Tsionas (2001) applied the switching regime model and the Bayesian Markov chain Monte Carlo method to point out that environmental pressure exhibited a monotonically increasing relationship with income and the EKC hypothesis was not supported. Inmaculada and Aurelia (2004) applied the pooled mean group estimator which allowed for more flexible assumptions in the panel procedure to test the EKC for 22 OECD countries over the 1975-1998 period. The results revealed the existence of an N-shaped EKC. Lise (2006) employed decomposition analysis to test the EKC for Turkey for 1980-2003, and found that the estimates had the expected signs, but that CO₂ emissions and income exhibited a monotonically increasing relationship. Luzzati and Orsini (2009) examined the relationship between environmental pressure and GDP over 1971-2004 for 113 countries, as a single unit. Their panel results showed that the relationship was monotonically increasing and did not follow the EKC pattern.

In term of additional explanatory variables, Heerink et al. (2001) took the Gini index into account to examine the EKC pattern and appeared to find a negative relationship between pollution emissions and income inequality. Cole (2004) included trade in his model and estimated the EKC pattern by using ten different forms of air and water pollution emissions. The results indicated that an inverted U-shaped relationship existed between environmental pressure and income, except in the cases of volatile organic compounds and carbon monoxide. Moreover, environmental pressure and trade openness were found to exhibit a positive relationship and this could have been due to the efficiency of resource use. Tamazian (2009) investigated the relationships among environmental pressure, economic development and financial development using a panel procedure. He found that increases in income and financial development were associated with decreases in environmental pressure. In addition, there are a number of publications that have focused on long data series and different sources of CO₂ emissions. Kristrom and Lundgren (2005) used the long data series in Sweden to examine the EKC and the importance of nuclear power for CO₂ emissions projections. Their results were consistent with the EKC in Sweden and they forecast lower CO₂ emissions projections by keeping nuclear power at its current level. Galeotti et al. (2006) used different sources of CO₂ emissions and alternative

functional forms to check the EKC phenomenon for OECD, non-OECD and non-OPEC countries. They showed that the EKC does not depend upon the source of the data and revealed an inverted U-shaped curve for OECD countries by using alternative functional forms.

Recently, some researchers have been a shift in attention away from a focus on the important role of energy consumption. Ang (2007) estimated the relationships among pollution emissions, energy consumption and income for France over the 1960-2000 period using cointegration as well as a vector error correction model. The results showed that energy consumption positively influenced pollution emissions and the EKC phenomenon. Apergis and Payne (2009) examined the panel relationships among CO₂ emissions, energy consumption and income for Central America over the 1971-2004 period, using Ang (2007)'s model. They noted that CO₂ emissions and income exhibited an inverted U-shaped curve. Halicioglu (2009) summarized the results concerning pollution emissions, energy consumption, income and foreign trade for Turkey over the 1960-2005 period by using the autoregressive distributed lag model. He concluded that pollution emissions increased initially, and then declined until reaching the turning point. Moreover, income was found to be the most important variable in explaining the CO₂ emissions for Turkey. Jalil and Mahmud (2009) examined the relationships among carbon emissions, energy consumption, income and foreign trade for China over 1975-2005, using an autoregressive distributed lag model. Their findings indicated that there existed a quadratic relationship between income and carbon emissions. However, trade was found to be statistically insignificant in the model.

However, the EKC phenomenon also garnered criticism on several counts. Harbaugh et al. (2002) and Stern and Common (2001) raised the sensitive to sample used within the panel data. Stern and Common (2001) test parameters for OECD, Non-OECD and World countries using Hausman test. They found that the null hypothesis is rejected for Non-OECD and World countries. Thus, it indicated that the fixed effects model can be consistently estimated and the EKC results are sensitive to sample used. Harbaugh et al. (2002) estimated the relationship between pollution (SO₂, smoke and total suspended particulates) and income, using different sample sizes (adding countries, year and new control variables) within panel fixed effects approach. They find that EKC are highly sensitive to change sample size and little empirical support EKC pattern.

Moreover, Perman and Stern (2003) carry out the sensitivity analysis of panel and individual results. Perman and Stern (2003) use panel cointegration test to examine the SO₂ emissions and GDP pattern for 74 countries over 1960-1990. His results suggested that even there is a cointegrating relationship in the panel result, but the common EKC cointegrating vector for all individual countries is rejected. The results show that the EKC is may a problematic concept.

In studying the EKC, a number of studies have used data on CO₂ emissions which were collected from the International Energy Agency as a proxy for environmental pressure. However, comparatively little research has focused on other GHGs. Thus, in this paper we attempt to estimate the EKC by using different measures of air pollution, namely, TGHG, CH₄ and N₂O. Furthermore, researchers have recently become increasingly interested in the linkages among pollution, energy consumption and income. In this study, we take energy consumption into account and find that it has a significant and positive effect on environmental pressure.

Many different methods have been used in the literature. Recently, the panel approach has been applied to estimate the EKC model. Some researchers have

indicated that there may be more value in using panel frameworks. Thus, in this paper we employ the newly-developed panel unit root tests, panel cointegration and FMOLS.

---Insert Table 1 about here---

3. Data

The model used for the EKC is derived within the standard conventional theory and is expressed as:

$$C_{it} = f(E_{it}, Y_{it}, Y_{it}^2) \quad (1)$$

where CO₂ emissions per capita (C_{it}) is a function of energy use per capita (E_{it}), real gross domestic income per capita (Y_{it}) and the square of real gross domestic income per capita (Y_{it}^2). In order to investigate the relationships among pollution, energy consumption and income, the log equation is expressed as follows:

$$\ln C_{it} = \alpha_{0i} + \delta_i t + \beta_{1i} \ln E_{it} + \beta_{2i} \ln Y_{it} + \beta_{3i} \ln Y_{it}^2 + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

Eq. (2) is estimated using the panel approach that takes into consideration both country i and year t , while α_{0i} , $\delta_i t$ and ε_{it} are fixed effects, deterministic trends and error terms. According to the conventional EKC hypothesis, positive signs of β_{2i} and negative signs of β_{3i} should be expected. The results reveal that there is an inverted U-shape between CO₂ emissions and income. Furthermore, more energy use may create more pollution simultaneously and the signs of β_{1i} should be positive.

The annual data in the sample are obtained for 22 countries (Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and United States). For the first step we consider four variables over the 1971-2000 period, namely, CO₂ emissions per capita (measured in metric tons), energy use per capita (measured in kg of oil equivalent per capita), real gross domestic income per capita (measured at 2000 prices) and the square of real gross domestic income per capita (measured at 2000 prices). The variables for CO₂ emissions, energy consumption and income were supplied by the World Bank Development Indicators, CD-ROM. In the second step, there are six measures of GHGs that were regulated by the Kyoto Protocol. However, some of them (PFCs, HFCs and SF₆) are close to zero and not available in our work. Thus, we collected other GHGs from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), namely, the TGHG (measured in metric tons), CH₄ (measured in metric tons) and N₂O (measured in metric tons). The samples are limited to the 1990-2003 period because UNFCCC data are not available for later years.

4. Methodology

The analysis of the data is carried out by means of a panel approach, so as to avoid the small sample bias and to take individual heterogeneity into account. Moreover, the spurious correlation problem in the variables has attracted considerable research attention in recent years. In order to address this problem, unit root tests, cointegration and FMOLS are used.

In considering the possibility that spurious regressions may exist, two kinds of panel unit root tests are utilized in this paper. One of the unit root tests was developed by Im et al. (IPS) (2003). The main advantage of the IPS panel unit root test tried to relax the Levin et al. (2002) alternative hypothesis which required that all series must be stationary. Thus, the IPS test only requires that some of the series be stationary. In addition, the IPS test converges to a normal distribution with mean and variance by using the Monte Carlo approach. The other panel unit root test was proposed by Breitung (2000). Breitung (2000) improved the Dickey and Fuller (1979) unit root test to encompass a panel approach and considered the possibility that heteroskedasticity might exist in the sample. The major advantage of Breitung's (2000) panel unit root test is that it modifies the OLS bias. When the OLS bias is captured, the t statistic obtained from the test is applicable and asymptotically normal.

The next step is to examine the existence of a long-run relationship among the variables. Pedroni (2000, 2004) developed the individual heterogeneous and fixed-effect cointegrated panels, and proposed seven statistics in order to test the null of no cointegration. In addition, the Pedroni (2000, 2004) cointegration test required only one of those series to be cointegrated in the alternative hypothesis. The seven statistics of Pedroni (2000, 2004) comprise the heterogeneous cointegration test given by the Within dimension (i.e., the Panel PP, Panel ADF, Panel ν and Panel rho statistics) and the Between dimension (i.e., the Group PP, Group ADF and Group rho statistics). Pedroni (2000, 2004) also argued that in a finite sample the power of the Group ADF statistic was the highest, as were the Panel ν and Panel rho statistics.

Having found a cointegration relationship among these variables, we then estimate the long-run elasticities using the FMOLS technique due to Pedroni (2001). It must be noted that the OLS yields biased estimates if the number of regressors is integrated of order one. Pedroni (2001) developed a semi-parametric, fixed-effect and heterogeneous short-run dynamics panel FMOLS model with which to capture the endogenous OLS bias.

5. Empirical results

In order to test the long-run relationship and avoid spurious regression among CO₂ emissions, energy use, income and the square of income, the IPS and Breitung panel unit root tests were applied and the results are presented in Table 2. The results shown in Table 2 indicate that the null hypotheses of the IPS and Breitung unit root tests are rejected by all variables with first differences. In other words, all variables are integrated of order one.

---Insert Table 2 about here---

After finding all variables with a unit root, Table 3 presents the heterogeneous cointegration relationships among CO₂ emissions and the explanatory variables. It can be seen in Table 3 that all the statistics are statistically significant at the 5 per cent level, except for Panel ν . Furthermore, the Group ADF statistic which was developed by Pedroni (2004) was found to be the most powerful statistic in the finite sample. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected and there exists a long-run relationship among all the variables.

---Insert Table 3 about here---

Having established the long-run cointegration relationship in the CO₂ emissions model, in the next part of the analysis we used FMOLS to examine the elasticity of CO₂ emissions to energy use and income. The results regarding the panel and individual FMOLS statistics are given in Table 4, from which it can be seen that all

variables are statistically significant at the 5 per cent level for the panel FMOLS results over 1971-2000. The long run elasticity of CO₂ emissions to energy use was 0.88 which indicated that a 1% decrease in energy use would lead to a 0.88% decrease in CO₂ emissions. Thus it is likely an efficient way to reduce CO₂ emissions by technological progress of energy use.

---Insert Table 4 about here---

The long-run income elasticity of CO₂ emissions was found to be 5.67-0.69 *Y*. In addition, a negative and statistically significant square of income indicated that no evidence of a monotonically increasing relationship between CO₂ emissions and income was found. In other words, the empirical results supported the existence of the EKC for OECD countries over the 1971-2000 period. Moreover, the results in Table 4 also indicated that the turning point for the OECD countries was estimated to be 8.22 (in logarithms), resembling the results of Ang (2007) for France but below the range estimated by Apergis and Payne (2009) for Central America.

In terms of individual countries, energy use was found to be statistically significant at the 1 per cent level except in the cases of France and Iceland. It is worth noting that both France and Iceland are carbon free countries with high share of nuclear and hydro power. Thus, energy consumption still plays an important role in OECD countries in terms of explaining CO₂ emissions. Turning to the long-run relationships between CO₂ emissions and income for OECD countries, there were eight countries that exhibited an inverted U-shaped pattern, seven countries that revealed a U-shaped process, and others that exhibited no relationship.

---Insert Table 5 about here---

With respect to the relationships among CO₂ emissions, energy consumption and income, in this study we also examined the EKC hypothesis by using different measures of air pollution. These findings are in accord with the results based on the CO₂ emissions. The FMOLS results in Table 5 revealed a statistically insignificant relationship between energy use and CH₄. A reasonable explanation is CH₄ which mainly stemming from agriculture and gas extraction. Thus, it is not related to energy use. However, the results still indicated that energy use appears to be an important variable in the EKC hypothesis. As regards the relationship between air pollution and income, the results revealed the existence of a quadratic relationship in the long run. Furthermore, the turning point of the EKC was derived by using different measures of air pollution similar to CO₂ emissions.

6. Conclusion

In the paper, we have attempted to examine the relationships among environmental indicators, energy consumption and GDP for 22 OECD countries over the 1971-2000 period using a panel framework. The major purpose of the present study has not only been to investigate the important role of energy use in OECD countries, but also to examine the EKC hypothesis by using different measures of air pollution. First, we estimated the long-run elasticity of CO₂ emissions to energy consumption and found them to be most statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. The results are remarkably consistent with Apergis and Payne (2009) for Central America.

In spite of the large literature that tests the relationship between GHG and income by using CO₂ emissions, there are few studies that focus on other GHG. In the next stage of our research, we estimated the EKC hypothesis over the 1990-2003 period by using different measures of air pollution, namely, TGHG, CH₄ and N₂O. The empirical evidence showed that a quadratic relationship was found to exist in the long

run. In other words, the empirical results supported the existence of the EKC for the OECD countries.

The above findings raise two implications for policy-makers in OECD countries. The first implication is that energy use still plays an important role in explaining the GHG emissions for OECD countries. Therefore, the government in OECD countries could develop some new technological progress to persistently reduce energy use and meet the targets laid down by the Kyoto Protocol. In addition, the empirical results support the view that the historical data for the OECD countries exhibit an inverted U-shaped pattern between GHG and income. Thus, the second implication is that other countries could learn from the developed countries in this regard and try to smooth the EKC curve at relatively less cost.

However, unlike the results of Ang (2007), we found all the variables to be statistically insignificant for France and it indicated that EKC phenomenon was not exist. The inconsistent results may be due to highly sensitive to sample sizes. Moreover, in comparison with Apergis and Payne (2009), our panel results are similar to Apergis and Payne (2009). But this paper also found that most of individual countries do not support the EKC pattern. Thus, although all of panel results revealed the quadratic relationships between pollution and income, the EKC is may a problematic concept.

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Table 1

Estimates of the EKC

Study	Estimation method	Period	Pollution	Country	EKC
Halkos and Tsionas (2001)	Switching regime model	Average cross section	CO ₂	61 countries	Monotonically increasing
Heerink et al. (2001)	GMM	1985	SPM, CO ₂ , SO ₂	153 countries for CO ₂ and 31 for SO ₂ and SPM	Exists
Stern and Common (2001)	Panel	1850-1990	SO ₂	All of the world	Monotonically increasing
Harbaugh et al. (2002)	Panel	Include Grossman and Krueger (1995) data and add 1989-1992, 1971-1976 periods	SO ₂ , smoke and total suspended particulates	Include Grossman and Krueger (1995) data and add 25 cities and 3 new countries	Do not exists
Perman and Stern (2003)	Panel	1960-1990	SO ₂	74 countries	Do not exists
Cole (2004)	Time series	1980-1997	CO ₂ , NO ₂ , SO ₂ , SPM, BOD, Nitrates, Phosphorous	OECD countries	Exists
Cole (2004)	Time series	1980-1997	VOC, CO	OECD countries	Opposite N-shape
Cole (2004)	Time series	1980-1997	Dissolved oxygen	OECD countries	U-shaped
Inmaculada and Aurelia (2004)	Pooled mean group estimator	1975-1998	CO ₂	22 OECD countries	N-shaped
Kristrom and Lundgren (2005)	Time series with AR1 error term	1900-1999	CO ₂	Sweden	Exists
Galeotti et al. (2006)	Time series	1960-1997	CO ₂	OECD countries	Opposite N-shaped

Table 1 (continued)

Estimates of the EKC

Study	Estimation method	Period	Pollution	Country	EKC
Galeotti et al. (2006)	Time series	1971-1997	CO ₂	Non-OECD	Exists
Galeotti et al. (2006)	Time series	1971-1997	CO ₂	Non-OPEC	N-shaped
Lise (2006)	Decomposition analysis	1980-2003	CO ₂	Turkey	Monotonically increasing
Ang (2007)	Cointegration and VECM	1960-2000	CO ₂	France	Exists
Huang et al. (2008)	Time series	1990-2003	GHG	Belgium, Canada, Greece, Iceland, Japan, the Netherlands and the US	Exists
Huang et al. (2008)	Time series	1990-2003	GHG	Germany	U-shaped
Akbostanci et al. (2009)	Panel EGLS	1992-2001	PM ₁₀ , SO ₂	58 provinces in Turkey	N-shaped
Apergis and Payne (2009)	Panel FMOLS	1971-2004	CO ₂	Central America	Exists
Esmaeili and Abdollahzaden (2009)	Panel	1990-2000	Oil exploitation	38 oil producing countries	Exists
Halicioglu (2009)	ARDL	1960-2005	CO ₂	Turkey	Exists
Jalil and Mahmud (2009)	ARDL	1975-2005	CO ₂	China	Exists
Luzzati and Orsini (2009)	Panel	1971-2004	CO ₂	113 countries	Monotonically increasing
Tamazian (2009)	Panel	1992-2004	CO ₂	BRIC countries	Exists

Table 2
 Panel unit root tests

Variable	Method	Level	Difference
$\ln C_{it}$	IPS	-0.420(0.337)	-17.908 ^{***} (0.000)
	Breitung	0.896(0.815)	-10.548 ^{***} (0.000)
$\ln E_{it}$	IPS	-1.108(0.134)	-11.439 ^{***} (0.000)
	Breitung	1.975(0.976)	-5.976 ^{***} (0.000)
$\ln Y_{it}$	IPS	1.702(0.956)	-7.970 ^{***} (0.000)
	Breitung	5.42067(0.999)	-2.785 ^{***} (0.003)
$\ln Y_{it}^2$	IPS	1.89934(0.971)	-8.664 ^{***} (0.000)
	Breitung	6.36883(0.999)	-3.273 ^{***} (0.001)

Notes: The p values are reported in the parentheses; *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.

Table 3
Panel cointegration test

Test Statistics	P value
Panel PP	-3.735 ^{***} (0.000)
Panel ADF	-3.016 ^{***} (0.001)
Panel rho	-2.172 ^{**} (0.0145)
Panel v	1.008(0.157)
Group PP	-4.903 ^{***} (0.000)
Group ADF	-4.251 ^{***} (0.000)
Group rho	-1.344 [*] (0.089)

Notes: The p values are reported in the parentheses; *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.

Table 4
 FMOLS test

Country	$\ln E_{it}$	$\ln Y_{it}$	$\ln Y_{it}^2$
Australia	0.88 ^{***} (0.12)	10.69 ^{***} (3.00)	-1.23 ^{***} (0.36)
Austria	0.73 ^{***} (0.20)	-10.02 ^{***} (3.60)	1.14 ^{***} (0.43)
Canada	1.42 ^{***} (0.26)	-23.34 ^{***} (6.22)	2.67 ^{***} (0.73)
Denmark	1.21 ^{***} (0.12)	34.53 ^{***} (7.99)	-4.00 ^{***} (0.92)
Finland	2.03 ^{***} (0.27)	-13.90 [*] (7.24)	1.48 [*] (0.86)
France	0.22(0.58)	-10.98(15.25)	1.17(1.83)
Germany	1.05 ^{***} (0.11)	7.69 ^{**} (3.63)	-0.97 ^{**} (0.43)
Greece	0.95 ^{***} (0.08)	33.52 ^{***} (10.48)	-4.23 ^{***} (1.33)
Hungary	2.21 ^{**} (0.46)	-41.44 [*] (23.68)	5.59 [*] (3.31)
Iceland	-0.19(0.33)	0.64(10.67)	-0.05(1.25)
Ireland	1.14 ^{**} (0.01)	0.96 [*] (0.55)	-0.13 [*] (0.07)
Italy	0.91 ^{***} (0.18)	12.49 ^{***} (5.29)	-1.51 ^{***} (0.65)
Japan	0.84 ^{***} (0.15)	-4.44(4.83)	0.47(0.55)
Netherlands	1.61 ^{***} (0.20)	-11.99(9.15)	1.35(1.07)
New Zealand	0.49 ^{***} (0.12)	-24.74(33.89)	3.13(4.17)
Norway	1.86 ^{***} (0.49)	8.07(5.81)	-1.03(0.64)
Portugal	1.00 ^{***} (0.11)	1.78(2.12)	-0.24(0.27)
Spain	1.89 ^{***} (0.20)	-33.85 ^{***} (4.59)	4.00 ^{***} (0.56)
Sweden	1.49 ^{***} (0.44)	-86.16 ^{***} (23.16)	9.65 ^{***} (2.66)
Turkey	1.36 ^{***} (0.37)	11.83 ^{**} (5.53)	-1.77 ^{**} (0.81)
United Kingdom	1.03 ^{***} (0.21)	9.65(6.23)	-1.18(0.73)
United States	1.04 ^{***} (0.07)	-9.43 ^{***} (1.98)	1.06 ^{**} (0.22)
Panel	0.88 ^{***} (0.04)	5.67 ^{***} (1.29)	-0.69 ^{***} (0.17)

Notes: The standard errors are reported in the parentheses; *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.

Table 5
 FMOLS test for other GHGs

Variable	$\ln E_{it}$	$\ln Y_{it}$	$\ln Y_{it}^2$
TGHG	0.71 ^{***} (0.03)	2.44 ^{**} (1.23)	-0.30 [*] (0.16)
CH ₄	0.19(0.45)	7.22 ^{***} (0.85)	-0.87 ^{***} (0.10)
N ₂ O	0.48 ^{***} (0.18)	12.26 ^{***} (1.78)	-1.46 ^{***} (0.22)

Notes: The standard errors are reported in the parentheses; *, ** and *** denote statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% levels, respectively.

The Simultaneous Evolution of Growth and Inflation

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Abstract

We estimate the causal interrelationships between inflation and economic growth within a simultaneous equations framework and obtain identification using a novel heteroskedasticity based method. This implies that conventional empirical studies that analyze the causal relationships between inflation and growth separately suffer from endogeneity bias. After removal of the simultaneous bias, we find that inflation and growth are significant inter-related. Using cross sectional data for 140 countries over the 1970-2008 period, we find a two-way causal relationship between the growth and inflation as predicted by recent theories. Main results indicate that the inflation is harmful to growth whereas the effect from growth to inflation is benefits. Moreover, we split our cross-national dataset into high income, low income and developing countries. These results conclude that the inflation negative impact on growth in lower-income is greater than in developing and upper income countries. On the other way, we exploit the difference effect of growth on inflation in different income level countries. Higher economic growth no longer benefits improvement of inflation in upper- and low-income countries. In contrast, faster economic growth induces higher inflation in low-income sample countries.

Keywords: Economic Growth; Inflation; Simultaneous equations; Endogeneity bias

JEL classification codes: O40; O15; E25

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1. Introduction

Empirical methods for detecting inflation and output growth have been the subject of intensive research in econometrics. The issue may be of crucial importance in testing empirical relevance of competing monetary models, in advancing our understanding of effect on economic activity from inflation. Although the inflation-growth linkage is part of the liberal consensus in modern economics, there are still some detractors. Theoretical models in the money and growth literature analyze the impact of inflation on growth focusing on the effects of inflation on the stabilization and output. Not everyone shares the same degree of confidence in the consensus conclusions. For the most part, any possible role of the inflation in the growth process was ignored. Johnson (1967) and Okun (1971) argue that although desirable, achieving and maintaining steady inflation proves problematic because of political factors or policy differences. Based on the specific assumptions of the previous empirical models, one can arrive at a positive, negative, or zero effect of inflation on growth. Using simultaneous regression analysis, this paper reexamines empirically the relationship between aggregate inflation and output growth, especially the issue whether a threshold inflation rates or threshold income exists.

The linkages, if any, between inflation and economic growth received considerable attention over past forty years. They are described in the surveys by Barro (1991), De Gregorio (1992), Fischer (1993), Barro (1995, 1996), Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1995), Bruno and Easterly (1996, 1998), Ghosh and Phillips (1998) and presented as a rationale for the endogenous growth model in Gillman and Kejak (2005). They conclude that inflation and growth relationships have indicated significantly negative effects over time. Similarly, view of Singh and Kalirajan (2003), Gylfason and Herbertsson (2001), and Guerrero (2006) discover that inflation retards output growth. Wilson (2006) provided strong evidence for the predictions that

increased inflation uncertainty raises inflation rates and lowers economic growth.

On the contrary, there are also arguments for the negative effect of inflation on growth. Especially in Latin America, historical and comparative studies did not provide clear empirical conclusions about the negative relationship between inflation and growth (Paul et al., 1997). Arguing with the pioneering work of Tobin (1965), for which he assumed money as substitute to capital, is motivated by the optimistic conjecture that the positive effect between inflation and output, and often referred to as the Tobin effect. Higher accumulated capital stock would lead to a higher economic output. A few of the earliest cross-country studies of inflation and growth, Baer (1967) and Taylor (1979, 1983) reconfirm a positive relationship between inflation and growth. These recognize many efforts to identify a mechanical relationship between the level of inflation and economic growth, or to determine whether faster inflation results in higher growth. In addition, several researchers suggest that there was no conclusive empirical evidence for either a positive or a negative association between inflation and output growth. Brock (1974) and Sidrauski (1967) established the matter less relationship between these two variables, advocating that money is super-neutral in an optimal control framework considering real money balances in the utility function. Arai et al. (2002) found no evidence supporting the view that inflation is in general harmful to GDP growth for using annual data cover 115 countries during the period 1960-1995.

Recent works gradually attracted from robustness check. Reverse causation is, however, a potentially serious problem. This problem complicated attempts to resolve an econometric specific about the relationships between growth and inflation; we are considering two endogenous variables. In empirical multicountry studies, insufficient effort has been directed at identifying the pattern of causation. For example, Paul et al. (1997) conducted a multicountry empirical examination of the patterns between

inflation and growth in a sample of 70 countries under Granger (1969, 1980) inference. Their data set included the industrialized economies and developing economies. Among the conclusions were that the relationship between inflation and growth was non-uniform across countries, a vast majority of countries which show either uniform or bi-directional causality over the sample period 1960-1989. Similar arguments can be found in Feliz and Welch (1997), Andrés et al. (1996), Arai et al. (2004) and supported by compelling empirical evidence from Apergis (2004). The observed relationships appear convincingly to be causal, from inflation to growth, and not an artifact of simultaneity or reverse causality. The potentially problem is difficult to identify exogenous instruments for inflation that could be plausibly excluded from the growth regression.

As mentioned above, Ghosh and Phillips (1998) reported above later suggest no reason for skepticism about the existence of a robust negative inflation growth relationship. Their empirical procedure to check that the negative relation between inflation and growth does not disappear once an effort is made to remove simultaneity bias using instrument variables¹. Gillman et al. (2004) also try to eliminate potential endogeneity bias; their model is re-estimated by the use of other instrumental variables. They find a negative significant inflation-growth effect. In that study, the current and lagged values of the money supply as instruments for inflation. As always, the validity of potential instruments is an issue. For instruments to be valid, they must be exogenous to the error term and significantly correlated with the variable they purport to represent. Unfortunately, as mentioned in Bound et al. (1993), the weak instruments can lead to large inconsistencies in parameter estimates even if the instruments are only weakly correlated with the error in the structural equation. In

¹ Typically, the instruments are initial values of the regressors and perhaps some contemporaneous indicators not included as regressors such as the exchange regime, legal central bank independence and central bank governor turnover.

other words, since variables that affect growth (inflation) without also affecting inflation (growth) is difficult to find.

In this paper, we investigate whether growth and inflation are simultaneously determined and if so whether or not they are subject to the same conditioning information sets. After extending Gillman et al. (2004)-type model and applying the extension to interpret the estimation of the inflation-growth effect in a novel approach advocated by Lewbel. Lewbel (2006) demonstrates that identification can be obtained by observing a vector of exogenous variables that are uncorrelated with the covariance of heteroskedastic errors, which is shown to be a common feature of models with endogenous variables. This produces a simple way to resolve the simultaneity and reverse causality issues by employing a heteroskedasticity based identification method. One particular advantage of this method is that we do not require instrumental variables, which are not always available in many cases, to obtain identification. In addition, the associated estimators often take the standard form of generalized method of moments (GMM).

This paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 lays out the simultaneous bias and introduces the regression framework. Section 3 describes data sources and basic statistics. Section 4 reports the main results of the simultaneous equation model. Section 5 provides a summary and a brief discussion of the new findings.

2. The Simultaneous Equations Model

2.1 The Simultaneity Bias Problem

For illustrative purpose, we abstract from other control variables and focus mainly on the following simple simultaneous equations for describing the

inter-relationship between economic growth (g) and inflation (π),²

$$g_i = \beta_1 \pi_i + \varepsilon_{1i} \quad (1)$$

$$\pi_i = \beta_2 g_i + \varepsilon_{2i} \quad (2)$$

where $i = 1, 2, \dots, n$, $\varepsilon_{1i} \sim (0, \sigma_1^2)$ and $\varepsilon_{2i} \sim (0, \sigma_2^2)$ are the (uncorrelated) structural shocks to the “growth” and “inflation” regressions, i.e., equations (1) and (2), respectively. Clearly, the simultaneous system consisting of Eq. (1) and Eq. (2) allows joint determination of economic growth and inflation. Existing studies mostly concentrate on the estimate of β_1 , which measures the effect of inflation rates on economic growth. Contrastingly, in addition to β_1 , we are equally interested in estimating β_2 , which assesses the impact of changes in economic growth on inflation.

It is well known that if both β_1 and β_2 is different from zero, equations (1) and (2) cannot be consistently estimated by standard econometric methodologies without further information or restriction. To see this, suppose that we estimate equation (1) by ordinary least squares (OLS) without taking into account the problem of simultaneous equations. Specifically, the OLS estimator is given by

$$\hat{\beta}_1 = (\pi' \pi)^{-1} \pi' g$$

Where $\pi = (\pi_1, \pi_2, \dots, \pi_n)'$ and $g = (g_1, g_2, \dots, g_n)'$. The estimated coefficient $\hat{\beta}_1$ will be biased since the shock term ε_{1i} is correlated with the (endogenous)

regressor π_1 as $Cov(\varepsilon_{1i}, \pi_i) = \frac{\beta_2 \sigma_1^2}{1 - \beta_1 \beta_2} \neq 0$. To see this, by taking expectation of

the estimator $E(\hat{\beta}_1) = \beta_1 + (1 - \beta_1 \beta_2) \frac{\beta_2 \sigma_1^2}{\beta_2 \sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2}$. We can immediately find that the

² Without loss of generality, we omit constant terms for simplicity

estimate is biased away from its true value β_1 due to simultaneity bias (i.e., if $\beta_2 \neq 0$ and $\sigma_1^2 > 0$). Similarly, the estimator $\hat{\beta}_2$ is also biased. In this paper, we will follow Lewbel (2006) to appeal to a novel methodology to obtain identification and estimation of the structural parameters in the simultaneous equations system.

2.2 Modeling Strategy

To examine the interactions between inflation and growth jointly, we consider the following simultaneous equation model:

$$g_{it} = \alpha_1 \pi_{it} + x'_{it} \beta_1 + \varepsilon_{1it} \quad (3)$$

$$\pi_{it} = \alpha_2 g_{it} + x'_{it} \beta_2 + \varepsilon_{2it} \quad (4)$$

Where g_{it} and π_{it} denote real per capita GDP growth and the inflation coefficient for country i in year t , respectively. Clearly, the system of equations allows inflation to affect growth and, in turn, growth to influence inflation. In addition, we also allow growth and inflation to depend on a vector of other control variables x_{it} . The parameters of particular interest are the coefficients of the endogenous variables, i.e., α_1 and α_2 as they measure the causal effect of inflation on growth and the causal impact of growth on inflation, respectively.

2.3 Identification and Estimation

Given equations (3) and (4), the natural next step is to identify and estimate the structural parameters α_1 , α_2 , β_1 and β_2 . Conventionally, identification of the structural parameters can be obtained by exclusion restrictions, such as that some elements of β_1 or β_2 are zero, or equivalently by assuming the availability of instrumental variables. However, since variables that affect growth (inflation)

without also affecting inflation (growth) are difficult to find, if not impossible, we follow Lewbel (2006) to rely on heteroskedasticity in the errors to achieve identification of the structural parameters.³

In particular, Lewbel (2006) shows that the structural parameters in equations (3) and (4) can be identified if

$$E(x_{it}\varepsilon_{1it}) = 0 \quad (5)$$

$$E(x_{it}\varepsilon_{2it}) = 0 \quad (6)$$

$$Cov(z_{it}, \varepsilon_{1it}\varepsilon_{2it}) = 0 \quad (7)$$

and $Cov(z_{it}, \varepsilon_{jit}^2) \neq 0$ for both $j=1$ and $j=2$ where the observed z_{it} may be,

though need not be a subset of x_{it} . Let π_{it} be the vector of elements of

g_{it} , π_{it} , x_{it} and z_{it} . In addition, let θ represent the set of

parameters $\{\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \beta_1, \beta_2, \mu\}$ where $\mu = E(z_{it})$. Now, define

$$Q_1(\theta, \pi_{it}) = x_{it}(g_{it} - \alpha_1\pi_{it} - x'_{it}\beta_1) \quad (8)$$

$$Q_2(\theta, \pi_{it}) = x_{it}(\pi_{it} - \alpha_2g_{it} - x'_{it}\beta_2) \quad (9)$$

$$Q_3(\theta, \pi_{it}) = z_{it} - \mu \quad (10)$$

$$Q_4(\theta, \pi_{it}) = (z_{it} - \mu)(g_{it} - \alpha_1\pi_{it} - x'_{it}\beta_1)(\pi_{it} - \alpha_2g_{it} - x'_{it}\beta_2) \quad (11)$$

and stack the above four vectors into one long vector $Q(\theta, \pi_{it})$. It is

straightforward to show that

$$E[Q(\theta, \pi_{it})] = 0 \quad (12)$$

³ Another interesting approach relies on heteroskedasticity in errors to obtain identification of endogenous regressors can be found in Rigobon (2003). Recent applications of Rigobon's identification method can be found in Rigobon and Sack (2003, 2004, 2005), Lee, Ricci and Rigobon (2004) and Kearns and Rigobon (2005).

However, because the population moments $E[Q(\theta, \pi_{it})]$ are unobservable, we are unable to solve for θ in the equation directly. Instead, it is natural to proceed by defining the corresponding sample moments

$$Q_n(\theta) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n Q(\theta, \pi_{it}) \quad (13)$$

and estimate θ by GMM of Hansen (1982).

GMM estimation mimics the population moment conditions by minimizing a quadratic form of the sample counterpart (11). The GMM estimator is:

$$\hat{\theta} = \arg \min_{\theta} Q_n(\theta)' \Omega_n^{-1} Q_n(\theta) \quad (14)$$

where Ω_n is a positive definite weighting matrix. Hansen (1982) shows that, under some mild conditions, the resulting GMM estimator can be obtained by setting the weighting matrix $\Omega_n(\theta) = V_n^{-1}$, where $V_n^{-1} = n \times \text{Var}[Q_n(\theta)]$. Please see Hansen (1982) for more details.

3. Data sources

The cross-country dataset used in this paper is taken from the “International Financial Statistics (2009), IMF” consisting of 140 observations observed from 1970 to 2008. The list of countries can be found in the Appendix 1. The endogenous variables, *growth* and *inflation*, are the growth rate of per capita real GDP and the CPI index. Control variables are included to ensure that our coefficient estimates for the two endogenous regressors are not capturing the effects of factors that affect both growth and inflation. Following a monetary model of endogenous growth model provided by Gillman et al. (2004) to construct conditioning information sets. The control variables are as follows: the natural logarithm of the share of government expenditure in GDP (*gov*), the share of gross capital formation in GDP

(*inv*), the share of money and quasi money in GDP (*m2*), which is a measure of financial development, the share of trade in GDP (*openness*), the ratio of US output to country *i* output (*pcgdp_us*) and the percent change in population (*pop*). These are variables that have been found by previous studies to have an impact on growth and inflation. Table 1 presents summary statistics and correlation matrix of these variables.

Furthermore, we split our cross-national dataset into high income, low income and developing countries to provide robustness check from growth (inflation) on inflation (growth). For analytical purposes, the World Bank's main criterion for classifying economies is gross national income per capita (GNI). According to its GNI per capita, every individual economy is classified as low income, high income and middle income. Classification by income does not necessarily reflect development status. In addition, low income and middle-income economies are sometimes referred to as developing economies. Following World Bank's criterion, we re-estimate the simultaneous equations using high income, low income and developing countries of our data sets, along with the controlling variables.

4. Empirical Results

Firstly, we start our analysis by estimating single-equation OLS regressions as carried out in equations (1) and (2). In original papers, each equation is of course estimated independently. Clearly, two coefficient estimates of the endogenous regressors are statistically different from zero. (Columns (1) and (2) in Table 2) As mentioned in section 3.1, we view these results as a possibly biased. Testing cross-equation restrictions, we will estimate them simultaneously.

We present main results in columns (3) and (4) of Table 2. After elimination of the endogeneity bias, all coefficient estimates for the endogenous regressors are

statistically significant. We find that the impact of inflation on growth is negative at conventional levels. For this sample, our standard growth results do confirm the main hypothesis of monetary model of endogenous growth. The estimates imply that a one-point increase in inflation coefficient leads to a 0.5050 percentage point decrease in per capita real GDP growth, depending on the conditioning information set. Regarding the effect of growth on inflation, we find a negative and statistically significant effect. That is, higher economic growth benefits improvement of inflation in our sample countries. The results in Columns 4 indicate that a one percentage point increase in per capita real GDP growth leads to a 0.4427 point decrease in inflation coefficient.

The results reported in Table 3 are with data observations dropped from the sample if the country's income level belongs to high or low. It is in this context, it also will be interesting to know the inflation-growth nexus in developing countries. Once again, we test cross-equation restrictions simultaneously and present three sets of results: low income group, high income group and developing countries estimates. Overall, the coefficients from Table 3 strongly support that there is a significantly negative and causal inter-relationship between inflation and economic growth. For low income countries sample, the estimate of β_1 is -0.6044 in our standard growth equation. This estimated parameter is negative, statistically significant (at 1% level) and economically large. In addition, applied to other two accession countries sample, high income group and developing countries a simultaneous system is estimated for each that indicate inter-relationship negative from inflation to growth. (Columns (3) and (5) in Table 3) Moreover, the impact from inflation harmful to growth in low income countries is larger than in high-income countries. (See in Fisher, 1993; Barro, 1995; Barro and Sala-i-Martin, 1995; Bruno, 1995; Judson and Orphanides, 1996; Sarel, 1996) In sum, the finding confirms one of the main theoretical implications to

the effect that economic growth depends negatively on inflation rate as predicted in Phillips (1958) and Fisher (1993) and Ghosh and Phillips (1998). More recent studies provide several arguments advanced to support this viewpoint. For instance, increase in inflation rates have the potential to raise the cost of investment project, in turn affect growth. High inflation rate generates inefficient allocation in resources, thus, negative output effects.

Another interesting and important issue that we would like to address in this study is how the economic growth causally affects the level of inflation rates. Other researchers have advanced the argument that economic growth may cause the level of inflation rates to rise through the effects of expansion of some sectors of the economy. (see Lewis, 1964; Vogel, 1974) In our inflation regression, for low-income countries sample, the inflation effect of growth measured by the parameter β_2 is estimated to be 0.3804. (Columns 2 in Table 3) This coefficient is positive and significant at the conventional 5% level. Consequently, it indicates that faster economic growth induces higher inflation. This finding also bears out the other important theoretical prediction by Ungar and Zilberfarb (1993) as to the impact of economic performance on inflation is significantly positive.

In order to check the previous discussion that the hypothesis of no output-inflation trade-off. We re-estimate the simultaneous system consisting of equation (3) and (4) using high-income countries of our sample, along with the controlling variables. As can be seen, in the case of the inflation equation, the coefficient loses its statistical significance. This result confirms Lucas (1973) which use data for 18 countries (fifteen of them jointly belonging to the high income or developed countries), also provided support to the no output-inflation relationship. The hypothesis is however, rejected for developing countries in our simultaneous estimate. The coefficient of growth in Columns (6) of Table 3 is still negative and

statistically significant. This finding is also consistent with the recent study in Odedokun (1991). Thus, after removal of the endogeneity bias for investigating with sub-sample that include low- and high- income countries, provide a reason for how non-uniform relations between inflation and growth.

We also examine the independent effects of the control variables on growth and inflation after the contemporaneous effect of the endogenous regressor has been accounted for. What are the driving forces of economic growth? According to the estimates in Columns 3 of Table 2, higher investment shares are associated with higher growth. Moreover, a larger government is associated with slower growth. The determinants of inflation can be found in Columns 4 of Table 2. The coefficient estimate for investment is positive and statistically significant in the inflation equation, indicating that higher investment is associated with a more inflation. The estimates of “openness” and “pop” are negative and statistically significant in the inflation equation, indicating that trade surplus and human capital play a role in reducing inflation rates. We also find that the effect of “the ratio of US output to country *i* (*pcgdp_us*)” on inflation is negative and statistically significant. However, we do not find evidence that relative income induces growth.

5. Conclusions

Is growth negatively affected by inflation? Is inflation influenced by economic growth? The answers to these questions are of interest to policy makers who care about both growth and which benefits from growth. Enormous theoretical efforts have been devoted to these questions over the past few decades, with some focus on the potential effects of inflation on growth while others stress the potential impact of growth on inflation. More recent theoretical papers point out that policies and structural changes that affect one of the two outcomes are likely to impact the other

as well, implying that growth and inflation are jointly determined. Thus, conventional empirical studies on the causal links between inflation and growth are plagued by endogeneity and reverse causality.

Our research sets out to resolve the endogeneity and reverse causality issues applying Lewbel (2006). In contrast to previous studies, the main advantage of Lewbel's method is that no instrumental variables are needed to identify the structural parameters. We consider a linear simultaneous equation model, in this procedure, identification of structural parameters only requires that the errors be heteroskedastic and that a subset of the exogenous control variables be uncorrelated with the error covariance. Using a broad cross-country data set taken from IFS, we find that inflation does cause economic growth and vice versa. The results show that inflation and growth are strongly negatively inter-related in our full sample countries. This finding is supportive of the empirical implications of Ghosh and Phillips (1998), Valdovinos (2003), Apergis (2004) and Gillman et al. (2004).

After removal of the endogeneity bias, we also find a positive impact on inflation from economic growth in low-income countries sample. This result is consistent with the demand theory argument in Stockman (1981). His argument provided that anticipated inflation reduces the demand for real balances, implying that the demand for capital and output growth decreases. Certain studies support a negative association between them. (Zhang, 2000; Dorrance, 1964; Lewis, 1964)

The main results that emerge from our exercise are that the relationship which exists between inflation and growth is non-uniform with cross-country. This implies that conventional analysis, which looks at each outcome independently, fails in twofold strands. First, it ignores the evidence that policies designed to improve one outcome will probably also influence the other; and the other, to the extent that an independent model is under identified; it can't even be entirely certain what it is

estimating. Therefore, future research should try to expand the simultaneous equations model to allow for more endogenous variables.

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Table1: Summary statistics and correlation matrix

Panel A: Summary statistics								
	growth	inflation [†]	gov [†]	inv [†]	m2 [†]	openness [†]	pcgdp_us	pop
Mean	1.4217	2.7365	2.7144	3.1033	3.3771	4.2150	0.1428	1.8145
Median	1.3271	2.3795	2.7508	3.1349	3.3571	4.2389	0.0521	2.0625
Max.	7.3558	6.9829	3.5860	3.7286	5.2611	5.4157	1.1459	4.0530
Min.	-3.8284	-0.9883	1.5804	2.2728	-2.9805	2.8406	0.0037	-0.2383
Std.	1.9156	1.4077	0.3705	0.2586	0.8017	0.5311	0.2362	1.0263
Obs.	140							

Panel B: Sample correlation of variables								
growth	1.0000							
inflation [†]	-0.3784	1.0000						
gov [†]	-0.0868	-0.0426	1.0000					
inv [†]	0.4900	-0.1269	0.3771	1.0000				
m2 [†]	0.3542	-0.3678	0.1082	0.3655	1.0000			
openness [†]	0.1192	-0.1828	0.5328	0.4740	0.2005	1.0000		
pcgdp_us	0.1020	-0.2372	0.1813	0.1451	0.3641	0.0158	1.0000	
pop	-0.1690	-0.1628	-0.0782	-0.3544	-0.0900	-0.2053	-0.2636	1.0000

Note: 1. The dataset is taken from the “International Financial Statistics (2006), IMF” and is a cross sectional dataset consisting of 140 countries observed from 1970 to 2005. The list of countries can be found in the Appendix 2. 2. [†] Take the logarithm of variables.

Table2: Linear regression and main results of the simultaneous

	Dependent Variable			
	OLS		Simultaneous	
	growth	inflation	growth	inflation
inflation	-0.4484*** (0.0000)		-0.5050*** (0.0027)	
growth		-0.2843*** (0.0000)		-0.4427** (0.0455)
constant	-5.0485*** (0.0089)	4.8456*** (0.0015)	-4.5312** (0.0433)	3.5227* (0.0719)
gov	-1.3391*** (0.0020)	0.1390 (0.6917)	-1.3163*** (0.0023)	-0.2637 (0.5846)
inv	3.9500*** (0.0000)	0.9049 (0.1075)	3.9109*** (0.0000)	1.6894** (0.0465)
m2	0.2391 (0.2042)	-0.3255** (0.0290)	0.1831 (0.2604)	-0.2681 (0.2211)
openness	-0.3295 (0.2913)	-0.6762*** (0.0059)	-0.3581 (0.2833)	-0.6797*** (0.0067)
pcgdp_us	-0.5082 (0.4189)	-1.4029*** (0.0045)	-0.5276 (0.4681)	-1.4476*** (0.0003)
pop	-0.1497 (0.2987)	-0.4081*** (0.0003)	-0.1469 (0.3705)	-0.4066*** (0.0000)
Obs.	140		140	

Note: 1. Numbers in parentheses are *p-value*. 2. ***, ** and * indicate significant at 1%, 5% and 10% level, respectively.

Table 3: Main Results of the simultaneous in different income level countries

	Dependent Variable					
	low income		high income		Developing [#]	
	growth	inflation	growth	inflation	growth	inflation
inflation	-0.6044 ^{***} (0.0046)		-0.4778 ^{**} (0.0467)		-0.5367 ^{***} (0.0009)	
growth		0.3804 ^{**} (0.0282)		0.0486 (0.8266)		-0.4565 ^{**} (0.0300)
constant	-4.4042 (0.1761)	11.2626 ^{***} (0.0000)	-6.9692 (0.1699)	15.2018 ^{***} (0.0000)	-3.8189 [*] (0.0959)	3.9019 ^{**} (0.0478)
gov	-2.3189 ^{**} (0.0224)	2.3394 ^{***} (0.0012)	-0.2723 (0.7402)	-0.4257 (0.3323)	-1.4867 ^{***} (0.0020)	-0.1430 (0.7697)
inv	5.0168 ^{***} (0.0000)	-2.2175 [*] (0.0594)	4.1550 ^{***} (0.0027)	-1.5324 (0.2374)	4.0479 ^{***} (0.0000)	1.8354 ^{**} (0.0262)
m2	0.4088 (0.5847)	-2.0626 ^{***} (0.0014)	0.4757 (0.5181)	-0.7336 ^{**} (0.0527)	0.1284 (0.4172)	-0.2696 (0.2068)
openness	-0.8760 (0.1461)	-0.6977 (0.1717)	-0.6629 (0.1689)	-0.6941 ^{**} (0.0399)	-0.5337 (0.1945)	-0.9905 ^{***} (0.0005)
pcgdp_us	-29.1301 (0.3621)	130.0079 ^{***} (0.0000)	-2.1484 [*] (0.0592)	-1.3781 ^{**} (0.0169)	1.4813 (0.3499)	0.0913 (0.9273)
pop	0.2984 (0.5702)	-0.3912 (0.2136)	-0.2393 (0.4062)	-0.3935 ^{**} (0.0123)	-0.0784 (0.6428)	-0.3844 ^{***} (0.0004)
Obs.	51		44		124	

Note: 1. Numbers in parentheses are *p-value*. 2. ^{***}, ^{**} and ^{*} indicate significant at 1%, 5% and 10% level, respectively. 3. [#] includes low income, upper-middle income and middle income countries in our data set.

Appendix 1: List of the 140 countries in the sample

<i>Africa</i>			<i>Asian Pacific</i>	<i>Europe</i>
Algeria †	Guinea-Bissau **†	Oman ††	Australia †	Albania †
Angola **†	Iran †	Rwanda **†	Bangladesh **†	Armenia **†
Bahrain ††	Israel †	Saudi Arabia ††	Bhutan **†	Azerbaijan **†
Benin **†	Jordan ††	Senegal **†	Cambodia **†	Belarus †
Botswana ††	Kenya **†	Seychelles ††	China **†	Bulgaria †
Burkina Faso **†	Korea ††	Sierra Leone **†	Fiji †	Croatia ††
Burundi **†	Lesotho **†	South Africa †	Hong Kong, China †	Cyprus †
Cameroon **†	Madagascar **†	Sudan **†	India **†	Czech Rep. ††
Cape Verde †	Malawi **†	Swaziland †	Indonesia **†	Denmark †
Central African Rep. **†	Mali **†	Syrian Arab Republic †	Japan †	Estonia ††
Chad **†	Malta ††	Tanzania **†	Korea ††	Georgia †
Congo, Dem. Rep. **†	Mauritania **†	Togo **†	Lao PDR **†	Hungary ††
Cote d'Ivoire **†	Mauritius ††	Tunisia †	Malaysia ††	Iceland †
Egypt, Arab Rep. †	Morocco †	Uganda **†	Maldives †	Kazakhstan †
Ethiopia **†	Mozambique **†	Yemen, Rep. **†	Mongolia **†	Kyrgyz Rep. **†
Gabon ††	Namibia †	Zambia **†	Nepal **†	Latvia †
Gambia, The **†	Niger **†	Zimbabwe **†	New Zealand †	Lithuania †
Ghana **†	Nigeria **†		Pakistan **†	Macedonia †
			Papua New Guinea †	Moldova **†
<i>North America, South America, Central America and Caribbean:</i>			Philippines †	Norway †
Argentina ††	Dominican Rep. †	Panama ††	Solomon Islands **†	Poland ††
Bahamas †	Ecuador †	Paraguay †	Sri Lanka †	Romania †
Barbados ††	El Salvador †	Peru †	Thailand †	Russian Federation †
Belize †	Grenada ††	St. Kitts and Nevis ††	Tonga †	Slovak Republic ††
Bolivia †	Guatemala †	St. Lucia †	Vanuatu †	Slovenia †
Brazil ††	Guyana †	St. Vincent and the Grenadines †	Vietnam **†	Switzerland †
Canada †	Haiti **†	Suriname †		Turkey ††
Chile ††	Honduras **†	Trinidad and Tobago ††		Ukraine †
Colombia †	Jamaica †	United States †		
Costa Rica †	Mexico ††	Uruguay ††		
Dominica †	Nicaragua **†	Venezuela ††		

Note: Three panels of countries are examined. * and † indicate country's in come level at low and upper, respectively. † indicates the third panel consisting of 124 developing countries. (forty-five of them belonging to middle and twenty-eight of them belonging to upper-middle)

Appendix 2: Results of linear regression in different income level countries

	Dependent Variable					
	low income		high income		Developing [#]	
	growth	inflation	growth	inflation	growth	inflation
inflation	-0.2028 (0.2745)		-0.0739 (0.7828)		-0.4705*** (0.0000)	
growth		-0.1366 (0.2745)		-0.0289 (0.7828)		-0.3278*** (0.0000)
Obs.	51		44		124	

Note: 1. Numbers in parentheses are *p-value*. 2. ***, ** and * indicate significant at 1%, 5% and 10% level, respectively. 3. [#] includes upper-middle and middle countries in our data set.

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The challenge of South Africa to reduce its high unemployment

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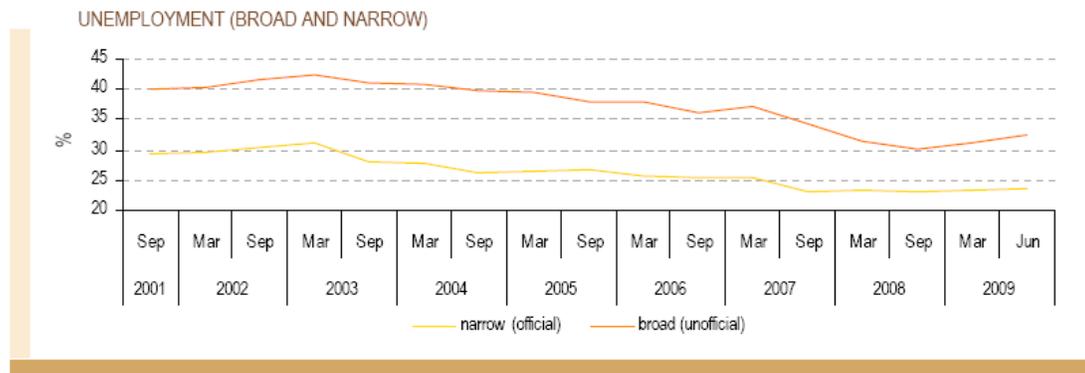
1. Introduction

The unemployment rate in South Africa has been in excess of 20% for many years. What is wrong with current policies? What is the probability of millions of South African inhabitants to rise out of poverty?

Table 1: South African Unemployment

UNEMPLOYMENT (BROAD AND NARROW)

	2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009	
	Sep	Mar	Jun															
Narrow (official)	29.4	29.7	30.4	31.2	28.0	27.9	26.2	26.5	26.7	25.6	25.5	25.5	23.0	23.5	23.2	23.5	23.6	
Broad (unofficial)	40.0	40.4	41.6	42.5	41.0	40.8	39.7	39.5	37.9	37.9	36.2	37.1	34.3	31.5	30.2	31.2	32.5	



Definition	Narrow (official) - Number of people who were without work in the week preceding the interview, have taken active steps to look for work and were available for work. Broad (unofficial) - Number of people who were without work in the week preceding the interview and were available for work
Data source	Statistics South Africa, Labour Force Survey and Quarterly Labour Force Survey

Sufficient jobs are not being created after the political change in 1994 when the black ANC government took over from the white minority NP government. The new government employed two new policies after 1994 with a strong focus on job creation. In the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (Gear) and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) the assumption is made that higher economic growth will ultimately create new job opportunities. This assumption is flawed because the unemployment rate stays uncomfortably high. President Zuma said in the State of the Nation Address in February 2009 that 500000 jobs will be created for the year, but the country lost about 900000 job opportunities in 2009.

Possible solutions must be sought. The previous Minister of Treasury was frustrated that, in spite of pouring money into education, the system was not delivering results. According to (Green, 2008) the Minister stated that: *“the reality is that we have an education system that is highly deficient and we have a highly unequal society with a large number of comparatively unskilled people needing work”*. Regardless of billions of rand being allocated to education, it continues to be a whirlpool of low standards and weak outcomes.

Economically successful countries embrace certain economic pillars in the application of their policies to reduce unemployment. The previous Minister of Treasury commented according to (Green, 2008) that: *“SA could not afford to go the way of the soaring East Asian economies which pay slave wages and compete successfully internationally on the strength of that”*. Regardless of his viewpoint, the South African scenario should be compared to the fast growing economies of East Asia to find common ground for new measures to accelerate growth in South Africa.

Studies were done by the World Bank in 2007 and the Harvard group of economists in 2008 to find solutions. In the mean time, the informal sector provides a safety net for the formally unemployed workers at subsistence income levels which is not a long term solution. The new labour laws implemented after 1994 protect the rights of workers but makes the market place rigid. The ability of workers to rise out of poverty is being constrained by the policies designed to create a better labour dispensation.

This essay firstly states the problem of weak sustainable economic growth and high unemployment in South Africa. Secondly, the inability of the South African dispensation to create new jobs will be analyzed relative to theory. Thirdly, reference is made to various government policies to see if it supports real growth or if political agendas cast a shadow on theoretical principles. Fourthly, the South African labour scenario is analyzed according to studies done by various international organizations as well as a few similar emerging countries in East Asia to find common ground to improve employment creation. In conclusion, recommendations are made to improve growth in South Africa.

2. What can South Africa learn from theory?

The well known Neoclassical growth theory describes a steady-state equilibrium where the economy reaches a long-run level of output. According to (Dornbush, 1998) an increase in the savings rate, firstly raises the long-term level of capital and output per head. Secondly, an increase in the population growth rate reduces the steady-state rate of growth of aggregate output. Thirdly, an increase in technology causes the steady-state to move to a higher per capita output.

The Neoclassical growth theory dominated economic thought for a long time but did not explain the details of the technological progress. According to (Dornbush, 1998) the endogenous growth theory developed to explain the theoretical and empirical problems associated with the Neoclassical theory by modifying the production function. This theory explains the role of human capital as well as research and development to increase

long-run growth. These foundational economic elements should be incorporated in macro economic policies to create sustained economic growth.

3. What policies influence employment and growth in South Africa?

Various policies were implemented after 1994 by the new ANC government. Firstly, it is important to analyze these policies to see if it supports real growth and secondly to analyze the broader intentions of government, namely to implement a political agenda.

3.1 Reconstruction and Development Policy

The first policy which must be referred to is the transformation policy of 1994. The goal of this policy is to build a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future (RDP, 1994). The vision is a fundamental transformation of South Africa by means of:

- the development of strong and stable democratic institutions
- to ensure representation and participation of all
- to ensure that the country become fully democratic, non-racial and non-sexist
- to create sustainable growth and development

This policy has two goals, namely reconstruction and development on the one hand and growth on the other hand. It is stated clearly that government supports macro economic policies which promote RDP principles. This transformation incorporates every level of government, every department and every public institution. This policy is not a new set of projects, but a comprehensive redesign and reconstruction of all government activities. It also facilitates labour market reform and establishes collective bargaining rights for all.

3.2 Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy

The second policy is the GEAR policy of 1996 (Department of National Treasury, 1996). Soon after taking power in 1994, government realized that the country needed new initiatives to create sustainable growth of greater than 3%. Objectives of government to reduce poverty, to redistribute income and to provide social services were not fulfilled. Government launched this strategy about rebuilding and restructuring the economy to reach the goals of the RDP. The RDP role in this economic strategy is reflected as follows: *“to successfully confront the challenges of meeting basic needs, developing human resources, increasing participation in democratic institutions of society and implementing the RDP in all its facets”* (Department of National Treasury, 1996).

The GEAR strategy identified structural weaknesses in the economy and focused on policy measures to address these imbalances. A reprioritization of the budget towards social spending was the first element focused on growth. All the other elements focused on poverty and inequality, for example acceleration of the fiscal reform process, consolidation of trade and industrial reforms and public sector restructuring.

3.3 Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa

The third economic policy came into being in 2006 to reduce unemployment to below 15% and to halve poverty by 2014 according to (ASGISA, 2006). The government was

not happy with the realized growth rate of the GEAR policy. Two important aspects had to be addressed, namely the relatively strong rand because of positive capital flows from abroad and the social grant programme that did not reduce poverty enough. The government identified binding constraints that hampered sustained growth, namely

- a volatile currency
- efficiency and capacity of the national logistics system
- shortage of suitably skilled labour
- entry barriers and limited investment opportunities
- a regulatory environment that hampers the establishment of small businesses
- deficiencies in state organizations, as well as capacity and leadership

Analyzing these constraints, it is clear that sustainable high growth is hampered because of structural problems in the economy. The last constraint is however a perfect example of an imperfection created by the RDP policy.

3.4 Labour Policies

Since the 1994 election of a democratic government in SA, a continuous debate exists in the economy regarding unemployment and the redistribution of wealth. During this period from 1994 to 2006 when the government tabled new policies with various degrees of economic elements (minimal with RDP to a relative big percentage in GEAR and ASGISA), numerous new labour laws were also tabled. In an economic environment where industries are exposed to competition from international markets, the nature of industrial relations determines whether an industry is productive which eventually determines economic survival or not. These labour laws over protect the employee, which allows a situation to develop where employers reluctantly employ new workers.

South Africa's re-emergence into the global market place coincided with a watershed in industrial relations. Like many highly protected economies South African employers and unions have lived in a bargaining environment where cooperation was an unpopular option in a largely conflict driven system. The additional burden of a political system that forced a racial division of labour has left a legacy of distrust which demanded a new dispensation regarding labour relationships. It is into this volatile world that the Government has introduced the following acts (Mellet, 2006):

- Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995)
- Basic Conditions of Employment Act (75 of 1997)
- Employment Equity Act (55 of 1998)
- Skills Development Act (97 of 1998)
- Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (53 of 2003)

The philosophy behind the Labour Relations Act is to create a spirit of industrial democracy and to encourage production and labour peace by means of joint decision making. The main features of this act are the recognition of collective bargaining as the most acceptable means of resolving disputes of mutual interest. It also recognizes that strikes and lockouts are an intrinsic part of the process of collective bargaining. It simplifies the dispute resolving procedures by replacing the Industrial Court with the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration to process disputes. Lastly, the

most radical innovation of the Act is the introduction of the workplace forum. Elected employees have the right to consult with management and to reach joint agreement over matters defined in the Act.

The philosophy behind the Basic Conditions Act is to improve the basic working conditions of workers. Various aspects are covered, like 40 hours working week, overtime work, meal intervals, rest periods, work on Sundays, night work, annual leave, sick leave, maternity leave, termination of employment, prohibition of employment of children and written particulars of employment deductions from employee's remuneration.

The purpose of the Employment Equity Act is to achieve equity in the workplace. Equity is achieved by promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination. Affirmative action measures are implemented to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workplace. This act requires employers to take positive action regarding the accommodation of people from designated groups, ensuring that black people enjoy representation and are equitably represented in the workplace.

The intention of the Skills Act is to provide the means to manage skills development on a national basis. Every employer who is registered with SARS for PAYE or has an annual payroll in excess of R250 000 has to pay a skills levy of 1% since April 2001. The Skills Act and the Employment Act work in tandem. The aim is to expand the knowledge and competencies of the labour force resulting in improvements in employability and productivity.

The philosophy behind the BEE legislative framework is the promotion of black economic empowerment (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, 53/2003). South Africa's economy performs below its potential according to the ANC because of the low level of income earned and generated by the majority of its people. It therefore promotes equality of all people and increases the participation of black people in all spheres of the economy and equal access to government services. It also promotes the role of black women, namely to own and manage existing and new enterprises and to increase their access in economic activities.

BEE began as a defensive policy to address problems of the previous political dispensation. It however escalated to the core ideology of the ANC which enriches the black political elite. An attitude developed in the ANC that the previous disadvantaged people can use the state to improve their circumstances, rather than to use the state and its assets to serve the needs of the people. Therefore the saying amongst the black population developed: "*the system owes me*". The role of the state became distributive, rather than developmental. This ideology became disastrous for the South African economy, relative to the ideology in East Asia, namely the cultivation of virtue and the development of moral perfection.

4. What do international research groups tell us?

4.1 Harvard International Panel

The Department of National Treasury, as representative of the government, engaged with an international team of experts to do research about the slow growth of the South African scenario. This group of experts, known as the Harvard international panel, visited South Africa various times in 2006 and 2007 (Department of National Treasury, 2008). The panel stated firstly that South Africa has a structural unemployment problem and that the binding constraints, as referred to in the ASGISA strategy, must be eliminated by government. Secondly, they recommended that the export sector, mainly because of declining trends in the mining-, agriculture- and manufacturing sectors, must be developed. Thirdly, they stated that growth in South Africa is driven by three sectors only, namely construction, transport and communication as well as the financial, real estate and business services.

4.2 World Bank

The Department of National Treasury, as representative of the government, also engaged with the World Bank in a Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) in 2007. The focus of this research is the reduction of poverty and inequality in Southern Africa (World Bank, 2007). According to this research, sound economic macroeconomic policies and sound fiscal discipline contributed to an average three percent annual growth during the first decade after 1994. (Van Aardt, 2009) argues that a positive relationship exists between formal-sector employment and household income per capita growth in South Africa. The problem however is that the low growth rate did not improve the social conditions of the majority of the population. The poverty levels did not reduce significantly, whilst the burden of the HIV disease remains high.

4.3 Other structural constraints

According to (Banerjee et al, 2007) the increase in unemployment is due to structural changes in the economy and not to temporary negative shocks. These researchers found that the supply of labour increased after the fall of apartheid. These new entrants into the labor market tended to be relatively unskilled. Secondly, they found a low level of labor market participation and employment in rural areas. If employment rates are compared by age group and region between South Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, it is observed that the differences are large mainly in the rural areas of South Africa.

5. What is the success story of East Asia?

In the following table the unemployment rate of a few East Asian countries are compared. It is clear if these countries are compared to South Africa (refer table in introduction) that the general level of unemployment are within the international norm of 5% whilst the South African level is about five times more than the international norm. It is a clear indication that these countries' macro economic policies are effective, whilst something is seriously wrong regarding the application of polices in South Africa.

Table 2: East Asian Unemployment Rate

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
China	3.1	3.6	4.0	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.0	4.2
Japan	4.7	5.0	5.4	5.3	4.7	4.4	4.1	3.9	4.0
Malaysia	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.3
RepKorea	4.4	4.0	3.3	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.5	3.2	3.2
Taiwan	3.0	4.6	5.2	5.0	4.4	4.1	3.9	3.9	4.1
Thailand	2.4	2.6	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.2

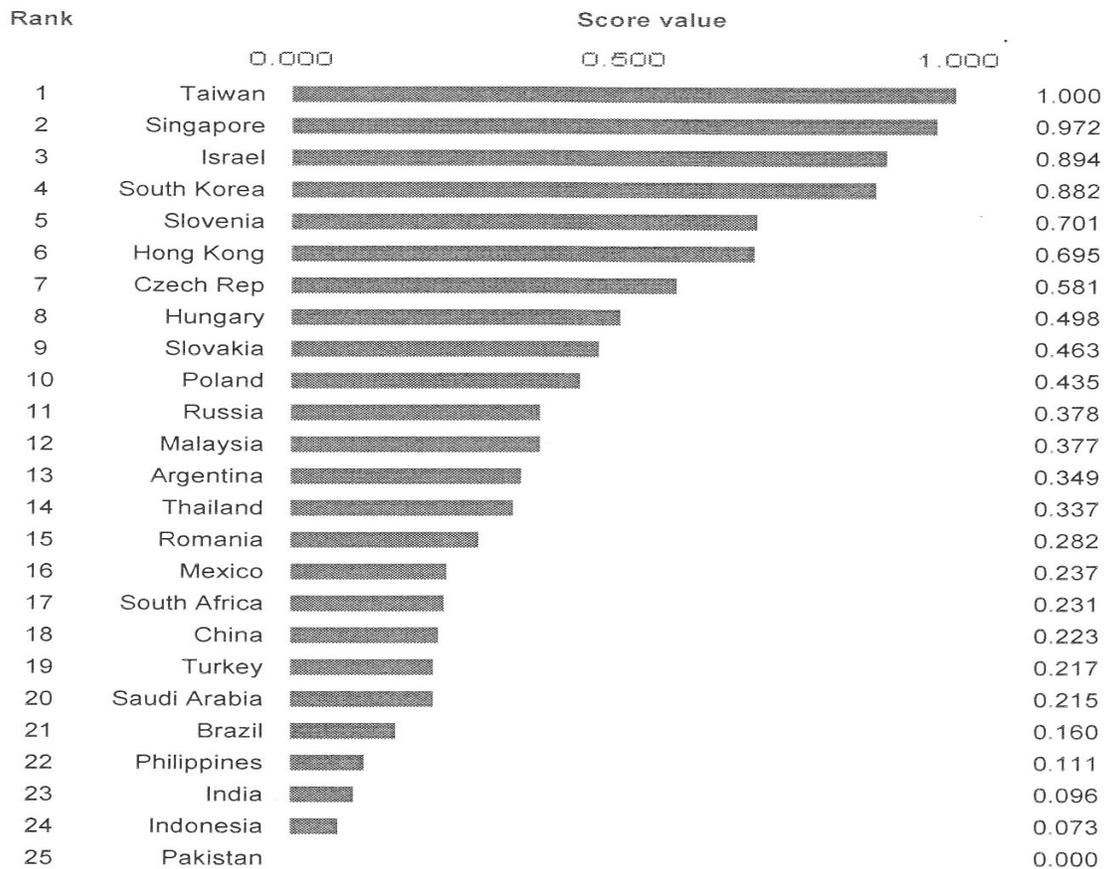
Source: International Labor Organization

In the following tables various indicators of a spectrum of emerging countries are compared according to a business economics consultancy (Global-production, 2008) which specializes in emerging markets research, based in Switzerland. If this information for East Asia is compared to the rest of the world, it is clear that East Asian countries are the leaders regarding various economic indicators. For every indicator, an Asian country ranks the best although it may be a different country. China compares poorly regarding industrial capacity and skill base. China however, ranks highly with regards to labour cost. The low labour cost in China is therefore a crucial factor in their phenomenal growth performance. If these various indicators are compared to other emerging countries, it is without a doubt clear why East Asian countries are the pivot of growth in the world.

South Africa is for all the indicators in the wrong half of the spectrum and compares very poor to East Asian countries. South Africa rank 0.231 out of a possible 1.0 regarding industrial capability; whilst the ranking for skill base is 0.246 out of a possible 1.0. The ranking for labour cost in South Africa is 74.6 and very high relative to East Asian countries. Various other emerging countries also compare better than South Africa regarding these indicators. It can be concluded that the application and policy mix of South Africa is badly structured and managed.

Table 3: Industrial Capability

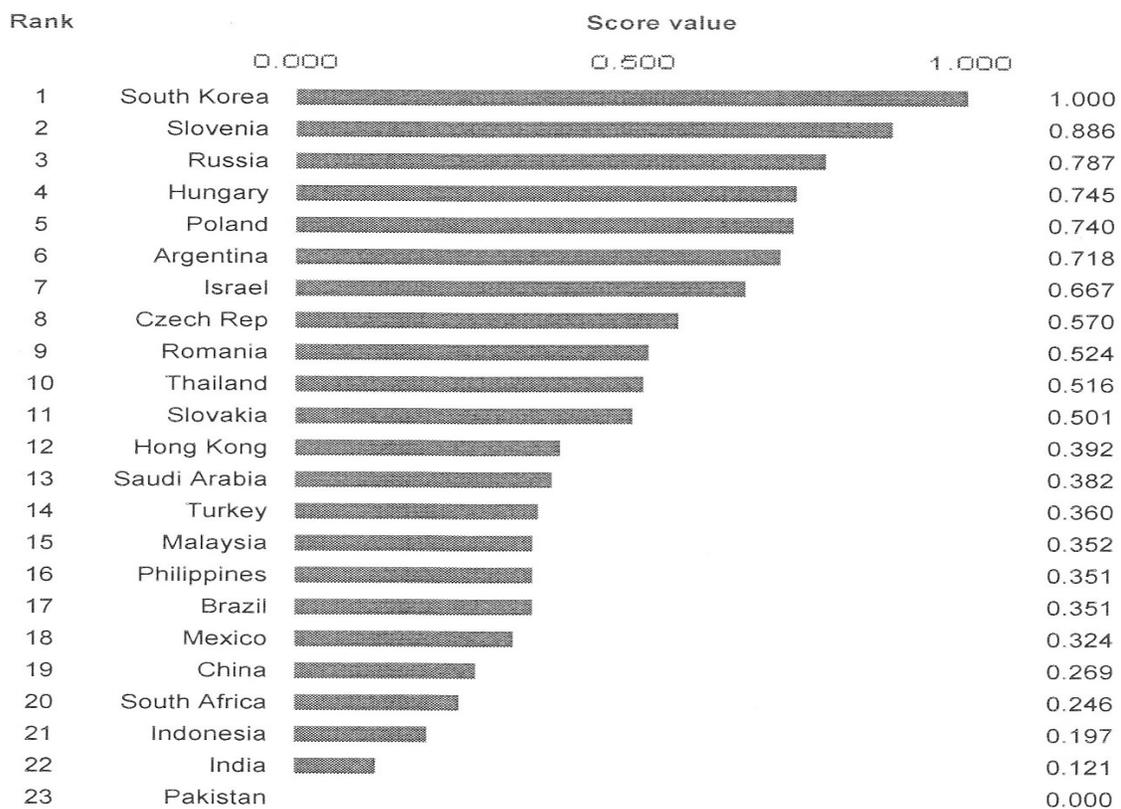
Metric is based using the following indicators; skill base, research and development capacity, infrastructure and government. It is calculated as the arithmetic mean of indicator values converted to score values from 0.0 to 1.0.



Source: Global-production

Table 4: Skill Base

The following table is about the availability of skilled manpower in the labour force. Metric is based on the Harbinson-Meyers Index values for enrolment in secondary and tertiary education. The index values are converted to score values ranging from 0.0 to 1.0.



Source: Global-production

Table 5: Labour Cost

The following table is about an index of hourly wage cost. The wage index is based on labour cost data for 14 widespread professions in major agglomerations. The index values are weighted by the share of each occupation in overall employment. Labour cost is defined to include holiday and vacation pay as well as taxes and social security contributions by the employer.



Source: Global-production

6. Adjustments needed in South Africa

Various binding constraints exist in South Africa that hampers sustained growth and the reduction of unemployment. Various policy adjustments are needed to rectify this major problem. Firstly, recommendations of the various institutions and groups of researchers, as referred to in section four, will be addressed and secondly, lessons learned from East Asia will be addressed. These recommendations will summarize the required policy changes needed to improve growth and the creation of job opportunities in South Africa.

6.1 Harvard International Panel

The Harvard economist group refers to a non-tradable sector which employs relatively few unskilled people and a tradable sector like mining, agriculture and manufacturing that

employs greater numbers of unskilled people (Green, 2009). The problem in SA is that the people are mainly unskilled and that there is a big supply of unskilled labour whilst there is a small supply of skilled labour. The panel made five policy recommendations (Department of National Treasury, 2008) to improve the growth and unemployment problem in South Africa:

- Macroeconomic policy: to reduce constraints of growth, fiscal policy must be counter-cyclical and must make a bigger contribution to national savings, existing restrictions on capital outflows must be eliminated, the current inflation targeting regime must be maintained and the level as well as the stability of the exchange rate must be addressed
- Trade and competition policy: a radical simplification of the tariff system with low or no tariffs on inputs, a review of the SACU arrangements, SA to lead African economic integration without unrealistic custom union agreements and changing to a pro-active approach regarding competition policy
- Labour market policies: to implement a wage subsidy for 18 year olds, the relaxation of SETA (skills education training authorities) regulations and the implementation of a high-skilled immigration approach of government
- Industrial policy: a shift in focus of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) from asset management to the financing of new activities, that the existing Customised Sector Programmes be substituted with an approach of self organization of the different actors, to create a special central budget for structural transformation, to change the Motor Industry Development Programme (MIDP) policy with a supplier based promotion scheme and lastly, that beneficiation should not be used as the basis for selective intervention and industrial promotion
- Public administration and Black Economic Empowerment: recommendations regarding public administration are two fold, namely a certification system for government entities which provides economic services and municipalities with poor capacity to use central bodies to procure municipal services. Regarding BEE three recommendations are stated, namely a review of the current BEE scorecard system to include elements to facilitate employment creation, learnerships and training, the development of a system to collect information regarding BEE and a mechanism to evaluate the progress of this policy. The panel also stated in a separate paper that the negative impact of crime discourage growth of small and emerging businesses in poorer areas.

6.2 World Bank

The Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) developed between the World Bank and the Department of National Treasury focused on the eradication of poverty and the reduction of inequality in the Southern African region. This joint strategy proposed a theme consisting of two pillars (World Bank, 2007) to reduce the poverty and inequality problems:

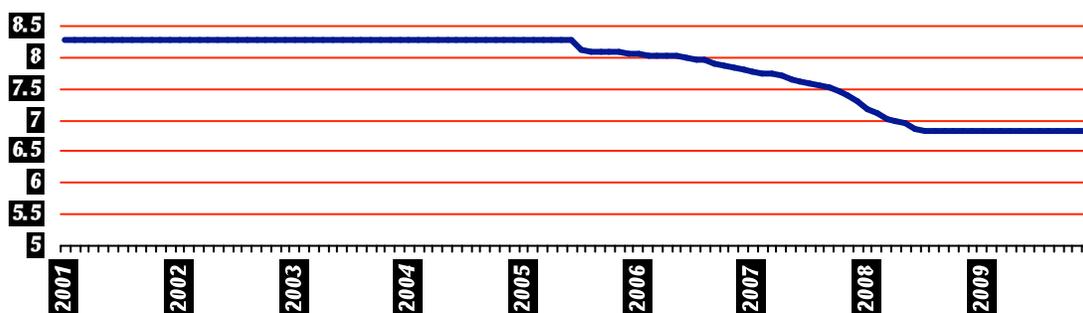
- the first pillar of the CPS is about measures to improve urban and rural development. This pillar support key areas of ASGISA, for example urban and municipal development, land reform and agriculture, privates sector development, environment and infrastructure.
- the second pillar of the CPS is about measures to improve regional integration. This pillar proposes activities to support Africa, for example facilitation of South African companies' investments in Africa, building of regional communities in cooperation with the SADC countries and the sharing of knowledge to support Africa.

6.3 East Asia success stories

Lessons to be learned from East Asia, with specific reference to China, are numerous. Firstly, the government of China made a decision to break with the communist ideology and to apply capitalistic principles which proved to be a use success. Secondly, the sheer size of China growing from a very low base, created vast opportunities. Against the background of these foundational issues and regardless of a fairly weak ranking in industrial capability and skill base (refer section 5), the following specific factors are driving high growth in China:

- the liberation of trade policies
- very cheap labour cost in comparison to other countries
- the monetary authority manage the Yuan not to appreciate

Graph 1: Yuan versus USA \$



Source: Peoples Bank of China

It is very clear in the graph above that the Yuan is not allowed to appreciate in the last decade regardless of the phenomenal growth in exports and the creation of the biggest national reserves in the world in excess of \$2 trillion. The monetary authority only allowed a few minor adjustments during 2006 – 2008. The low labour cost and the authorities that does not allow the currency to appreciate in relation to the USA \$ has been the major cause of the phenomenal growth in their exports, massive current account surpluses and the highest national reserves in the world.

During the World Economic Forum in Davos beginning of 2010, political leaders, central bankers and international investors, for example George Soros, all attacked the monetary and trade policies of China. According to (Hui, 2010), the international officials questioned the Chinese policies to keep the Yang weak against the USA \$. The general consensus was that a weak Chinese currency does not create fair trade in the world. It also creates imbalances in international trade which harms the recovery of other countries in the world after the international crises of 2008.

6.4 Other recommendations

The Harvard group of economists and the World Bank made certain recommendations in recent years to address the lack of growth in South Africa. Despite these

recommendations, theoretical principles must also be employed in policies. Examples are to increase saving, to control the population growth, to employ technology in manufacturing, to improve productivity, to improve skills and to allocate more capital to research and development. Many of these examples do not feature in the South African economy.

The saving rate in South Africa is stable at a relative low 15% of GDP (SARB, 2009), but the contribution from government fluctuates a lot and the contribution of consumers has been negative since 2006. The population growth does not stabilize and the South African authorities opened the northern borders beginning of 2009 allowing people of northern African countries to pour into South Africa. This change of policy caused the unemployed pool to escalate in South Africa. South Africa is an exporting country of mainly minerals according to absolute advantage principles. Comparative advantage and competitive advantage principles of international trade theory should be encouraged rather than to stick to the old theoretical principle of absolute advantage.

The investment in human capital is another case in point. According to the 2010 national budget (Department of National Treasury, 2010), R165 billion or 18% is budgeted for education (the biggest item in the budget) for the fiscal year 2010/11. The government pours billions of rands into the coffers of education, but the standard of education does not improve. The government began a few years ago to pay out social grants to children of poor families. In the 2010 national budget (Department of National Treasury, 2010), R89 billion rand is allocated to this portfolio and the grant was extended from 16 years to 18 years. These grants send the wrong signal to communities, because more children are borne simply for these families to qualify for grants. It also casts a shadow over the development of any entrepreneurial skills and creativity to find a job because government looks after the people. A wage subsidy for youthful workers that target the unemployed group that is in transition between school and work, should be the only grant to the youth. This grant was implemented in the 2010/11 national budget, according to advice of the Harvard group of economists.

BEE policies should be scrapped. This philosophy of government discourages new investment, it causes the acceleration of the skills flight of white people to other countries and only benefit very few black people. Regardless of the economic failure, a BEE Council was inaugurated on the 4th of February 2010. The president stated in his speech (Zuma, 2010): “.....*the story of black economic empowerment in the last 15 years has been a story dominated by a few individuals benefiting a lot. The vast majority of those who are truly marginalised: women, rural poor, workers, the unemployed, and the youth have often stood at the sidelines.*”

Lastly, government should allow the rand to depreciate to support exports which are not competitively priced in the international community because of high labour costs. The ruling policy of government until the beginning of 2010 was not to intervene in the financial markets. This policy creates volatility because the rand is expressed to the USA \$ and the South African economy is influenced by the policies and activities of the USA. In the national budget speech of 2010 (Department of National Treasury, 2010) the

minister employed a new policy, namely that government will not allow the rand to appreciate further.

7. Conclusion

The political dispensation before 1994 was characterized by sanctions, global isolation, strikes, violence in the townships against the apartheid system, lack of foreign capital, a low growth rate, high inflation and capitalism. February 2010 was the commemoration of the speech of the previous president, (Mr) F W de Klerk, twenty years ago to release (Mr) Nelson Mandela and to legitimize the ANC political party. This historical speech paved the way to the first democratic elections in 1994.

In 2010, twenty years after this historical speech, the picture is vastly different. The South African economy is now characterized by violence in the townships against poor service delivery by municipalities, strikes organized by politically inclined labour unions to improve workers benefits, volatile foreign capital, volatile growth rate, high unemployment, numerous structural problems in the macro economic environment, a sick educational system absorbing the biggest percentage of national budget funds, bad management and corruption in all three levels of government and a socialistic ideology in government.

These problems are summarized by a leading academic in South Africa and the brother of the previous ANC president who resigned from the ANC. Dr Eloff, vice chancellor of North West University, stated during the Afrikaans language deliberation in January 2010 that white Afrikaans people are bullied by a transformation ideology which is not written in the South African constitution. He stated according to (Malan, 2010) that tension exists between the constitution and transformation.

According to (Mbeki, 2009) the solution to the crisis caused by the ANC government: *“can only come from the emergence of a leadership with meaningful policies for building a more inclusive society in South Africa. BEE, which benefit the black elite and the social welfare programmes which benefit the poor, do not lead to such inclusiveness; if anything, they entrench the inequalities inherited from the past and exacerbate new inequalities amongst the black population”*. To achieve the real growth rate goal of 6% as stated in the ASGISA policy and to reduce the high unemployment in South Africa, various crucial policy changes must occur.

Theoretical principles must be employed in policies, the various structural problems must be addressed by government and principles of Asian success stories must be incorporated in the South African economy. Certain policies for example ASGISA have good foundations, but the main problem in South Africa is two-fold. Firstly, sustained high growth of 6% will not be achieved as long as economic principles are overshadowed by the political agenda of transformation in South Africa. Secondly, fundamental changes are needed in the South African economy and need urgent attention, but the lack of management at all levels in government, handicap such changes. As long as there is no strong political opposition in parliament to control and stop wrong activities of the ruling political party, sustainable growth will remain a dream.

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**Commodore David Porter's Constantinople and Its Environs: An Official and
Personal Testimony by an Apologist for the East**

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Travel Literature, Orientalism

Commodore David Porter's Constantinople and Its Environs: An Official and Personal Testimony by an Apologist for the East

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I. Business and Pleasure

In 1831, David Porter was sent to Constantinople with his first duty to oversee the resolution of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. The ratifications were exchanged on October 3, 1831 during which Porter was present. On Letter IV, published in *Constantinople and Its Environs*, dated August 3, 1831 he gave a detailed description of the events that took place at Reis Effendi's (Foreign Minister) house. Due to the protocol and Porter's inferior rank, he could not have a formal audience with the Sultan.¹ He remarks that the events were not characterized by "oriental splendour" and that the readers have been long "gulled by travelers."²

The minister and the Efendi had a good deal of conversation about the United States, and particularly about our Indian population, of which he asked many very pertinent questions as to the nature of their government, their relations with the United States, their progress in civilization, their number, the interest the government had in treating with them, making them presents, establishing schools, and promoting their civilization. After the minister had answered all his questions, he asked him this truly Turkish question: "Could not the United States do all this better, and in much shorter time, by sending an armed force?" The minister informed him that our system of policy toward them was one of benevolence: that as we had taken from them their country, and as their race became almost extinct, we looked on them as entitled to our charity, and felt ourselves bound to do them all the good in our power. He thought this "all very kind, but not very politic."³

The exchange of the ratifications took place almost two months after Porter's arrival at Constantinople. Diplomacy in inter-personal or political relations had not been his strongest suit thus far. However, during his residency, there were only complaints about him on the American side, rather than on the Ottoman side. His overall manner in his portrayals is not radically different from his *Journal of a cruise made to the Pacific Ocean*, in that, his lengthy physical descriptions of women, their figure, and attire what those connote about their moral norms; the boastful undertones that accompany these depictions, overtones of nationalism and essentialism are extant in both. However, what makes his biographer Long call him "the first imperialist," those impulses of annexation, invasion, interference in domestic affairs of distant lands are actions and discourses of the past for Porter. In fact, David Long recounts a correspondence between the American consul at Salonika and Porter that took place in 1836. The consul informs porter that Ottoman officials were willing to sell Cyprus to the United States. "The Commodore advised the Consul to forget that the offer had been made, then fired off to Washington Consul's letter along with his own advice that

¹ David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 1967, p. 94.

²David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. I, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 1835, p. 49.

³Ibid., p. 52.

America had already enough land and should avoid the evils of colony grabbing.”⁴ He delimits his spirit for entrepreneurism to what directly concerns him: commerce. “It is astonishing how indifferent our countrymen are to the rich commerce of this great and wonderful empire, as well as that of Black Sea...Is this owing to our indifference, or our ignorance?” This barbed comment; as well his frivolous passion to convince Paulding of the pleasantries of the Empire and the Turks coaxed towards his countrymen -if we disregard his bitterness towards those who court-martialed him and turned their backs on him- seems to have been motivated by relatively personal reasons. He was struggling to overturn the image of his career as a failure which was clearly ingrained in his mind as well as in his contemporaries’.

Throughout his letters from Constantinople he writes consistently with this anti-imperialist notion that he expressed with regard to Cyprus. The geographical distance of Cyprus compared to Nukahiva could be one of the reasons yet one suspects that it is not the only one. However, this anecdote is not reason enough to discard any prospective imperialistic notions Porter might still have enjoyed. In 1835, Paulding had the letters published under the long and self-explanatory title, *Constantinople and Its Environs in a Series of Letters, Exhibiting the Actual State of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks as Modified by the Policy of Sultan Mahmoud by an American, Long Resident at Constantinople*. In the first volume, it is evident that Porter did not pen the letters with the intent of publication, at least not an immediate one; although he recurrently expressed insecurity with regards to his literary style and urged Paulding to throw the letters into the fire lest he finds them unworthy of storing.⁵ In the second volume, he is already conscious of a prospective readership and accordingly didactic. Moreover, the second volume is relatively repetitive (or rather singulative); including more or less the same descriptions of the places he visited more than once. His preface introduces Porter’s narrative as fresh and original on the grounds that he had the privilege that other travelers or residents did not enjoy and he “has not only had the advantage of a residence of several years in Constantinople and its environs, but, in addition to this, occupied a station which gave him opportunities of social intercourse and minute observation rarely presented to Christian travellers in Turkey.”⁶ The access he had to social intercourse and the extent to which he made use of it will be explored later in this chapter. He emphasizes what Porter also does throughout the two volumes that the recordings are based on the author’s observations rather than his preconceptions based on previous reading of accounts on similar regions that are becoming obsolete “like the black-letter books of the middle ages.”⁷ The invalidation of former accounts according to the preface hinges on a large scale upon the reforms of Sultan Mahmoud II, who receives numerous embellished compliments from Porter as well. The preface while referring to the Sultan’s reformation policies, also sets the discursive tone which is oscillating yet almost always prevalent throughout the narratives. His tone is distinguishable from Porter’s in that he does not draw a distinction between the adaptiveness of the governmental body epitomized by the Sultan and the subjects of the Empire who are reduced to their ethnic background: “Since that time [Battle of Navarino] Sultan Mahmoud has proceeded in his reforms as rapidly as Turkish indolence, Turkish pride, and Turkish superstition will permit.”⁸

⁴ David F. Long, *Nothing Too Daring: A Biography of Commodore David Porter, 1780-1843*, (Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute), 1970, p. 294.

⁵ David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. I, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

As is clear from the portrayal of the natives of the Marquesas Islands he has a paternalistic approach rather than an outright aggressive one, regardless of the result being one and the same. Therefore, the representation of the Turk, the Armenian, the Jew, or the Greek without sufficient reference to the political conditions of these peoples, the information being accessible to him, does not eliminate the possibility of a political agenda. In any case, he is not forthright about any intentions, moreover, Porter repeatedly praises the ability of the Turk to be adequate in ruling his country.

These praises also extend to his observations of the agricultural habits in Turkey the lack of which might have signified an insinuation that an external assistance or an involvement is necessary. "Of the latter [onions] may be seen whole and very extensive fields, laid out with great care and neatness, and well irrigated. The people of this country understand this process extremely well, and wherever there is a stream of water, they are sure to turn it to good account."⁹

Here, like in the preface to his *Journal*, he talks of himself in the third person and narrates the events that succeeded the exchange of the ratifications. As Porter repeatedly acknowledges and passionately desires to convince the addressee of his letters, James Kirke Paulding¹⁰, the Ottomans were not as ignorant about the New World as they were assumed to be. The anecdote reveals that Reis Effendi is relatively informed about the domestic affairs of the United States with his "pertinent questions" of the general state of Native Americans. Then he proceeds to concretize his binary opposition of the civilized American treatment of its native population and the cruel and aggressive Ottoman suggestion of military force. The ignorance of the Ottomans that he refutes so fervently does not factor into his portrayals of the people when it comes to awareness of their own history.

Here the mass of the people are honest, to a degree unknown elsewhere, and virtuous too. The Mexicans are a nation of thieves and prostitutes. Murder and robbery here are the rarest occurrences, and there is no country where a person may travel without arms in such perfect safety as in this. In Mexico, no man's life is safe if he has not good arms, and a good will to depend it. They murder there for the love of blood.¹¹

Porter's vindictiveness and embitterment with his experience as commander-in-chief of the Mexican Navy were also infused into his comparative depictions of provincial Turkish cities and towns. His son, Admiral David Dixon Porter wrote in the biography of his father that he wrote in 1875, asserts that "nothing would have gratified" his father "more than to have lived to see Mexico humbled to the dust by the Americans,"¹² and that liked the Turks instinctively albeit gradually and he "esteemed them for their honesty, for they would not lie like Europeans, nor steal like Mexicans."¹³ As it is also clear from his son's remark, Porter's lifelong Anglophobia singles him out among other travel writers of the 19th century. This was naturally an inevitable result of his occupational background. Just as he delimits his depictions to physical traits of people and scenery, he congruently remains on the surface of circumstantial consequences. Aside from his blindly nationalistic sentiments and racist notions, his utter lack of curiosity for his surroundings contributes to his ineffectual delineations.

⁹David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. I, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 206.

¹⁰Paulding collaborated with Washington Irving in *Salmagundi*, which was a 19th century periodical. In 1838, he became the Secretary of Navy. He is the recipient of all the letters that Porter wrote from Constantinople.

¹¹David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. I, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 224.

¹²David Dixon Porter, *Memoir of Commodore David Porter, Of the United States Navy*, (Albany, New York: J. Munsell, Publisher, 1875), p. 395.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 405.

Finnie observes that although Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were within his jurisdiction for almost twelve years he made no attempts at visiting them.¹⁴

II. Knowledge Management and Taxonomy

Justin D. Edwards asserts “the popularity of nineteenth-century travel writing arose partially out of a Victorian compulsion to classify, taxonomize, and control the natural world.”¹⁵ Porter’s desire for categorization is not limited to flora and fauna; rather it expands itself to people, women in particular. His concerns with gender, ethnicity, and class are rarely extant independent of each other. Physical characteristics denote specific ethnic, economical backgrounds. In addition to denoting the same parameters, colors and ornaments of attires also designate the nature of the occasion and the class the subject belongs to. The members of an ethnic group that constitute the majority in the country in question or the ruling class are almost always more favorable to Porter’s gaze. In his depictions, he singles out the signifiers of his ethnic parameters and never disregards their possible connotations within the local realm. With almost primordial instincts he actualized a heteropathic narrator who dissects and deciphers the paraphernalia that the object of attention carries on herself. It is similar to what Mieke Bal calls the “the nonreciprocal gaze”¹⁶ when analyzing Marcel Proust. In a similar vein, the women being gazed upon, as a result of “modesty,” can neither reciprocate his gaze directed towards them nor can they objectify him with the same analytical manner. They are mere images one describes and speculates on with no context available to them and the on-looker.

What struck me most, was their brilliant black eyes, their beautifully arched eyebrows, and their long and glossy black hair almost reaching the ground. The delicate fairness of their skins, is owing to their confinement to their homes: of their figures I could not judge. Some of them have thrown off their clumsy yellow boots, and substituted the silk open work stockings and slippers: handsomer ankles, and smaller and more beautiful feet, I have never seen. When a man buys a wife, if rich, he undoubtedly chooses a handsome one. The Turks are a noble race of men, and the women being generally of Circassian origin, it is not surprising that the daughters of the Turks should be beautiful.¹⁷

His focalization on the surface traits, rather than the practices or their reasons for emergence is striking. His gaze is all-encompassing against the odds of the attire that covered most the women’s bodies. His voyeurism is almost of an interwoven nature of the comprehensive feminine and the penetrating male. After a detailed description of the accessories, their colors and make of fabric, he proceeds to the only exposed part that is readily available to his gaze: the feet, where his wandering gaze concludes its short journey that began with the silk stockings and slippers. All throughout the two volumes, he designates his traverses on the female body and its depiction to a minimal, superficial level. Even on rare occasions, where he actually verbally communicates with a woman, he suffices the description to physical traits. Yet after the breakfast scene, he claims to have discovered a new window into the lives of the Turks, which could only have been attained through his unique experience of distant observation. Meyda Yeğenoğlu aptly describes the frustration of the Western gaze encountered by the veil as “Frustrated with the invisibility and inaccessibility of this mysterious, fantasmatic figure, disappointed with the veiled figure’s refusal to be gazed at, Western

¹⁴ David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 93.

¹⁵ Justin D. Edwards, *Exotic Journeys: Exploring the Erotics of U.S. Travel Literature 1840-1930*, (Hanover and London: University Press of New England), p. 5.

¹⁶ Mieke Bal, *A Mieke Bal Reader*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 83.

¹⁷ David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. I, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 29-30.

gaze subjects this enigmatic, in Copjec's terms, 'sartorial matter,' to a relentless investigation."¹⁸ What the gaze is able to penetrate after meticulous struggle, in Porter's case the feet of the women having breakfast; the gaze exhausts with description and almost compensates for the parts that are not accessible to his investigative and descriptive urges. He overcomes this deficiency by informed or uninformed speculation about the general manners and state of women in the Empire. He abandons the most specific of all descriptions and switches to generalizations about their breeding and beauty. The drastic change in his descriptive style can be explained by an escapist attitude towards anxiety that is created by the invisibility of the object of attention. What he cannot access visually, he completes speculatively.

Another intriguing moment occurs when some Turkish ladies, out of curiosity for the customs of Americans and specifically of *Elçi Bey* (Minister) pay a visit to Porter in his house. Although, usually skeptical and tactful about socializing with the locals, he derives tremendous pleasure from the willingness of the Turkish women's expression of interest in him. He narrates the event as such: "Some of them were very beautiful, particularly the youngest, about seventeen years old...profiting by my character of doctor, (for I practice physic in my neighbourhood), when they asked me to feel their pulses, I desired them to take off their veils, that I might examine their faces, and tongues, which they readily did, and gave me a good opportunity of examining their features, and three of them were certainly very handsome."¹⁹ While his physical pleasure almost transcends and expands on his former merely visual one, he reinvigorates his own stereotypical vision of Turkish women as "indolent" and "voluptuous."²⁰ As will be exemplified later, this is a rare privilege he endows the Turkish women with. His conservatism regarding the manners of American women does not apply to Turkish women just like it had not applied to the young women of Marquesas Islands who threw themselves at the feet American sailors, including Porter himself. What is more striking than his impertinent assertiveness is the presumed "readiness" of the women to expose themselves to the foreign gaze and even touch of Porter. Once diluted through the filter of his selectiveness, his notational deliberations of women become a tautological specter. Moreover, true to norm, the narrative of women is not dialogic in nature. Their presence is proved by imagery in a rather perverse form; but it is completely silenced, it is merely a sensual presence.

I am not the apologist of Turkish prejudices, but it cannot be denied, that the barbarous invasion and excesses of the mad crusaders; the persecutions and final expulsion of the Mahometans from Spain; the uniform language of all Christian writers, as well as the uniform conduct of Christian states towards the Ottomites, have all combined to furnish no slight justification of their feelings towards the nations of Europe.²¹

The cumulative historicization of the Muslim-Christian relations which Porter considers to be repetitive and tautological, lies at the heart of his criticism. But what he is personally more sensitive about is the aggressive countenance of Europe that randomly enacts its barbarism and madness with towards her opponents and what Porter had experienced firsthand. Moreover, he draws a discursive boundary between the "uniform language of all Christian writers" which he insinuates to entail political ambitions under the cloak of religion and his account. His political and religious neutrality factors in his discourse as an additional source of originality that compensates for the lack of erudition. As an American -to borrow a term from Ali Behdad-, he suffers from "belatedness," which

¹⁸Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 39.

¹⁹David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. I, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 12.

²⁰Ibid., p. 140.

²¹David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. II, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 317-318.

is much more advanced than the European one temporally. However, there is a flip side to his assertion. The historicized excuse he provides for deeply embedded prejudices which he refrains from owning up to, does not warrant a space for tolerance on the Muslim side that could surmount the historically imbued animosities between the two creeds. The Muslim world is not exempt from the sense of superiority and discourses of exceptionalism that he assigns to Europe. Then again, when his ambivalence about the Muslims merges with his high admiration for Mahmoud II, he asserts: “Turkish prejudice has heretofore opposed a barrier to research, but the time has arrived, when an enlightened Sultan has removed all obstruction to investigation. The Christian in Constantinople, is now nearly as secure from insult, as in any part of Christendom, and may pursue his inquiries without apprehension of injury, or fear of interruption from any one.”²² The responsibility for this aura of tolerance and liberal investigation is assigned to Mahmoud II. Yet, it is not clear to which level it has been disseminated, if the periphery has complied with center’s enlightenment. The freedom with which he satirically feigns to compare religious tolerance in the United States and in the Ottoman Empire displays the tacit allusion to the former’s evident superiority in this regard. Perchance, superiority does not even define the relative condition of the United States in terms of tolerance as it becomes clear in the following passage in which he inadvertently reverses his reflection on the issue.

In fact, there is more toleration in religion in Turkey, than any where else; more even than in the United States, for however Christians may differ among themselves in their creeds, forms of worship, and ceremonies, the Turk looks upon them all as dogs of the same litter, and their barking and growling not worth his notice, provided they keep out of the way of his pipe, and do not upset his coffee.²³

After this explication of the rationale behind Turkish tolerance, rather than superior, the state of American tolerance becomes the genuine counterpart of the imposed Turkish one. Even the imposition of the enlightened Sultan is deemed obsolete by the deeply embedded yet passive and demeaning manner of the Turks towards Christians. By satirizing the concepts of tolerance and equality, he reveals a very idealistic view of the United States, her institutions and people. Although at times, critical of the “niggardly habit of the Franks,”²⁴ and Americans in the Ottoman Empire, he puts forward a refined, purified view of American past and present. Even the relative intolerance in the United States can be explicated by the lack of sense of superiority and contempt for other denominations. He reformulates equality as a precursor to intolerance. The denominational distinctions do not have significant denotations as long as they do not meddle with Turkish indolence. These irreconcilable oppositions merge in this cleansed platform and contrive the nation that is the epitome of tolerance.

Christopher Mulvey gives a fitting diagnosis to this phenomenon of self-criticism via contempt and resentment towards one’s compatriots: “The hostility of the traveller to his own kind was to some extent an expression of a curiously displaced sense of territoriality that overtook men outside of their own country...The traveller saw into things...He might criticize, or praise; others might not.”²⁵ The braggadocio of Porter also stems from his struggle to position himself within the realm of the genre as well as gaining a respectful reputation sustained through appreciation by and a sound communication with the local government. What Porter is ultimately aiming at is a “critical shift

²² Ibid., p. 99.

²³ Ibid., p. 199.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

²⁵ Christopher Mulvey, *Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 24.

from fantasy to rationality, from exoticism to systematic knowledge.”²⁶ Yet his discourse is caught in between the transition neither completely becoming one, nor remaining to be the other. He is not the savant with authority nor is he the sentimental traveler that transforms anything that appeals to the eye to phantasmagoria that is not extant in reality. A more straightforward example is a passage from the first volume where he elucidates not the superiority of the end result –the governmental regime, social mobility, equality in the United States now- but of the core values that the end result is so firmly grounded in.

...you see how extremes meet in governments as well as in every thing else. In our Republic, certainly the freest country in the world, distinctions of birth weigh as nothing, and any man may aspire to honours and office. It is the same thing in Turkey, one of the purest despotisms on the face of the earth. The cause, however, of this apparent similarity is as different as day and night. In the United States, this general eligibility to office, is owing to the universal equality recognized in the laws and the constitution: in Turkey, there is the same equality in the eye of the Sultan, who is placed at such an immeasurable distance above the rest of mankind, that they appear to him like the pigmies of the same size and dimension...Here is a cloud of philosophy for you.²⁷

He postulates an idyllic image of the United States, the nation, according to Porter, “where even the slave is not required to distinguish himself from the freeman by any act of degradation.”²⁸ In his frame of comparison, slavery does not exist. American equality is blind, non-discriminatory and it is not a consequence, rather the essence of the American system of thought. Correspondingly the ground on which Ottoman equality is framed also lies at the core of the Sultan’s status and character: a grandiose sense of self, and a habitual derisive nature towards his subjects. Nonetheless, Porter digresses from the mainstream discursive enunciation that considered amelioration in Oriental society infeasible. However, his assertions still do not rule out a congenital inferiority on the part of the common folk since his praises pertain to the reforms enacted by the Sultan. The mainstream preference would side with the people and explicate their inferior state as the result of a brutal oppression stemming from the government.

Sultan Mahmoud has...attempted and is in the daily process of achieving the noble yet difficult task of adapting this government and those institutions in some degree to the progress of intelligence in the rest of the civilized world, and if he succeeds, as I earnestly hope he may, will merit to be ranked with Peter the Great, King Alfred, and the most illustrious benefactors and reformers of every age and country.²⁹

Mahmoud II who according to Porter carries “a slight air of dandyism about him,”³⁰ the thirtieth Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, pioneered numerous reforms which aimed at democratizing the laws, abolished the Janissary corps in 1826 and began to organize a modernized Ottoman army, Nizam-I Cedid (New Order,) recognizing that the former institutions of the Empire no longer proved satisfactory for self-sustenance. Stanford J. Shaw, and Ezel Kural Shaw enumerate the hindrances to the concretization of the reformations as the size and the heterogeneity of the Empire; the reformer’s dependence on Western nations and the latter’s exploitation of this dependence; the system’s inability to accommodate the desire for rapid change; the struggles for independence of the

²⁶ Ali Behdad, “The Politics of Adventure: Theories of Travel, Discourses of Power,” in Julia Kuehn, Paul Smethurst, ed., *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 80.

²⁷ David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. I, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 79.

²⁸ David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. II, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), p. 143.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

minorities supported by Russia and Western Europe, and the “sporadic terrorism” that forced digression from the issues at hand, and the intervention of the European powers in the Ottoman domestic affairs.³¹ Unfortunately, his romantic notion of Mahmoud II prevents Porter from scrutinizing these hindrances. The Sultan’s special interest in Porter’s occupational background (as he was in the process of rebuilding his navy) and their several informal exchanges was a great source of pride for him. The Sultan’s sudden death in 1839, and the indifference to the American minister of his young son Abdulmecid I, who was sixteen when he succeeded his father, disappointed Porter. As recourse to a comprehensive report as a result of exploration however, Porter provides the reader with something more valuable, and appealing as well as original, which leads to an introspective protest against European powers. He carries his pleasant intercourse with the Sultan to a higher level by drawing on a reason for solidarity between the United States and the Ottoman Empire simultaneously redirecting the attention to the American condition.

Here is a monarch, whom those of Europe are pleased to call a barbarian, bending the energies of a great genius, to reforming his government, and ameliorating as far as circumstances will permit, the condition of his people, while the universal spectacle of civilized Europe is that of Christian monarchs, using every effort of their power and policy, to stem that mighty torrent which rising in the forests of the new world, is now rolling from kingdom to kingdom, and from one quarter of the globe to another, apparently as certain in its consequences, as it is inevitable in its course. And let it be remembered that almost all obstacles to the immediate success of this glorious plan, exist in the prejudices of the subjects of Mahmoud, not of his own.³²

Noteworthy of attention, reflections of Porter on the reforms pioneered by Mahmoud II, his partiality towards the Ottoman Empire against the European powers which he openly declares to be the result of nationalistic sentiments, reveals the main determining factor behind his ideological approach to the Ottoman Empire. The European monarchs who are inept at self-reflexivity and label the ruler of the Empire as “barbarian” are the same ones who are trying to stop the unstoppable, and prevent the inevitable. These holistic sentiments of animosity directed towards the European powers are the result of his nationalistic feelings’ overshadowing his desire for a cultural history that the “torrent” and the “monarchs” could share. He prefers to draw a similarity and commonality with the Ottoman Empire (via the person of the Sultan) against the common enemy. Yet, at this junction, he suggests the reason behind the obstacle against the immediate enactment of the reforms in the Empire: her subjects. By concentrating all of the virtues and the motivation behind an ideological and sentimental alliance between two countries on one individual, –the present ruler of the Empire- he also designates it in time and renders it temporary.

³¹ Stanford J. Shaw, Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey*, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2002), p. Vii.

³² David Porter, *Constantinople and Its Environs*, Vol. II, (New York: Harper & Brothers), 1835, p. 319.

Development of a Game for Collaborative Story Drawing in Facebook

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| Communications

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Abstract

Online social networks have become extremely popular. Social networks are platforms for interaction, communication and collaboration between friends. In Facebook, users interact and share contents with friends who have common interests and similar experiences to build up their own social interaction. Storytelling is a method of communication that often applied to record and express personal experiences. This paper focuses on using drawing to share personal experiences to facilitate the creation of narratives. In this work, an application is designed and developed by the researcher and put in practical use in Facebook. Through the process of making a story chain to carry on the game, online users can create the content of a story by drawing, collaborate with friends to create a narrative, and share commonly similar life experiences. These collaboratively made narratives shall become the record of common memories shared between friends. As a tool for online social network participants, this collaborative drawing application enables users to create retrospective storytelling and to collaborate with friends without the time and space limitations. It is expected that through the interaction of making story chain to create common memories, this work can facilitate the emotional communication between friends in online social networks to further enhance and strengthen their friendship.

Keywords

Online social networks, social interaction, storytelling, drawing, Facebook

1. Introduction

Internet has become one of the most important communication channels nowadays. Internet shortens the distance between people, makes those who are unfamiliar turn out to be close as a family and further builds trustworthy relationships among them. Online social networks (OSN) are platforms for interaction, communication and collaboration between friends. In Facebook, users interact and share contents with friends who have common interests and similar experiences to build up their own social interaction. Based on the success of several

online social networks such as Twitter, Facebook and Mixi, it strengthens how important Internet is to the interpersonal communication. Moreover, Facebook currently almost takes the place of email as the primary contact channel among young people. Internet enables users to contribute contents whenever and wherever at their convenience without time and geographical limits. In the past, people used internet primarily to browse and search for contents. Nowadays, Internet has become a communication medium. It enables people to create the contents they want, to cooperate with others and establish social networks. Internet has turned from the platform for searching information into the platform for sharing, cooperating to execute the plan based on common interests and then bringing up new ideas to solve the most imperious problems.

Communication is the process of people transmitting and passing messages. Traditionally, communication design emphasized composing words, sketching, taking photographs, and applying audio and multimedia. Owing to the vigorous development of online social networks, communication design is not just the design of image and characteristics anymore. What needs to be noticed and stressed on is the interactions and cooperation among people. Storytelling is a method of communication that often applied to record and express personal experiences. By the form of storytelling, people share and communicate their real experiences with others, make the receivers to generate resonance and response to conveyer in order to create interactions. However, reality is an important factor for human understands. Creating contents that bring us reality is important for learning and knowledge sharing among people. [8] Thus, storytelling is a good way of communication.

Members of online social networks are usually those who share common interests and similar experiences. For examples, they could be classmates, partners, colleagues... and etc. They possess the same or similar memories and life experiences and record them by storytelling. Storytelling enables people to preserve, share and reflect on life experiences. However, creating personal narratives requires story-writing, media editing, and media composition skills. It is difficult for novices to write and tell their stories to others because of lack of those professional skills and techniques. This work presents an application and design for supporting storytelling using drawing and digital photos to provide people with opportunities to share personal life experiences.

This paper focuses on using drawing to share personal experiences to facilitate the creation of narratives. We implemented a prototype system called *Paiiiint* and put in practical use in Facebook. Through the process of making a story chain to carry on the game, online users can create the content of a story by drawing, collaborate with friends to create a narrative, and share commonly similar life experiences. It is easier to create stories with drawing and photos

for novices. Collaborating with friends to create a narrative makes contents of stories more copious and increases more interactivities between friends. These collaboratively made narratives shall become the record of common memories shared between friends. As a tool for online social network participants, this collaborative drawing application enables users to create retrospective storytelling and to collaborate with friends without the time and space limitations. It is expected that through the interaction of making story chain to create common memories, this work can facilitate the emotional communication between friends in online social networks to further enhance and strengthen their friendship.

2. Related works

2.1. Use of Digital Storytelling

Storytelling performs a critical function in society serving as a “dialog between people, cultures, and times” [11]. People can express and share personal life experiences by storytelling. Some researchers have uncovered the power of digital storytelling in educational and social domains. The Center for Digital Storytelling (CDS) [3] is an organization dedicated to assisting people in using digital media to tell meaningful stories from their lives. Davis [5] discovered that the construction of personal narratives in the digital medium could be used as a tool for personal development. As the students recalled life-changing experiences, students developed a clearer sense of self. Ellis and Bruckman [7] used storytelling through digital media in the Palaver Tree project to support history education.

Owing to the lack of proper tools and professional skills, it is not easy for general users to create their own stories. To solve these problems, some researchers developed applications to make storytelling easier for novices. Landry and Guzdial [10] designed iTell to provide retrospective storytelling support. iTell presents the users with four steps to complete: Brainstorm, Organize, Writing, and Add Personal Media. It intended to help novice storytellers engage in the composition process like experts. Storytellr [9] is designed as a flickr third-party application, which leverages the storage and tagging systems of flickr while providing support for creating retrospective stories.

Désilets和Paquet [6] applied Wiki as the platform to probe into how school kids cooperated online to tell stories. Stories on this platform could be presented with pictures and texts. In this study, school kids were divided in groups. They could cooperate with others not only on Wiki platform but also through oral conversations between groups. Alissa [1] design an online collaborative storytelling environment for children aged 8 - 10. Using StoryBuilder, children can create multimedia comic-style stories. They can then save stories to their online personal

space, submit them for publication in the ongoing story, or email them to friends as a story chain. Tomohiro *et al.* [8] proposed a notion of collaborative story building for adding reality to contents. They implemented a prototype system called POC Communicator for creating realistic contents collaboratively. There were three parts of POC Communicator, message editor, story editor, and browser editor. Users connected pictures into a series of stories by adding annotations to pictures. It helped children who were weak at creating stories to enhance the variety and substance of the contents by taking advantages of pictures and source materials.

In these studies, we found that failures of many online comic platforms resulted from the lack of reusing picture materials. Reusing source materials and pictures could certainly reduce the time for creation, make creation easier and enhance the visual richness. Pen and paper stories created by children in this age group are often lengthy and do not often contain stimulating or different ideas. The story segments created using digital storytelling, while often short, contained a large variation in representations of time, space and narrative logic. Children, especially those who did not get used to the brainstorming process could be effectively stimulated their creativity by creating series comic [2, 4, 12].

2.2. Communication by Using Drawing and Images

Communicating with others by drawing, users are less limited by language differences and able to further impress the receivers. Toshiyuki [15] conducted a research on children from different countries, living in different places and speaking different languages participate in pictogram communications. In this study, it was found that children from different cultural backgrounds have different perceptions and understandings of the same pictogram. PicNet is an online pictogram communication system. Although there is already an existing inner-built pictogram database in PicNet, children can also establish their own database. They can communicate with other children by searching and rearranging the order of the pictograms. It was hoped that the cultural gaps could be bridged through the pictogram communication.

Yumiko [13] applied three methods, syntactic description, artistic drawing and storytelling to carry out pictogram communication. Children from different countries used the given images in the system database, screened out and rearranged the order, and sent out messages to other children in order to implement cross-cultural communications. It was found that different mother tongues influence on how children construct messages. But children would understand the cultural differences and then make adjustments to accomplish cross-cultural communications.

TwelvePixels [14] was a pixel-based drawing application for mobile phones. By resizing and rearranging the pixels, users could draw pictures on their mobile phones and then share with friends. Moreover, users could also reuse and edit other people's works and then create a new picture. TwelvePixels helped enhance the creativity and facilitate the application of communication and sharing contents of mobile phones. Besides, there were more and more emerging concerns and interests in mobile phone's role in creative communications. Communications through mobile phones were not just delivering sounds, voices and texts. Drawing has gradually become a new communication style.

Though previous studies, we found that it is more efficient for users in online social network to communicate with each other visually. Using appropriate visual imagination could make the delivered messages clearer, easy to remember and understand. We develop an application called *Paiiiint* for providing people with opportunities to record and share their life experiences. In section 3, we describe the design and characteristics of *Paiiiint*.

3. *Paiiiint*

3.1. Overview

Paiiiint is a system that helps people to make storytelling easier and to interact with friends by storytelling collaboratively. Based on Web 2.0 concept, *Paiiiint* is established as an online platform. Therefore, it represents the spirit of 'online social interaction', 'collaboration' and 'sharing contents'. (Figure. 1) It is connected with Facebook so every Facebook member can manipulate *Paiiiint* at anytime anywhere while users have access to Internet.

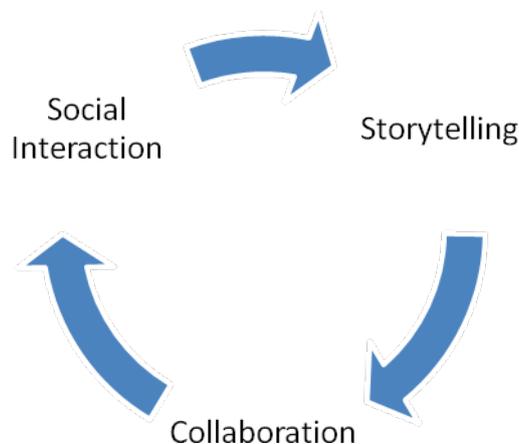


Figure. 1. The spirit of *Paiiiint*.

Paiiint applies the form of story chain to create stories. Users can create the content by using drawing and digital photo. After finish their creations, they can share with friends via online social networks. Other users can base on the shared pictures to continue creating, making it developed into a series of comic story. People who have similar life experiences can cooperate to create thus they make the contents of stories more authentic and complete. Through collaborating and sharing contents with others, there are more social interactions and communications between friends in online social networks to establish emotional communications. (Figure. 2)



Figure. 2. Social interaction of Paiiint.

3.2. User Interface

Paiiint system includes four parts: *paint*, *my room*, *board* and *info*. (Figure. 3.) The *paint* part is a drawing board. Users can choose the kind, size and colors of brush and then paint a picture by using basic drawing tools. The upload function let users upload digital photos on drawing board. They also can shift and resize the photos. After finishing drawing, the user can save the work on server and share it with friends. User also can send drawings to others who they want to continue the stories.

In *my room* part, users' creations of stories are displayed in private. All of stories are showed on *board* part. Everyone can view all public stories. If users want to know the condition about their stories, they can click the *info* part.



Figure. 3. User interface. (a) paint (b) my room (c) board (d) info

4. Research Plan & Expected Contributions

We are interested in the attitudes and media preferences of Piiiint users. We will put Piiiint in practical use in Facebook and then employ a combination of surveys and interviews to collect data about preferences, expectations and experiences of users. It is expected that through the interaction of making story chain to create common memories, this work can facilitate the emotional communication between friends in online social networks to further enhance and strengthen their friendship.

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**POLITICS, MEDIA AND YOUTH:
POLITICAL EFFICACY THROUGH NEW MEDIA**

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POLITICS, MEDIA AND YOUTH: POLITICAL EFFICACY THROUGH NEW MEDIA

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Abstract

The youth of today, will be the leaders of tomorrow, it is important to instill in them the ideals of democracy and participation. In this regard, new media has the potential to play a significant role, thus, the aim of this research was to find out the contribution of new media in enhancing political efficacy amongst the youth. Political efficacy was measured in term of political knowledge as well as interest and participation in the political processes. Further, the research looked at socio-economic factors and gender as predictors of media use.

The study was quantitative in nature, involving a survey from the urban university level students of the twin cities, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The survey instrument was validated through a pilot study and comprised of closed ended questions. Using non-probability convenient sampling techniques, 400 questionnaires were distribute out of which 308 were found to be valid and complete and were thus included in the final analysis.

Results indicated that new media was being used extensively but not exclusively, further, although educated youth who used new media more had greater political knowledge yet they participated less often in the political processes. However, the influence of socio-economic factors was undermined as results indicated that it was not playing a very significant role. On the other hand gender came out as a strong predictor of new media use as was a radical difference in how males and females were using new media for the purpose of political efficacy.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the research was to find out the role that new media is playing in creating political efficacy amongst the youth in Pakistan. Political efficacy is the belief on the part of an individual that he can play an important and integral role in the political processes. Campbell et al. (1954) presented the idea of political efficacy as a feeling that individual political actions can have an impact on the overall political processes. In this regard the individual citizen becomes an important entity who has a strong faith in his position and significance in the political processes. Later studies showed that the original idea of political efficacy actually comprised of two separate elements internal efficacy and external efficacy. Internal efficacy relates to the individuals belief that he can make a difference while external efficacy relates to the system responsiveness to the citizens needs (Craig et al, 1990; Craig, 1993). The present research looked at the various factors which influence internal efficacy like knowledge, discussion and participation.

Orgeret, (2004) defines democracy as the process of self-ruling within given geo-political boundaries and where there is widespread agreement on the identity of 'the nation' or 'the people'. Freedom and democracy are one of the most important rights of the individual; they are the stepping stone towards an ideal state. However, the concept of a true democracy does not merely focus on rights but on responsibilities as well (Bachen et al., 2008). It is the duty of the citizens of a

democracy to protect it which can only be done if they have sufficient knowledge and awareness. It is not only the duty of the state to protect and look after the interests of its citizens; they too have to protect the system. Simple acts like voting seem to be insignificant but they are the lifeline of democracy. Of late, there has been a shift in the attitudes of the public all over the world, for e.g. there has been a relative decline in voter turn outs (Wass, 2005; Hooghe, 2004; Dunsmore & Lagos, 2008) which if taken in extremes would render the whole notion of a democracy meaningless.

According to Gimple (2003, p.15) adolescence is one of the few periods during the life cycle when there are nearly universal opportunities to collect and absorb political facts and information. However, the messages that they take in vary in quantity and quality across the different media. Scholars have realized the potential of all these mediums, and increasingly, research is focusing on the influence of all these different forms of media on the processes of political socialization at large and political efficacy in particular (Hoffman & Thomson, 2009; Dunsmore & Lagos, 2008; Kim & Johnson, 2006). Although conventional media has retained its place amongst the younger generations, yet, new media has emerged as a powerful force as new media particularly the internet provides a unique opportunity to the users as unlike conventional media; they are interactive and have room for feedback. (Sun, & Rubin, 2008; Kim & Kim, 2007; Jackson & Lilleker, 2007; Albarran et al., 2007 and Bachen et al., 2008). In spite of the fact, that new media has had a very short history in Pakistan yet it has witnessed massive growth. In particular, the use of internet is increasing day by day, according to Shafique and Mahmood (2008) although internet penetration in Pakistan is relatively low yet its numbers are growing. They deem the numbers of internet users would have crossed 12 million (7.2 percent of the population) by the end of 2006. All this indicates that new media particularly the internet is gradually emerging as a dominant force which would be shaping our futures.

BACKGROUND

Role of Youth in Pakistan's Political History.

The youth in Pakistan have traditionally been politically very active. The freedom struggle that lasted from 1857-1947 mainly relied on the energy and efforts of the younger generation who made innumerable sacrifices for the cause of independence. Even though, at that time, there were very few means of communication and those too were under the control of the British government, yet, the youth of the sub-continent managed to put up a very dynamic freedom struggle.

After independence, the youth of the newly created Pakistan did not sink into oblivion; it was the movement led by students that toppled the very powerful regime of Field Marshall Ayub Khan. Later, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's rise to power was also due in part to his popularity amongst the youth of that era. When, General Zia-ul-Haq imposed his dictatorship on the country, it was the students who put up a fight and bore all kinds of atrocities for their beliefs. However, in the last twenty years, youth and particularly students have turned away from politics, there is certain disillusionment with the whole process and the emphasis has been on getting an education, finding a job, improving ones own life and not on bringing a positive change in society as a whole. Student politics has gradually come to be associated with violence and gang war amongst other things and is not seen as a stepping stone towards creating effective citizens of a democracy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

New Media, Youth and the Uses and Gratifications Approach

The Theory of media dependency is based on the uses and gratification approach. It states that the more dependent an individual is on the media to fulfill his needs, the more important the media will be for that individual. Thus, individuals do not depend on all media equally (Loveless, 2008; Kim & Kim, 2007; Albarran et. all, 2007; Sun, Rubin & Haridakis, 2008). Research by Jackson and Lilleker (2007) has shown that media users play an active role in selecting their media and are thus goal oriented in their media use thus new media is being used increasingly to receive information as well as aiding in voter choice. According to the researchers, new media is increasing being used to fulfill the needs of information, sensation seeking, and withdrawal because audiences have a clear perception of their needs and will abandon a medium if it does not gratify them (Albarran et. all, 2007; Kim & Kim, 2007; Kim & Johnson, 2006). Kim & Kim (2007) in their research revealed that adolescents' political media uses are based on four distinct motivations—guidance, surveillance, social utility, and entertainment. They concluded that internet use with the motivations of guidance or social utility is the strongest predictor of adolescents' political engagement. Further, Sun, Rubin & Haridakis (2008) argue that the gratification opportunities that e-mail affords them like fast speed, convenience makes it the preferred communication tool.

A recent trend is trend is that younger audiences are increasingly leaving older media like terrestrial radio and television for their new media counterparts like satellite radio, MP3, streaming internet video etc (Albarran et. all, 2007). Considerable research has shown that there are strong links between adoption of new technologies and age with the result that younger people are more likely to exhibit Internet dependency than older participants. (Sun, Rubin & Haridakis, 2008: Albarran et. al, 2007). Further, younger audiences are very much aware of their needs and motivations, thus it is not easy to gratify them (Albarran et. al, 2007).

Research has shown that Internet use has become the dominant way for political engagement, as compared to uses of their traditional media such as newspaper, TV, and radio (Kim & Kim , 2007; Kim & Johnson, 2006; Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2002; Kenski & Stroud, 2006) which has been dubbed as a “shift in media power” (Kim & Johnson, 2006). This is so because political action is made easier, faster and more universal by the developing technologies because ICTs lower the costs and obstacles of organizing collective action. (Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2002). Research by Tian (2006) indicated that internet was being extensively used to gain political information but was not playing a significant role in political deliberation and participation. According to Pasek et al. (2008) the use of internet as well as other news sources is very important to gain knowledge about political issues. Sun, Rubin & Haridakis (2008) also found that there was a clear demarcation between the preferences of men and women as regards to new media use.

Youth and Political Efficacy

According to Gimpel (2003) an informed, knowledgeable citizenry is very important for democracy. He defines political knowledge as the capacity of citizens to recall facts about what government is and does. He further says that citizens who possess the least political knowledge are those who are least likely to participate in a wide variety of political activities and thus they do not

inform their representatives of their needs. People who know more about politics are much more willing to engage in political discussions.

Hoffman & Thomson (2009) quoted Zimmerman, (1989, p. 554) in defining political efficacy as “the belief that one has the skills to influence the political system”. Further, they used a broad criterion for calculating civic participation, in which they included participation in student government or debate club, involvement in any kind of youth organizations like sports leagues or boy scouts, volunteering for places of worship, school, youth programs or civic group.

Research has shown that there is a strong relationship between ones belief that he can influence political processes with actual participation (Almond & Verba, 1963; Campbell et al, 1954; Verba et al, 1995). Hively & Eveland, (2009) found that frequency of discussion is related to both factual as well as structural knowledge but elaboration occurs only as a result of structural knowledge.

According to Kim & Kim (2007), political socialization of adolescents includes the processes of acquiring basic knowledge about political procedures and issues, learning how to articulate thoughts and opinions about political issues, gaining basic skills to share the political thoughts and opinions with others, and developing motivations to participate in political activities as responsible citizens. Wass (2005) is of the opinion that low voter turnout amongst the young is not a passing phenomenon but a generational feature partly due to a “demobilizatory socializing process” which he says is common to the younger age bracket. Further, he observed that politics had played a very small role during the formative years of the current younger generation but they still had a positive attitude towards political participation. Thus he says that low voter turnout is probably not due to a lack of political socialization. Dunsmore & Lagos (2008) observed that for democracy to flourish in future, it is imperative that the youth’s passion should be channeled appropriately.

The literature thus suggests the following hypothesis in the Pakistani context

- H₁:** New media is the more commonly used medium amongst the educated youth.
- H₂:** Educated youth who use new media more show greater political efficacy.
- H₃:** Socio-economic status influences new media use for the purpose of political efficacy.
- H₄:** Gender influences new media use for the purpose of political efficacy.

METHOD

The study was quantitative in nature and involved a survey from the educated youth in an urban center as they are the only ones to have access to new media in Pakistan. The sample was drawn from amongst the graduate and post graduate students from each of the four largest universities of the twin cities including International Islamic University (IIUI), Fatima Jinnah Women University (F.J.W.U), National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), and FAST National University (FAST). These universities had been selected because their student population is quite large and the students come from different strata of society from all over Pakistan. A sample size of 400 was decided upon as there was relative homogeneity in the sample.

The sampling method that was used was the non-probability convenient sampling method. Graduate level students from each of the four universities approached the students and asked them to fill out

the questionnaires. Four hundred questionnaires were distributed out of which 313 were returned, however, only 308 were found to be complete and valid.

Initially, a pretest of the questionnaire was administered to a sample of 30 students from IIUI to explore the validity and reliability of the questionnaire. Analysis of the pretest results resulted in minor changes to the questionnaire. The pretest data was not used in the final analyses. The questionnaire that was finally administered to the sample comprised of 44 questions along with relevant demographic information. Reliability test revealed that the instrument had a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.767.

RESULTS

The number of questionnaires that were distributed was 400; however, only 313 were returned which meant that the response rate was 78%. However, only 308 were included in the final analysis as the remaining five were either incomplete or the responses were unclear. The data that was thus compiled revealed that 51 % of the respondents were male while 49 % were female.

The respondents ranged in age from 18 to 25 years old ($M = 22$, $SD = 1.797$). Respondents' annual family income ranged from less than Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 50,000 or more ($M = 50k+$, $SD = 1.034$). Almost 40% of the respondents belonged to households with a monthly income of Rupees fifty thousand and above (50K+), 26% were in the 25-49K category, 25% were in the 15-24K category while only 10 % belonged to household where the monthly income was rupees ten thousand or less. This anomaly can be explained by the fact that the level of literacy in Pakistan is very low and only the middle and upper income groups can afford to provide their children with education.

The instrument contained a test of the respondent's knowledge of Pakistani politics. There were 17 questions of varying difficulties; some of them were about issues that have been discussed regularly in the media while others pertained to the structure of governance in the country.. The results were pretty impressive, only 2.6% had a score of below 25%. 34% of the respondents scored between 25%-50% (below average), 50% scored between 50%-75% (above average), while 13% scored above 75% (good). The average score of all the respondents was 62%. The questions were posed as statements which were either correct or incorrect.

H₁: New media is the more commonly used medium amongst the educated youth.

H₁ hypothesized that new media is the more commonly used medium by the educated youth of the twin cities. To determine this, the respondents were asked for how long they had been using internet which gives access to most of the forms of new media. The results showed that 56% had been using the internet for over four years while another 26% stated that they had been using the internet for a period of 1-4 years. Pearson's Correlations test was run to test whether a relationship existed between the lengths of time since the respondents started using the internet and the time spent on using the internet. The results ($r = 0.508$, $p > 0.01$) show that there is a positive and significant relationship which shows that the respondents who had been using the internet for a longer period tended to use it for a longer period of time (Table 1).

Table 1: Relationship of weekly use and the length of use of internet

Length of use of the internet	
Duration of internet use in a week	0.508**

Furthermore, 57% reported that they had been using the internet for more than two hours each week, which, was the maximum duration mentioned in the questionnaire while another 17% said that they used it for a period of 1-2 hours. To gain a perspective of these figures the usage patterns of most of the conventional media have to be analyzed. As mentioned earlier, 62% of the respondents had reported that they read the newspaper for less than thirty minutes in a week, while 59% reported that they watched television for less than one hour each day. When we compare these with the former figures, it is evident that new media is being used extensively but not exclusively by the educated youth of the twin cities. Thus, H₁ stands proven that new media is the more commonly used medium by the educated youth of the twin cities.

H₂: Educated youth who use new media more show greater political efficacy.

H₂ hypothesized that educated youth who use new media more show greater political efficacy. In this regard, efficacy was measured in terms of knowledge, discussion and participation in the political processes as a first step towards gauging the confidence level of the youth. To find out the level of political knowledge of the respondents, the instrument had included a set of 17 questions pertaining to the political scenario of Pakistan. In this regard, 63% of the respondents scored over 50% which is a fairly high score and one can safely say that the educated youth of the twin cities are well informed about Pakistan's politics.

Further, an independent sample t-test revealed that there was a significant difference in the level of political knowledge of frequent (M=2.75, SD=0.581) and non-frequent (M=2.54, SD=0.635) users of internet; $t(128.4) = 2.63, p=0.01$. Results showed that a greater number of the respondents who used the internet frequently had greater political knowledge which goes on to show that using internet in particular does lead to an increase in the level of political knowledge. To gauge the discussion frequency, participation in political process through joining of political bodies and voting similar independent sample t-tests were conducted. Results showed that frequency of new media use only resulted in fewer political discussions with friends $t(306)=3.307, p=0.001$ and family $t(306)=4.34, p=0.00$. All this leads to the conclusion that H₂ is not proven as educated youth who use new media more are not showing greater political efficacy.

H₃: Socio-economic status influences new media use for the purpose of political efficacy.

H₃ hypothesized that socio-economic factors play a strong role in how new media is used for the purpose of political efficacy. Independent sample t-test revealed that the only significant influence of income was in regards to the length of time since the respondents started using the internet $t(306)=2.966, p=0.003$. As new media in general and internet in particular is a new phenomenon in Pakistan thus, it is not surprising that those who belong to higher income brackets have been using the internet for a longer period of time.

Data also revealed that there was no significant difference in the level of political knowledge of those respondents who belong to the higher income group and those who belong to the lower

income group. Similarly there were no drastic differences in the pattern of discussion, joining of political bodies etc. of higher income group respondents and lower income group respondents. The only difference that was observed was in regards to whether they had voted in the last election $t(198.2) = 2.04, p=0.042$. In this regard the results indicated that a greater number of respondents belonging to the lower income group ($M=1.63, SD= 0.047$) had voted in the last election as compared to those belonging to the higher income group ($M= 1.74, SD= 0.031$).

However, efficacy entails various aspects and merely the act of voting can be explained by other factors. Thus, it can be concluded that the present data shows that income level is not acting as a strong influence on new media use for the purpose of political efficacy. Thus, H_3 is not proven.

H₄: Gender influences new media use for the purpose of political efficacy.

H_4 hypothesized that Gender influences new media use for the purpose of political efficacy. To test this, the pattern of new media use was first analyzed. Data revealed that males ($M= 2.09, SD= 1.01$) and females ($M= 1.55, SD= 0.848$) differed in regards to the time spent on political news stories $t(301.412) = 5.104, p=0.00$. Data revealed that a greater number of female users of new media tended to disregard political news stories as compared to males. Further, females ($M=1.91, SD= 0.996$) tended to focus less on national politics while using new media $t(295.4)= 3.39, p= 0.001$ as compared to males ($M=2.35, SD= 1.272$). Results showed that a greater number of females declared that they had no interest in any kind of politics as compared to males. Another area where there was a significant difference between the attitudes of males ($M=2.28, SD= 1.27$) and females ($M=1.79, SD=0.966$) was in regards to online newspapers. Results revealed that males tended to read online newspapers more often than females $t(292.12) = 3.33, p = 0.00$. All this shows that the pattern of new media use varies greatly across genders.

As regards to efficacy, results $t(306)= 3.31, p=0.01$ indicated that there was a stark difference in the level of political knowledge across genders. As males ($M=2.8, SD= 0.633$) were more politically aware than females ($M=2.58, SD=0.547$). Further, Results also showed $t(274.1)= -2.86, p= 0.004$ that males ($M=1.83, SD=0.378$) had attended parliament sessions more often than females ($M=1.93, SD=0.25$). A greater number of males ($M=1.65, SD=0.38$) as compared to females ($M=1.75, SD=0.35$) voted in the last election $t(305.3)= -1.95, p= 0.052$. However, the only difference lay in the fact that females ($M=2.96, SD= 0.097$) discussed political issues with their family more often $t(306)= -2.06, p= 0.04$ as compared to males ($M=2.68, SD=0.093$) which can be explained by the sociological factors which restrict females to a family and home life.

Thus, we can safely say that H_4 stands proven that gender influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

All over the world new media is increasingly being used for generating activism as it has the potential of reaching a large number of people without the interference of a great many gatekeepers. The aim of the research had been to determine the role of new media in generating political efficacy amongst the educated youth. New media is a relatively new phenomenon in Pakistan and is more accessible in urban areas as compared to rural areas. Another significant factor relates to its usage by a significant number of youth who have quickly adopted the new information technology.

New media can play a very strong role in encouraging interest and participation in politics and is thus being used widely across the world (Eagles and Davidson, 2001; Kim and Johnson, 2006; Kim and Kim 2007; Bachen et al. 2008). However, unfortunately in Pakistan this is not the case. Although the youth who used new media had greater political knowledge but they showed no inclination to participate more actively in the nations affairs. Efficacy is the confidence of individuals but prior research has shown that this confidence comes with knowledge and participation (Almond & Verba, 1963; Campbell et al, 1954; Verba et al, 1995). Data revealed that although the youth had considerable knowledge regarding politics yet they did not discuss it with their family or peers and nor did they participate by joining student level political bodies or voting. This can be due in part to the apathy and distrust in politics as well as a more recent trend where the youth are cocooned in their own rooms away from social life.

The third hypothesis related to how socio-economic factors influence new media use for the purpose of political awareness. It was revealed that in the selected sample, income level did not have any particular influence on the use of new media for the purpose of political efficacy. This on the surface seems to negate the notion of the knowledge gap hypothesis but demographic information indicates that majority of the population who reach the universities belongs to affluent households which is true all over the world but with the economic and sociological circumstances of Pakistan becomes doubly so.

The last hypothesis related to the influence of gender on how new media is used for political efficacy. Results showed that gender played a very strong role and there was a radical difference in how males and females were using new media in this regard. This is in accordance with the research by Nash and Hoffman (2009) who asserted that a knowledge gap exists between genders because of which men have been able to maintain their superiority. Furthermore, although men and women have achieved political equilibrium, yet the ever-present knowledge gap in this area demonstrates that inequity still exists. This was proven by the present research that males and female had different attitudes as regards to politics. It has been traditionally assumed that males have a greater interest in politics, or it is the men's domain so to say and women have generally stayed away or considered it to be very dull. The concept of equality and emancipation has not become as common in Pakistan as in the Western countries. Here gender roles are pre-defined and both sexes follow them. Thus, females do not express any political knowledge or interest and nor do they actively participate in politics which has negative consequences for the whole country.

In conclusion, one can say that new media has a great deal of potential in terms of creating political efficacy amongst the youth which can be explored further and effective measures can be taken to fully utilize its potential. The research showed that the youth have a great deal of interest in political issues but they do not have the opportunities to participate fully in the democratic process. New media can be used as a platform for the youth to play a more active role in the process. However, the problem areas that emerged related to the knowledge gap between genders which needs to be rectified to fully develop the potential of this media.

The main limitation of the research related to the inaccessibility of new media to a majority of the country's large population. Thus, the results can only be applied to limited and fortunate elite. Secondly, a longitudinal study of the changes that are taking place in the attitudes of the youth would have been more apt but due to time and financial constraints, the present research was limited to a single survey.

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Topic of Submission: Ecological Implications of Mahayana Bodhisattva

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I. Ecological Crisis as a Manifestation of Spiritual Crisis: A Critique of Anthropocentric and Mechanistic Worldviews

A. Early Pioneers of Ecological Vision: Aldo Leopold and Rachael Carson

Despairing at the shallowness of the American conservation movement of the 1940s and deploring the miserable fact that man's relation to land was still "strictly economic, entailing privileges but not obligations" (Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac*, 238), Aldo Leopold, by his revolutionary idea of "land ethic," proposed, on the bases of "ecological conscience" and "biocentric equality," to extend his ethical concern from human beings to all beings in the natural community: "The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land" (239). For Leopold, human beings, as plain member and citizen of this natural community, are nothing but "fellow-voyagers with other creatures in the odyssey of evolution." In our efforts to preserve bio-diversity, we are required to adhere to this axiom--"a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the *biotic community*. It is wrong when it tends otherwise" (Leopold, 262). The spirit of "land ethic," however, due to the tunnel vision and egoism of the then prevalent "reform environmentalism" working within the framework of traditional political red-tape, has never been paid much attention.

In 1962, with her publication of *Silent Spring*, Rachael Carson cried foul over the use of insecticides and a potent poison known as DDT. She vehemently offered her admonitions that improper use of DDT and pesticides would certainly entail a severe harm in the food chain of an entire ecosystem and, eventually, a miserable "silent spring," with birds and insects no longer chirping and hopping. Such chemicals were then widely known as "pesticides," a term in which Carson discerned a covert "anthropocentrism." A creature was a "pest" only when viewed exclusively from the human perspective. In the biotic community it had its legitimate role as an indispensable part of the web of life. Therefore, to subvert the implicit

anthropocentric flavor, Carson preferred to call the varieties of insecticides and DDT not as pesticides but as “biocides”—killers of life. Carson intended her book to shock Americans and the world into ecological awareness and action. But, very few people, if any, listened to her.

B. Ecological / Spiritual Crisis: Anthropocentric and Mechanistic Worldviews

With the coming of the 21st century, human beings find themselves caught and trapped in an unprecedented environmental crisis. The overall biosphere is polluted and deteriorating, greatly threatening the sustainable livelihood of every creature on Earth. “The Earth is burning,” a household slogan heard globally, is scything deep into the conscience of people. Multi-dimensional facets of environmental problems keep bombarding our Mother Earth and have become the nightmarish albatross hanging around global governments’ necks. Ozone depletion, carbon dioxide buildup, chlorofluorocarbon emissions, water and air pollution, soil depletion, deforestation, toxic wastes, land degradation, loss of biodiversity, greenhouse effect, and climatic changes are some of the recurrent elements which have made the environmental problems a veritable crisis. Our Mother Earth is apparently suffering.

In his “The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis,” the historian Lynn White traces the present ecological crisis back to the anthropocentrism worldview inherent in the very foundation of Christianity, the “Genesis” of the *Holy Bible*. White explicates in an ecological sense the important role played by religion in shaping a people’s worldview. He states that “[w]hat people do about their ecology depends on what they think about themselves in relation to things around them. Human ecology is deeply conditioned by beliefs about our nature and destiny—that is, by religion” (9). White firmly believes that the present crisis is a result of the western anthropocentric religious orientations that direct science and technology’s power over nature. He regards Christianity as “the most anthropocentric religion the world has seen” (9). Christianity, as the most influential religion in western history, has been exerting a negative impact on western people’s conception and attitude toward nature. In Genesis (1: 26-30), God creates the earth, all the creatures, and, eventually, man. Man, as the center of all creations, names all the other beings and then is endowed with the right to dominate and rule over them. Christianity grants humans the right to dominate nature, with the other creatures degraded to the status of serving man’s purpose. Gary Steiner, likewise, observes that “[a] central fault of Christianity is that ‘it has most unnaturally separated man from the animal world’ and ‘regards animals positively as things’” (188). Influenced by this man-centered worldview, animals and the entire

natural world are degraded to such miserable status as merely soulless and valueless “things” to be exploited to serve human needs.

Since the Age of Enlightenment, humankind has been witnessing unprecedented development in the field of science. “Anthropocentric worldview,” during the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century, had been developed and aggravated into a “mechanistic worldview. The ideas of “domination” and “exploitation,” under the guise of social progress, have been rampant in western culture in various forms: the humans over the non-humans, men over women, the powerful over the powerless, the rich over the poor, and the colonizing West over the colonized non-West. Overwhelmed by the desire to make “more progress,” people have been convinced of the Cartesian notion of “mechanical nature”—nature, in its physical form, has no soul, feels no pain, existing only to serve human beings. Nature had gradually become a dead body waiting to be dissected and studied. Endowed with rationalistic soul, humankind is capable of and legitimate in exploiting natural resources for their own needs. Our scientific progress has been built at the expense of nature, a dead nature. This further causes the deterioration of nature in an alarming pace. Even though people worldwide have been dreaming of everlasting harmony among man, society, and nature, the stark reality is the separation of man and nature, the alienation and even hostility among human races, the devastation of the entire “biotic community,” and the global ecological crisis.

In fact, during the past decades, there have been politicians, conservationists, and environmentalists calling for and staging a variety of environmental conservation movements. However, according to Mary Mellor, these are merely “shallow” movements, focusing shortsightedly on “a human-oriented concern with immediate environmental issues, such as pollution or resource depletion, which aims to reconstruct the relationship between human society and nature in a way that would ensure *human survival*” (emphasis mine, 83). These shallow environmental movements still have something of anthropocentrism, ending up, more often than not, to be of little effects or merely cheap talk. Although these environmentalists strive to solve environmental problems, they keep in their minds only the interests and sustainability of human species, ignoring the ecological wisdom that the survival of human species depends entirely on the flourish and diversity of flora and fauna. Rather than the crown of creation, human beings are so vulnerable that they would totally perish if a mere 40% of flora and fauna should become extinct. Without the existence and interference of humankind, the other creatures, in contrast, will readjust themselves and continue to live on and flourish well. In a nutshell, environmental

conservation movements often deal only with superficial symptoms of environmental ills, therefore continuing the anthropocentric dichotomy of man / nature relationship and the eventual reification of nature. To really cure the global environmental ills at the root, we, first of all, have to cultivate and elevate our spiritual dimensions in order that ecological vision may grow.

With a view to re-energizing the environmental movements, Al Gore, the former Vice president of the U.S., in his *Earth in the Balance*, wrote that “[n]othing less than the current logic of world civilization runs counter to the well-being of our Mother Earth” (269). This dominant and exploitative logic or worldview results in not only the massive achievements of the industrial world but the ecological crisis itself. In his searching for the root cause, Gore says that “the more deeply I search for the roots of the global environmental crisis, the more I am convinced that it is an outer manifestation of an inner crisis that is, for lack of a better word, spiritual” (12). For Gore, the dominant worldview espousing unrestraint human interference and exploitation is extremely detrimental to the planetary well-being. Human activities are mostly responsible for the acceleration and severity of present environmental disasters which render the earth out of balance. The global environmental crisis, according to Gore, is tantamount to the global spiritual crisis which takes its roots from the Western worldview in which we anthropocentrically and dualistically conceive ourselves as superior beings apart from nature and, even, from some human races. Drawing its nourishments primarily from such major Eastern religions as Buddhism and Taoism, deep ecology aims at solving present ecological crisis by delving into the deeply rooted cause—“the impoverishment of spiritual dimensions.” The subversive ideas of deep ecology challenge our deep-seated anthropocentric and mechanistic assumptions about the non-human natural world, the human world, and the relationship between the two.

C. A Paradigm Shift toward Biocentric Worldview: Deep Ecology and Its Limitation

To cut the Gordian knot of a looming ecological catastrophe, a paradigm shift from the fragmentary worldviews of anthropocentrism and mechanism to a holistic worldview of biocentrism is urgently needed. The survival of human beings ultimately depends on the survival of a diversity of flora and fauna. A biocentric outlook on life can never be achieved by material means. This has been noted and emphasized by Arne Naess, the founder of the school of Deep Ecology, in “The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movements: A Summary.” Naess

enunciates “deep” ecology as he made a distinction between shallow and deep ecology. He grounds his “Eight Points of the Platform”¹ in “the relational, total-field image,” “biospherical egalitarianism in principle” and “principles of diversity and symbiosis” (151-2), with each and every being, not only human beings, as an integral member of the whole biotic community. This is clearly expressed the first three points of the Platform. Therefore, humans, except for vital needs, have no rights to decrease the diversity of the biospherical inhabitants through unnecessary exploitation; each being owns “the equal right to live and blossom” (152). Humans must live and “let live,” that is, giving each and every member in the earth household a chance to live and blossom.

In sharp contrast to shallow ecology, deep ecology strives for a long-term awakening of consciousness. It hopes to reach a more comprehensive change in the human mindset. The transformation of human consciousness, that is, “self-realization,” is entwined with “bio-centric equality” in bringing about the overcoming of an egoistic and anthropocentric understanding of self-interest and developing sympathy with other living beings. B. P. Taylor gives us a clear definition and description of the tenets of deep ecology. He holds that

the two ultimate norms of deep ecology . . . are the promotion of “self-realization” and “biocentric equality” and that Self-realization is to be achieved by widening our understanding of self to include the natural world—apparently a twofold process of overcoming a narrow egoistic understanding of self-interest, and simultaneously developing a sympathy with other living things. (qtd. in Brulle, 205)

For Naess, the realization of the individual self requires an understanding of self in its ever-widening circles of identification and sympathy with other beings, whether it is beautiful or ugly, big or small, sentient or not sentient. Naess emphasizes “self.” The “self” is not to be confused with the narrow ego. Through “self-realization,” the first norm which goes beyond the self defined as a narrow and isolated ego, an individual

¹ Naess’ eight points are that (1) the well-being and flourishing of human and non-human life on Earth have value in themselves. These values are independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes. (2) richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves. (3) humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs. (4) The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantially smaller human population. The flourishing of non-human life requires a smaller human population. (5) present human interference with the non-human world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening. (6) policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present. (7) the ideological change will be mainly that of appreciating life quality rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between bigness and greatness. (8) those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes.

self increases the meaning of life and the joy he or she experiences in living. In order that “self-realization” be truly realized as a process toward “Self-realization,” “[w]e must stop seeing ourselves as competing egos and learn to identify with other species and even inanimate objects in the non-human world” (Loy, 51). Reciprocally, we naturally come to grip the essence of “biocentric equality,” simultaneously learning that “all things in the biosphere have the right to reach their own individual forms of unfolding and self-realization within the larger Self-realization” (Loy, 51). By connecting “self-realization” and “biocentric equality,” deep ecology seems to imply that the transformation and inner growth of an individual person’s consciousness is conducive to the formation of ecological consciousness and vision which will be of great importance for the improvement of the present environmental crisis.

Here deep ecology seems to focus merely on effecting change in the consciousness of the individual self rather than the collective consciousness. Against this, Robert Brulle offers his critique, pointing out that deep ecology exerts little, if any, impact on political and social dimensions (206). Moreover, Brulle also criticizes that deep ecology merely emphasizes the relationship between the individual self and nature, thus ignoring human beings as a whole and their relationship with nature. Because of their reluctance to extend their solicitude to human species as a whole, deep ecologists, according to B. P. Taylor, vacillate “between overt hostility toward the human community in general and a vague appeal to the extension of the human community to the broader natural world” (qtd. in Brulle, 206).

To mend these failures of deep ecology, an inability to extend its influence on the individual person to human beings as a whole and its vague connection between the human community and the natural world, we have very good reasons to turn to Eastern religions, especially Buddhism, for an effective cure. Eastern religions, in contrast with the Western Christianity, are often regarded as promoting a sense of harmony between human beings and nature. Even though Lynn White, the pioneer of this contrast study, in his “The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis, does not comment at great length about the Eastern religious traditions, he clearly understands Eastern religions as the opposite of the anthropocentric Christianity of the West when he states that “[t]he beatniks and hippies, who are the basic revolutionaries of our time, show a sound instinct in their affinity for Zen Buddhism and Hinduism, which conceive of the man-nature relationship as very nearly the mirror image of the Christian view” (12-3). Likewise, Roderick Nash echoes this by saying that “[a]ncient Eastern cultures were the sources of respect for and religious veneration of the natural world” (Nash 2001, 192) and “[i]n the Far East the man-nature relationship was

marked by respect, bordering on love, absent in the West” (Nash 2001, 20).

II. The Way of Bodhisattvas and Its Ecological Implication

To save our Mother Earth from a total catastrophe, we need to start with the consciousness-transformation of each and every individual person. Although deep ecology, by its “Self-realization,” does emphasize the widening and integration of small individual self into the bio-diversified natural world, it never explores deep into the ways by which the small individual self can adopt to realize its own “Self-realization,” that is, the purification and elevation of consciousness. It is here that Buddhism can offer its contribution. Unlike the emphasis of deep ecology on “the physicality” of a bio-diversified wholeness of natural world, Buddhism delves deep into the core of the purification and elevation of “the consciousness.”

Mahayana Buddhism teaches the way of bodhisattvas through the cultivation of “non-self” (*anatman*) and the *six parimitas* or the six perfections. These elements of Buddhist teachings are interrelated to each other. And this part of the paper will be devoted to the discussion of the ideal of Mahayana bodhisattva and its relation to ecological salvation.

A. Buddhist Notion of “Non-Self,” “Impermanence,” and “Suffering”

According to Brian Brown, the doctrines of Buddhism, however, have been unveiling “a conceptual framework rooted in the central intuition of an ecological perspective where nothing exists in autonomous isolation, but where everything is defined as the composite derivative and collaborate synthesis of other elements” (Brown, 126). This insight into the ecological dimension of Buddhism is closely related to such Buddhist wisdom as “impermanence” and “dependent co-origination,” all interrelated with the realization of “non-self.” Brown’s affirmative view of an ecological Buddhism is very much the echo of “the Jewel Net of Indra” of the Hua-yen School. By this holographic metaphor, Hua-yen conveys its ecological worldview, in which the world, like the mutually interpenetrating reflections of jewels on the huge net, is an organic and interconnected wholeness, while each jewel, firmly established on the node, still retains its irreplaceable individuality and uniqueness.

Central to the Buddha’s teaching is the doctrine of “non-self,” or emptiness (*sunyata*) of selfhood. By “non-self,” the Buddha does not mean that there is the notion of an “I” that can be denied and annihilated. In fact, we still need a stable “I” or ego to

function well in society. For Buddhism, “non-self” is only a meditational and therapeutic device. As the true nature of phenomena, “non-self” does not diminish the value of anything, but is the very mode by which the essential nature of beings as mutually interdependent, co-originating whole becomes manifest. It is the instruction on how to get rid of the deep ego-clinging attitude. The Buddha’s primary concern is to point out the way to liberation— liberation from the existential pains caused by one’s deep-rooted attachment to a delusory self, the self that is perpetual, unchanging, unitary and autonomous. Ego-clinging to the delusory self is the source of all passion-desires and their resultant frustrations and sufferings (*dukkha*). Generally speaking, Buddhist philosophy, especially that of Mahayana Buddhism, holds that there is no boundary between the self, the human community, and the other beings, whether they are sentient or non-sentient, in this earth household. This idea of totality and non-obstruction can be explicated by Thich Nhat Hanh. In his *Essential Writing*, the Dharma Master accurately observes thus: “If the Earth were your body, you would be able to feel many areas where she is suffering” (69). Rather than a collection of self-existing objects in objectified space and time, the world, for Buddhism, comprises of phenomena that are interdependent and interpenetrating with each other. Just like the jewel firmly established on one of the many nodes of the Indra’s Net, “you will see yourself as multitudes, penetrating everywhere, interbeing with everyone and everything” (Thich Nhat Hanh 2001, 129).

The world, according to Buddhism, is in fact a dynamic unity: a living organism that is constantly in flux and undergoing change. However, because of our ignorance to see things the way they truly are, we often create the idea of the person “I” in our minds—a separate, enduring ego or self. There is “I” and there is all the rest, “the other” for us to manipulate. This Gordian Knot of ego-clinging obsession always cocoons us in a narrow and constricted way of being, resulting in human hubris and bringing about “suffering” (*dukkha*) for us and all the beings on Earth. If we can make every effort possible to diligently cultivate morality (*sila*), mindfulness (*dhyana*), and wisdom (*prajna*) to cure our ego-clinging attitude, the three poisons that pollute our consciousness—greed, anger, and ignorance—can simultaneously be cured. From this love and compassionate concern for all beings will be generated.

The emphasis on love and compassion as essential parts of wisdom has found its strongest expression in the ideal of the bodhisattva. This ideal is consistent with the cultivation of “non-self.” A bodhisattva, by the practice of meditation, probes deep into the true nature of existence—emptiness of selfhood, of any independent self-subsistence in all phenomena. Because there is no separate individual self, the

idea of one individual entering *nirvana* and getting forever away from *samsara* alone does not make any sense at all. According to Seager, “Mahayana Buddhists rejected the contrast between *samsara* and *nirvana*, seeing the two as interpenetrating rather than as distinct modes of being. They expressed this unified view of reality in terms of *nonduality*. There was neither *nirvana* nor *samsara*, this world or another; all such distinctions rested on concepts, ideas, and discriminations considered illusory” (24). Having eliminated themselves of all kinds of self-centered distinctions and preoccupations in all their guises, bodhisattvas vow to help others find the Buddhist path without concern for their own personal benefits, always toiling for the benefit of all sentient beings. Bodhisattvas are thought to reincarnate through numerous lifetimes, always foregoing nirvana with a view to teaching wisdom, compassion, and liberation for all sentient beings.

B. Opening the Door of Action: Bodhisattvas Cultivating the Six Paramitas

The six paramitas—“*dana paramita*,” “*silā paramita*,” “*kṣanti paramita*,” “*virya paramita*,” “*dhyāna paramita*,” and “*prajñā paramita*”—are concerned with the efforts to eliminate the egocentric mentality. In his *Opening the Heart of the Cosmos: Insights on the Lotus Sutra*, Dharma Master Thich Nhat Hanh refers to the six paramitas as the means by which the bodhisattvas cultivate themselves to “enter the dimensions of action,” the doors of action. The six paramitas, occupying a prominent place in the Mahayana scriptures as a Buddhist’s way of life leading to Buddhahood, are called the doors of action because this practice is the basis of the bodhisattva path. Mahayana Buddhism develops “non-self” into the archetype of bodhisattva, whose lack of self-preoccupation allows him or her to be wholly devoted to the salvation and well-being of all beings. Every one of us, by practicing the six paramitas, is already on the path of selfless devotion of a bodhisattva. Every person can be a bodhisattva to help bring peace, joy, and stability to the world.

“*Paramita*,” a Sanskrit term, is usually translated into English as “perfection,” literally meaning “crossing to the other shore.” It implies crossing over from the sea of suffering to the shore of liberation. The six paramitas, as a whole, are very concrete ways for us to cross over to the shore of freedom from craving, anger, envy, and delusion. Bodhisattvas develop these qualities and bring them into realization for the well-being of all living beings.

“*Dana paramita*” is the enlightened qualities of generosity and giving which is completely free from attachment and expectation. The true essence of this paramita is

our pure motivation of genuine concern for others—the truly generous motivation of the awakened heart of compassion, wisdom, and love.

“*Sila paramita*” is the enlightened qualities of virtuous, ethical behaviors and mindfulness by strictly following the precepts. Among the various Buddhist precepts, the most important ones are the “five precepts”—“refrain from killing,” “refrain from stealing,” “refrain from sensual misbehavior,” “refrain from false speech,” and “refrain from substance that induce intoxication or sloth.” We should abstain from killing not only human beings but all the living beings. This is a fundamental ecological insight of Buddhism. This clear precept against killing all living beings is observed and tightly followed by the Buddhist monks and nuns. It demonstrates the Buddhist’s commitment to *ahimsa*—“protecting all beings from harm or injury.” This accounts for one of the most prominent practice observed by Buddhists—“vegetarianism.” The second precept “against stealing” not only prohibits people from occupying the things that are not given but is extended ecologically to a precept prohibiting people from poaching wildlife and forest. The Buddhists’ affinity to nature can be attested to by the hermitages located in the remote forest. This Buddhist forest culture has its resonance in the spiritual and aesthetic experiences and cultivation of Buddhist monks and nuns. Besides its emphasis on integrity, stability, and beauty, environmental ethics nowadays are beginning to appreciate the quality of “change” or the Buddhist notion of “impermanence” inherent in the manifested phenomena in nature. Callicott, in his *Earth’s Insights*, holds that “the factor of change” has added a fourth dimension to nature and that the inherent Buddhist notion of impermanence should be valued: “In its stress on process and the affirmation of change (after having extinguished one’s initial longing for permanence), Buddhism, moreover, has something of value to teach contemporary environmentalists, who are just beginning to come to terms with the necessity of adding a fourth dimension—evolutionary, climatic, successional, seasonal, and stochastic change—to a working definition of the integrity, stability, and beauty of natural environments” (63). The Buddhists’ notion of impermanence results in their insight of seeing in the caprice of nature a reflection of the human drama of life and death: “Nature is random, contingent, blind, disastrous, wasteful, clumsy, ugly, full of suffering . . . Nature is also orderly, prolific, efficient, fit, exuberant, diverse, renewing in the midst of death” (qtd. in de Silva, 125). Every thing in nature partakes impermanence, suffering, and the cycle of life and death. The affinity of nature to humans is demonstrated in these diverse yet interrelated notions in Buddhism. Therefore, the Buddha, as shown in many of his early instructions in *Samyutta Nikaya* or *Kindred Sayings*, “attached great importance to arama ropa (construction of parks and groves), vana ropa (reforestation),

the building of dams and wells for preserving water. He also requested the kings to take the lead in building parks, planting shade trees and keeping up a healthy environment for the people” (de Silva, 125-6). In the Buddhists Jataka stories, which depict the stories of selfless and charitable deeds done in the past lives of the Buddha, we see many descriptions of a harmonious biotic community shared by the monks, trees, and various kinds of animals. The last three precepts primarily concern the cultivation of a purified heart, preventing violent acts from occurring. Following these precepts is not meant to be a burden or a restriction of our freedom. We follow these precepts so we can enjoy greater freedom and happiness in our lives, because through our adhering to the precepts we no longer create suffering for ourselves and others.

“Kshanti paramita” cultivates the enlightened quality of patience, tolerance, forbearance, and acceptance—the strength of mind and heart. This enables us to face the difficulties of life without losing our composure and inner tranquility. In practicing this perfection of patience, we never abandon others—we help them cross over the sea of suffering while maintaining our inner peace and equanimity under all circumstances. In this way, we have a correct and deepened understanding of impermanence and inter-relatedness of all beings. With this strength of all-embracing patience and inclusiveness, we maintain our efforts and enthusiasm on our bodhisattva path. Therefore, our practice of “*Kshanti paramita*” assists us in developing the next two paramitas of “*Virya paramita*”—the perfection of diligence, energy, and steadfastness, and “*Dhyana paramita*”—the perfection of meditation and concentration, also the practice of stopping and calming and looking deeply. By practicing Buddhist meditation, we simultaneously develop a gentle attitude towards the non-human world. Buddhist practices of meditation help us to generate a transformation of consciousness to include a more expansive nature. Kenneth Kraft, in “The Greening of Buddhist Practice,” makes the following observation:

Meditation can serve as a vehicle for advancing several ends prized by environmentalists: it is supposed to reduce egoism, deepen appreciation of one’s surroundings, foster empathy with other beings, clarify intention . . . and ultimately lead to a profound sense of oneness with the entire universe” (485).

Deepening our sense of connectedness with our surroundings—the “sense of place”—is a kind of enlightenment, of “ecological awakening,” which, when achieved within the Buddhist framework of interconnectedness and interdependence, would help us to create a healthy human-nature orientation.

The sixth paramita—“*Prajna paramita*”—points to the consummate perfection of supreme wisdom, understanding, and insight, an insight into our nature of emptiness.

We come to understand our interconnected with our Mother Earth. “What we call a self is made only of nonself elements.

When we look at a flower, for example, we may think that it is different from “nonflower” things. But when we look more deeply, we see that everything in the cosmos is in that flower. Without all of the nonflower elements—sunshine, clouds, earth, minerals, heat, rivers, and consciousness—a flower cannot be. This is why the Buddha teaches that the self does not exist. We have to discard all distinctions between self and non-self” (Thich Nhat Hanh 2000, 87).

Prajna paramita is the foundation and the key to the realization of all the paramitas. With this kind of insight, we can practice selfless giving, mindfulness, inclusiveness, diligence, and meditation perfectly. Without *prajna paramita*, the perfection of the other five paramitas is impossible. This supreme wisdom transforms the other five paramitas into their transcendental state. All great bodhisattvas manifest the essence of the six paramitas in various ways, and each of these six paramitas exists in interdependence with the others. In the *Lotus Sutra*, Bodhisattvas Never-Despising exemplify the perfection of patience and inclusiveness. Bodhisattva Manjusri is an example of supreme wisdom. Earth-Store Bodhisattva’s vow—not to rest until all living beings are delivered from suffering—embodies the perfection diligence.

The six paramitas are an essential practice of the bodhisattva path. In order to manifest ourselves in the dimension of action and serve most effectively as the arms and hands of the Buddhas and bodhisattva in the world, we practice to cultivate and perfect these six qualities within ourselves. The moment we see the presence of all the paramitas in each paramita we will begin to fully realize and truly live the practice (Thich Nhat Hanh 2003, 176).

This living universe is permeated with “ever-circulating energy of bodhisattvas” that enlivens all beings and things. Jeremy W. Hayward, in his discussion about the inter-relationships among meditative visualization, the Buddhist “non-self,” and cosmic energy, depicts Bodhisattva Manjusri as the permeating universal energy. Manjusri, embodying ultimate wisdom, does not have a material body. Manjusri is “benevolent and powerful energy-awareness running throughout the whole universe. The energy Manjusri embodies is the energy-awareness of intellect, insight, and intuition all joined, or heart and mind joined” (180). During the transformative practice of meditative visualization, the practitioners, in mindfulness and inner tranquility, often feel very like “tuning in” to this universal energy. At the moment of “letting go” of our cocooned selfhood, we simultaneously awaken our energy within, immersing ourselves into this powerful energy of compassion and loving-kindness.

In the final chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, we encounter the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, which means “the Bodhisattva Universal Worthy.” This chapter describes this Bodhisattva’s vow, that at any time and place where there is even one person reciting or practicing the *Lotus Sutra*, he will manifest himself to offer his support. This is only a description of Samantabhadra’s role to protect and preserve the sutra. For the full dimension of this Bodhisattva, we will have to turn to the *Hua-yen Sutra*, in which the great actions of Samantabhadra are explicated as the ten great vows: “paying respect to the Buddha,” “praising the Tathagatas,” “making offerings to all Buddhas and living beings,” “repenting and beginning anew,” “rejoicing at others’ realization of the Dharma,” “requesting the Buddhas to turn the wheel of the Dharma,” “asking the Buddha to remain forever with us,” “following the Buddha to deepen our practice,” “focusing our attention on living beings in order to help them,” and “transferring all the merits of our practice to the realization of enlightenment.” When we pay respect to and recite the various names of the Buddha, we are not doing this to gain the favor from the Buddha. Instead, we show in this humble attitude your firm determination to walk in the direction of goodness, acknowledging and revealing the Buddha nature inherent within us. We know that we have the capacity to care for people and all living beings in your selfless offerings to others. We nourish the good seeds inside and learn that, through good deeds in our previous lives, we have built up a store of merits, of “positive energy.” We gather up and transfer this great store of spiritual energy to the whole universe to be in tune with the transmitting and ever-circulating energy of Samantabhadra. This all-embracing energy of good will is so expansive and powerful that a collective transformation and liberation of all living beings can be positively achieved.

III. Conclusion

Dualistic mode of thinking has cut us off from our original connection to the Earth. We have been suffering a lot from a global ecological crisis. A profound revolution of human consciousness is required if we are to mend our broken bond with Mother Earth. We human beings need to have a new worldview that is both relational and holistic and can effect a collective transformation. It is here that Buddhism, with its “six paramitas” cultivated by bodhisattvas, can offer its precious gift to the well-being of the world. By and large, deep ecology and Mahayana Buddhism all emphasize the notion of the larger “Self-realization,” which aims to bring about transformation of human consciousness. However, deep ecology seems to be emphasizing too much on the physical side of the well-being of biosphere and lacking in specific guidelines on how to result in collective transformation of human consciousness. Buddhism, by

contrast, by its precepts and down-to-earth practice of the way of bodhisattva, is more proficient and systematic in the fields of consciousness transformation and spiritual elevation. This difference of modes of thinking attests to the deep-seated epistemological difference between the West and the East. To solve the Gordian knot of a total ecological catastrophe, we need joined efforts condensed by diversified perspectives.

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**Controversy over Biotechnology Park in a Sensitive Wetland Area of
the 202 Arsenal in Taipei, Taiwan**

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Abstract

A prominent Taiwanese writer, Chang Hsiao-feng, recently mobilized a number of public figures in her campaign against the proposed construction of a biotech park near wetlands in a military base. She kneeled and bowed in an attempt to move the President of Taiwan to keep the area safe from construction and development. The controversy soon became the focus of the public's attention. The biotech park is planned by the Academia Sinica, Taiwan's most prestigious academic institution, to be set up in the 202 Arsenal in Taipei's Nangang District. Although only 9.6 hectares of the 185-hectare domain will be developed, Chang wrote an open letter to the media calling on the government to "turn the last green field in Taipei into our second lung." "In an era without tigers, environmental disasters are the new tigers," she says. The choice was "a crossroads between an invitation to sunshine, air and water and a refusal of sunshine, air and water," according to Chang. However, the government of Taiwan responded that the administration will continue with the project in the hope that equal attention would be paid to nature conservation in the capital and to biotechnology development. This paper investigates a controversy that has arisen out of the conflict between traditional values of the East and the modern concept of development from the West.

1. Introduction

Environmental issues have raised the concern of the public in Taiwan in recent years. The devastating damage caused by Typhoon Morakot which resulted in the death of some 700 people in 2009 is an example. The conflict between conservation and development is therefore common in the country. A recent controversy over a biotechnology park proposed to be built in a sensitive wetland of the 202 Arsenal in

Taipei City, the capital, is a case in point on the difference of values between the East and the West.

With a total area of 185 hectares, the 202 Arsenal is a military base located in the Nangang District of Taipei City. It was decided to allow the Academia Sinica, Taiwan's most prestigious academic institution, to plan a national biotechnology park on 25.31 hectares of the 202 Arsenal. The military base includes hills, grasslands and several wetlands. It is also home to countless wildlife including eagles, egrets, snails, squirrels and Formosan Blue Magpie (*Urocissa Caerulea Gould*). The project was planned to commence on June 1, 2010 with the demolition of some buildings. However, a prominent local writer, Chang Hsiao-feng, brought public attention to the issue after sending an open letter to the media on May 5, calling on the government to "turn the last green field in Taipei into our second lung." She kneeled and bowed in an attempt to persuade President Ma Ying-jeou to keep the area safe from construction and development. "I'm willing to kneel all the way from my home to the Executive Yuan," Chang said, adding that she would rather see the Presidential Office Building razed to the ground than see the wetlands near the arsenal destroyed. Thus, Chang called on the Academia Sinica to withdraw from the project of biotech park and beseeched the president to turn the arsenal into Taipei's version of New York's Central Park. She said the wetlands should be maintained because not doing so would lead to a worsening of air quality in the capital. The controversy soon became the focus of public concern.

Not only did the radical move of Chang gain national coverage in the media, but it shocked President Ma and Premier Wu Den-yih of the Executive Yuan (Cabinet). They soon invited Chang to visit the 202 Arsenal for an onsite inspection and to discuss what would be the best way forward. The government explained to her that the construction of a biotechnology zone would not affect wetlands. According to the President, only 9.6 hectares of the 185-hectare domain would be developed, and that the wetlands in the area would not be included in the parts to be developed into a biotechnology park. In addition, the President also asked the Cabinet to form a taskforce to supervise the project. The members of this new group would come from outside the government and would have as their main task to safeguard the wetlands.

In despite of the government's call for compromise, Chang further mobilized a number of public figures in her campaign against the construction of the biotech park. Her campaign, dubbed "Dream 202 S.O.S.," so far rallied more than 60 prominent Taiwanese from all walks of life and political backgrounds. Echoing the campaign,

the Green Party's convener Pan Han-sheng indicated that no environmental impact assessment has been performed for the proposed biotech park project. In this regard, the governmental announcement of a commencement date for initiating the construction project is therefore illegal.

As of late May of 2010, the 202 Arsenal controversy is still continuing. The government is seeking a possible solution to balance conservation and development. It seems that the building of this biotech area close to wetlands on the military base will go ahead despite the protests by some prominent figures in arts and humanities.

2. Traditional Eastern Values on the Environment

Chang Hsiao-feng did not forsake her opposition to the project after a government-sponsored visit to the military base. Interestingly, the controversy over the preservation of wetlands and the 202 Arsenal reflects a much ancient Chinese philosophy on the environment. For instance, Chang insists that the 202 Arsenal should be protected as a whole without any recession. She indicates in her open letter, "the most pure, perfect and beautiful thing, such as 202 Arsenal, should be worshiped heaven." This concept directly corresponds to the ancient ritual that "a beautiful circular jade (i.e., *bi* 璧 in Chinese) should worship heaven." She quotes a poem of Shin Chi-Gi (1140-1207) of Sung Dynasty and further extends her meaning that the natural environment should be forever owned and enjoyed by the public. Therefore, people should not be greedy and should use the land wisely.

In her open letter, Chang cited her concepts from the Eight Diagrams (i.e., *Ba-quar* 八卦 in Chinese), which is eight combinations of three whole or broken lines formerly used in divination. With respect to the natural characteristics, the Eight Diagrams practice its philosophy via eight elements including heaven, land, thunder, wind, water, fire, mountain and wetland (天、地、雷、風、水、火、山、澤). For example, the abundant resources of land like the heartwarming support of mothers. The elevation of the mountains beyond one's reach and therefore makes them to be the home of celestial being. Water represents the softest but most powerful energy. And, the wetlands sustain numerous wildlife and deserve to be the place for everybody to heal and give strength to body and soul. According to Chang, however, the sensitive areas such as mountains, waters and wetlands are seriously damaged,

polluted or destroyed in a significant portion of mainland China and Taiwan. Countless innocent birds and fishes lost their lives in the process of human development. Even that, “we still need to love this land because it is the home of our soul.” Chang warns that “we would have nowhere to go if we destroyed the environment.”

Chang disagrees with the response from the Academia Sinica that the institution will open the biotech park to the public to enjoy the natural beauty of wetlands inside. She highlights her point that the Earth should maintain its natural face in its original state. If environmental quality is improved, it will be beneficial to man. Her humble request is only for a breath of fresh air. “Crowds are not a principle of nature,” she says, “to remain some open space for generations to come will be a real merit and virtue.” From the view point of this prominent writer, all businesses and enterprises (i.e., *Yeh* 業 in Chinese) are closely related to “sin.” Therefore, she would like to see all institutions and enterprises withdraw their development proposals for the 202 Arsenal. “Only unworthy descendants will sell out their ancestors’ property,” says Chang. So she suggests that the government transform the 202 Arsenal into an urban park and name it “Dong-Li Park” (i.e., East Fen Park 東籬公園 in Chinese) after the ancient poets Tao Yuan-Min (陶淵明) and Ma Chi-Yuan (馬致遠).

In addition to the traditional values on the natural environment, the 70-year-old writer got down on her knees publicly to beg President Ma to save the wetlands and the 202 Arsenal also reveals a special tradition and expectation of the rulers. It is very common for the people to appeal to the emperor for help in the ancient days. However, this perception is still rooted in the minds of many people of a modern and democratic society in Taiwan. In short, the tradition has a generation-to-generation long-term effects on people’s attitude and concept.

3. Modern Western Concept of Development

Construction, science, technology, and industrial development can be regarded as the modern concepts of development from the West. A country’s economic growth often represents its modernization. By conducting scientific research and utilizing new technologies, modern societies are keen to seek a “balance” between

development and conservation.

For the controversy over 202 Arsenal, the Premier said that if Taiwan has to protect all the wetlands in the country, economic development and the creation of jobs would be impossible. Therefore, the top government officials expressed their hope to reach a solution which could satisfy both sides. The arsenal project could only go ahead after an environmental impact assessment is carried out. A possible solution could be for the Academia Sinica to keep the 9.6 hectares already scheduled for development, but to preserve the remainder of the 25 hectares it obtained from the military. As a result, the future biotech park could hold the more than 15 hectares of land for safekeeping as a nature reserve.

For a long time, we were educated that we should strive to be masters of the Earth. Many of us believe that “man can overcome nature.” People are smart to use “available technologies” to meet their demands and needs. However, man has limited knowledge about the function and operation of nature. Scientific research and modern technologies also have their own limitation. Even environmental impact assessment is often a controversy in its process, in its documentation and in the complicated interrelationship in the ecosystem. This is particularly true in Taiwan and many other countries. Therefore, there is still much room for improvement in the concept of nature conservation, scientific research and technologies as well as economic development.

In addition, politics is everywhere when major development projects are being discussed. Critics of the project have accused the administration of colluding with powerful business leaders, including Hon Hai Precision Industry Chairman Terry Gou, to develop one of the last remaining green spaces in the capital. The ruling party KMT Legislator Tsai Cheng-yuan wants the land of 202 Arsenal returned to farmers. Tsai insists that the 202 Arsenal was built upon farmland which was forcibly acquired by the government after the KMT moved to Taiwan in 1950. However, the writer Chang was suspicious of Tsai’s motive, suspecting that the lawmaker is after votes.

One of the themes of the controversy was the rationale behind building a biotech park in the 202 Arsenal. “Is biotechnology a golden egg?” Chang asked. She argued that the Academia Sinica needs to do more fundamental research on physics and chemistry rather than finding ways of making money. A professor of National Yang Ming University, Wu Jung-tsan, also questioned the need for such a large terrain to do

research and manufacture new drugs based on biotechnology. Smaller areas in Taipei are perfectly suitable to house biotech operations, so there is no need to lay claim to the wetlands. He cited Japan as an example because it succeeded in using resources from universities and existing research bodies to supplement businesses, saving on the need to build new factories. Thus, the Academia Sinica should not be in the business of destroying wetlands but should negotiate with local governments elsewhere in Taiwan for relocation. In other words, economic development is not the number one nor is it the only business that a nation should care about. Which development model and concepts can fit the nation and its natural environment deserve the priority for public discussion.

4. Rethinking the Relationship Between Man and Nature

The controversy of the 202 Arsenal indeed reflects much public concern over the degradation of Taiwan's environment and its frequent disasters due to inappropriate land uses in sensitive areas. The good news is that the Environmental Protection Administration of Taiwan recently enacted the "Environmental Education Act." Civil servants will receive a mandatory minimum of four hours of environmental education a year. The president of the nation, employees of government agencies, dependent organizations and state-run enterprises, and elementary school teachers and students will all be subject to the new law. Nevertheless, the relationship between man and nature should be further reviewed and environmental ethics should also be strengthened in the future.

As mentioned in Gorge Marsh's book entitled *Man and Nature*, man often plays a negative role to damage nature. The conservation movement initiated by the writer has encouraged the rethinking of the national land use policy as well as the relationship between man and nature in Taiwan. By examining frequent mudslides after typhoons and the recent fatal landslide along Highway 3, for example, she compared the recent natural disasters in the country to a tiger. "In an era without tigers, environmental disasters are the new tigers," she said. On one hand, this implied that the over development in many parts of Taiwan island has threatened and erased the existence of many wildlife including tigers. On the other hand, the choice on the preservation of 202 Arsenal was "a crossroads between an invitation to sunshine, air and water and a refusal of sunshine, air and water." According to Chang, it is not only the conflict between the environment and economy, but also the

choice of goodness and exclusion of evil. The decision is also a selection between “respecting life” and “trampling life”. To allow Taipei citizens to live closer to nature, the Academia Sinica should look elsewhere to erect a building. Chang called for the preservation of the military base in a way that would avoid turning it into a cement castle. Chang’s movement clearly indicates her pursuit of a protection of “perfect” natural beauty in 202 Arsenal without compromise.

The controversy over the 202 Arsenal also involved a key issue on wetlands. The function and benefits of wetlands have been neglected for a long time. For most people in Taiwan and elsewhere, a wetland means a useless area, a breeding ground for flies and mosquitoes, and should be claimed for other high-value uses. The definition of wetland is also limited to include ponds, mangroves, swamps and muddy flats. Based on the Ramsar Convention of United Nations, wetlands serve as one of the most productive ecosystems on Earth. The productivity of wetlands can be 2.5 to 4 times that of rice paddies. In addition, the resulting economic value from wetlands can reach more than 1.5 billion US dollars. As an old map of the 202 Arsenal shows, the wetland areas included the grassland today and were much wider than the existing ponds. Many of the prominent figures who protest against the biotech park focus only on the protection of existing wetlands and therefore neglect the interrelationship among the wetlands, grasslands, trees, and hills. These formed a “low-elevation mountain ecosystem” which is usually located on the periphery of metropolitan areas and provides people with easy access for environmental education and enjoyment of nature. While most high mountains are protected by national parks or forests, the protection of these low-elevation mountain ecosystems has been neglected in the domestic planning and administrative mechanisms. This implies that a “whole-spectrum” view to protect all natural ecosystems is needed.

5. Need for Dialogue Among Stakeholders

The controversy over the environmental work in the 202 Arsenal indicates that all stakeholders involved have their own stand and viewpoints. Compromise to balance the development of biotech park and the conservation of a natural open space is still difficult to reach. According to Chang, it is terrible to plan a biotech laboratory in an ecological park. She believes there is a clear conflict between these two parks.

Full information disclosure is a must to explain to the public and to resolve conflicts

among different stakeholders. Since the 202 Arsenal is a military base, much information about the site and the biotech proposal are not available or accessible to the public. There is suspicion that the whole incident, which began with a single report in a local newspaper and TV station with photos taken inside the tightly guarded military property, was manipulated by the military because it did not want to release the facility. Moreover, the veracity of data concerning the wetlands in question is dubious. The photo of the wetlands published by the media was actually not taken at the designated site of the biotech park, but of a remote corner of the arsenal complex. In addition, it is amateurish to say "the biotech park can be built anywhere, not necessarily in Nankang." The development of the biotech industry requires multidimensional clustering, which is probably why the site was chosen for the park. It lies just to the west of the Academia Sinica, which has a strong biotechnology research base. Furthermore, some have suggested that the entire 202 Arsenal be relocated to make way for a nature park there. This suggestion will possibly lead to endless conflicts because nobody wants to see an arsenal built in their backyards. As for people of the other side, Chang and others on her side were deemed as "a minority of environmentalists" who have lost control of their emotions when they said they would "oppose the project to the end even if it passes an environmental impact assessment."

The whole story reflects the difference in value between the East and the West. It also demonstrates that there is a necessity to have more dialogue on sustainability issues for stakeholders who may be affected. It is good that the Cabinet was requested to form a taskforce to supervise the biotech park project. Since the members of this group would come from outside the government, it is believed that they can have more opportunities to change views and perform better to safeguard the wetlands and the whole environment. However, a transparent decision-making process and full information disclosure are also essential to facilitate a rational dialogue.

6. Conclusion

Looking at the environmental movement initiated by the prominent writer Chang Hsiao-feng regarding the 202 Arsenal in Taipei, Taiwan, this paper discusses the controversy over the traditional values of the East and the modern concept of development from the West. People of the modern age are taught to strive to be the

masters of the Earth. However, the numerous incidents of environmental disasters imply that man cannot go against, let alone overcome nature. The attitude and concept of respecting nature, which is firmly rooted in Chinese literature and the traditional philosophy of the East, deserve more attention as issues of sustainability are being dealt with. By examining the difference in value between the East and the West, a transparent decision-making process as well as greater dialogue and full information disclosure for the stakeholders involved are essential to narrow the various gaps when controversy arises.

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Tokyo Fever in Taiwan: The De-contextualized Interpretation of Tokyo

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In 2005, “Dialogue”, an architectural magazine in Taiwan, invited a Japanese architect—Norihiko Dan (團紀彦)—to edit a book “Architecture and Urbanism of Tokyo”; a Taiwan business magazine “Global View” published a book “New Tokyo Aesthetic Economy” in 2007; and a famous Taiwanese visual artist, Dung Lung Wu, also has published two best sellers “Design Tokyo” and “Design Tokyo 2.0” since 2006. This Tokyo fever in Taiwan publication was a response to the “Cultural and Creative Industries Project” promoted by Taiwan Government since 2002, with a goal of promoting “Creative Taiwan.” Tokyo, thus, became a model of “Creative City” in this fever. This paper aims to examine how Taiwan praised some cases of urban renewal in Tokyo such as “Roppongi Hills” and “Middletown”, which ignored the diversity discourse of long-term Tokyo Studies, and resulted in this de-contextualized Interpretation of Tokyo.

Key words: Tokyo Studies, cultural and creative industries, aesthetic economy

Preface

Big cities worldwide are becoming increasingly similar due to globalization, especially when it comes to stressful competitions. As a result, related problems, such as the hollowed-out conventional industries, came out; most governments consider enhancing and marketing tourism as the panacea. Therefore, in order to attract more tourists, how to build city image and draft successful strategies both culturally and politically coherent with other policies are becoming crucial for the governments. “Cultural and Creative Industries Project,” is the solution Taiwan government came out with, which has been promoting since 2002. The main purpose is to turn “made in Taiwan” to “Creative Taiwan.” Hopefully, with the promotion of Cultural and Creative Industries, Taiwan could one day caught up countries with fully and maturely development. In order to draw better policies of such industry, Tokyo has become the best model.

This paper aims to discuss the emerging problems of how Taiwan took lightly of the experience of urban planning, architecture and designing industry/fashion in Tokyo. It must be noted that “Tokyo Studies”, in Japan, has been the studies researched by many experts who observed Tokyo from different professions for many years, but Taiwan cultural policy seldom shown interest in these diversified and cumulative discussions.

Definition by Who?

In response to the Cultural and Creative Industries Project and fever aroused, several universities in Taiwan established related departments, including departments of Visual Communication Design or Business Strategy of Culture and Creation. In addition to this, books written in Mandarin related to the architecture, the designed products and the beauty of Tokyo have peaked simultaneously, such as 《東京建築酷斯拉－李清志的城市漫遊地圖》、《設計東京》、《東京視覺設計in－80個設計關鍵詞》、《東京摩登》、《東京制作》、《創意東京》、《東京美術館享物－20家美術館的買物之旅》、《共感東京：借把創意的鑰匙》。

The most eye-catching one is 《新·東京美學經濟：探索一座未來城市和七位大師的設計力－New Design In Tokyo》. It was published in 2007 by Common Wealth Publisher, established in 1981 and regarded itself as the professional news, finance, and management magazine. According to a survey done by Asian Business Readership Survey (ABRS) in 2006, Common Wealth Magazine is what CEOs in Taiwan; this is why and how the term “common

wealth viewpoint” emerges.

For example, in the issue “Learning from Global Dubai,” published in June 2006, editors claimed that there were unlimited dreams and possibilities of urban development in Dubai, where large-scale construction has been undergoing. However, their attitude shifts in the issue in December, 2009; the topic was “The Collapse of Sand Castle—Dubai’s Boasting.” On the cover of this issue the subtitle says without further explanation, “The collapse of the fantasized Dubai reveals the greatest crisis in the 21st century—government’s sudden bankruptcy. Who’s next? Iceland, Japan, Greece or Soviet Union Ukraine?” Even though the editors did apologize for the controversy aroused, this issue neither explained nor apologized for their overestimating about Dubai years ago.

Regardless of the fact that the book 《新・東京美學經濟：探索一座未來城市和七位大師的設計力— New Design In Tokyo》 was edited, interviewed, and written by these experienced editors of Common Wealth, the viewpoint toward Tokyo is the same as they held toward Dubai. Considering Tokyo as an “emerging city of creativity” in Asia, these editors said in the book, “Tokyo, being the most familiar city for Taiwanese, has been transferring gradually from a city with old landscape to the one with endless creativities.” The book also praised highly about the recently developed large scale urban renewal project such as Roppongi Hills and Tokyo Midtown.

We may say that, due to these foregoing development plans in central district, the landscape of Tokyo in the 21st century has changed substantially. The project of Roppongi Hill, for example, located in district of Minato and developed by Mori Building, costs more than ¥2800 billion (without land cost), and occupies 11.6 hectare, is one of the biggest urban renewal projects in Japan. In order to make it a micro-city / “cultural central district,” Mori Building puts Mori Art Museum, Mori Arts Center Gallery, Academy Hills, Toho Cinemas Roppongi Hills into this project. It took more than a decade to finish this project and, at the same time, renewed the old residential area. This has aroused some fever in Taiwan. On the one hand, the urban renewal problem is also what most cities in Taiwan are facing now, especially Taipei. On the other, Tokyo has been Taiwanese’s favorite city for a long time. Consequently, the media rushed into reporting this project.

Another example was the Tokyo Midtown Project, which was developed by Mitsui Fudosan Group Ltd. Located in the former site of Japan Ministry of Defense, it was inaugurated in March,

2007. The museum “21_21 DESIGN SIGHT” inside the Tokyo Midtown was famous for its designer—Tadao Ando.

The Common Wealth Magazine defined these projects as the model of “aesthetic economy,” but is it the same to Japanese scholars? Since 1995, with the rocketing development of IT industry and the bubbled economy followed, gigantic amounts of population moved from downtown to suburbs; after 2000, the changing lifestyle, the shifting landscape, and countless renewal projects, has aroused debates about urban essence.

Hiroki Azuma (東浩紀) and Akihiro Kitada (北田暁大) wrote together the book 《東京から考える：格差・郊外・ナショナリズム》(2007). In the book, authors analyzed several problems in nowadays Japan society, especially urban renewal development projects in recent years. They also discussed the disappearing street feature, such as subculture concentered by the young ones; for example, the renewal projects in Shimokitazawa (下北沢) and Akihabara (秋葉原). Shunya Yoshimi (吉見俊哉), who has been studying urbanization caused by developed capitalism, took Shinjuku (新宿), Shiibuya (渋谷) and Harajuku (原宿) as examples of his arguments. Due to continuous developing projects and constructions of commercial facility, these streets with rich subculture are vanishing. The youngsters, therefore, became the specimen of Consumerism.

As the committee member of Tokyo bid for the 2016 Summer Olympics, Tadao Ando advocated the idea “New Tokyo Study”. The Tokyo Government, on the other hand, established the policy of “創生創造性的文化之都” in 2006, and set up the Tokyo Council for the Art (東京芸術文化評議会), which was intended to integrate comprehensively and to review the culture-related policies in order to gain the opportunity to hold Olympics. However, after Japan failed to have this chance, would these principles continue?

The De-contextualized Interpretation and propaganda of culture

Since policy of “Culture Creation Industries” came out, many scholars argued that it simplified the culture elements; they are closely connected with the history and the people. The Taiwanese movie industry, for example, has been occupied by American, Japanese and Korean ones. Hence, our values have been dominated by media (Ni Zai-Shen, 2005); once the subjectivity disappeared, it would be hard to reconstruct. Lin Hwai-min, the renowned dancing artist in Taiwan, said, “First of all, when any Western art trends or information is acquired, it is

already outdated, regardless of the fact that it is from the Internet. Secondly, we would never know the whole picture. “ (Lin Hwai-min, 2005:61).

It seems to be the same situation in Japan. Japanese scholar, Kazuko Goto (後藤和子) (2007) had also criticized Japanese Government’s following blindly the concept of “Creative City,” which was originally brought up by American and European scholars. Each case of creative city has its own problems and situations; this is what the governing should always keep in mind. If drafting policies only for attracting tourists quickly, it would not only fail to “revive district culture resources,” but also diminish people’s creativities. Most urban renewal cases emphasize too much on over-capitalization of downtowns. On the contrary, the emphasis should be how to build up a perfect surrounding for the creative class to “incubate.” Only when a city with provide multiple elements and resources would the creation industry booming.

Japanese anthropologists, Hata Nobuyuki (端信行) and Nakamaki Hirochika(中牧弘允), are the authors of 《都市空間を創造する－越境時代の文化都市論》. They declared that the 21st century is no longer a “country era” but a “city era.” It is crucial for every city to contain and conclude the multiplicity created by dwellers of all. It is even more important to transfer the diversity into the foundation of art and culture, and to further enhance it into the attraction of a charming city.

As an island county, Taiwan, like Japan, is in desperate needs to connect and communicate with other cultures, in order to develop our own ones. Instead of applying models abroad, it would be more helpful to learn from successful as well as failed examples. This paper aims not to criticize this Tokyo Fever, but to reveal the real situations through various studies of Japanese scholars. Hopefully, instead of admiring developed countries blindly, Taiwanese government would make sustainably and down-to-earth culture-related policies, which would efficiently solve dilemmas of each district and enhance the depth of related industries.

With this paper, I wish to learn more from experts and scholars around the world.

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Quality Survey of Movie-Based Games using the Kano Model

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ABSTRACT

Collaborations between the movie and game industries have resulted in popular games based on movies such as *Star Wars*, *The Matrix*, and *Avatar*. Thus, both movie and game industries can benefit from movie-based games by way of marketing tactics. Nonetheless, many game magazines and designers report that players have been disappointed with movie-based games. Accordingly, this study explored the quality of game features that affect player satisfaction with movie-based games. The Kano model of player satisfaction was used to categorize nine game features, thirty elements of nine game features according to their varied impact on satisfaction. The results indicate that features related to Sensory Pleasure, Emotional Pleasure, Cognitive Pleasure, and visual / audio feedback are both satisfiers and dissatisfiers (one-dimensional); loyalty to original movie tends to be a dissatisfier only (must-be requirements); and Innovation and creative game-play are satisfiers (attractive requirements). However, a segment-specific analysis demonstrates that the effects of game features on player groups may differ, especially between players with varying degree of involvement with the movie.

Keywords: Movie-Based Games, Kano Model, Quality Assessment

1. INTRODUCTION

Collaboration between the cinema industry and video game industry has increased in recent years. The Hollywood industry is aware that video games are gradually drawing away the most important part of their customer base, which is the sixteen- to thirty-three-year-old age

group. However, video-game companies hope that their games provide virtual experiences comparable to those provided by movies. Hetherington (2005) defined movie-based games as ones “which are faithful to the original film contents and further allow players to interact with the virtual reality constructed in games. Game players will encounter counterparts of roles and environments which offer them opportunities to recall of moments in films.” Kerr (2006) also notes that video games enable players to assume personas that are prohibited by society; players can also display pleasure through “intertextuality” and by actualizing role-playing desires. Many movie-based videogames, such as *Harry Potter*, *the Matrix: Path of Neo*, and *Lord of the Rings: Return of the King*, incorporate actual film footage, voice, music, and set designs to elicit compelling game plays. Games thus enable players to assume the personas of Harry Potter² or Hermione Granger² and battle wicked forces in a magic war or to assume the persona of Neo, the heroic character in *The Matrix*, to rescue the future world.

However, movie-based games are often commercially unsuccessful. O’Luanaigh claims in his game history that a movie-based game is rarely as compelling as the underlying blockbuster movie itself; tedious movie games are inevitably considered fiascos by players. Although game makers can quickly profit from such video games, they may be deterred from rolling out a game series due to frequent product failures.

This study therefore analyzed the qualities of successful movie-based games. The objective was to identify which game designs are appealing or frustrating, what advantages and disadvantages are encountered by game designers when producing movie-based video games, and what sorts of content should be developed. The distinguishing characteristics of those who play movie-based games are described, and future research in movie-based game design is expected to be proposed.

2. DEFINING PLAYER SATISFACTION WITH MOVIE-BASED GAMES

Until now, movie-based games have not been studied intensively. That is, the literature provides little analysis of player satisfaction; nonetheless, scholarly research (Bordwell, 2008; Giannetti, 2005; Kawin, 1996; Nelmes, 2006; Turner, 1997; Norman, 2005; Turner, 1997; Lee *et al.*, 2006) on consumers of other entertainment media can elucidate the characteristics of those who play movie-based games. This research explores three dimensions: the first is Media Pleasure, which includes the following five features:

1. Pleasure of Game Genres: Game players tend to expect procedures and rituals similar to those experienced when watching movies. (Kawin, 1996; Nelmes, 2006).

2. Pleasure of Game Roles: The cast in a movie enralls the audience with their charismatic countenances and attracts players to assume their roles in movie-based games. Favored

characteristics of character roles, such as miraculous powers, personalities, weapons, may also be represented in games. Players can play different roles to explore narratives from varying perspectives. (O’Luanaigh, 2006; Tanguay and Boylen, 2002).

3. Sensory Pleasure: The pleasure of “substantiality” is derived from sense-stimuli. For example: the scenes in a game provide a visual spectacle and music, tone, and rhythm produce emotions such as joy, solemnity, nervousness, and fear [Bordwell,2008; Giannetti,2005 [Norman,2005].

4. Emotional Pleasure: Emotional pleasure originates from the empathy of game players with roles and the situation. To describe emotional pleasure, Rolling [2003, 2004] refers to Coleridge notion of “the willing suspense of disbelief.” The game playing process draws players to vicariously participate in the plot and to escape the reality.

5. Cognitive Pleasure: Cognitive pleasure is derived from the aspiration of audiences to obtain knowledge related to roles and complex plots. Norman (2005) claims that game players can perceive metaphors and analogies in game settings, according to the “voyeur” concept developed by Boorstin, game players acquire meanings that are more profound than just the superficial story (Boorstin, 1990).

The second satisfaction dimension is Movie Adaptation, which includes the following three features.

1. Loyalty to the Original Movie: Game designs should be consistent with the original movies to appeal to movie fans. Therefore, some quintessential elements in movies favored by the audiences should be faithfully provided in games. Common examples include miraculous powers, weapons, thematic music in movies, or atmospheres of wit, humor, thrill, and dread. Sticking to the original background settings can enhance the immersion of players and convince them that they are entering an imaginary world of movies (Freeman, 2004).

2. Innovation: Audiences expect exotic plots rather than formulaic rituals. Game players also look forward to innovation beyond those gaming rituals. Inventive game designs cause players to immerse themselves in the game play. On the other hand, game designers must also create detailed theatrical plots to lure movie-fan players. Nevertheless, extra plots in games should follow cause-and-effect rules in movies to arouse player interests and curiosity. Some clues should be provided to acquaint the players with integrated stories that incorporate movie narratives [O’Luanaigh, 2006].

3. Game Mode: By designing games to meet individual needs, both movie-fan players and non-movie-fan players can fully enjoy themselves [Tanguay and Boylen,2002]. Bates (2006) proposed that game designs should help unfamiliar players understand the story underlying the game, but should not perturb movie-fan players. Possible solutions are to introduce the

movie to non-movie-fan players or to provide “skip” buttons for movie-fan players to ignore.. Conversely, those who are familiar with the plot of the underlying movie should not stand a better chance of winning the games than players who are not. For example, in shooting games, numbers of opponents, gun turrets and traps in certain movie scenes should not be identical in the game design. Players who are aware of the challenges are unlikely to be motivated to explore.

The third satisfaction dimension is interactivity, as illustrated below:

Interactivity :Rollings (2003) defines game interaction as experiences of players in terms of watching, listening, and interacting with the game designs, graphs, sound effects and user interface. The bountiful playfulness and intriguing challenges provided by game should continuously attract the attention of players. Besides, game players often forget their existence in the real world owing to profound immersion in the game. In addition to the immersion elicited from the plot, game players may incorporate their hands and eyes into game effects through abundant responses, playfulness, superb user interfaces in process of interaction. Bates (2006) argued that game designs should encompass conspicuous visual and audio feedbacks, so that game players know when their behaviors are proper. Besides deeply understanding the plot, players must interact with the content. As a result, game designers should determine what factors are satisfying and what makes interaction in games pleasant in order to produce movie-based games that provide a vivid game-play experience. Besides, Bates (2006) argued that games should have clear rules with conspicuous short-term, mid-term and long-term missions so that players know what to do next. Additionally, Crawford (1997) and Rollings (2003) noted the importance of a good sense of balance in the game mechanism. The game balance affects the fairness that players perceive in terms of equal chances at the onset of game plays, preventing cheating behaviors by opponents, more challenges and probable winning. Unlike the delight of watching movies, Freeman argued that another feature of the movie games lies in the non-linear and multiple story-telling narratives. Most movie games can change the sequence of events and bring about unique experiences; different ways of addressing challenges result in distinguishable processes and results (Freeman, 2004). According to Crawford, the story underlying a game can encourage players, and maintain certain degrees of freedom to indulge in exploration from assorted perspectives. Game players are unlikely to immerse themselves in the game if they do not find it challenging (Crawford, 1997).

In summary, nine features of movie-based games should be measured to assess player satisfaction. These are *pleasure of game genres*, *pleasure of game roles*, *sensory pleasure*, *emotional pleasure*, and *cognitive pleasure*, *loyalty to the original movie*, *innovation*, *game mode*, and *interactivity*. Section 5.2 further elaborates these features through analysis of a series of intensive discussions with players in various game discussion boards

Moreover, nine features should be analyzed to differentiate the player involvement in games and movies. (Rollings,2003; Hallford, 2001). For example, some players are concerned about whether the game design is inventive, whereas other players prefer that the game be consistent with the original movie and have a consistent storyline. Therefore, Section 4 compares the different degrees of player involvement identified in this study.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

With the increasing game productions in consumption markets, the literature on movie game design and user satisfaction is gradually expanding. For instance, Choi and Kim (2004) used the concepts of customer loyalty, flow, personal interaction, and social interaction to explain why people continue playing online games, and to identify their most attractive design features. Hsu *et al.*, (2005) also identified design features of action games that appeal to game buyers, and used neural network software to evaluate the relative importance of these design features. Additionally, Kim *et al.*, (2009) analyzed attractive characteristics of download type mobile games in terms of Intention, Perception and Technology. Although many aspects of games have been analyzed, this study is the first to examine design elements in movie-based games and user satisfaction. Particularly, the literature indicates that player satisfaction is one-dimensional: when a specific game quality gets increases, player satisfaction increases, and vice versa.

However, fulfilling player expectations rarely requires high player satisfaction (Metzger *et al.*, 1996). Thus, this research applied Kano two-dimensional quality model (Kano *et al.*, 1884) to investigate how varying game qualities affect player satisfaction. By using Kano model, we classify different types of requirements with players' preferences in games.

3.1 Kano Model for Investigating Player Satisfaction

If player satisfaction is plotted on a vertical axis with performance for a specific game quality on the horizontal axis, different player requirements obtain different results. Figure 1 shows five requirements that affect player satisfaction in different ways. For instance, a Must-be requirement (M) causes dissatisfaction if it is not fulfilled, whereas fulfillment has no positive effect on player satisfaction. Conversely, the Attractive requirement (A) dramatically affects satisfaction if it is fulfilled, while non-fulfillment does not cause dissatisfaction. One-dimensional requirement (O) impacts both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Player satisfaction is proportional to fulfillment: the higher the fulfillment, the higher the player satisfaction, and vice versa. Further, Indifferent requirement (I) is irrelevant to player satisfaction. A Reverse requirement (R) causes satisfaction if it is not fulfilled and causes dissatisfaction if it is fulfilled.

The advantages of using Kano model are as follows:

1. Game designers can use the model before designing a game to ensure that its qualities are consistent with player demands.

2. If a game feature is not possible due to financial and technical limits, the model considers game features that are most appealing to consumers.
3. Different players have different preferences regarding game qualities. A survey of different groups of players revealed that the game design qualities that provide a high satisfaction vary
4. This model explored appealing elements in games, which differentiates this market from those with similar products and boosts competitiveness.
5. Discovering and fulfilling Attractive requirements encourages creative game designs, which increases competitiveness

3.2 Questionnaire Design Using Kano Model

A special questionnaire design (Kano *et al.*, 1984) was needed to analyze these requirement types (Must-be, One-dimensional, Attractive, Indifferent and Reverse requirement). For each quality element, the respondent was required to answer a positive and a negative question. Table 1 illustrates both questions for a specific game feature. Game features were categorized by combining two answers in the Kano-model evaluation table. For example, if a player answers “It must be that way” to the question “If roles’ performances in the game are correspondent with those in the movie, how do you feel?” (positive form of the question) and answers “I dislike it that way” to the question “If roles’ performances in the game are not correspondent with those in the movie, how do you feel?” (negative form of the question); combining the positive and negative answers obtains the M requirement, which indicates that the game feature is a Must-be requirement from the player perspective. The table of results was constructed to provide an overview of the requirement categories for individual game features. The frequency of each answer was then determined and interpreted (Matzler *et al.*, 1996).

Further, to condense the results of a Kano survey, Berger *et al.* (1993) suggests CS coefficients (Customer Satisfaction coefficients) as measures of the increased satisfaction (CS+) or decreased dissatisfaction (CS-) obtained by providing a specific product feature. The CS⁻ coefficient is calculated by dividing the sum of categorizations as Must-be or One-dimensional by a normalizing factor. The CS⁺ coefficient, which indicates the variable for increased satisfaction, is calculated summing the Attractive and One-dimensional categorizations in the numerator:

$$\text{formula of calculating } CS^+ = \frac{(A + O)}{(A + O + M + I)} \dots\dots\dots [1]$$

$$\text{formula of calculating } CS^- = \frac{(O + M)}{(A + O + M + I)} \dots\dots\dots [2]$$

where M represents the number of categorizations as Must-be requirement, O the number of categorizations as One-dimensional requirement, A the number of categorizations as Attractive requirement, and I the number of categorizations as Indifferent.

The CS^+ ranges from 0 to 1; values closer to 1 indicate greater influences on player satisfaction. Conversely, CS^- ranges from 0 to -1, the negative CS^- approaches -1, the impact on player dissatisfaction is especially strong when the analyzed feature is not fulfilled. Based on CS^- coefficients, it is possible to position game features with player perception in a CS^+ - CS^- grid (Berger *et al.*, 1993; Fig. 2). For example, a one-dimensional requirement that causes both satisfaction and dissatisfaction is positioned in the top right quadrant ($CS^- > 0.5$, $CS^+ > 0.5$).

4. HYPOTHESIS

The above discussion of the Kano model did not provide hypotheses of movie-based games. However, before hypothesizing, game players must first be classified. Most literature reviews of video game classify players as hardcore or casual. Hardcore players tend to spend substantial time playing games and are willing to spend much more money on software and hardware equipment compared to casual gamers. They believe that playing games is not purely for relaxation, but also to enjoy a sense of achievement in winning. Therefore, they are likely to endure frustrations from failures in game play and tend to prefer highly challenging and profoundly complex video games. Unlike hardcore players, casual players play games solely for recreation and consider game playing a pastime. They tend to quit if the game does not consistently provide excitement. Casual players also tend to prefer games that are easily learned and uncomplicated (Novak 2005, Rollings 2003, Kerr 2006).

Nevertheless, Novak 2005 argued that categorizing players as hardcore or casual players is overly simplistic. Novak considered this classification too dogmatic and suggested including population statistics variables for a more detailed realization of players. Moreover, Rollings 2004 hypothesized that including fluctuating players to these two group founded on market structure. He proposed that fluctuating players are more likely to be influenced by other media such as novels, television and movies and that the motivations of such players to play a game are determined by the popularity of the game.

Conversely, to classify movie-based games, Tanguay and Boylen 2002 defined "fan players" as those who are obsessed with the movies and acquaint themselves with the contents.

This study sorted players according to their media involvement: players who are highly/moderately/ less immersed in games and players who are highly/moderately/ less immersed in movies.

This study proposed the following hypotheses:

H1: The proposed movie-based video game qualities can be (a) categorized as "One-dimensional," "Attractive," or "Must-be requirement," and (b) positioned in the bottom left quadrant of the CS^+ - CS^- grid.

H2: The features of players with varying immersion in games can be categorized as (a) different requirement types, and (b) the same requirement type in the Kano model.

H3: he features of players with varying immersion in movies can be categorized as (a) different requirement types, and (b) the same requirement type in the Kano model.

5. MEASURES

5.1 Player classifications

Two sets of questions were provided to to determine what players expect in a game.

Movie involvement. Using a 7-point Likert scale, participants were asked to respond to questions about their frequency of watching movies in a month, their familiarity with contents of a movie, and their emotional involvement (Green & Brock, 2000) in a movie. According to their answers, respondents were classified as having high/moderate/ low movie involvement

Game involvement. This scale measured involvement in game playing such as frequency of playing games in a week, motivation for playing games, and emotional involvement with games and characters. (Calleja, 2007). Answers were also categorized as high/moderate/low game involvement.

5.2 Game features

To further elaborate the nine game features in each of the three dimensions (Media Pleasure, Movie Adaptation, and Interactivity). Each feature was categorized into several game elements. For each element, the respondent was required to answer positively or negatively. For illustration purposes, only the positive questions are discussed here.

For the dimension of Media Pleasure in movie-based games, the feature of Game Genres was characterized as one element. Likewise, three, two, four and three elements were used to characterize Pleasure of Game Roles, Sensory Pleasure, Emotional Pleasure, and Cognitive Pleasure, respectively. Table 3 illustrates the thirteen positive questions used to measure the Media Pleasure dimension.

Table 4 shows nine other questions used to investigate the quality dimension of Movie Adaptation: three questions regarding Loyalty to the Original, three questions regarding Innovation and two questions regarding Game Mode.

Finally, eight further elements were derived to characterize Interactivity; Table 5 lists the questions.

Table 1 shows the positive and negative questions provided in accordance with the Kano model. Consequently, the final questionnaire included sixty questions.

6. RERULTS

6.1. Study population

The main survey was conducted online over a two-week period in Taiwan. After excluding

incomplete or repetitive responses, 300 of the 360 responses were deemed valid (48 from females, 252 from males). All had experience playing movie-based game plays and age range was from 18-23(13% under 18, 50% between 18 to 23, 29% between 24 to 30 and 8% over 30); most subjects were college educated (20% high school or senior high school, 63% college and 16% graduate school or higher).

Regarding movie involvement, 18% subjects were categorized as players with low involvement in movies (non-movie-fan players), 29% as movie-fan players, and 53% participants as moderate involvement in movies.

The assessment of game involvement revealed 53% players with moderate immersion, 26% players with low immersion, and 20% players with high immersion.

6.2 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Table 6 shows the results of confirmatory factor analysis, which indicated that positive/negative questions toward Media Pleasure, Movie Adaptation, and Interactivity dimensions successfully converged into a single factor. Cronbach Alphas coefficient (as shown in the right column of Table 6) was high enough to proceed with further analysis. The overall Cronbach Alpha coefficient was 0.89, which indicated the high reliability of the questionnaire.

6.3. Results in Categorization of Game Quality Requirements

Hypotheses H1a was that specific categorizations would occur more frequently than the average. Table 7-9 presents the resulting frequencies of categorizations for different requirements in the dimensions of Media Pleasure, Adaptation and Interactivity, separately. The left-hand section of the tables contains frequencies of categorizations as Must-be (M), One-dimensional (O), Attractive (A), Indifferent (I), Reverse (R) and Questionable (Q). . The right-hand section of the tables indicate the CS coefficients, and the column “H1a accepted” indicates whether the hypothesis was accepted in each requirement. The results in Table 7-9 indicate that of the thirty requirements, eleven were categorized as Indifference requirements, which did not support H1a. Besides, six requirements were categorized as Attractive, ten were categorized as One-dimensional, and three were categorized as Must-be requirement, which supported H1a.

6.4. Player Segments

Hypotheses H2a, H3a were that player quality requirements would significantly differ. To prove H2, a chi-square test investigated the dependency of categorizations among player segments with high/moderate/low movie involvement. The results in Table 10 indicate that five game elements were categorized into different requirement types according to player segments. Thus, H2a was partly supported. Most observed categorization differences were in

terms of Media Pleasure (dimension 1): for example, the game elements “The plot in the game corresponds with that in the movie,” “Roles’ body languages in the game can appeal to me,” and “Roles’ voices and tone can draw me” were Must-be requirements demanded by players with high movie involvement. However, players with low/moderate movie involvement did not strictly require these features. Therefore, the features were considered indifferent requirements. Similarly, to verify H3, a chi-square test of players’ movie involvement (high/moderate/low) was performed. The results in Table 11 indicate that player needs differed in four quality elements, which supported H3a. For example, the game element “Interactive feedbacks is provided through visual & sound effects” was considered a Must-be requirement for players with low involvement in games; however, players with moderate/high game involvement considered that question a One-dimension requirement. Therefore, players with moderate/high game involvement expected bountiful and diverse interactive feedbacks to delight them and increase their satisfaction.

7. DISCUSSION

Knowledge of desirable game qualities enables game designers to develop successful movie-based games. According to Berger et al. (1993), fulfilling the Must-be requirements is most important and deserves the full attention of designers. The one-dimensional requirement is the second priority of players and game quality and Attractive requirement is the third priority. Nevertheless, Indifferent requirement is the least important quality. Besides, meeting the Must-be requirement is essential for meeting player expectations, but this requirement should not be overemphasized. This study characterized “*Loyalty to the Original movie*,” and “The opening plot is appealing” as Must-be requirements. Game designers should guarantee the basic fulfillment of these requirements but should avoid over-fulfillment. Additionally, qualities of *sensory pleasure*, *emotional pleasure*, *cognitive pleasure*, and “Interactive feedbacks offered through visual & sound effects” are often One-dimensional requirements. However, CS+ coefficient (demonstrated in Table 7-9) for *sensory pleasure* (“The game can fully provide visual scenes” and “The sound effects breed dramatic atmosphere”) is higher than for other features, which suggests that sensory pleasures should be considered a competitive feature in game designs. Further, “*Innovation*,” “creative plays”, “Extra games or goals” are considered Attractive requirements, which indicates that players enjoy exploring creative games with rich content. Once these requirements are fulfilled, player satisfaction increases dramatically. Arguably, however, competitors can copy these attractive features, in which case players would become accustomed to the features, and the features would become must-be requirements. Therefore, game designers should introduce innovative game features that are not easily imitated by competitors. Game companies may also benefit from player perceptions that the game is a market leader.

In practice, a segmentation approach is useful for identifying different categorization patterns. Table 10 indicated that players with movie involvement (movie-fan players) are more concerned about game qualities compared to those with moderate/low degree of movie immersion. For example, movie-fans players prefer a corresponding cinematic formulas (plots, actions, performance, voices) in Media Pleasure aspects of the game. An appealing beginning in the game is also needed to satisfy Movie-fan players and to minimize unpleasant feelings in players with moderate movie involvement. In Movie Adaptation dimension, Movie-fan players tend to expect bonuses, such as additional cuts not included in movies. Videogame designers who wish to cater to movie-fan players should note the considerable impact of these quality elements on satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

In players with varying game involvement, interactivity substantially differs. Players with moderate/high game involvement tend to emphasize visual and audio feedbacks more than those with low game involvement do. Players with low game involvement also demand user-friendly and easy-learning interfaces. To illustrate, Table 11 indicates that players with high game involvement demand basic movie information in games and are attracted by typical game genres. The essential features of a game depend on its objective. If the goal is to promote movie watching on an official website, the game design should target casual players with low game involvement.

8. CONCLUSION

This study investigated satisfaction with playing movie-adapted games. In this study, *pleasure of game genres, pleasure of game roles, sensory pleasure, emotional pleasure, and cognitive pleasure, loyalty to the original movie, innovation, game mode, and interactivity* were derived as relevant antecedents of game-play satisfaction. The Kano model was adopted as the theoretical framework for measuring player satisfaction. Hypotheses were also developed according to the different categories of game attributes revealed by the Kano model. An empirical survey to test the study hypotheses indicated that *Sensory pleasure, Emotional pleasure, Cognitive pleasure*, and “Interactive feedbacks “ are often One-dimensional requirements; , *Loyalty to the Original movie* is Must-be requirement; *Innovation*, “creative play”, and “Extra games or goals” are Attractive requirements. Additionally, player analysis indicated that categorization patterns differ between player segments.

This study is apparently the first analysis of the context of movie-adapted games. Although this exploratory study provides important data for game designers, further research and case studies are needed to examine diverse game types and to explore how to incorporate specific cinematic elements into movie-based games.

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FIGURES AND TABLES

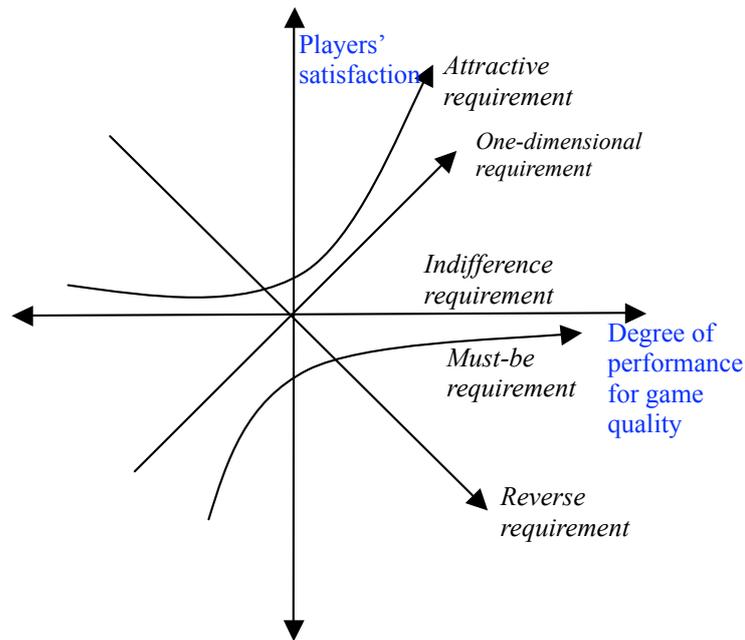


Fig.1 The Kano's Model of players' satisfaction

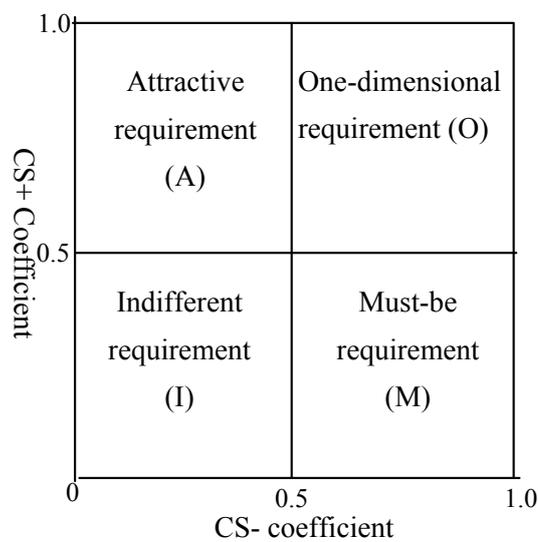


Fig. 2. CS⁺ - CS⁻ grid

Table 1. Example of Positive and Negative Questions

If roles' performances in the game are correspondent with those in the movie, how do you feel?	I like it that way
	It must be that way
	I am neutral
	I can live with it that way
	I dislike it that way
And how do you feel if roles' performances in the game are not correspondent with those in the movie?	I like it that way
	It must be that way
	I am neutral
	I can live with it that way
	I dislike it that way

Table 2. Categorization Table by Using Kano Model (Berger et al., 1993; Matzler et al., 1996)

Game feature	Negative question				
	I like it that way	It must be that way	I am neutral	I can live with it that way	I dislike it that way
Positive I like it that way	Q	A	A	A	Q
question It must be that way	R	I	I	I	M
I am neutral	R	I	I	I	M
I can live with it that way	R	I	I	I	M
I dislike it that way	R	R	R	R	Q

Table 3. Questionnaire for assessing the quality dimension of Media Pleasure

Game feature	Questions	No.
Pleasure of game genres	The plot in the game corresponds with that in the movie	1-1
Pleasure of game roles	The personalities and appearances of characters in the game are interesting.	1-2
	The body language of characters in the game are appealing.	1-3
	Character voices and tone are attractive to me.	1-4
Sensory pleasure	The game provides visual scenes by way of unique camera work such as fighting motion	1-5
	The sound effects create a dramatic atmosphere.	1-6
Emotional pleasure	The opening plot is appealing	1-7
	The dramatic tension gradually increases.	1-8
	A full-length finale is given at the ultimate phase.	1-9
Cognitive pleasure	Plot development arouses my interest in what would occur to characters later on.	1-10
	The cause-effect connection between events in the plot is very clear.	1-11
	The plot offers adequate clues for a thorough understanding.	1-12
	The plot is revealed through complex story-telling devices (such as back flash and foreshadowing).	1-13

Table 4. Questionnaire for assessing the quality dimension of Movie Adaptation

<i>Game feature</i>	<i>Questions</i>	<i>No.</i>
Loyalty to original movie	The game follows the original spirit of the movie.	2-1
	New designs in the game such as roles, weapons and properties conform to those in the movie.	2-2
	Visual designs in the game correspond with those in the movie.	2-3
Innovation	Music and sound effects in the game are consistent with those in the movie.	2-4
	More detailed cinematic plots are provided in the game.	2-5
	More Movie background information is displayed compared to that in the movie such as film cuts.	2-6
	Role personalities are more diverse than those in the movie.	2-7
Game designs	The game offers players basic information needed to understand the plot of the movie.	2-8
	Some movie information is provided for mystery solving in the game.	2-9

Table 5. Questionnaire for assessing the quality dimension of Interactivity

<i>Game feature</i>	<i>Questions</i>	<i>No.</i>
Interactivity	Role performances in the movie correspond with those in the game	3-1
	Challenges in the game are similar to those in the movie.	3-2
	The player can determine the plot.	3-3
	Interactive feedbacks are offered through visual & sound effects.	3-4
	The controlling interface is easy to learn.	3-5
	Creative plays are added to the game.	3-6
	Additional games, goals and challenges are provided in addition to the main plot.	3-7
	Challenges are consistently presented throughout the game	3-8

Table 6. Confirmatory factor analysis

Dimensions	Cronbach α in positive questions	Cronbach α in negative questions
Media Pleasure	0.73	0.92
Movie Adaptation	0.70	0.91
Interactivity	0.61	0.89
Overall Confirmation	0.89	

Table 7. Categorizations according to Kano's model in terms of Media Pleasure

No.	Frequencies of categorization						CS+	CS-	H1a accepted
	<i>A</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>Q</i>			
1-1	58	46	70	118*	4	4	0.36	0.40	No
1-2	55	65	64	110*	5	1	0.41	0.44	No
1-3	79	49	46	121*	3	2	0.43	0.32	No
1-4	84	49	49	109*	5	4	0.46	0.34	No
1-5	90	102*	46	55	4	3	0.66	0.51	Yes
1-6	68	122*	53	52	3	2	0.64	0.59	Yes
1-7	68	77*	79*	71	3	2	0.49	0.53	Yes
1-8	67	116*	59	55	1	2	0.62	0.59	Yes
1-9	43	123*	86	43	1	4	0.56	0.71	Yes
1-10	77	94*	60	62	1	6	0.58	0.53	Yes
1-11	63	92*	84	58	2	1	0.52	0.59	Yes
1-12	38	119*	75	66	0	2	0.53	0.65	Yes
1-13	50	26	34	162*	24	4	0.28	0.22	No

*Sig. above average (alpha = 0.05, by using an approximate binomial test).

Table 8. Categorizations according to Kano's model in terms of Movie Adaptation

No.	Frequencies of categorization						CS+	CS-	H1a accepted
	<i>A</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>Q</i>			
2-1	41	61	93	100*	2	3	0.35	0.52	Yes
2-2	71	75*	76*	72	4	2	0.50	0.51	Yes
2-3	45	71	92*	87	4	1	0.39	0.55	Yes
2-4	57	73	72	96*	2	0	0.44	0.49	No
2-5	114*	81	27	72	5	1	0.66	0.37	Yes
2-6	124*	77	27	63	2	7	0.69	0.36	Yes
2-7	121*	65	30	75	6	3	0.64	0.33	Yes
2-8	63	59	56	117*	4	1	0.41	0.39	No
2-9	34	34	29	149*	51	3	0.28	0.26	No

*Sig. above average (alpha = 0.05, by using an approximate binomial test).

Table 9. Categorizations according to Kano's model in terms of Interactivity

No.	Frequencies of categorization						CS+	CS-	H1a accepted
	A	O	M	I	R	Q			
3-1	63	75	63	92*	2	5	0.47	0.47	No
3-2	64	75	65	90*	5	1	0.47	0.48	No
3-3	117*	70	23	80	9	1	0.64	0.32	Yes
3-4	62	98*	67	68	4	1	0.54	0.56	Yes
3-5	53	66	80	93*	6	2	0.41	0.50	Yes
3-6	126*	68	26	76	1	3	0.66	0.32	Yes
3-7	125*	52	22	94	6	1	0.60	0.25	Yes
3-8	71	43	36	138*	10	2	0.40	0.27	No

*Sig. above average (alpha = 0.05, by using an approximate binomial test).

Table 10. Remarkable Differences among players with low/moderate/high involvement in movies

No.	Quality element	Movie Involvement			chi-square	p value
		low	Moderate	High		
1-1	The plot in the game corresponds with that in the movie	I	I	M	27.44	0.002**
1-3	The body language of characters in the game are appealing.	I	I	M	23.21	0.010**
1-4	Character voices and tone are attractive to me.	I	I	M	20.34	0.026**
1-7	The opening plot is appealing	I	M	O	19.19	0.038**
2-2	New designs in the game conform to those in the movie	I	A	O	18.79	0.043**

**Sig. alpha = 0.05

Table 11. Remarkable Differences among Players' with low/moderate/high immersion in games

No.	Quality element	Game Involvement			chi-square	p value
		low	Moderate	High		
3-4	Interactive feedbacks are provided through visual & sound effects.	M	O	O	17.911	0.056*
2-8	The game offers players basic information needed to understand the plot of the movie.	I	I	M	17.337	0.067*
3-5	The controlling interface is easy to learn.	O	I	I	16.835	0.078*
1-1	The plot in the game corresponds with that in the movie.	I	I	A	16.192	0.094*

*Sig. alpha = 0.1

Title: In search of Cultural Sustainable Architecture in the 21st Century Taiwan

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In search of Cultural Sustainable Architecture in the 21st Century Taiwan

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Abstract

In response to culture, technology and environmental protection issues of the 21st century, the architecture of Taiwan has been developed along various axes. From cultural point of view, the development of the cultural industries and the adaptive reuse of old buildings, which has been popular in other countries, becomes two fashions after the support from the Council for Cultural Affairs is secured. The development of five creative and cultural parks located in Taipei, Taichung, Chiayi, Tainan and Hualien is the best indicator of the former trend. The adaptive reuse of old buildings as the cultural facilities is a remarkable witness of the latter trend. Consequently, many architects have involved in amount of interesting projects such as the National Museum of Taiwan Literature, Taipei Museum of Contemporary Art, Anping Tree House and Pine Garden in Hualien. All of them are the result of this adaptive reuse trend. In addition to the environmental sustainability issue, cultural sustainability is now another important issue in Taiwan. This paper will discuss how the cultural heritage conservation movement in Taiwan has developed into the consciousness in the cultural sustainability in 21st Taiwan architecture.

Introduction

Due to the consciousness of the environmental problems, 21st century will be an epoch of resources conservation. Sustainability is now a widely-used term to describe the latest trend in architecture. In order to keep up with the concept of sustainability, Taiwanese government started to promote the idea of green architecture from 1996 and the award prizes for best green architecture in Taiwan began from 2003. However, sustainability in architecture should not be approached merely from the point of energy-saving. Sustainability should be understood from a much wider scope. In terms of the concept in the 1987 Brundtland Report, sustainability is “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”¹ Sustainability in architecture involves various notions, namely environmental, social, cultural and economic. This paper will focus on the issue of cultural sustainability and discuss the important role that cultural heritage conservation movement has played.

Adaptive Reuse of old buildings for Cultural Uses in Taiwan

In the later half of the 1990s, the adaptive reuse, which emerged as a new trend in the 1980s in the West, also developed in Taiwan. In the later half of the 1990s, the sustainable management and spatial experience of the cultural heritage have become a new topic of people's attention ; the development of the adaptive reuse also has some distinctive change; the reconstructions of spaces have become more positive. The trend to reuse and rejuvenate the architectural heritage becomes irresistible because they are warmly welcomed by the culture-oriented tourists.

In Taiwan, after realization of the importance of the adaptive reuse of cultural heritage, the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) started to promote the idea as a strong policy from the beginning of the 21st century. A number of abandoned or outmoded buildings in various cities was adapted and reused as cultural facilities. Consequently, many architects have involved in an interesting project named Taiwan Railway Art Network.

Case I : Taiwan Railway Art Network

Railways in Taiwan began in 1837 when Liu Ming-Chuan, the first Qing Dynasty Governor of Taiwan, built the first railway in Taiwan. The railways have made great contributions to the economic development and mass transportation of Taiwan in the past. However, due to changes in the social structure, rapid economic development, and advances in mass transportation, along with the high speed railway system which has already operated since 2007, the century-old Taiwan Railway system suddenly became a slow train and many warehouses around the train stations lost their function and became abandoned. Considering that the Taiwan Railway system was once the pivotal force in Taiwan, it should have opportunities to modify its duties and extend its life by transforming itself into a new vehicle for culture and art. Beginning In 1999, a plan named "The Art Network of Railway" was proposed by Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA). In July 2000, CCA choose either warehouses or unused facilities at Hsinchu, Taichung, Chiayi, Fangliao and Taitung Stations as the sites for the network. Empty warehouses behind these train stations were renovated as alternative exhibition and performance art spaces.

Taichung Stock 20 is the first project executed in the Railway Art Network supported by CCA.² With post-modern design approach, it was adaptively reused as the place for art creation and exhibition. The horizontal louver is applied so as to increase the dynamic horizontality. No.20 Stock is used for the administration, main exhibition hall, creative shop and café. Other warehouses are used for workshops, the experimental theater and studios for the artists in residence. It becomes a model for other sites of the Art Network. (Figure 1)



Figure 1: The Taichung Stock 20

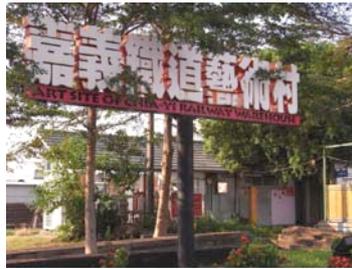


Figure 2: Art Site of Chiayi Railway Warehouse



Figure 3: Children Playing Music in Taitung Railway Art Village

Art Site of Chiayi Railway Warehouse is located in the warehouses behind Chiayi station. These warehouses played an important role in the past because Chiayi Station was the meeting point of three railway systems in Taiwan, namely Taiwan Railways, Taiwan Sugar Railways and Mountain Ali Railways. Following Stock 20 in Taichung, these warehouses were adaptively reused as the avant-garde art spaces. Six among nine warehouses formed a small-scale art village. (Figure 2)

Art Site of Railway Warehouse Hsinchu City, commonly called Hsinchu Railway Art Village, is the result of the adaptive reuse of Taiwan Railway Administration's No.3, No.4, and No.5 warehouses built in 1941. Under the Railway Art Network, Art Site of Hsinchu Railway Warehouse, linking with the Glass Museum and the Wind City Wish Hall, as well as the Hsinchu Image Museum, creates the most unique urban belt space for cultural and artistic uses through Hsinchu City.

Fangliao is the southernmost stop on Taiwan's North-South Line Railway. However, its main function of passengers and cargo transportation faded when South Link Line Railway was opened in 1991. More than fifty dormitories originally built for South Link Line workers were vacant and abandoned. Local culture and history atelier and groups started to rent with low payment from the Taiwan Railways Administration and renovated them as studios for artists. In December 2002, Fangliao was incorporated into the Art Network of Railway Warehouse. No.3 warehouse is reused as the exhibition hall and dormitories are used as the studios for the artists.

Among the Railway Art Network in Taiwan, Taitung Railway Art Village is the richest of its kind because of the largest collection of railway heritages. Among these railway heritages, the most important ones including the main station, the garage, the turntable for trains, the water tower, fuel tanks, the platform, the switchboard and warehouses. All of these facilities are now transformed into spaces for art and cultural activities. (Figure 3)

Between 2000 and now, Taiwan Railway Art Network has provided people in five areas with amounts of art exhibitions and performances. Not only abandoned spaces are reused, but also the surrounding built environments are re-vitalized. Railway and industrial Cultural heritages, through adaptive reuse, become urban attractions for both local inhabitants and tourists.

Case II : New Cultural Facilities in Tainan Confucius Temple Cultural District

In addition to the Taiwan Railway Art Network, several cultural facilities, adaptively reusing from historical buildings in Tainan Confucius Temple Cultural District³, are good examples to witness this trend. Among them, former Tainan Climate Station (1898) becomes Taiwan Weather Museum. Former Tainan Public Hall (1911) is reused as a Wu Garden Art Center. Former Tainan Prefecture Hall (1916) is reused as the National Museum of Taiwan Literature. Former Tainan Martial Arts Hall (1930) is now the auditorium and the cultural heritage resources classroom of the Jhongyi Elementary School.

Tainan Climate Station is the oldest climate station in Taiwan and one of the oldest in Asia. However, the station has to be relocated to a new place due to the outdated equipments and the condition that the over-crowded urban location is not longer suitable for a climate station. Supported by the Central Weather Bureau and the Ministry of Communication, the station has been restored and transformed into a unique Taiwan Weather Museum. It received the 2009 National Cultural Heritage Preservation Award, the highest honor in Taiwan's preservation circle. Wu Garden Art Center was adaptive reused from former Tainan Public Hall built in 1911 and the garden of Wu family constructed in Qing dynasty. In addition to the restoration of several historical buildings on the site, some illegal additions were demolished to create an open space for neighboring residents. The project's consideration of the urban life of the community has won the annual landscape award in 2008. (Figure 4)

National Museum of Taiwan Literature, opened in October 2003, is a typical example that the spatial design of Taiwan has faced a new trend of adaptive reuse of old buildings. The meaning for reusing old building is not only for the new opened governmental organizations, but also representing a significant milestone of the 21st century adaptive reuse in Taiwan. The museum is housed in the old Tainan Prefecture Hall, built between 1913 and 1916 to the design by famous Japanese architect Moriyama Matsunosuke. The building was designed in the Mansard style with two-slop Mansard roof originally. It was bombed during the World War II and was serious damaged. The building had experienced several renovations after 1945. It was repaired and used when Commander Headquarter of Air Force was moved to Tainan from Shanghai in 1949 followed by the Tainan City Government in 1969. After Tainan City Government moved to its new building, this building was originated in a series of

projects laid out by the CCA.



Figure 4: Exterior of Tainan Climate Station



Fig.5: Front View of the National Museum of Taiwan Literature.



Figure 6: Auditorium and Cultural Heritage Resources Classroom of Jhongyi Elementary School.

After five years' renovation, the National Museum of Taiwan Literature together with the National Center for Research and Preservation of Cultural Properties was opened in 2003. The conservation concept for the Museum and National Center are different from the traditional frozen approach. Instead, it proposes a more positive and revitalized strategy towards the conservation of heritage, to transform the entire space. This new approach consists of plans not only restoring the destroyed Mansard roof, but also constructing new addition at the back side. New and old architecture has formed a dynamic dialogue. The building has become a new urban landmark by the essence of the adaptive reuse of historic buildings. (Figure 5)

Jhongyi Elementary School, located next to the Tainan Confucius Temple, is one of the elementary schools founded in the 1940s in Tainan. Its current campus is the former outer garden of Tainan Shinto Shrine built by the Japanese. Because the decrease of the population and worse condition of the old buildings, the city government had once planned to close the school and to demolish all buildings. However, the decision was challenged by the cultural and educational realms and the plan was modified. The school was preserved. Deteriorated buildings were reconstructed and historic buildings were renovated and reused. The most interesting building in the school is the former Tainan Martial Arts Hall built by the Japanese in the 1930s.

Though constructed in reinforced concrete, the architecture of Tainan Martial Arts Hall was designed in traditional Japanese style. It was used as a place for the Japanese to practice Judo or “the Gentle Way” and Kendo, or “the Japanese Fencing”. As an important building within the Confucius Temple Cultural District, the Tainan Martial Arts Hall was undertaken a throughout restoration and re-opened as the multi-functional auditorium for the school. One of the classrooms on the ground floor is reused as the Cultural Heritage Resources Classroom. Information on various cultural heritages within the Confucius Temple Cultural District is

exhibited. Not only the students of the Jhongyi Elementary School, but also the students of all schools in the city can visit the place and have their orientation on the cultural heritage of the district. (Figure 6)

After several years' environmental improvement and cultural heritage conservation, the Confucius Temple Cultural District is now a famous urban attraction in Tainan city. Green trees, red roof tiles, old walls and winding alleys form the basic impression of the district. It is a must see place for the tourists as well as a leisure ground for the local people. People can find a small cafe and enjoy nice foods in the old streets and alleys across or around the Confucius Temple.

Creative and Cultural Parks in Taiwan

Cultural and Creative Industries, emerging in the U.K. at the end of the 20th century, has been developed significantly in the entire world. Influenced by this new trend, Taiwanese government officially designated cultural and creative industries in 2002 as part of the "Challenge 2008 National Development Plan". The project has included 13 industry categories.⁴ In most countries, the term "cultural industries" or "creative industries" is used respectively. However, two terms are combined to become "cultural and creative industries" (*wenhua chuangyi chanye*) in Taiwan.

In order to promote Taiwan's cultural & creative industries, five so-called Creative and Culture Parks were initiated in 2003. All of these parks, located in Taipei, Hualien, Taichung, Chiayi and Tainan, are based on the old wine breweries originally owned by the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (former Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Monopoly Bureau). The first stage preliminary planning projects such as warehouses and infrastructure survey, district industries survey, district cultural industry resource survey took place between 2003 and 2007. Physical planning includes building renovation and landscape improvement begun from 2004. Although final renovation and restoration of buildings in all parks have not yet completed, parks located in Huashan, Taichung, Hualien and Chiayi have already been partially opened to the public.

In order to make every park a different character, these five parks are positioned by the government in the second stage (2008-2011) as follow: Huashan, the park of "cultural creative industry, cross-field art and life aesthetics"; Hualien, "experimental zone combining art industry and tourism"; Taichung, "Taiwan architecture, design and art center"; Chiayi, the

center of “innovative traditional arts” and Tainan, the center of “creative life media”. It is hoped that the cultural and creative industries will become Taiwan’s pilot industries in the future, given the country's wealth in creative and cultural related production. Creative and culture parks will increase Taiwan's national competitiveness and take its cultural and creative industries to a higher level, just as Taiwan’s science parks created throughout the country from the 1970s. Since most buildings in these parks are either warehouses or plants of various breweries, the strategy of adaptive reuse will applied to their renovation plan. For the present, each park has planned for construction, renovation, environment upgrading, private enterprise involvement and appropriate art performances. All planned projects are scheduled to complete by 2011.

Hunshan Cultural and Creative Industry Center , also called Huashan 1914 Creative Park, is located at the site of former Taipei Brewery established in 1914. It was originally a private-own winery. It was renamed Taipei Brewery of Taiwan Monopoly Bureau of the Japanese Colonial Government in 1922 when the brewery was bought by the government as part of its effort to implement the monopoly in selling alcohol. The Monopoly Bureau also expanded its control to include rice wine, herb wine, foreign wine, fruit wine, plum wine, and officinal alcohol, etc. After the WW II, the Nationalist Government in Taiwan took over the Brewery and a new Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Monopoly Bureau Wine Company was founded in 1947. During its development, several different names were used for the brewery and Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Monopoly Bureau has privatization as Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL) since 1980s.

Because of the pollution caused by the wine production, the brewery was forced to relocate to suburban in 1987 to comply with the Taipei city's planning and environment protection policies. In June 1997, people from art and cultural circles started to appeal for the reuse of this deserted brewery as a multi-purpose art spaces. The Cultural Affairs Department of Taiwan Provincial Government accepted the proposition and took the initiative to negotiate with Taiwan Tobacco & Liquor Corporation (TTL) In June 1998, Taiwan Tobacco & Liquor Corporation (TTL) commissioned the Cultural Affairs Department of Taiwan Provincial Government to manage and plan the renovation of part of the buildings of the brewery. The site became cultural and arts groups as well as non-profit organizations’ new frontier. Huashan Art District was thus inaugurated.

Since its inauguration, the Huashan Art District has been treated by artists as an ideal venue for visual, performance, design and cross-disciplinary arts. It has gained a reputation among artists to express their imagination and creativity. In August of 2001 the site was turned over to the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA). In 2004, following the policy of promoting cultural

industries under the "Challenge 2008 National Development Plan", the CCA officially transformed Huashan Art District into Huashan Cultural and Creative Industry Center. The center began its role of setting up a base for developing, displaying and stimulating cultural industries, which will include facilities for performances, exhibitions, workshops and cultural industries as well as entertainment and retail areas. Under the new management plan, various types of brewery buildings will be adaptive reused for new functions and new facilities will also be constructed. The objective of the park to establish a forum for exchanges between individual artists and the creative industries will be realized gradually.⁵

Taichung Creative and Cultural Park, known for most people as Taiwan Architecture, Design and Art Center, is located at the former site of Taichung Brewery acquired by the Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau in 1922. When the brewery was relocated to suburban in 1998, the CCA started to negotiate with the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL) and acquired the site for the cultural and art activities. In recent years, the park also becomes the base of the Headquarters Administration for Cultural Heritage under the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA). In other words, the park is directly managed by the public sector. Consequently, Taichung Creative and Cultural Park receive more financial support from the government and becomes the most well-preserved brewery in five creative and cultural parks. Although several buildings are still under restoration, various activities have been held in recently years, especially design and architecture exhibitions as well as forums. (Figure 7-8)

Hualien Creative and Cultural Park, located on the site of the former Hualien Brewery, is another creative parks sponsored by the CCA. In the beginning, the site was occupied by a private brewery named Daozhu owned by Yilan Chengtuo Company. In 1922, after the Japanese Colonial Government in Taiwan promulgated the new law of monopoly, the brewery was taken over by the Governor's office and renamed Hualien Harbor Branch of Monopoly Bureau of the Taiwan Governor's Office. After the WWII, the brewery was transferred to Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau of Taiwan Provincial Government and the name was finalized as Hualien Brewery of Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau. There are many historic facilities in the brewery, including wooden buildings constructed in the 1920s and reinforced concrete buildings constructed in the 1940. The old brewery had been left vacant when the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation relocated the winemaking operations to the Meilun Industrial Zone in 1988. The brewery became deteriorated for several years until the site was approved by the Ministry of Civil Affairs to become a historic park in 2001. In 2002, the CCA chose it as one of the five creative parks. It is hoped that by reusing the industrial heritage, the cultural and art activities will be promoted and enhanced.

Under the management plan, the Hualien Creative and Culture Park was operated by L'orangerie International Art Consultant Co and Eastern-Coast Foundation in 2007 and 2009 respectively. The park not only provides artists in Hualien area a space to display their art works, but it also offers the general public a place to appreciate the beauty of historical buildings. The former administration building is now functioned as the Hualien Brewery Life Cultural Hall where a variety of winery-related products are displayed to stimulate visitors' memories. The hall also features an exhibition of brewery's old photographs that, together with detailed information on Council for Cultural Affairs' plan to develop this creative and cultural park, offer an opportunity for people to understand the breweries' history. The renovation of four historic buildings began in 2006 is nearly completed. In addition to the Hualien Brewery Life Cultural Hall, there are the Red Dew Gallery (originally a warehouse), and the Molasses Gallery (also a warehouse). Planning is also underway for the Millet Wine Theater, to be located in the brewery's old canteen.



Figure 7: Buildings in Taichung Creative and Cultural Park



Figure 8: Exhibition in Taichung Creative and Cultural Park



Figure 9: The Hualien Creative and Culture Park

When the Executive Yuan of Taiwan put forward its Challenge 2008 National Development Plan in 2002, the CCA's Cultural and Creative Industries Development Plan was included with the aim to develop five old breweries in Taiwan belonging to the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL) into creative and cultural parks. The core value of the plan is not limited to the creative and cultural parks *per se*. The heart of the plan is enhanced to preserve the Taiwan's valuable industrial heritage which was ignored in the past. Creative and cultural parks in Taiwan not only create a new setting allowing artistic works and the creative industries to develop through the effective utilization of park resources but also preserve a cultural setting in which people life and Taiwan's economic are mirrored.

Conclusion This paper discusses three categories of architecture in Taiwan: firstly buildings of the The Art Network of Railway; secondly cultural facilities in Tainan Confucius Temple Cultural District; thirdly buildings of the creative and cultural parks in Taiwan. All of them can be attributed to the successful of cultural heritage adaptive reuse in Taiwan. In Taiwan,

Cultural Properties Preservation Act" was put into force in 1982 which was followed by the enactment of the "Cultural Property Execution Guidelines" in 1984. The act and the guidelines became the only legislative basis for the preservation work in Taiwan. Since then, hundreds of historical buildings have been listed as the "Cultural Property" and conservation of these buildings started to be undertaken. Although adaptive reuse has been popular in other countries, it did not become a fashion after the support from the Council for Cultural Affairs was secured at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. Examples discussed in this paper are best indicators of this trend. If we can understand the authentic meaning of the adaptive reuse, we may propose to say that the future of the cultural sustainability in architecture in Taiwan will heavily rely on how historical buildings could be used continuously as new facilities. This is because that the cultural heritage conservation in a historic building undertakes adaptive reuse still retain its main characters as historical evidence while achieve a new life. Such main characters are similar to what is called "integrity" which is at the heart of adaptive reuse and architectural integrity is always treated as "those qualities in a building and its site that give its meaning and value." If culture is an integrated part of the whole concept of sustainability in architecture, adaptive reuse of historical buildings, either industrial or cultural heritage will construct the cultural sustainability in Taiwan's architecture and link the historic continuity between past, present and future..

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¹ The Brundtland Commission, formally the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), known by the name of its Chair Gro Harlem Brundtland, was convened by the United Nations in 1983. The commission was created to address growing concern "about the accelerating deterioration of the human environment and natural resources and the consequences of that deterioration for economic and social development." The Report of the Brundtland Commission, *Our Common Future*, was published by Oxford University

Press in 1987.

² Although it is generally called Stock 20, it contains 7 railway warehouses. (No.20 – No.26)

³ Acknowledging the suggestion of the scholars at the National Cheng Kung University, the Tainan City Government launched the policy of “Rejuvenate Tainan with Culture” in the late 1990s. Several cultural districts were designated and the Confucius Temple Cultural District is the most successful one. The street furniture, sidewalk pavements and street signs of the district were re-designed. Several historical buildings were adaptively reused. Nowadays, Confucius Temple Cultural District in Tainan is a model for similar projects in other cities in Taiwan.

⁴ These industries include visual arts, music and performing arts, cultural facilities, handicrafts, movies, broadcasting and television, publishing, advertising, design, fashion design, creative products for daily use, digital entertainment and architectural design.

⁵ In the beginning, The CCA originally put the Huashan Culture Park Planning and Consulting Committee (HCPPCC) and the Park Project Management Center (PPMC) in charge of moving the project forward, and planned to eventually turn responsibility for park management over to a foundation with expertise in this area. The CCA also established the Operations and Management Committee to provide advice and oversight on park-management-related issues. Today, Huashan creative and cultural park has already taken the lead in completing the OT (Operate and Transfer project) for the Film Art Museum, as well as the ORT (Operation, Rehabilitation Project and Transfer) project for recycling idle space for creative culture industries. In 2007, the Taiwan Cultural and Creativity Development Co. won the bid to undertake the Huashan project where various related activities have been held since then. In addition, BOT (Build, Operation and Transfer) were claimed for booth recruitment in 2009.

Title:

Indo Japan Trade Potentials in the Context of Bilateral Relations

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Abstract

India and Japan share a special relationship as fellow democracies seeking greater economic engagement in Asia. The major traded commodities changed from cotton-related products in the early 1900s to heavy machinery in the 1970s. During the same period heavy industrial products were the major export commodities from Japan besides metal and metal products like iron and steel and steel plates. The 1980s marked the beginning of a new phase in Indo-Japan relations with the establishment of the *Maruti-Suzuki* plant. There was a minor set back in relation in 1999 when India went through its nuclear test. In August 2000, however, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori made a visit to India that helped propel ties forward. The relations have further been strengthened with the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama in 2009. This paper attempts to analyze imports and exports of commodities and products to and fro these countries to see the effect of bilateral relations on trade, after India initiated trade reforms in 1991. Data under HSN systems will be gathered from UNCOMTRADE database and grouped under heads as Agricultural commodities, products from food industry, earth crest, manufactured products, electronics and others. The time series shall be analysed using dummy variables for trade reforms and tie ups. Potential products shall be explored using market share - growth matrix. Series will detrended to see how variables responsible for trade between two countries adjust themselves in short run.

Categories: **Economics and Management**

Key words: **Trade, bilateral relations, International economics, India-Japan**

Indo Japan Trade Potentials in the Context of Bilateral Relations

J K SACHDEVA¹

1. Introduction

Historically Indo Japan relations are centuries old. Japan had special relation with India, when Buddhism was introduced to Japan via the Korean Peninsula. During Meiji era (1868-1912), bilateral relations developed with Japanese purchases of cotton directly from India, (Roy, 2008). India's friendship with Japan after the war helped a great deal when Japan returned to the international arena. Since 1952, Japan and India maintained diplomatic relations and enjoyed cordial relations based on trade, economic and technical cooperation. After the WW II, the focus of Japan's economic relations with India switched from the pre-war import of cotton to the import of iron ore. Relations developed steadily as Japan's imports of ore and exports of manufactured products increased. Following Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi's visit to India in 1957, yen loans to India began in 1958, as the first loan aid extended by Japan. In 1958 Japan participated in the Consortium Meeting of India's creditor countries hosted by the World Bank and embarked on the full-scale assistance to India that has continued to the present. Since fiscal 1986 Japan has been India's largest aid donor. Japan and India have traditionally enjoyed cordial and friendly relations and the feelings of Indian people towards Japan have been good, (Banga, 2004). Early 1990s set a new trend between two nations. India initiated its economic reform process in 1991 opening its economy and Japan initiated new economic initiatives during late 1990s after it passed through depression. This paper attempts to analyze imports and exports of commodities to and fro these countries to see the effect of bilateral relations on trade, after India initiated trade reforms in 1991. Section II discusses the background of India's economic reform process and its effect, section III explores Japan's position during 1980 and how new initiatives were taken to improve trade policies, section IV discusses what happened after 1991 between Indo Japan trade relations, Section V analyses the trade data to explore potentials and section VI concludes.

2. India's Economic Reform Process

The financial and others problems faced by Indian economy in 1991, triggered reforms. The fall of communist governments in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, development experiences of South Asian countries during the last two decades, Chinese economic reforms towards liberalization and out-ward orientation as well as lesson of India's experimentation with a closed economy and state directed policy regime during the first four decades of planning, further necessitated economic reforms in India, (Sankar and Kalirajan 2001). Srinivasan (1996) observed that extent of poverty had gone down since independence, and reduction in poverty arising from a more rapid debt-led growth without structural reforms, meant its future sustainability was doubtful. In contrast to the targets for income growth of 5.5% - 7.5% per year in the various five-year plans since the second, except the fifth, national income grew only at an average rate of less than 4% per year in the forty years period (1950-51 to 1990-91). Self-sufficiency, at very modest levels of consumption, was achieved in a number of commodities including, notably, food grains. The share

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of gross domestic capital formation in GDP almost doubled from 14.7% in 1950-51 to 23.6% in 1990-91. However there was no commensurate increase in the rate of growth of GDP because of capital-intensive character of the investment. Until the 1991 reform measures, government control over production, investment, technology and location choice, prices and foreign trade had become so extensive that there was no possibility of exercising the discretion vested in the layers of bureaucracy by the system of controls in a rational manner, (Bhagwati, 1992). India's share of foreign trade (exports plus imports) fell from its level above 2% at the independence to about 0.5% in 1990. The share of foreign trade (exports plus imports) in GDP at market prices was virtually unchanged, increasing from 12% in 1950-51 to 14% in 1990-91, (Sachdeva, 2009). India's foreign trade regime till the reforms initiated in 1991 was primarily dictated by two important considerations, a quest for import substituting industrialization and concern for dwindling foreign exchange resources, (Srinivasan, 1996).

Structural adjustment programs were initiated to initiate the process of liberalization, privatisation and globalization. Economic reforms and WTO agreements paved the way for competition within India as well as in the world. Indian exports got a boost. India's exports increased from 17.8 billion USD in 1991 to 168.7 billion USD in 2008 growing at the compounded rate of growth at 13.73% while imports have increased from 19 billion USD in 1991 to 287.7 billion USD growing at the compounded rate of growth of 16.14% in 2008. During initial stages of reforms, improvement of exports was due to rupee devaluation, (Sachdeva, 2009), later exports rose due to export-import policies of Government of India.

3. Japan after 1991

Japan's "miracle" growth of the 1960s and its successful transformation often became a matter of discussion in the discourse of the developing economies. During 1946-60 and 1960-75, Japan grew at annual rates of 9.4 and 8.3 per cent, (Bose, 2006). The tremendous growth was due to a number of factors, which included improvement in productivity in each individual sector of the economy and the shift of labour from low productivity to high productivity sectors through rapid technology borrowing to strengthen its manufacturing base and by pursuing an export-led growth strategy based on light manufactures, (Burkett and Hart-Landsberg 2000; Iyotani 1995 in Uma, 2006). Exports expanded rapidly in both heavy and chemical industries and light-industrial products such as textiles, toys and simple electrical appliances. These goods accounted for 65 per cent of all Japanese exports in 1955 and by 1965 they continued to account for 52.8 per cent. This export success was at the expense of other capitalist countries which responded with import restrictions [Brenner 1998 in Uma, 2006]. External pressures and internal rising wages made difficult for Japan's light manufactured exports to remain internationally competitive and it slowed down the growth in the mid- 1960s. The Japanese government adopted the strategy of moving light manufacturing plants to the East Asian countries, mainly South Korea, Taiwan and the ASEAN countries. Production of cotton textiles was moved in the mid-1960s followed shortly by synthetic textiles (Steven 1983 in Uma, 2006). This resulted in a decline in the share of labour-intensive exports to 43.5 per cent in 1973 [Krause and Sekiguchi 1976 in Uma 2006]. Despite rising wages and external trade frictions, this dual strategy of heavy industrialisation and exports of light manufactured goods brought about an impressive growth rate of 8 per cent per annum, with manufacturing growth at 11 per cent. The high investment and high export strategy helped in establishing the manufacturing base in the economy, and this sector contributed almost 40 per cent of income in 1970, (Uma, 2006).

The period from 1974 to 1985 was that of stable growth, when the economy grew at 3.7 per cent. The combined impact of the yen's revaluation and a sharp rise in oil prices was felt severely by simple electronics and the heavy and chemical industries. The heavy chemical industries

processed large amounts of imported oil and other material into exports, and it affected their profitability and competitiveness. To overcome the crisis, firms tried to scale down production and reduce labour costs by reducing overtime and dismissing temporary and part-time workers.

During the period of recession, 1985-1992, the new high value added consumer goods from Japan in the world market continued to create problems for the developed capitalist world, most of whom were facing recession, unemployment and trade deficits due to rising costs of oil imports. Trade tensions between the US and Japan escalated, as more than 40 per cent of all Japanese machinery exports between 1983 and 1985 were sold in north America, and this included 60 per cent of Japanese motor vehicle exports [Steven 1990 in Uma, 2006]. This export success of Japan was creating problems especially for the US, as their trade deficits were growing and deindustrialisation was taking place. All these factors culminated in the Plaza Accord in 1985 to bring about more balanced trade. Towards such efforts exchange rate adjustments were made, which led to appreciation of the yen in 1985, (Uma, 2006).

The Japanese growth slumped to 1.6 per cent during 1990-2001 and 1.5 per cent during 2001-05. The decline which began with the bursting of the asset bubble in 1990 and slump in stock markets and real estate markets brought with it massive downward adjustments in investment and consumption demand and increased joblessness across the economy. Deflation became a chronic problem. Between 1998 and 2005, there was a near continuous fall in overall price levels in the economy, (Bose, 2006).

Financial system reform, “the Japanese Big Bang,” commenced in November 1996 under the three principles of “free, fair and global”. As a first step, the Foreign Exchange Law was changed to totally liberalise cross-border transactions in April 1998. The Financial System Reform Law along with revisions to the Banking Law, the Securities and Exchange Law, and the Insurance Business Law were enforced in December 1998. With exports playing a crucial role in restoring demand in the economy, trade dependency in Japan grew. It is this rise in export, with accretions to demand originating from within Asia, particularly China, that Japan could turn to its advantage to engineer an export-led economic recovery, (Bose, 2006).

4. Indo Japan Bilateral Relations after 1991

4.1 Changing Scenario in Asia

If Asia is to increase its economic and political weight in world affairs, India’s involvement would have to be an integral part of the Asia-wide cooperation. It is in this context that closer cooperation among Japan, ASEAN, South Korea, India and China would provide considerable win-win opportunities and will have far-ranging implications for the world, (Asher and Sen, 2005)

Two regional aspects have strategically transformed Asia and contributed largely to the economic integration of the continent. Firstly, liberalisation and globalisation have indeed transformed East Asia into one de facto community to a huge extent. East Asians now realise that they have a common destiny with a region that is fast becoming interdependent and borderless. Secondly, East Asians have become more aware of a better and greater redistribution of wealth, development, social and health benefits within the region. Otherwise, richer regions would never be exempt from social problems which could originate from poorer and lesser-developed areas in East Asia. East Asian regionalism has in fact increased due to (i) Intra-regional trade (ii) the current account surpluses East Asian nations and (iii) an enormous pool of foreign reserves, but this transformation has been more profound for the 13 East Asian countries (under the

‘ASEAN+3’ framework). It can be expected that India would increasingly join this accelerated ‘regional movement’ and gets more intertwined with the trade and development process, (Eric, 2005).

4.2 Indo Japan Bilateral Progress

India and Japan share a special relationship as fellow democracies seeking greater economic engagement in Asia. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Indian companies based in Japan exported cotton crepe, cotton yarn, knitwear, silk pieces, buttons, celluloid bangles, bags, fans, toys, purses, matting, umbrellas, willow hampers, matches, wood products, brassware, celluloid-ware, glassware, lacquerware, perfumes, soap, paper, camphor, brushes, lanterns etc. from Japan and imported raw cotton, rubber, ivory, Arabic gum, sheep skins, tapioca, pepper, shellac gum, etc, (Rajmohan et al, 2008).

There was a change in the major export and import items from the early 1900s. The major traded Commodities changed from cotton-related products in the early 1900s to heavy machinery in the 1970s. In 1970-72 iron ore became the major item that Japan imported from India and other imports include hemp fabrics, textile products, and precious and semi-precious stones. During the same period heavy industrial products were the major export commodities from Japan besides metal and metal products like iron and steel and steel plates, (Rajmohan et al, 2008).

During the Cold War era, if India was guilty of dismissing Japan as a camp follower of the US, the Japanese in turn perceived India as a chaotic, dysfunctional, desperately poor country and not as a potential partner. With the end of the Cold War, India began its “Look East” policy in the early 1990s that dovetailed with the opening up and liberalization of its economy, (Rajmohan et al, 2008).

The 1980s marked the beginning of a new phase in Indo-Japan relations with the establishment of joint venture – the *Maruti-Suzuki* plant to manufacture cars in India. The visit of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to India in 1984 – the first visit by a Japanese PM in 23 years – followed by the visits of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Japan in 1985, 1987 and 1988 established a high-level political dialogue. The Science and Technology Agreement signed during Rajiv Gandhi’s visit in November 1985 increased the frequency of exchanges in this area, (Rajmohan et al, 2008).

During the early 1990s when India undertook major economic reforms by liberalizing the country’s economy, and adopted an open-door policy, bilateral trade¹ and Japanese investment in India began to increase, as India began to be seen favourably as a long-term prospect in Japanese business planning. However, of the total Japanese global trade, India had a minuscule share and ranks 20th among Japan’s trade partners, well below the US, China, European Union, and East and Southeast Asian countries.

The Indian nuclear tests of 1998 marked a low point in bilateral relations²; Japan suspended all political exchanges and even economic assistance was frozen for nearly three years. In August 2000, however, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori made a five-day visit to India that helped propel ties forward, (Rajmohan et al, 2008). However, to quite a few analysts Japan’s “strong bilateral, strategic, and global partnership” with India was redefined with the visit of then Prime

¹ Used as Dummy 1 in cause and effect relationship

² Used as dummy 2 for analysis

Minister Koizumi in April 2005¹. The changing politico-economic-security-energy- nuclear needs and ambitions of both India and Japan slowly persuaded each other, to enter into “probably the most important bilateral relationship”, (Pinto, 2006b)

Warmness of relations increased with the high-profile visits of Japan’s three self-defence force (SDF) chiefs (maritime, army, and air) to India in January and April 2006. These unique and significant visits all together sent a firm signal to Asian countries and the US that Tokyo and New Delhi had finally squared the proverbial circle in their security relations. Japan now recognises India not only as an emergent economic and political power in the region with its own areas of interest and concern, but intends to join forces in promoting “strategic interests”. This was a significant development and a turning point in Indo-Japanese relations at the diplomatic, political and military levels, (Pinto, 2006a)

According to Pinto (2006), when Prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s visited Japan during December 13-15, 2006, it was roses and roses all the way. Launching of a joint task force to develop an economic partnership agreement (EPA)/comprehensive economic partnership agreement (CEPA) between India and Japan and the seven memorandums of understanding (MoUs) signed between the two governments marked a new phase. The EPA and CEPA were an outcome of the recommendations submitted by the “Report of the India-Japan Joint Study Group (IJJSG)” in June 2006. The IJJSG made a series of recommendations to further develop and diversify the economic engagement between India and Japan, with the objective of bringing about comprehensive expansion of bilateral economic and commercial relations. The specific areas marked for such cooperation were trade in goods and services, and investment flows. The other area of economic cooperation is the establishment of the “India-Japan Special Economic Partnership Initiative” (SEPI) that promote Japanese investment to India and “help develop India’s infrastructure and manufacturing capacity,”², (Pinto, 2006b).

If one accepts the maxim that foreign policy is conducted in line with national interests and objectives, and then Japan is clearly furthering its strategic objectives by strengthening its domestic economy through foreign trade and investment relationships with India. Japan, as do other countries, sees India as a source of labour force, low manufacturing costs, and a large and rising middle class – currently estimated at “300-million-strong and which is not only gaining from the country’s rapidly expanding economy, but is also driving the consumption boom. India provides a ready market for its consumer durable goods, has stable democratic institutions, and is governed by rule of law, (Pinto, 2006b; Banga, 2004).

5. Indo Japan Merchandise Trade

Indo Japan merchandise trade has been analysed by getting the data for commodities from UN Comtrade database under Harmonised System of Nomenclature for the period 1992 to 2008. Only individual commodities with trade value above 5 million USD for the year 2008 were considered for analysis.

5.1 Indo Japan’s share of basket to each other

India exports only 1.99% of its total exports to Japan while Japan exports 1.01% of its total exports to India. India imports 2.47% of its total import from Japan while Japan imports 0.69% of total imports, as observed during the year 2008³, table 1

¹ Used as dummy 3 for analysis

² ‘Joint Statement: Towards India-Japan Strategic and Global Partnership’,

³ All calculations in USD

Table 1 Share of Trade in Total Trade in percentage

India's basket to Japan in 2008	1.99
Japan's Basket to India in 2008	1.01
India's import share from Japan	2.47
Japan's import share from India	0.69

Effects of bilateral relations on India's export to Japan have been calculated as following model¹.

$$\text{IndianExp} = 1.99 D_1 - 0.171 D_2 + 1.41 D_3$$

$$(7.9095^*) \quad (-0.5656) \quad (4.814^*)$$

$$N = 17 \quad R^2 = 0.97, \text{ Adj } R^2 = 0.95, \quad F = 101.04$$

Bilateral relations during 1992 and 2006 gave good impetus to India's export to Japan. It is further observed that 1998 Pokharan tests in India affected India's export to Japan, but that was not statistically significant.

Effects of bilateral relations on Japan's export to India have been shown by following model.

$$\text{JapanExp} = 2.31 D_1 + 0.34 D_2 + 3.69 D_3$$

$$(4.8273^*) \quad (0.64) \quad (6.28^*)$$

$$N = 17 \quad R^2 = 0.97, \text{ Adj } R^2 = 0.94, \quad F = 80.014$$

Bilateral relations during 1992 and 2006 have given good boost to Japan's export to India. It is further observed that 1998 break of bilateral relation never affected negatively on Japan's export to India, but that was not statistically significant.

5.2 Trade Intensity

Economists have suggested two important models i) total trade intensity, and ii) export intensity index to see the impact of bilateral relation on total trade and export.

i) **Total Trade Intensity** is interpreted as a relative measure of two ratios. The numerator represents the share of bilateral trade between country i and j as a percentage of total trade of country i. The second ratio in the denominator represents the total trade of country j with the world excluding country i as a share of total world trade excluding country i. This forms the denominator of the total trade intensity index.

The bilateral trade intensity index for total trade is as follows:

$$T_{ij} = [(X_{ij} + M_{ij}) / (X_i + M_i)] / \{ [X_{wj} + M_{wj}] - (X_{ij} + M_{ij}) \} / \{ [X_w + M_w] - (X_i + M_i) \}$$

where: T_{ij} = Total trade intensity index of country i with country j; X_{ij} = Exports of country i to j; M_{ij} = Imports of country i from j; X_i = Total exports of country i; M_i = Total imports of country i; X_{wj} = Total world exports to country j; M_{wj} = Total world imports from country j; and X_w = Total world exports; M_w = Total world imports.

Asher and Sen (2005) argue that if the numerator exceeds the denominator, i.e., if the value of $T_{ij} > 1$, it implies that the bilateral trade intensity for country i with country j is greater than in comparison to country i's trade with the rest of the world (ROW). Table 2 shows that India's bilateral trade intensity with Japan never crossed the value of 1 during the period 1992 to 2008. It is seen that trade intensity remained in the range of 0.95 to 0.92 during the period 1992-98,

¹ In multiple regression constant has been forced as zero, D1 starts from 1993, D2 starts from 1998 while D3 starts from 2005.

thereafter it started retarding and never improved and by the year 2008, it reached 0.49. This clearly shows the bilateral relations never improved after 1998 despite all political efforts.

Table 2 India's bilateral Trade Intensity towards Japan

India's bilateral trade intensity	
Year	Intensity
1992	0.95
1993	0.91
1994	0.97
1995	0.92
1996	0.84
1997	0.79
1998	0.92
1999	0.78
2000	0.65
2001	0.60
2002	0.64
2003	0.56
2004	0.51
2005	0.49
2006	0.51
2007	0.53
2008	0.49

Table 3 India's Export Intensity towards Japan

Year	India's Export Intensity	Japan's Export Intensity
1992	1.29	0.70
1993	1.27	0.70
1994	1.24	0.81
1995	1.10	0.83
1996	0.95	0.83
1997	0.92	0.72
1998	1.01	0.84
1999	0.88	0.69
2000	0.76	0.65
2001	0.66	0.60
2002	0.71	0.52
2003	0.59	0.54
2004	0.51	0.51
2005	0.51	0.45
2006	0.49	0.47
2007	0.51	0.55
2008	0.42	0.51

ii) Bilateral **Export Intensity Index** among country i and country j may be stated as follows:

$$X_{ija} = [X_{ij}/X_i]/[(M_j - M_{ji})/(M_w - M_i)]$$

where: in addition to the notations in the bilateral trade intensity index, M_j = Total imports of country j and M_{ji} = Imports of country j from country i. A value of this index above unity implies that country i's relative share of exports to country j exceeds country j's share of imports from the ROW. This implies an overrepresentation of country j in country i's export market. From country i's point of view, the value of greater than one indicates that country i has relatively more intense preference for exporting to country j as compared to country j's imports from the ROW.

India's export intensity remained above 1 during 1992 to 1995 which means India preferred to trade more intensely with Japan than trading with the rest of the world. However after 1996, it started falling, except the year 1998 when it was approximately 1 again, (table 3). The trade intensity analysis clearly shows that relations started deteriorating much before nuclear test in India. Similarly Japan's export intensity was always less than 1 and it was 0.51 during the period 2008. By comparing the export intensity of both countries, it is observed both the countries preferred to trade with Rest of world than each other and the effect of bilateral talks is yet to be seen.

5.3 India's Potential Commodities for Japan

According to International Product Life Cycle concept, new products are developed first in developed countries and later produced in developing countries. First developing countries produce and sell agricultural products and later medium and small machinery. This appears to be true in case of India's export to Japan. India exports Fish-shrimps, animal/vegetable fats oils, iron ore, petroleum products, cotton yarn, diamond jewellery, Ferro chromium etc. Based on Compounded growth rate, present market share and growth of market share strategic position of the commodities have been mentioned in column 5 of table 4. Indian small and medium machinery has high potential in Japan as it has low market share but high growth rate. Market share is also rising at the compounded growth rate of 15.30% which is statistically significant at 1% level. India is losing its traditional business of shrimps. Once upon a time India used to hold a good position in Japanese market, but shrimps market is losing its glitter at the rate of 5.21% due to high competition. Apparels have very low market share and low growth rate. India is losing business of iron ore, may be due to domestic demand and uncompetitive prices. Ferro Chromium market needs to be observed as it is losing business, may be due to price competitiveness.

5.4 Japan's Potential Commodities for India

Japan has high growth, high rising market share in flat rolled iron, earth moving machines, transfer machines, and forging machinery. Many of the products have high market share, high growth rate but market share is falling. Falling market share with rising growth means firms face tough competition due to entries from other countries. Such products are organic chemicals, plastic articles, rubber articles, hot rolled iron, alloy steel, tubes/seamless iron, tools and dies, parts of combustion engines, telephony apparatus, and medical apparatus as mentioned in table 5. Japan's position is not good in case of service with low growth and falling market share. Though transfer machinery export has high potential but appears to be highly volatile.

Table 4 India' Market Share in Japan

HSN	Commodity	CGR	Market Share during 2008	CGR of Market Share during 1992-2008	Instability in Market Share ¹	Strategic status
30613	Shrimps Prawns Frozen	- 5.21*	11.20	-1.42	27.18	Losing
15	Animal/Veg Oil/Fats	10.34*	3.77	5.87*	41.66	Potential
230400	Soya-been Oil Cake	12.35*	51.10	4.47	56.09	Potential
260111	Iron ore	1.05	4.81	-5.78*	34.48	Losing
271000#	Oil Petroleum (except crude)	54.15*	5.18	25.90**	62.00	High Potential
29	Organic Chemical	13.76*	1.56	7.61*	39.64	High Potential
5205	Cotton Yarn	5.42*	28.00	12.52*	64.11	High Potential
62	Apparels	1.38	1.30	-2.09	26.57	Stagnant growth/compete
710239	Diamond Jewellery	-3.55*	37.83	2.59*	14.53	Potential
7112\$	Waste of precious metal	NC	0.22	NC	NC	Entry
720110#	Pig iron	86.43	15.06	34.44	182.56	High Potential
720241	Ferro Chromium	2.65	12.61	4.81**	44.25	Compete
84	Small and Medium Machinery	24.99*	0.28	15.30*	74.47	High Potential

Data from 2002 to 2008

\$ Data only form 3 years

VI Conclusions

After passing through the long period of closed economy with import substitution policy, India opened up its economy with a strategy to look east. After passing through a recessionary phase in early 1990s, Japan initiated financial system reforms with fair, free and global strategy in 1996. The bilateral relation initiatives commenced during 1980s had a break when India carried out nuclear test. Relations improved with visits of various Prime Minister to each other's countries. All efforts have been made to improve trade relationships between two countries, however data analysis reveals that India's trade intensity with Japan was high till 1996 but started declining thereafter. Trade intensity with Japan is half of what it is with world. It has further been observed that export and import were affected much before 1998, it is not worth saying that trade declined due to tests. Japan's export intensity to India is higher than India's, however it is very less than it is with world. India exports shrimps, ores from earth crest and light machinery to Japan while the counter part exports heavy machinery to India. Both India and Japan face tough competition as their market share is falling. India's high potential commodities are oil and petroleum products

¹ Instability = standard deviation of Log of export for the year t

(except crude) organic chemicals cotton yarn, pig iron, and small and medium machinery. Japan's potential commodities are flat and rolled iron, earth moving machines, motor vehicle parts, but Japan faces tough competition from other importers in India.

Table 5 Japan's Market Share in India

HSN	Commodity	CGR	Market Share during 2008	CGR of Market Share during 1992-2008	Instability in Market Share	Strategic status
<u>27</u>	Mineral Fuels	14.42*	0.36	-3.37	68.07	Compete
<u>29</u>	Organic Chemicals	4.58*	3.27	-7.12*	39.22	Compete
<u>39</u>	Plastic and articles	8.04*	4.45	-4.30*	30.04	Compete
<u>40</u>	Rubber and articles	3.99*	6.41	-8.84*	50.95	Compete
<u>7208</u>	Hot rolled iron	10.01**	4.99	-5.14*	59.07	Compete
<u>7210</u>	Flat rolled iron	18.83*	26.26	2.27***	26.38	High Potential
<u>7225</u>	Flat rolled alloy steel	7.11**	13.62	-5.14*	36.13	Compete
<u>7304</u>	Tubes, seamless iron	6.08**	13.61	-3.7*	31.58	Compete
<u>8207</u>	Tools and dies	12.76*	17.11	-1.99	41.95	Potential
<u>8409</u>	Parts of Combustion engines	1.68	7.99	-8.82*	58.95	Compete
<u>8414</u>	Vacuum pumps, compressor	14.82*	11.02	-2.45**	26.55	Compete
<u>8429</u>	Earth Moving Machines	31.81*	42.04	2.85	39.32	High Potential
<u>8457</u>	Transfer machines	75.77*	50.96	40.84*	403.59	High Potential
<u>8462</u>	Forging Machines	25.04*	29.69	7.21**	59.93	High Potentials
<u>847989</u>	Other machinery	12.04*	9.77	-1.88	48.01	Potential
<u>8483</u>	Shafts, cranks, pulleys	7.49*	6.69	-4.19*	40.32	Potential
<u>8517</u>	Telephony apparatus	3.39	0.64	-19.68*	124.40	Compete
<u>8542</u>	ICs, Micro assemblies	3.92*	8.20	-5.53*	36.56	Compete
<u>8703</u>	Cars	20.75*	20.96	-0.26	36.06	Potential
<u>8708</u>	Motor vehicles parts	-1.52	19.68	-12.11*	72.65	High Competition
<u>90</u>	Medical apparatus	9.42*	8.80	-4.73*	25.65	Competition

99	Services	-8.08*	2.69	-7.68*	59.38	Losing
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‘War on terror’, Pakistan and US bilateral aid

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‘War on terror’, Pakistan and US bilateral aid

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Before the events of 9/11, Pakistan was a pariah state for the United States of America (USA) due to its nuclear programme and lack of democracy. However, in the post-9/11 political landscape Pakistan became the front line US ally after joining US led ‘war against terrorism’ or ‘war on terror’ (WOT) to dismantle al Qaeda and its Taliban supporters in Afghanistan. Now that this war has prolonged and has been the cause of much internal instability in Pakistan, there is a strong perception in the country that it is fighting a proxy war for the US and hence has brought unparalleled havoc upon its own people. This research endeavours to review the unprecedented devastation and sufferings brought by this war for Pakistan and what it has received in return from the US. The study is enriched by extensive fieldwork in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) bordering Afghanistan and interviews with a wide range of stakeholders comprising of policymakers, academics, think tanks, researchers and primary beneficiaries of the projects undertaken by United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Pakistan. Data garnered during the fieldwork indicates that in terms of both human and economic losses, the catastrophe is incalculable as the war has claimed more than 23,000 lives and Pakistan has incurred a loss of US \$ 34 billion due to ‘WOT’. Though the US has been allocating considerable bilateral aid to Pakistan since 9/11, yet the issue is whether it is doing enough good to Pakistan than what it has suffered. This study discusses the damage the war has inflicted on Pakistan and the role the US can play in allaying the hardships faced by Pakistan. Focusing on various interventions in different sectors in Pakistan, this paper argues that the injuries of victims of ‘WOT’ can be healed by offering them something they really need. The study concludes that at this critical juncture of the country’s history, the US should give its all out support to Pakistan and should not repeat mistakes of the past by leaving its close ally in the lurch as it did after the end of the Cold War.

Introduction

This paper examines US bilateral aid policies towards Pakistan in the post-9/11 landscape; particularly it focuses on the pros and cons the US-Pakistan alliance has brought to Pakistan after the later joined US-led ‘war against terrorism’. The paper is broadly divided into two parts. The first section of the paper discusses US-Pakistan relationship in the context of US official aid flows to Pakistan during and after the Cold War period. The second part highlights US foreign aid trends towards Pakistan in the post-9/11 scenario. This section of the paper examines losses Pakistan has suffered due to its alliance with the US in its ‘WOT’ vis-à-vis what it has received from the US in the form of foreign aid.

USAID data shown in Appendix 2 indicates that the US has been allocating substantial aid to Pakistan at different points in time. What have been the key reasons for this inconsistent US bilateral aid to Pakistan? To what extent do the poverty level and needs of Pakistan inspire US aid policies and what have been the political, security and geo-strategic orientations convincing US foreign assistance flows to this only Muslim state having nuclear capabilities? In the next section, US bilateral aid, particularly economic assistance is assessed vis-à-vis economic needs of Pakistan.

US bilateral aid and Pakistan’s economic standing: recipient’s needs versus donor’s interests

To appraise foreign aid policies of bilateral donors, one of the often-used models is to compare the developmental needs of recipient countries vis-à-vis the amount of aid allocated to them by different donors. By juxtaposing the poverty status and needs of the countries receiving aid and development assistance bilateral donors allocate to them, it is highlighted to which extent different donors address the needs of the recipients and who prioritise their own interests in the allocation of official aid. During the Cold War years, McKinlay (1978) and McKinlay and Little (1977; 1978a; 1978b; 1979) examined foreign aid allocation criteria of the US, UK, France and Germany from the perspectives of their foreign policy goals. By assessing two models, one dealing with the donors' interests and the other concerning with the recipients' needs, the authors assert that power-politics and strategic and security interests were at the forefront in the bilateral aid policies of these donors.

US bilateral aid flows to Pakistan are discussed in the framework of this model. Appendix 1, based on World Bank (2007) data shows economic stature of Pakistan from 1960-2006 over an average of five years period based on indices such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP, in US\$ billions), GDP growth, Gross National Income (GNI) per capita, life expectancy and total population. Appendix 2 shows US economic, military and per capita aid to Pakistan from 1947 to 2006 in constant 2006 US\$. It is evident from World Bank data shown in Appendix 1 that there are differences in the levels of poverty at different time periods. Keeping in view the developmental needs and poverty level, US aid (particularly economic assistance) to Pakistan should have remained in line with the economic needs of Pakistan if based on the recipient's needs. However, this is not the case as US aid to Pakistan has always remained inconsistent and unsystematic (Appendix 2). It seems difficult to justify that US has been allocating substantial aid to Pakistan due to its poverty and developmental needs. Comparing the World Bank and USAID data, there is no logical relationship among the indicators in Appendix 1 showing economic status of Pakistan and US aid allocated to it shown in Appendix 2. At some points, the US has been quite generous towards Pakistan but at some points there is no or meagre economic assistance. Coming back to the point mentioned earlier, there is no consistent and coherent relationship between the development indicators and US aid on the basis of which US assistance to Pakistan can be explained.

US-Pakistan aid relations till the Afghan war

Pakistan, along with some other strategically important states has been considered to be "pivotal state(s)" (Chase, Hill, & Kennedy, 1996, p. 33); countries whose fate determines the survival and success of the surrounding region and ultimately the stability of the international system. Seen in this context, during most of its history Pakistan has remained an important strategic ally of the US and has been instrumental in safeguarding US interests in the region at different times, thus affecting US official aid policies during these intervals. As indicated by USAID data, overall US official aid flows to Pakistan have remained tortuous and inconsistent due to changes in the US geo-strategic orientations towards Pakistan.

Since the preliminary years of Pakistan's creation in 1947 and the onset of Cold War between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and the US, policy-makers in the US were aware that it could play an extremely important role to stop the spread of communism. After some speculation, the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement was signed between the two countries in May 1954 (Spain, 1954; Stephens, 1967). In 1954, the US established the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), comprising of Pakistan and several countries of the region to garrison the swell of communism. While US economic assistance had already begun, after these developments, US also started giving sufficient military aid to Pakistan. According to Huacuja (2005, p. 69) "from 1955 to 1965, Pakistan received more than \$700

million in military aid". As mentioned, along with military assistance the US gave Pakistan substantial economic aid. Alavi and Khusro (1970) have noted that nearly four-fifth of all the foreign aid Pakistan received during the years 1951-1960 came from the US. All this indicates that the US and Pakistan were enjoying warm relations hence the later was receiving sufficient US official aid in different forms.

However, later developments in the region affected US-Pakistan relations. The US-India arms deal and Pak-India wars of 1965 and 1971 disappointed Pakistan. Pakistan felt that the US did not help its close ally and let them down in both 1965 and 1971 wars with its powerful opponent India (Khalilzad, 1979-1980; Wriggins, 1984). Pakistan was deeply frustrated over US arms embargo after the war and in response closed US bases on its soil resulting in low level of bilateral relations affecting US aid flows. After the military coup of General Zia in 1977, US economic aid shrank further. However, the severest issue affecting the once friendly relations and hence US assistance to Pakistan during this period was Pakistan's pursuit for nuclear technology. Jones (2002) has given a detailed account of how US secretary of state Henry Kissinger first visited Pakistan to persuade Islamabad to cancel its nuclear technology programme and then Paris to stop it from supplying the required material for which it had already struck a deal with Pakistan. Under US influence, France cancelled the deal in 1978 which was "a huge blow to Pakistan which, once again, complained that the West was singling it out" (Jones, 2002, p. 198). Not satisfied with all this, the Carter administration imposed Symington Amendment in April 1979 on Pakistan thus cutting off all economic and military aid. But the USSR invasion later in 1979 overshadowed all these factors.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its implications on US aid to Pakistan

The year 1979 brought dramatic changes in US foreign aid policies. The Islamic revolution in Iran deprived the US of one of its trusted allies- the pro-US Shah of Iran. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and revolution in Iran greatly enhanced Pakistan's geo-strategic weight. In the words of Thornton (1982, p. 969)

"overnight, literally, the situation changed dramatically with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. President Carter and others saw...Pakistan, now a front-line state...an indispensable element of any strategy that sought to punish the Soviets for their action".

Wriggins (1984) substantiates the fact that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan dramatically transformed Pakistan's geopolitical significance for the US. It is quite paradoxical to recall that due to factors like the trampling of democracy and human rights abuses by the military regime of General Zia and the country's pursuit for nuclear arms, Pakistan was a pariah state before 1979. However, due to the geo-strategic developments in the region particularly after the invasion of Afghanistan, the US needed Pakistan's support to stop the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Now Pakistan was viewed a front line state ally against communism. In December 1979, within a few months of their imposition, Washington lifted all sanctions against Pakistan and offered it generous aid. By 1981, US and Pakistan were discussing a US \$3.2 billion aid package (Jones, 2002). Paul (1992) has pointed out that by 1985, Pakistan became the fourth largest recipient of U.S. bilateral military assistance, behind Israel, Egypt and Turkey. "With the approval of the \$ 4.02 billion military and economic aid package in 1987, Pakistan emerged as the second largest recipient of American aid, after Israel" (Paul, 1992, p. 1084). Due to its enhanced geo-strategic attraction in the Cold War scenario, the US

was no longer concerned with Pakistan's nuclear programme, lack of democracy and human rights violations.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and Pakistan's subsequent alliance with the West, particularly the US, brought immense problems for Pakistan and had profound impacts on Pakistani society till date. It is beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate those, however, US-Pakistan relations and aid flows are briefly discussed in the context of this event. During this period Pakistan absorbed the burden of more than three million Afghan refugees, majority of whom still living in various Pakistani cities. But one of the most significant developments was the mushroom of '*madrassas*' (religious seminaries) that continued to supply fresh recruits during the Afghan war and then to the Taliban regime. The growth of these '*madrassas*' multiplied exponentially during the Afghan war with ample funding from Arab states as well as the US. In the early years of the country's history, Pakistan had a few hundred such institutes while in the recent years the total number reached more than eight thousand (Nasr, 2000). Stern (2000) puts the total number of these '*madrassas*' to be approximately 40,000 to 50,000. The author claims that the US and Saudi Arabia channelled \$3.5 billion to these '*madrassas*' during the Afghan war. Majority of the '*jihadi*' groups were the outfits of these different '*madrassas*'.

It is now an open secret that '*jihadis*' or '*mujahideen*' (holy warriors), including Osama Ben Laden, were brought from all over the world by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and trained in collaboration with Pakistan premier intelligence agency the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) with enormous funding from the US, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States. The total number of these '*mujahideen*' is estimated to be about 200,000-500,000 (Brown, 2006; Usher, 2007). By the mid-1980s when the Cold War was at its height, the CIA office in Islamabad was second in size and staff after its main headquarters in Langley, Virginia (Woodward, 1987). Stephens and Ottaway (2002) assert that during the period 1984-94, USAID is estimated to have sanctioned a grant of US \$ 51 million to the University of Nebraska for preparing special books in Dari and Pashto languages exhorting and glorifying '*jihad*' (holy war). The report by the International Crisis Group (2002) points out that 13 million copies of these books and pamphlets were distributed in Pakistani '*madrassas*' and Afghan refugee camps to indoctrinate and inculcate the values and virtues of '*jihad*' in youth. Peshawar, the capital city of the NWFP worked as a sanctuary for all '*mujahideen*' and was used as a base camp for launching attacks inside Afghanistan against the Soviets. It is the same city that is the prime target of militants these days in the so-called 'WOT'.

US foreign aid to Pakistan during the post-Cold War period

After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the attitude of the US changed towards its Cold War ally. With the collapse of the USSR when Pakistan's assistance was no more required, discriminatory and country-specific Pressler Amendment was forced on Pakistan and severe sanctions were imposed on it because of its nuclear programme (Kux, 2001; Paul, 1992). All the channels of US aid to Pakistan were shut in a short time. "What had once been one of the largest U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) offices in the world, employing more than 1,000 staff around the country, shrank to almost nothing virtually overnight" (Cohen & Chollet, 2007, p. 10). The US-Pakistan bilateral aid relations went to the level of indifference and covert hostility in the post-cold war period. The 1998 nuclear tests and the 1999 military coup further deteriorated bilateral relations and consequently US aid flows touched the lowest level. It can be observed (Appendix 2) that US economic aid lowered from above \$ 500 million a year to less than \$ 100 million a year in the

post-Cold War years in the 1990s. The fate of the military assistance was not different as it became almost zero during these years.

With the imposition of the Pressler Amendment and accompanying sanctions Pakistan was faced with a serious economic crisis. This situation led to macro-economic instability as the country was unable to repay its debts on time. According to Ministry of Finance, Govt. of Pakistan (2003) besides foreign assistance, overall investment fell from 20 percent of GDP in 1992-93 to an all time low of 14 percent in 2000-01, public investment in this period nearly halved and private investment fell by one-fourth and these factors contributed to slowdown in industrial growth and increase in unemployment. Due to these changed policies of the former close ally like the US, the decade of the 1990s was a like ‘lost decade’ for Pakistan.

Alienated allies reunite: Pakistan joins ‘WOT’, US lifts sanctions and restarts bilateral aid

The post-9/11 period characterised by renewed and greater US geo-strategic and security goals in the region is reminiscent of the Cold War years after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. As in the late 1970s when Pakistan was ruled by a military dictator, once again in the year 2001 the military ruler was in office in the country. Due to issues such Pakistan detonation of nuclear device and lack of democracy, the country was under two layers of US sanctions- nuclear-related and democracy-related. In the scenario that developed after the attacks on World Trade Centre and Pentagon on 11 September 2001 and Washington’s subsequent ‘war against terrorism’ once again brought Pakistan in the lime light of US foreign aid policies. In its so-called ‘WOT’, the US declared that either the nations of the world are with them or against them (Cohen & Chollet, 2007). Pakistan’s military leadership ruling the country under President Musharraf took a u-turn on its old Afghan policy and joined the US-led ‘WOT’ beginning with the code name of ‘Operation Enduring Freedom’ attack on Afghanistan.

In the post-9/11 era of US global ‘WOT’, US foreign aid policies once again underwent some dramatic changes, particularly in the context of US bilateral aid flows to Pakistan. Looking at USAID data in Appendix 2 showing US bilateral aid to Pakistan and Table I for the post-9/11 years, US aid to Pakistan has increased substantially in the post-9/11 period. Before the year 2001, US economic assistance to Pakistan was less than US\$ 100 million and military aid was almost nil for several years. However, the ‘9/11’ changed all the things upside down and in no time Pakistan journeyed from a pariah state to the US front line ally with the start of substantial civilian and military assistance as is evident from USAID data. This period seems to be the replica of the Cold War episode. Like the year 1979 when US aid to Pakistan was at the lowest level due to factors earlier mentioned, it was identical case before the events of ‘9/11’ when Pakistan was under two layers of US sanctions but in the post-9/11 international political landscape, everything was reversed in terms of US aid policies towards Pakistan.

Table I. US aid to Pakistan in the post-9/11 years

Year	Economic Aid (US\$)
------	---------------------

	Millions)
2002	875.8
2003	362.7
2004	377.9
2005	467.8
2006	643
2007	401
2008	409
2009*	1,127

*Estimated

Source: US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook) (2006) and for the years 2005-09 USAID (2009) website.

Pakistan’s losses in ‘WOT’

As discussed earlier, at the international political and diplomatic landscape, at least when viewed in the context of US-Pakistan relations and more so from the perspectives of US official aid to Pakistan, the war once again proved the significance of Pakistan’s geo-strategic status for the US. The alliance has certainly brought several advantages to Pakistan particularly in the form of US assistance but at the same time the prolonged war has disastrous spill over effects and consequences for Pakistan. After the fall of the Taliban regime in late 2001, some Taliban and al Qaeda leadership fled Afghanistan and took shelter in the FATA region of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan. The tribal areas or FATA started appearing in international media and got global attention in ‘WOT’. With the passage of time US policy-makers and media men started calling FATA ‘safe havens’ of Taliban and al Qaeda fugitives and it was perceived that terrorists can only be defeated if Pakistan mobilise its troops in the region to flush out Taliban and al Qaeda operatives.

It was due to Pakistan’s alliance with the US and also under pressure from the Bush administration that for the first time in the country’s history, more than 100,000 army personnel were deployed along the 2,700 kilometre long Pak-Afghan border to eradicate al Qaeda and Taliban-linked militancy. Meanwhile, the war in neighbouring Afghanistan had its impact of radicalisation on the ethnic Pashtuns residing in the border areas of Pakistan. With the passage of time the influence of Taliban and their radical ideologies, fuelled by the presence of US and NATO troops in Afghanistan, spread from the tribal areas to other settled districts in the NWFP. In the tribal belt alone, hundreds of pro-government tribal elders have been killed by Taliban since 2005 (Rashid, 2008). Since 2002, military forces have launched four major military operations against Taliban and al Qaeda operatives in the tribal areas. The fourth and largest military operation Rah-e-Nijat (Freedom Path or Path to Salvation) was launched in October this year. The operation is still underway and so far the offensive has been successful as the security forces claim to have killed over 700 insurgents and cleared most areas from Taliban. Presently, the army has deployed 117,000 troops on the mountainous Pak-Afghan border and established more than 821 check posts on the Pakistani

side of the border. On the other side of the border, the ISAF coalition troops have only 25,870 personnel in the east and 22,330 troops in the south of Afghanistan, with only 120 check posts manned by them.

With the prolonged conflict and insurgency on both sides of the un-demarcated and porous border, situation in FATA grew increasingly worse. Perceiving Pakistan an ally of the US and their adversary in US-led ‘WOT’, the militants have wasted no opportunity of unleashing havoc upon the personnel of law enforcement agencies and damaging and destroying government infrastructure, property and buildings including schools, hospitals, bridges, roads, grid stations, electricity towers and dispensaries along-with damage to private assets such as homes, shops, factories and farms etc. According to the comprehensive report prepared by Planning and Development Department of FATA Secretariat (2009), the conflict has caused huge cost to FATA totalling an enormous amount of US\$ 2.146 billion (see table II for details). It is unprecedented loss and the impact is severe when seen in the context of already poor state of economy in FATA.

As stated earlier, the conflict and its costs are not confined to FATA only but the spill over effects of ‘WOT’ have deeply affected other parts of the country as well. The picturesque Swat valley and the rest of Malakand division in the NWFP is another prime example of Taliban-linked militancy and insurgency due to Pakistan’s alliance with the US in its so-called ‘war against terrorism’. The paradise-like valley was converted into hell by Taliban militants. The inhabitants of this beautiful valley suffered badly from the hands of militants and then during the military operations as hundreds of houses were either blown up by militants or destroyed by bombardment and indiscriminate shelling carried out by security forces. Like FATA, infrastructure such as bridges, roads, health facilities and hundreds of schools were destroyed and damaged by the militants’ attacks and military’s actions. Crops and orchards owned by local farmers were also destroyed resulting in huge economic losses and unemployment. Being a famous tourist spot, tourism and business sectors equally suffered due to militancy and subsequent military operation. After launching military operation against Taliban in March 2009, about 3 million people from Buner, Swat and Dir Lower districts fled their homes and became internally displaced persons (IDPs) in their own homeland, thus leading to the biggest human crisis and mass exodus in the history of the country. According to post-conflict surveys conducted by the government, the Swat valley and other districts in Malakand division suffered about Rs. 86 billion losses due to militants’ insurgency and the subsequent military operation.

Table II. Losses caused by ‘WOT’ in FATA

Sector	Tentative cost (in million)
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	(Pak Rs.)	(US \$)
-Infrastructure losses	8,270	103
- Human Losses	4,405	55
- Economic costs	9,505	119
- Social costs	88,725	1,109
- Environmental costs	15,000	188
-Security and IDPs costs	45,766	572
Grand total	171,671	2,146

Source: FATA Secretariat (2009)

In terms of human losses, the catastrophe is unprecedented. Looking at table III showing the number of human losses, it is beyond doubt that the war has affected Pakistan more than any other country in the world and indeed it has been the worst victim of terrorism. There is hardly any major city in the country that has not been targeted by militants. Suicide attacks have been carried out not only on security installations and offices of the law enforcement agencies but also public places have not been spared. Soft targets like educational institutions including public sector universities in the capital city have also borne the brunt of militants. The NWFP and particularly the capital city of Peshawar, surrounded by tribal agencies has been targeted more than any other place. The people of this city and the whole of the NWFP have suffered more in ‘WOT’ than any others. The inhabitants of this city have witnessed frequent bomb blasts for the last few years and more so during the recent months resulting in huge human losses. The historic city has witnessed 55 bomb blasts and suicide and rocket attacks since May 2009, several of which ripped through crowded commercial places within just eight days, killing hundreds of innocent city-dwellers including men and women, urban and rural and children and youth. Every family of the city has its own tragic tale that tells of the loss of its near and dear ones. Spending several months during the fieldwork recently, it was felt that residents of the town were mentally prepared for worst in their lives anytime and anywhere. While staying there, it was observed that at times a bang, even the slamming of a door or unusual walking of a bearded person was enough to turn the face of an ordinary person pale.

Table III. Annual fatalities of ‘WOT’ in Pakistan

Year	Civilians	Security Forces	Terrorists/militants	Total
2003	140	24	25	189
2004	435	184	244	863
2005	430	81	137	648
2006	608	325	538	1,471

2007	1,523	597	1,479	3,599
2008	2,155	654	3,906	6,715
2009*	2,004	896	7,223	10,123
Total	7,325	2,761	13,582	23,608

*Data till mid-November 2009.

Sources: South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) and various Annual Security Reports of Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS).

Alongside the common people, security forces have equally suffered huge losses in the conflict. Keeping in view fatalities suffered by the coalition forces in Afghanistan under the banner of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), Pakistan has suffered a lot more. Total casualties of ISAF in Afghanistan have been about 1,451 since the beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom in October 2001. Security forces in Pakistan have suffered twice the number of these casualties. While so far the US has lost about less than 900 soldiers in the war, the wounds received by Pakistan army and paramilitary forces are more in number and severe in impact because high ranking military officials such as lieutenant general and brigadiers have been killed by insurgents/militants. More than 50 officials of the ISI have been killed and about 100 injured in attacks and despite all these every now and then the US tells Pakistan to ‘do more’. Casualty rates of coalition troops in Afghanistan are far less than Pakistani casualties. During interviews with officials and security analysts, the author was told that it was not only the tribal area that was becoming a safe haven for the militants but east and south of Afghanistan was also ruled by the Taliban and the coalition forces needed to improve the situation on their side also.

US drone Attacks on tribal areas: breach of Pakistan’s sovereignty or counterterrorism strategy?

Another aspect of US-Pakistan alliance that has been frequently and regularly criticised in Pakistan and which the opposition parties have been using as a rallying point against the US, is the issue of US drone attacks on the FATA. As mentioned earlier, despite mobilisation and deployment of more than 100,000 troops in the FATA, Washington is not satisfied with the performance of Islamabad and constantly goads it to ‘do more’ in the fight against al Qaeda and Taliban in the region. The deployment of such a large number of troops should be enough proof that Islamabad is doing what it could to destroy Taliban’s sanctuary in the FATA. Even sceptics like Grare (2007) have at times affirmed that Pakistan’s co-operation against terrorism is real and sincere. However, due to trust deficit the shaky state of affairs has sometimes put the alliance to litmus test as both allies complain to each other of the lack of cooperation. The US’s main apprehension and complaint is that cross border infiltration emanating from the tribal belt has been the cause of tremendous concern as Taliban ambush US and ISAF forces and military installations in Afghanistan from there. While Pakistan perceives US policy of using unmanned air vehicle (UAV) or drones to hit targets inside Pakistani territory a violation of its sovereignty. At the same time these attacks have resulted in colossal collateral damage. US drone attacks also contribute to the Pakistani public’s negative perceptions of the US and fuel anti-Americanism.

Pakistani leadership has repeatedly argued that such counter-terrorism strategies contribute to turn public opinion against the US and undermine the role the government can play to defeat

these elements in 'WOT'. There is wide condemnation and severe criticism of such US attacks across broad range of stakeholders including but are not limited to former intelligence officers, scholars, journalist, columnists, policy makers and politicians of almost all political parties. Several analysts argue that the bombings are less effective and could only harden the resolve of terrorists and create more embarrassment for government at the domestic front. According to figures compiled by Pakistani authorities and media reports, between 2006 and 2009 the US drones carried out the more than 60 cross-border predator attacks inside Pakistan thus violating Pakistan's sovereignty a number of times. Out of these attacks, less than 20 were able to strike the actual targets including some wanted al Qaeda men, besides killing more than 700 innocent tribal people. The success percentage of the US predator strikes thus comes to not more than six percent. Two missile strikes carried out in 2006 killed 98 civilians while three attacks during 2007 slain 66 innocent Pakistanis, yet none of these strikes were on target to assassinate high profile al Qaeda or Taliban figures thus leading to increased resentment against the US.

Conclusion: the way ahead

As the preceding discussion exhibits Pakistan has suffered and is continuously suffering a lot in 'war on terror'. In terms of human losses, to varying degrees the people of Pakistan in all major cities have their shares of the pain and calamity in the form of bomb blasts and suicide attacks. Daily life and commercial activities are badly disrupted due to poor law and order situation caused by militants' strikes. In economic and financial terms, Pakistan has suffered a loss of more than US\$34 billion and according to USAID data quoted earlier it has received less than US\$ 5 billion in aid since joining US-led 'war against terror'. However, it is also interesting to break apart and analyse the much-publicised US \$10 billion question of aid given to its South Asian ally. To understand the real worth of US assistance to Pakistan, it is imperative to reveal that the figure of US\$10 billion in reality includes Coalition Support Funds (CSF) ranging up to US\$5 billion during the years 2002-07. The CSF is a Department of Defence programme to reimburse allies (in this case Pakistan) for logistic, military and other expenses incurred in backing up US military manoeuvres in 'WOT'. According to Islamabad-based officials, Pakistan's CSF claims are validated by relevant officials in US embassy in Islamabad and the US Central Command. Pakistani officials revealed during interviews that in reality, it is Pakistan's own amount spent on US operations by Pakistan which is later reimbursed. To lump this amount of \$5 billion as part of US aid package is neither factual nor intellectually honest. Though these aid statistics are available in reliable reports of the Congressional Research Service (CRS) yet some scholars and writers regularly quote US\$ 10 billion either to mislead public opinion or for the reasons best known to them. What can be inferred from this discussion is that Pakistan has suffered a lot more in 'war on terror' than what it has received from the US in the form of foreign aid.

Due to myriad of crises including economic, security and law and order problems as a consequence of 'war on terror' and increased militant insurgency, Pakistan has called for a US\$ 30 billion aid package to overcome these challenges. On the eve of donors meeting in Tokyo last year, President Asif Ali Zardari asked for a major aid drive like the Marshall Plan to help the country in fight against militancy and achieve financial stability and poverty alleviation. The country has requested this amount to shore up socio-economic development of the masses and win their hearts and minds. During interaction with several primary beneficiaries of USAID projects in the FATA, the local population was grateful to the people of the US and to the goodwill gesture of USAID for its development interventions. It merits a mention to recall the emotions of a youth, who while referring to some USAID projects remarked that even if your enemy does some good to you it should be appreciated. In

economic assistance, Pakistan sees an opportunity and a means to defeat al Qaeda and Taliban extremists by offering the local population something they really need-education, health, economic opportunities and employment. The report 'Afghanistan and Pakistan on the brink: Framing US policy options' (2009), prepared by ex-government officials and academics also suggested that Pakistan needed a billion dollar multi-years aid package to help in surmounting domestic economic and institutional challenges.

If seen from the perspectives of the cost of war in Afghanistan, US aid to Pakistan seems negligible. The war already costs US \$ 3.6 billion a month and the additional surge in troops would multiply the financial cost of the conflict which is estimated to be US\$30 billion a year more. On June 16, 2009, the US Senate's Foreign Relations Committee passed the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act, known as Kerry-Lugar Bill (KLB) and on October 15, President Obama signed the bill into law. The bipartisan bill tripling non-military aid to the country authorises the provision of US\$ 1.5 billion aid to Pakistan annually for five years (2009-2013). In this backdrop, during her official visit to Pakistan in October 2009, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton told media men in Islamabad that she was there to 'turn a new page' in US-Pakistan relations. She told reporters that terrorism remained a very high priority but the US also recognised that it was imperative to broaden their engagement with Pakistan and help the country in terms of economic challenges- to help in creating jobs, building infrastructure, education, healthcare and energy shortfall. Though excessive conditionalities associated with the bill have marred the overall positive approach and goodwill gesture yet it is to be seen how this long-term aid commitment is going to address the real issues with which the country is faced.

Keeping in view all these scenarios in mind, it can be assumed that the US has a chance to remove the past misconceptions. To do this, it is necessary to involve and respect the country's popular leadership and support democracy. Similarly the US should have clear developmental objectives formulated with the collaboration of Pakistani institutions and should make it sure to reach the efforts of these interventions to the downtrodden and needy. Due to past events described earlier, Pakistani masses are quite suspicious of the US' intentions in the region. The tortuous history of US bilateral to Pakistan has also contributed to the common Pakistanis' perception of the United States as an unreliable ally. It is therefore reasonable to let the people of Pakistan ensure that the US and USAID are there to help in minimising and resolving their problems. The history of US bilateral aid seems to have remained incoherent, inconsistent and unjust, which at times Pakistani leadership has manoeuvred to turn public opinion against the US. In order to win the head and heart of common Pakistanis and to alter their allegiance from militant ideologies, they should be offered things they need-education, health and economic opportunities. According to 1998 census, FATA lags far behind the rest of the country in terms of development indicators. Literacy rate in the FATA is 17.42 per cent, compared to 43.92 per cent at the country level and a mere 3 per cent of females aged 10 years and above are literate in the tribal belt compared 32.02 per cent at the national level. Health care indicators are equally below par, with astounding figures of only one doctor for every 7,670 persons in FATA in comparison to 1,226 persons for every doctor across the country. Prospects of good future and respectable life can be significant motivation and reward to contain extremism. However, during interviews with this author, most government officials and academicians informed that US bilateral aid has neither played a significant role in bringing socio-economic uplift in Pakistan nor has it won good-will of the majority of Pakistanis. Therefore, it is essential that the US need to target their aid to areas to address the actual Pakistani needs.

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Year	Country Indicator	Pakistan
1960-1964	GDP (in Current US \$, billions)	4.3334
	GDP (Growth), percentage	6.6825
	GNI (Per Capita), Atlas method	97
	Population (million)	48.538
	Life Expectancy (years)	44.5
1965-1969	GDP (in Current US \$, billions)	7.2958
	GDP (Growth), percentage	6.87
	GNI (Per Capita), Atlas method	130
	Population (million)	55.608
	Life Expectancy (years)	48
1970-1974	GDP (in Current US \$, billions)	9.0054
	GDP (Growth), percentage	4.646
	GNI (Per Capita), Atlas method	160
	Population (million)	64.634
	Life Expectancy (years)	50
1975-1979	GDP (in Current US \$, billions)	15.4664
	GDP (Growth), percentage	5.026
	GNI (Per Capita), Atlas method	212
	Population (million)	75.66
	Life Expectancy (years)	53
1980-1984	GDP (in Current US \$, billions)	28.4722
	GDP (Growth), percentage	7.306
	GNI (Per Capita), Atlas method	366
	Population (million)	87.476
	Life Expectancy (years)	55.5
1985-1989	GDP (in Current US \$, billions)	35.008
	GDP (Growth), percentage	6.426
	GNI (Per Capita), Atlas method	396
	Population (million)	99.996
	Life Expectancy (years)	57.5
1990-1994	GDP (in Current US \$, billions)	47.494

Year	Economic aid	Military aid	Per capita aid
1947	N/A	N/A	N/A
1948	0.7	0	N/A
1949	N/A	N/A	N/A
1950	N/A	N/A	N/A
1951	2.7	0	0.07
1952	69.3	0	1.8
1953	697.8	0	17.74
1954	146.4	0	3.64
1955	683.3	247.9	22.64
1956	992.9	1,012.30	47.65
1957	1,005.40	407.5	32.8
1958	901.5	496.4	31.7
1959	1,272.70	341.3	35.74
1960	1,572.90	214.4	38.64
1961	920.8	242.4	24.54
1962	2,172.10	510.8	55.24
1963	1,922.90	272	44.09
1964	2,067.90	174.5	43.94
1965	1,795.80	72	35.69
1966	759.7	7.8	14.3
1967	1,128.90	24.5	20.95
1968	1,396.90	24.2	25.14
1969	504.1	0.5	8.7
1970	900.2	0.8	15.13
1971	441	0.7	7.22
1972	644.3	0.4	10.26
1973	664.9	1.2	10.31
1974	354.9	0.9	5.36
1975	571.2	0.9	8.38
1976	598.7	1.2	8.54
1976 ¹⁰	183.8	0.3	2.62
1977	296.7	0.9	4.12
1978	199.8	1.4	2.7

The Impact of the WTO on Higher Education in Taiwan

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Abstract:

In response to the ongoing globalization processes in higher education, internationalization has become a crucial policy for universities. Since Taiwan is a member of the WTO, universities not only face formidable challenges, but are also reaching out for new opportunities. This study analyzes the impact of WTO entry upon higher education institutes in Taiwan. Applying a SWOT analysis, this study assesses their international reorientation processes and explores their responding strategies.

Keywords: Taiwan, WTO, higher education, internationalization

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Introduction

With the trend of globalization, borderless trading has been prevailing all over the world. To break down trade barriers formed from protectionist policies after World War II, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was established in 1947 to devote efforts to promoting trade liberalization amongst its member countries. By going through seven rounds of negotiations, GATT had effectively lowered tariff rates among its member countries. Nevertheless, in order to offer a better competitive environment for its member countries as well as reinforce the cooperation and exchange among its member countries, the World Trade Organization (WTO) officially replaced GATT, becoming the supreme power to regulate world trade. The tenet of the WTO is to replace past trade practices which were more in a unitary form, so that worldwide trade can become as borderless as possible and we may make headway towards global economic liberalization. WTO's major tasks include: trade in goods, trade in services, intellectual property rights and dispute settlement, whereas their principles are: 1. non-discrimination; 2. reciprocity; 3. transparency; and 4. impartiality. In addition, it requires members to open up their markets through negotiations and reciprocal favored treatments (World Trade Organization, 1995).

In addition to conventional trade products, such as manufacturing and agricultural products, the WTO also included 14 education-related items in the service industry in its international trade category and completed the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 1994 in an attempt to establish a multilateral structure with both

transparency and liberalization. Given that education is classified as a service industry which can involve international trade, the education market has turned out to be an important link in international trade. GATS requires its member countries to open up their local education markets to other WTO participating countries; in addition to enhancing education-related industries and product attributes, the international agreement has also triggered a new wave of competition in the international education market. Under the intense competition in the international education market, globalization of higher education, in particular, has been spotlighted, causing the traditional definition and positioning of higher education to be gradually replaced by the concept of market trade (Kerr, 1990). With globalization and the knowledge economy, the knowledge output from higher education is considered a critical factor in promoting national development. Hence, many countries use globalization of higher education to strengthen their national competitive edge (Ender, 2004).

In response to the ongoing globalization processes in higher education, internationalization has become a crucial policy for universities. Since Taiwan is a member of the WTO, universities not only face formidable challenges but also reaching out for new opportunities. This study analyzes the impact of WTO entry upon higher education institutes in Taiwan. Applying a SWOT analysis, this study assesses their international reorientation processes and explores their responding strategies.

I. The impact and challenges of WTO on higher education in Taiwan

Even though Taiwan was one of GATT's founding members, it withdrew in 1950; it entered GATT again in 1965 as an observer. Following the withdrawal from the United Nations in 1971, Taiwan even lost its status as an observer in GATT. In 1990, it sought to rejoin GATT under the identity of "separate customs territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu". In 1992, as agreed upon by GATT, Taiwan was represented at GATT meetings as an observer. After the WTO's establishment in 1995, Taiwan put forth its formal application on December 1st of the same year for accession into the WTO. Taiwan officially entered the WTO on January 1st, 2002, becoming the WTO's 144th member country. Based on the accession negotiations, Taiwan agreed to open up the following four business sectors in its education service industry:

- (1) Allow foreigners to set up senior high schools, vocational high schools, junior colleges and universities in Taiwan
- (2) Allow foreign schools to provide distance education in Taiwan
- (3) Allow foreigners to set up short-term cram schools in Taiwan

(4) Allow foreigners to set up foreign studies brokerage firms in Taiwan

Due to the increased competitive pressure resulting from the market opening to these four business sectors in the education service industry, Taiwan's higher education was significantly impacted over the years after its entry into the WTO. This study explores the impact, in three dimensions: student recruitment, pedagogy, as well as school management and administration:

1. Impact on student recruitment

After Taiwan's entry into the WTO, Taiwan's higher education was impacted according to the following three aspects:

- (1) Allow foreign universities to set up their branches in Taiwan: Many academics are afraid that it will affect our local higher education market. A highly prestigious foreign university can be of great appeal to Taiwan's students, so they worry about being unable to recruit sufficient numbers of students, in which private universities will bear the brunt of the impact. As a result of decreasing birth rates, year by year, the total number of senior high school graduates has continued to decline. However, the number of universities in Taiwan has, on the contrary, kept increasing. Hence, the competition for student recruitment is becoming critical. As a result, many new private universities without big names will run into ever greater difficulty in recruiting enough students. In the short run, it may endanger this area of Taiwan's higher education and, in the long run, it could seriously impede overall development of local universities.

Furthermore, allowing foreigners to set up short-term cram schools in Taiwan has also threatened the local cram-school industry. Many in the cram-school circle worry that local foreign language cram schools will encounter powerful competition from foreign trade. Moreover, after Taiwan's entry into the WTO, the long existing local foreign studies brokerage industry has been transformed into the foreign studies service industry. In addition to the foreign studies brokerage business, the businesses also include student recruitment, school admission/consulting services and other related services. However, student tuition and miscellaneous expenses are not allowed to be collected in Taiwan, while courses and lecturing are also prohibited in Taiwan. Thus, the impact is relatively less in this aspect.

- (2) After entry into the WTO, Taiwan's universities have directly competed with their counterparts in China: By having close cultural ties, no language barriers and a certain academic level in China's key universities,

compounded by inexpensive tuition, key issues regarding student recruitment from China's universities, such as recognition of China's education degrees and permission for China's students to study in Taiwan have turned out to be the focus of our government's policies. Despite the fact that the government has yet to recognize China's education degrees, the number of Taiwan's students studying in China continues to increase. Currently, 187 universities in China have recruited students from Taiwan, and 6,755 Taiwanese students are studying in China, with 1,570 students in PhD programs and 1,861 students in master's programs, while undergraduate students number 3,324. Once Taiwan recognizes China's education degrees, the number of Taiwanese students going to study in China will definitely increase rapidly. If this is the case, local academics worry that the impact will be far beyond the influence of foreign universities.

- (3) The number of foreign students is insufficient: After Taiwan's entry into the WTO, its higher education has been heading for diversification and internationalization. Hence, internationalization of higher education has become an important policy in recent years. The number of foreign students and their quality constitute important indicators for Taiwan's promotion of the internationalization of higher education. However, the ratio of foreign students among Taiwanese college students is too low. Currently, Taiwan has about 1.3 million college students, but foreign students make up less than one percent. Furthermore, instead of studying for a degree, those foreign students mostly come to Taiwan to learn Mandarin. Thus, after opening up the market to meet WTO compliance, the insufficient number of foreign students makes it difficult for Taiwan's universities to fully realize their internationalization goal.

2. Impact on pedagogy

According to GATS, the trade in services of higher education refers to the following four types: (1) cross-border supply (e.g. distance education, online education); (2) consumption abroad (e.g. conventional foreign studies); (3) commercial presence (e.g. offshore school programs and double degree); (4) temporary movement of natural persons (e.g. teachers and researchers being offered to foreign schools). Currently, consumption abroad is still the mainstay in Taiwan, i.e., studying abroad.

After Taiwan's entry into the WTO, the following concerns about our local higher education have arisen:

- (1) Allow foreign schools to provide distance teaching in Taiwan: With zero space and time difference, distance teaching, particularly from foreign prestigious schools, may attract hordes of students. Rather than studying abroad, students may choose to take on distance education in Taiwan. It is especially so for those who are employed because this kind of learning is free from space and time limitation and can therefore better meet their demand for learning. However, academics worry that it will affect local student recruitment and the number of students studying abroad. To compound matters, the quality of distance teaching is not easy to control.
- (2) Imbalanced qualitative and quantitative development of higher education: Due to the surging number of Taiwan's universities in recent years, an imbalance between quality and quantity has surfaced. While the low quality of higher education makes it harder to compete with foreign universities after the market opened up to satisfy WTO compliance, improving the quality of Taiwan's higher education has become the first and foremost challenge and mission to compete with foreign universities in the market.
- (3) Lack of internationalization in education: After its entry into the WTO, Taiwan's lack of internationalization in higher education in terms of curriculum and teaching arrangements has been highlighted. Under such circumstances, curriculums and teaching models must be changed in order to make improvements (Haigh, 2002); foreign language proficiency is a critical factor in internationalizing teaching and study contents. However, currently, many college students in Taiwan are not proficient in English, which leads to their lack of an international vision and global participation. In addition, due to insufficient English courses, it has become harder for schools in Taiwan to recruit enough foreign students, which further hinders the internationalization of Taiwan's higher education.

3. Impact on management and administration

After Taiwan's accession to the WTO, its higher education has been requested to provide an aura of internationalization. As a result, schools' operating philosophies and education systems will be changed due to frequent international exchange; the management and administration of higher education will also be challenged due to the market opening up and international exchange. The following are major concerns of Taiwan's universities:

- (1) Excess quantity of Taiwan's universities and their lack of unique selling points (USP): Compared with foreign universities, Taiwan's universities are small in scale, which leads to their weakness in terms of competition.

Compounding the high level of homogeneity of many universities, which makes for no USP in most universities, they are either unattractive to local students or can not recruit enough foreign students. Whichever the case, it becomes difficult for them to compete and survive in the open market. Moreover, there is also no well-rounded mechanism to take care of foreign students and provide proper management. All of these show deficiencies in internationalization in regard to the aspect of management and administration of higher education.

- (2) Lack of international exchange: The exchanges between Taiwan's universities and foreign universities is only limited to a few teachers and students. In a way, it is due to the limited budget; on the other hand, insufficient administrative support from those universities is also a major factor in causing the lack of exchange. Without a good policy to support international exchange, Taiwan's universities appear very weak in terms of international exchange, which makes it hard for them to compete or cooperate with foreign universities.

II. Response and strategy regarding higher education after Taiwan's entry into the WTO

1. Impact on student recruitment

- (1) Competition from foreign schools: Taiwan applies its criteria for private school to the schools to be set up by foreigner. According to the "Private School Act", land acquisition is required for school establishment. Also, as stipulated in the "Private School Act" and "Specific Service Industry Commitment Statement of Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu", principals, presidents and responsible persons of private schools shall be Taiwanese, in which foreign directors are limited to no more than 1/3 of the total directors. Due to the strict restrictions, so far, no foreign school has been approved by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan. In other words, Taiwan applies a restrictive policy in regard to its commitment to the WTO education service industry. Prior to lifting the restriction, there will be no significant impact on this sector even though Taiwan is a member of the WTO. On the other hand, opening up the education service market will apply pressure on the local trade, but it will not be unfavorable to Taiwan's overall education; instead, it will attract external investment and help to introduce pluralistic education to Taiwan and, in the end, it will broaden Taiwanese students' international horizons. The progress may help Taiwan to improve its education internationalization

and reinforce the international competition of its schools. As mentioned in the Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) released in June 2006: in order to balance its diversified culture, Taiwan has contemplated relaxing the regulation of school establishment by foreigners in the “Private School Act”, e.g. to allow foreigners to take up 2/5 of directors instead of original 1/3 and allow the chairperson of the board of directors to be a foreigner. However, such a move has yet to be finalized (Taiwan WTO Center, 2006).

(2) Competition with China’s universities: In its attempt to elevate Taiwan’s international competitiveness, Taiwan’s government has plans regarding Chinese students’ studying in Taiwan and recognition of China’s education degrees. First of all, in conjunction with revisions of the “Act Governing Relations between People across the Straits”, “University Act” and “Junior College Act”, Taiwan has enacted regulations related to Chinese students studying in Taiwan and recognition of China’s education degrees, followed by employing “Three Restraints” and “Six NOs” as the principles to plan ensuing supplementary measures:

- a. Restraint in recognition of tertiary schools: Only prestigious and high quality universities in China are recognized.
- b. Restraint in terms of quantity in the recruitment of China’s students: Based on 0.5%-1% of students (about 1,000–2,000 students) to be recruited as the underlying principle.
- c. Restraint of recognition of China’s medical education.
- d. No additional preference scores to be given to China’s students.
- e. No influence on the number of local students to be recruited.
- f. No budget for scholarships for China’s students.
- g. No part-time work being allowed for China’s students during their study period in Taiwan
- h. No further stay in Taiwan for employment being allowed for China’s students after their suspension of studying in Taiwan or graduation.
- i. No eligibility for China’s students to take public employment examinations in Taiwan

In fact, rather than solving Taiwan’s student recruitment problem, the opening-up policy aims to recruit excellent Chinese students. The Chinese students planning to study in Taiwan have to go through document review and oral or written examination before being approved to come to Taiwan for their studies. In so doing, Taiwan’s universities are in a position to take the initiative in controlling student quality. In addition, only those students who graduated from universities recognized by the Taiwan government are

eligible to apply for admission to PhD or master’s program in Taiwan, so the student quality can also be well controlled (Ministry of Education, 2009).

- (3) Solve the problem of insufficient foreign students: The Ministry of Education enacted the “Guidelines Governing Foreign Student Subsidy Plan to Encourage Universities to Recruit More Foreign Students” in 2004. With it, some supplementary measures, such as offering foreign student scholarships and establishment of Chinese Language centers, have been undertaken. As a result, the number of international students has increased to 33,948 from 21,678 over the years, while the number of those studying for a degree has increased from 2,853 in 2005 to 7,764 in 2009, representing a growth of 1.7 times (please refer to Table 1).

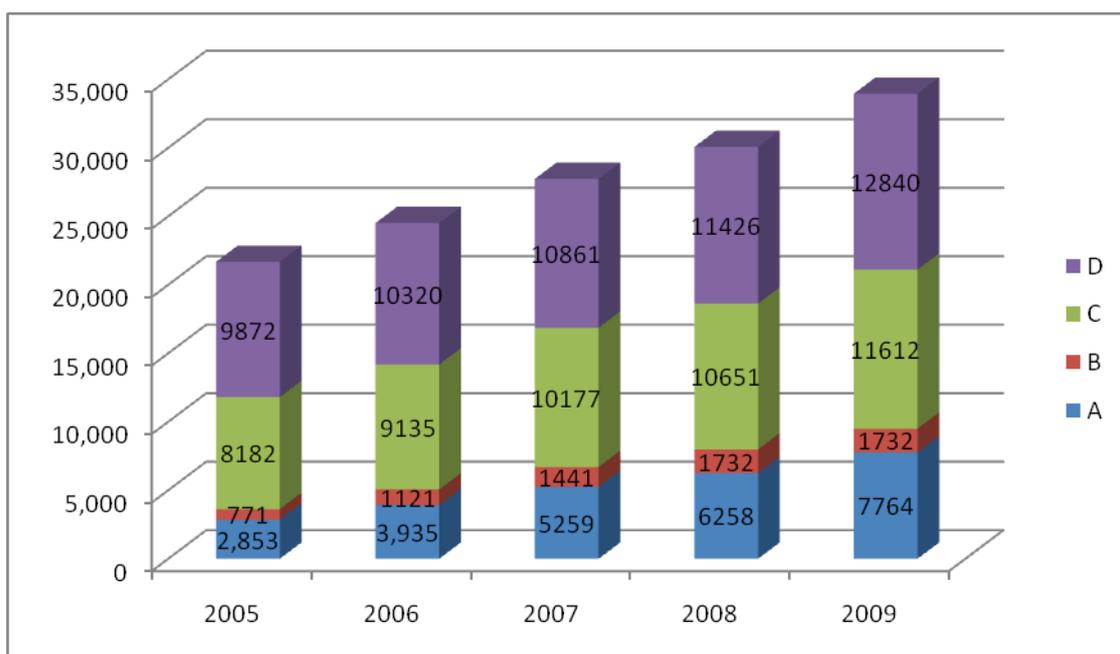


Table 1: Numbers of international students recruited by Taiwan’s universities over the years (Source: Ministry of Education, 2010)

A: Foreign degree students B: Exchange students

C: Chinese language learners D: Overseas Students

2. Impact on pedagogy

- (1) Impact of opening up foreign school’s distance teaching: The countermeasure taken by Taiwan’s Ministry of Education to reduce the impact is to limit the credits given from distance teaching. Taiwan’s Ministry of Education does not recognize all the degrees conferred by distance education. According to “Guidelines Governing Authentication of Foreign Academic Degrees” and “Regulations of Distance Education for Schools beyond College”, the credits earned from distance education shall

not exceed 1/3 of the total number of graduation credits. Hence, the population of students studying abroad is not significantly impacted. As shown in Table 2, the number of Taiwanese students studying abroad has grown steadily in recent years.

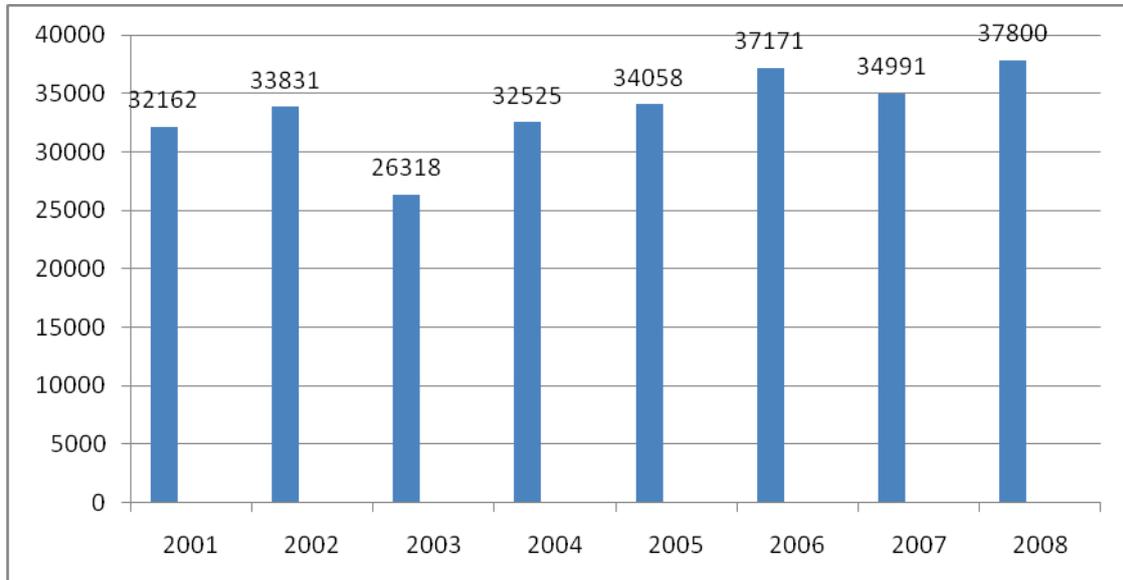


Table 2: Statistics of the numbers of students going abroad with student visa (Source: Ministry of Education, 2009)

On the other hand, opening up foreign distance teaching can help improve the curricular quality of Taiwan’s distance teaching and expedite educational development. Thus, Taiwan’s Ministry of Education decreed “Regulations of University’s Authentication of Foreign Academic Degrees” and “Enforcement Regulations of University Distance Teaching” in 2006, to relax recognition of academic degrees earned by distance education, in which the original limitation of no more than 1/3 of total graduation credits was relaxed to no more than 1/2 (Ministry of Education, 2006), after Taiwan’s accession to the WTO, in order to compete with distance teaching in other countries.

- (2) Problem of university’s low teaching quality: In order to have universities in Taiwan upgrade their teaching quality, the Ministry of Education has continued to advance various plans, e.g. the “University Academic Excellence Pursuit and Development Plan” introduced in 2001, the “Integration Plan to Promote Research-type Universities” in 2002, the “Plan to Elevate University’s International Competitiveness” in 2002, the “Incentive Plan to Encourage Prominent Teaching in Universities” in 2006 and the “Plan to Develop International Top-notch Universities and Research Centers” in 2007, etc.

(3) In order to improve university's deficiency in teaching in terms of internationalization, as well as to elevate the internationalization level of university teaching, the Ministry of Education has encouraged schools to provide English lecturing curriculums or other foreign language courses in order to assist foreign students to pursue academic studies in Taiwan. As shown in Table 3 and 4, courses lectured in English and other foreign language courses have continued to increase in recent years.

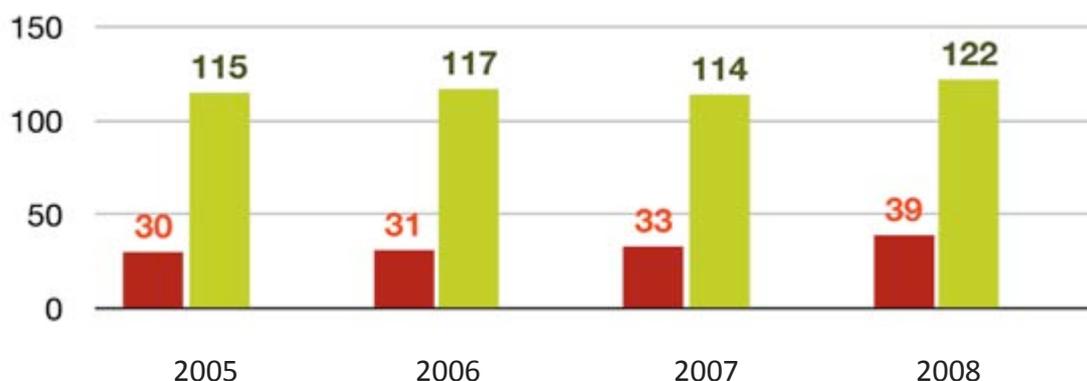


Table 3: Status of courses lectured in English provided by universities (Source: Ministry of Education, 2010)

A: Universities which offer courses in English

B: Number of courses that are taught in English

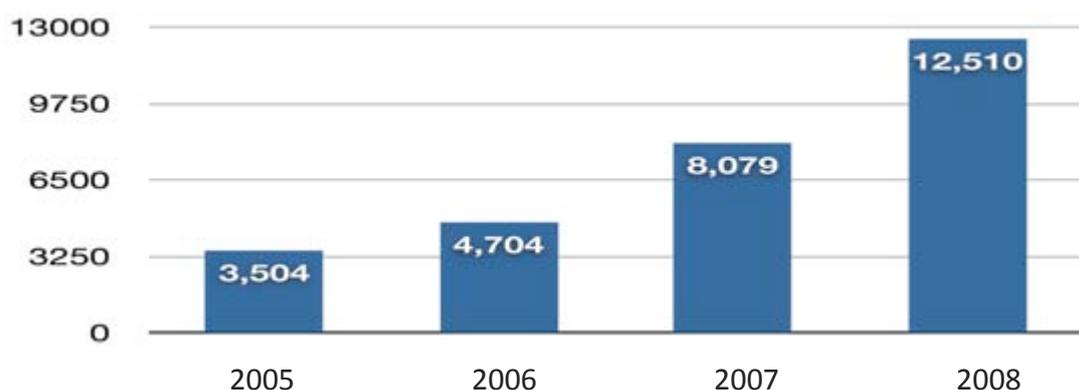


Table 4: Numbers of foreign language courses provided by universities (Source: Ministry of Education, 2010)

3. Impact on management and administration

(1) To counter the ensuing pressure from competition following the market opening up to comply with WTO demands, many countries encourage their universities to build distinctive functions and classify their universities accordingly, e.g. China's merger of key universities, Singapore's cooperation with foreign universities, USA's university interscholastic research center set up by the University of California, etc. To meet the trend

and needs, Taiwan’s Ministry of Education decreed the “Integration Plan to Promote Research-type Universities” in 2002 to encourage universities to integrate their resources and talents. With the plan, universities may form their own teams in certain specific academic fields and use mergers, transformation, cooperation and alliances to integrate resources and improve their quality. In the end, the number of Taiwan’s universities will increase and their quality will be enhanced to a level sufficient to compete with foreign universities.

Regarding foreign student management and care, after Taiwan’s entry into the WTO, many universities have set up an office of international affairs; on one hand, it is meant to promote exchanges with foreign universities and academic research institutes, while on the other hand, it aims to assist foreign students in handling academic and living affairs in Taiwan.

- (2) International exchange: After Taiwan’s entry into the WTO, its Ministry of Education decreed the “Plan to Elevate University’s International Competitiveness” in 2002. With this plan, Taiwan’s universities have devoted efforts to reinforcing their international exchange with foreign schools, in order to upgrade their level of internationalization. At the same time, the Ministry of Education has also offered many scholarships and grants to encourage teachers and students to engage in foreign exchanges. Significant progress has been made both in terms of teacher or student exchange and in publication in international journals, as shown in Table 5.

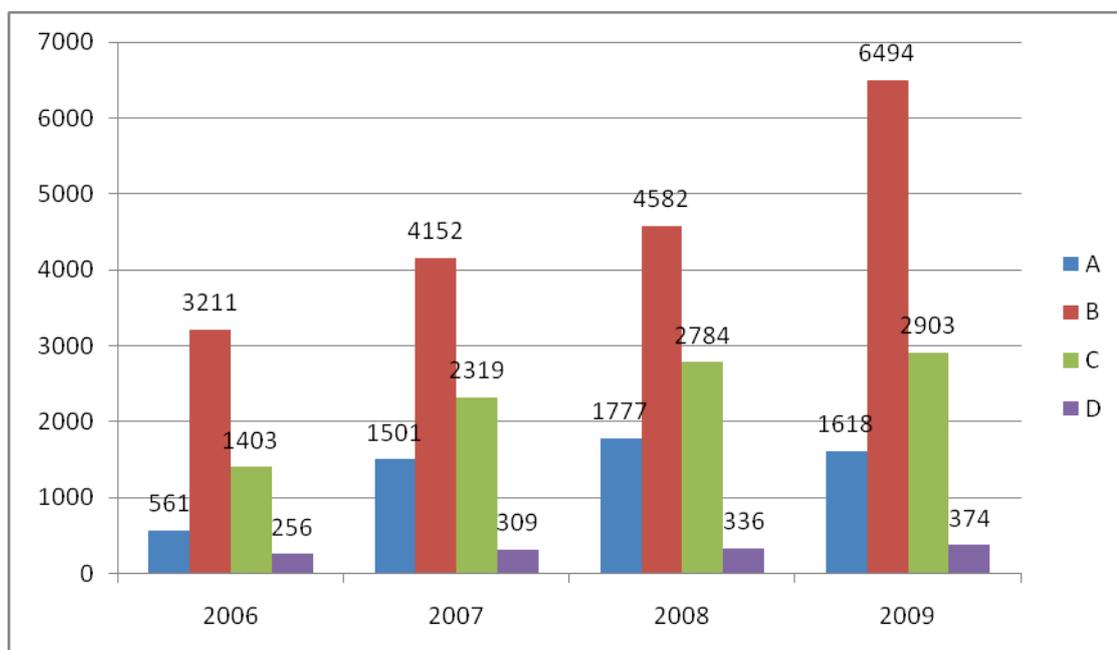


Table 5: International exchange between Taiwan’s universities and foreign schools in recent years (Source: Ministry of Education, 2010).

A: Exchange Teachers B: Exchange students C: Symposia D: Publications in Foreign Journals

III. SWOT analysis of Taiwan's higher education

By viewing the impacts and responses brought about by Taiwan's accession to the WTO in regard to student recruitment, teaching and management as well as administration, we may understand that, over the years following Taiwan's entry into the WTO, Taiwan has made every effort in progressing towards the internationalization of its higher education in the fields of student recruitment, teaching and management, as well as administration. Given the fact that university internationalization is a trend founded on the necessity to compete in the global market, the Ministry of Education and the universities have endeavored to upgrade their internationalization. The following is the SWOT analysis given according to school establishment by foreigners in Taiwan, foreign student recruitment, distance teaching and universities' international exchanges:

	S (Strengths)	W (Weaknesses)	O (Opportunities)	T (Threats)
School establishment by foreigners in Taiwan	- excellent technical infrastructure - regulatory protection for domestic universities	- internationally unknown - competition is limited by strict regulation of foreign universities	- competitive pressure to promote excellence - mutual learning	- declining student numbers - relations with China
Foreign student recruitment	- scholarships - strong Chinese language curricula - good Chinese teacher education	- lack of specialization of universities - low international recognition - only few degree students	- rising number of global international students	- universities in other countries in Asia more recognized - relations with China
Distance teaching	- excellent technological infrastructure - international education while	- credit limitations - language abilities	- increased importance of distance education	- declining number of student enrollment in traditional university

	enjoying Taiwan's low cost of living			programs
Universities' international exchanges	- strong financial support by the MoE	- lack of foreign language abilities	- global trends in the creation of international academic linkages	- unbalanced growth between quality-quantity / national/private universities

Table 6: SWOT analysis of Taiwan's higher education after its accession to the WTO

IV. Conclusion

The last decades have been characterized by intensifying globalization processes. While the main purpose of Taiwan's WTO membership was to enjoy economic benefits through increased trade, its entry also affected other domestic policy areas, such as higher education policy. As this study reveals, WTO membership has had major implications for Taiwan's higher education system. Since WTO membership has required adjustment of protectionist policies, neo-liberalist ideas have influenced Taiwan's education system. However, unlike other countries in the region, Taiwan was a late-starter in terms of initiating the transformation processes in the higher education sector, partly explaining why it lags behind in its development compared with other countries.

The SWOT analysis provides us with a deeper understanding of the higher education system in Taiwan, and allows us to derive 5 policy recommendations in order to overcome domestic impediments.

1. Re-evaluating regulation settings: Theoretically, Taiwan's academic institutions are now exposed to global competition from international actors. However, up to now not even a single foreign university has set up a branch on the island, leaving fears of a foreign "invasion" unfounded. The government's protective regulations have prevented the entrance of education institutions from abroad, but have thus also slowed down domestic development processes in the higher education sector. The government needs to ensure an equally fair environment for both domestic and foreign higher education institutions. In order to attract foreign higher education institutions to set up branches in Taiwan, the government needs to reevaluate its regulation settings. In the past, strict regulations prevented foreign institutions from

entering the highly competitive Taiwanese education market. However, in the long-run, international academic institutions will benefit the development of the domestic higher education system.

Internationalization and rapidly declining birth rates have especially increased the pressure for private universities, and have put them at the forefront of the development. As a result, private universities have to act in an extremely competitive environment.

2. Strengthening human resource development: While Taiwan's educational institutions do not need to fear any competition in terms of their "hardware", such as technical equipment or building infrastructure, there is reason to be concerned about the "software". The rapid development in Taiwan's education sector has created a huge vacuum in terms of qualified and competent personnel. In order to bridge this widening gap, the government will need to put more emphasis on human resource development.

3. Upgrading profile and international recognition: Taiwan has achieved notable results in attracting more foreign students. However, the majority of foreign students come to Taiwan in order to improve their Chinese language proficiency. Since numbers of foreign students have risen across all universities, the increase can be attributed to national policies rather than individual institution's efforts. However, up to now, international degree students only account for less than 1 percent of the total enrolled students, and there is plenty of untapped potential. Most universities need to upgrade their facilities and administrative systems, as well as adjusting their curricula to attract more foreign students.

As Knight (1999a) and Altbach (2002) argue, internationalization is one option to respond to globalization and to withstand pressure from this competitive environment. Domestic universities have failed to attract foreign students in other subjects, since most of the universities lack a clear profile and international reputation. In order to compete with prestigious international institutions, small-sized domestic universities will need to find their own specific niche, where they can build up their expertise and earn an international reputation. Thus, domestic universities need to foster their internationalization and extend their recruitment of international students (other than Chinese language learners). In 2001, about 1.64 million students received their education in other countries; in 2002 the number increased to about 1.9 million, and in 2004 to about 2.7 million (OECD, 2006). International students have thus become a

major economic factor (Haigh, 2002). However, they also have an important function as link creators to their home country. Not only will international students share their impressions and experiences in the host country with their friends and family, but since they have gained a deep understanding of the host country, it is likely that they will engage the country throughout their professional career. Furthermore, international students form a large pool, where domestic companies may find talented employees. Taiwan's universities have room to improve the infrastructure for foreign students, in terms of administering foreign students, adjusting their curricula and improving the English language proficiency of their administrative staff.

4. Improving foreign language abilities: Besides international student recruitment, universities need to expand their exchanges and cooperation with foreign academic institutions. Up to now academic cooperation has been limited. A major obstacle stems from limited foreign language abilities among teachers, administrators and students. Languages are windows to the world.

5. Recognition of Chinese diplomas: The recognition of foreign academic degrees has gained major importance under globalization. Here, relations with China play a major role for Taiwan, since recognizing Chinese diplomas interferes with sovereignty concerns. It is also believed that the recognition of mainland China's diplomas will trigger numbers of Taiwanese students to leave for study on the mainland. Thus, progress will only be possible when cross-strait relations relax further.

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COVER PAGE

Topic: A Geographical Look at the Word Geography of Thailand

(reference abstract no.: 0133)

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INTRODUCTION

Many studies of Thai dialectology have been carried out over the past three decades. In previous studies, however, maps were drawn manually on papers, the locations of data collection as well as the drawing of isoglosses and dialect boundaries were roughly marked. The maps created in that way consequently have small degree of positional accuracy and lack reliability.

Thanks to technological inventions from the West, the advancement of geographical tools and technologies in the last few decades, especially through Geographic Information System (GIS) and Remote Sensing (RS), have been developed to enhance the ways to observe, collect, measure, and analyze spatial data as well as to display and produce maps more efficiently. The derived map information is now widespread in a digital form and is sharable among the digital world.

In 2002 the Word Geography of Thailand project was launched under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Culture with its aim to collect, record, and set up a database of Thai dialect vocabularies through the study of lexical items. The project pioneered in applying GIS to develop the geographical database of lexical items in Thai dialects. A part of the work results was displayed as a set of 170 lexical variation maps. These dialect maps shaded polygons on the basis of subdistrict boundaries to illustrate the dialect distribution. These maps also showed the interesting distribution of lexical items all over the country i.e. the boundaries between the four main dialects as well as the existence of subdialect and local dialect areas.

Although the project has achieved great benefit from the geographical database, shading maps on the basis of polygons is, however, aggregated to political boundaries and unavoidably uniform. It is, to some degree, unrealistic as it cannot truly reflect the distribution in reality. The extended work is demonstrated in this paper. Its key aim is to present an alternative look by which GIS and geographic features are incorporated to improve the pattern of dialect distribution to be more realistic. Geographic features - population settlement, topography, and transportation - are included for investigation and analysis.

STUDY AREA

Location of the study area covers the whole Thailand. Geographically this country, lying in the heart of the Southeast Asian mainland, covers an area of about 514,000 sq. km. or roughly the size of France. Thailand borders Myanmar and Laos to the north, Cambodia and the Gulf of Thailand to the east, Myanmar and the Indian Ocean to the west, and Malaysia to the south. In this country, more than 60 ethnolinguistic groups with their diversity of languages were reported (Suwilai and others, 2004). Despite the language diversity, Thai, classified by linguists as belonging to Chinese-Thai branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, is the official national language spoken in every part of the country. This language, differentiated by the areas of the country where dialects are spoken, can be divided into four main dialects comprising Northern

Thai, Northeastern Thai, Central Thai, and Southern Thai. Spatial variation of these four main dialects is the main focus of this study.

BACKGROUND TO PRIMARY DATA SOURCE: THE WORD GEOGRAPHY MAPS OF THAILAND

The primary data source of this study was from the geographical database of the Word Geography of Thailand project, namely the Word Geography maps of Thailand. Data covers the whole of Thailand at sub-district level, so-called “tambon” in Thai, except the Bangkok Metropolis. A questionnaire with 170 questions - each representing a semantic unit - was constructed. The questionnaire was sent in 2003 to all of the 7,226 tambons via the Ministry of Culture network in the first round and by post in the second round. The data used in this study came from 6,379 tambons or 88% of the study locations. The respondents were a director or a teacher of a tambon school. Data collection was completed within 1 year (Sirivilai and Kalaya, 2008).

Linking lexical data and administrative boundary maps was designated and performed under a GIS environment using a relational database management system (RDBMS) as shown in Figure 1. From the figure, each word map contains a set of lexical items. For ease of use, visual interpretation, and model simplification, it is assumed that each tambon has a uniformed lexical usage. Thus, a lexical item chosen for each semantic unit is used to be a representative of that whole tambon (in the form of polygon). Words that contain minimal phonological discrepancies e.g. /maak^T mii^T/ and /mak^T mii^T/¹ are analyzed as a single lexical item. A geographical database, as a result, contains 170 lexical variation maps - one map per one semantic unit. As the four main dialects - Northern Thai, Northeastern Thai, Central Thai, and Southern Thai - were the main focus, the lexical items that accumulate in one region, displaying membership of the same variety, were assigned in different shades of the same colour i.e. magenta shades for Northern Thai, blue shades for Northeastern Thai, yellow shades for Central Thai, and green shades for Southern Thai. An example of word maps is shown in Figure 2. The whole dataset of 170 lexical variation maps can be currently visited through the website Word Geography Maps of Thailand (<http://www.arts.chula.ac.th/~ling/geoling/WGT/>).

¹ In this study tones are marked as T and excluded in the lexical analysis since tonal variation in Thai is highly complex and has to be studied separately (Tingsabadh, 2001)

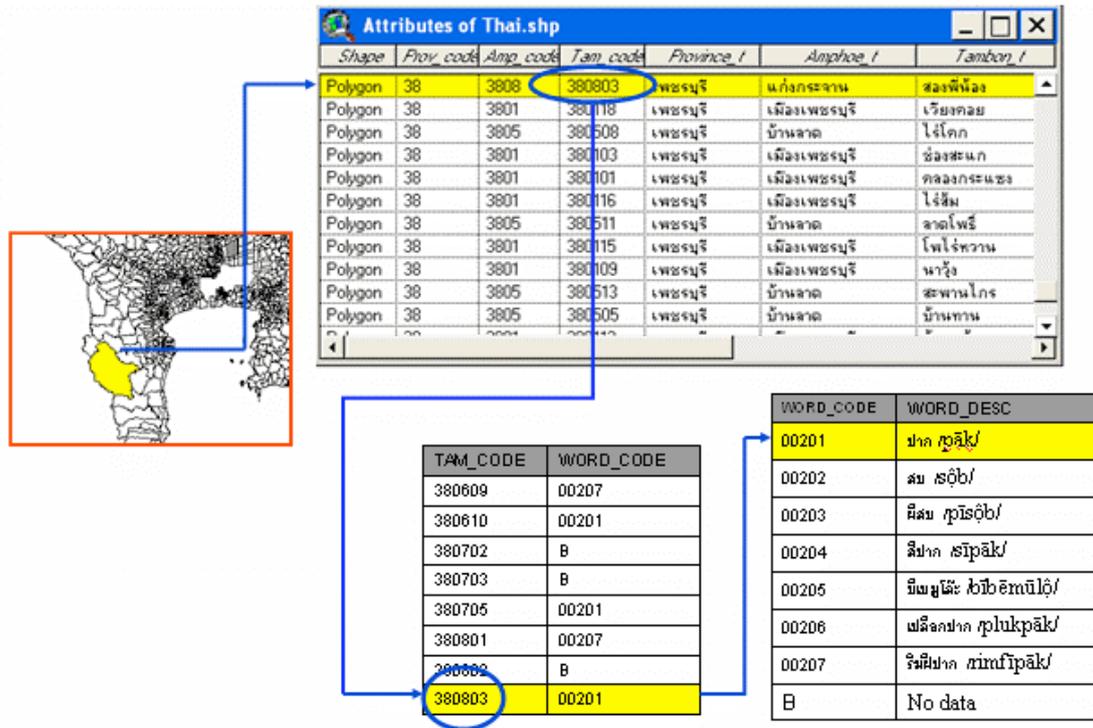
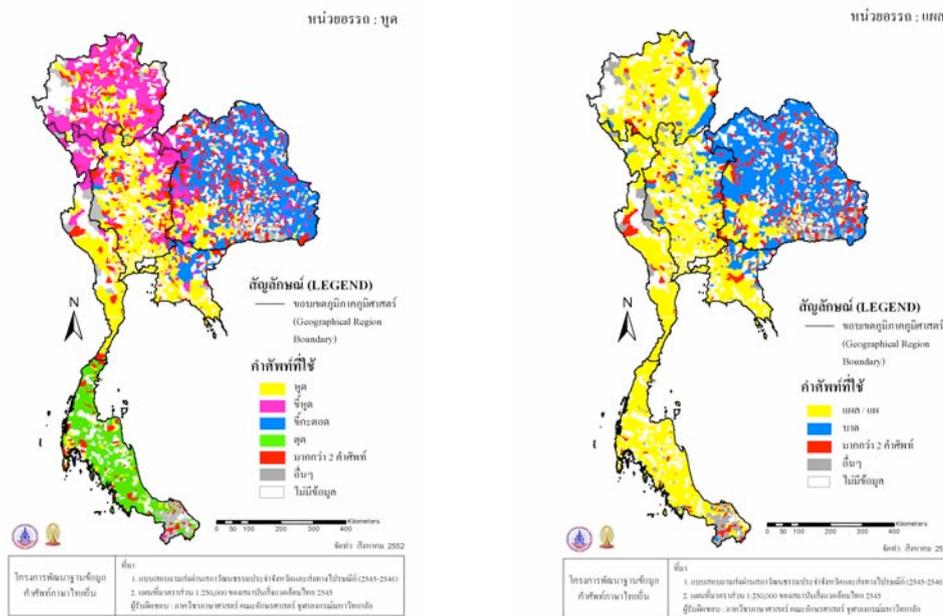


Figure 1: An example of linkage product – the administrative map and the lexical data. Here is a record of tambon “Song Phi Nong” being highlighted in reference to the lexical item /paak^T/ “mouth”.



(a) Semantic unit “wart”

(b) Semantic unit “wound”

Figure 2: Word maps of the semantic units (a) “wart” and (b) “wound”.

GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES AND THEIR ROLES FOR THE ANALYSIS

Geographic features play key roles in this analysis. Three types of demographic and geographic features were included in this study. All are available in digital format. They are population settlement, topography, and river transportation.

According to the fact that language is closely bound up with humans, population settlement, then, acts to locate and shape the pattern and distribution of where dialects are spoken. Population settlement in this study was derived from the 2005 Landscan population distribution model. The model was produced under the Oak Ridge National Laboratory (ORNL) project, by the United States Department of Energy's (USDOE) Oak Ridge National Laboratory (ORNL). The model, analysed by the technologies of GIS and RS, contains the available census counts (usually at sub-province level) for each country and four main physical datasets, namely land cover, road, slope, and night time light obtained from the satellite imageries in order to be used as key indicators to produce a population distribution map. Nowadays Landscan is considered as having the most up-to-date and finest global population data with the spatial resolution of approximate 1 km. Landscan data covers the entire global area and can be applied to various applications that require geographically referenced population bases. For more information about the Landscan data, visit website <http://www.ornl.gov/sci/landscan/>.

The remaining types of geographic features – topography and river transportation, acted to influence and shape the earliest patterns of settlement and migration and to initiate the dialect differences in each region. The effect of topography e.g. mountain ranges and mountainous areas has long been investigated and assessed in many dialect studies to account for its role on the separation between major dialects and/or subdialects e.g. the work of (Garr, 1985; Luo et al., 2009). Topography was available in the study in the raster form of digital elevation model (DEM). It was obtained free of charge from the USGS (the U.S. Geological Survey), namely the SRTM (the NASA Shuttle Radar Topographic Mission) digital elevation data. The SRTM Data, originally produced by NASA, covers all countries of the world at the approximate spatial resolution of 1 km. For more information about the SRTM data, visit the CGIAR-CSI website <http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org/>. Apart from the topographic data, transportation through the study of waterways (e.g. rivers and streams) plays a role in locating the origin and cluster and spread of population settlements in the early days (Luo et al., 2000; 2006; 2009). River data is available in the vector format, obtained from the Department of Transportation, Thailand.

METHODOLOGY

Analysis of the study was divided into two parts. The first part involved the way to shape the dialect pattern while the second part mainly examined the effect of geographic features on the separation of major Thai dialects in each region.

In the first part, all word maps were first re-structured and geo-coded in GIS-based raster grid cells (of about 1 km x 1 km) to be corresponded with that of a topographic map. Next step is to define the extent of population settlement. Using the population data from Landsat, population density was then chosen to demarcate the settlement area. Setting criteria was carried out with the simple requirement that the number of population density has to be accurate enough to map the extent of most urban and rural settlements in the study area. It should be noted that up to now definition, terminology and criteria for classification of populations in urban/rural settlement areas are not in common. Setting the criteria varies extensively in different countries e.g. United Kingdom using the population of $\geq 10,000$ persons/sq km to locate the settlement area (UNSTAT, 2010). In case of Thailand, municipal areas are used as an index (UNSTAT, 2010). The agglomeration of $\geq 10,000$ inhabitants with the population density of $\geq 3,000$ inhabitants/sq km is used to define a town while the agglomeration of $\geq 50,000$ with the population density of $\geq 3,000$ inhabitants/sq km is used to define a city. Among dissimilarities in terminology, this study followed the definition of Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 1994) in that a “rural area” is determined roughly by having a population density < 150 persons/sq km. By using this number as a reference, this study further visually observes and examines the pattern of settlement, and then adjusts the level of population density to the appropriate number. Figure 3 shows a series of settlement areas as a result of the adjustment of different levels of population density. Finally, the population density of ≥ 50 persons/sq km was then chosen to demarcate the settlement area. The next step is then to use the previously delineated settlement area to extract the dialect patterns from the word maps. The shape and location of where dialects are spoken in the study area are the ones plotted last.

In the second part, the effect of geographic features – topography and waterways - were superimposed on the new word maps previously produced. Examination was carried out on the basis of visual observation. Results and discussion are given in the next section.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results of the analysis were 170 word maps, each representing one semantic unit and shaped with population settlement. Figure 4 demonstrates a part of a word map ‘before’ and ‘after’ shaping with population densities in comparison. From the figure it is obvious that shapes and patterns of the ‘before’ and ‘after’ word maps are dramatically different. The word map in Figure 4(a) is shaded uniformly. From an overall look, the map helps depict the lexical variation all over the entire subdistrict area. The resultant map, after being shaped with population density of ≥ 50 persons/Sq km, in Figure 4(b) shows some improvement over Figure 4(a) in displaying the true locations of where people use dialects. The spatial variation and concentration of lexical items was also revealed. Furthermore, draping the word map in Figure 4(b) with topographic features as shown in Figure 4(c), can help linguists to better understand the relationship between dialect phenomena and its physical environment in the study area. Figure 5 also shows the overall picture of a resultant word map, here with the exemplified semantic unit “to belch”, with the magnified geographic regions of the country; the North, the Northeast, the Central, and the

South. The different look of the word map suggests another way, by incorporation of geographic features, to improve the presentation of lexical variation in the real world. In addition, the map results can help linguists have more confidence in interpreting the results, drawing isoglosses, and/or language boundaries.

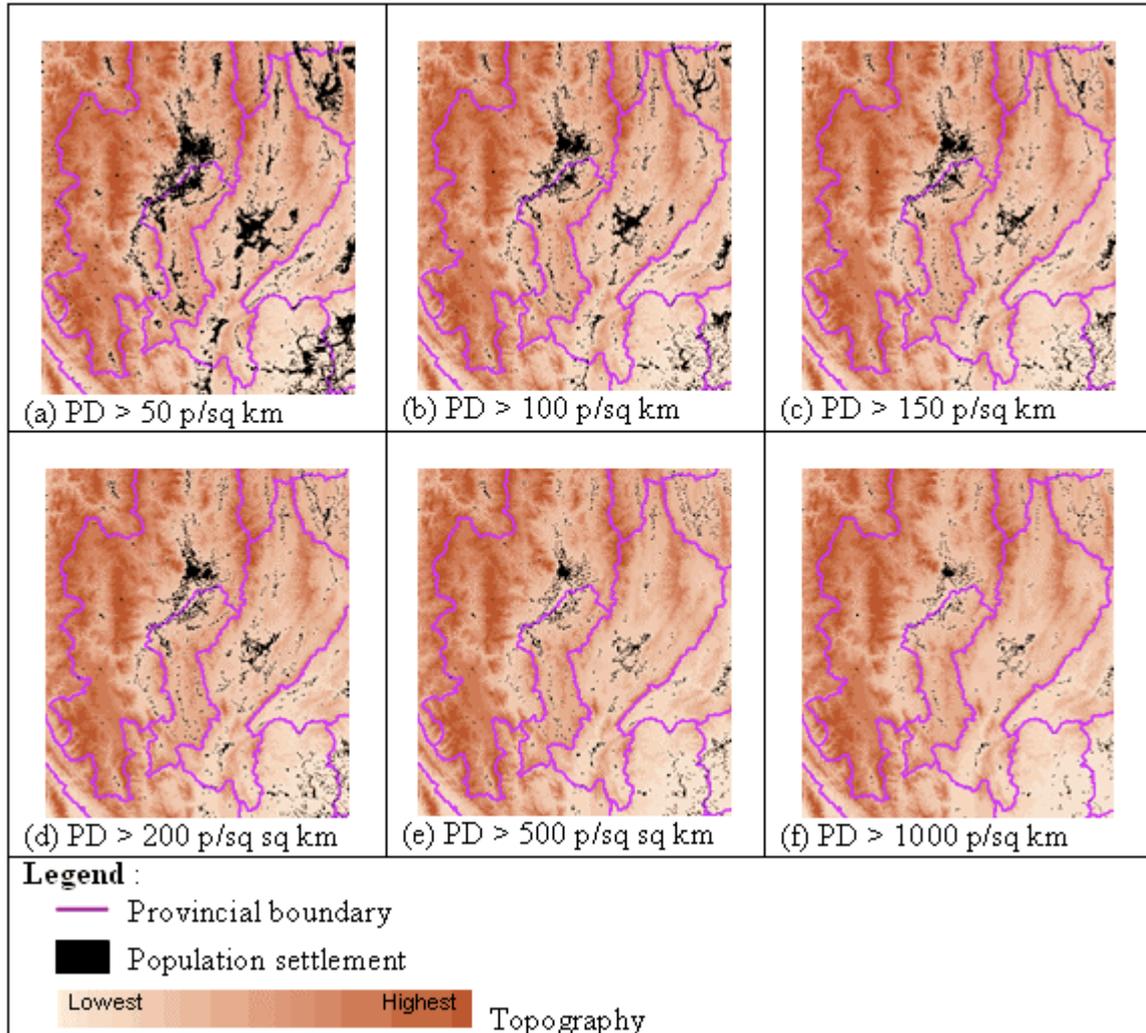


Figure 3: Population settlement with different levels of population density (PD) from (a) population density greater than 50 persons/sq km to (f) population density greater than 1,000 persons/sq km, here draping with topographic features.

Despite the beneficial use of this technique, what one should be aware of is that different criteria for demarcating population settlement can result in different shapes and patterns of word map presentation. In Figure 4(b), for instance, once the specified population settlement was shaped, it completely omitted the grey color which can be obviously seen in the original map in Figure 4(a). This means that the grey area is where population density is less than 50 persons/sq km. That is, if the study wants to cover this grey area, the level of population density needs to be adjusted.

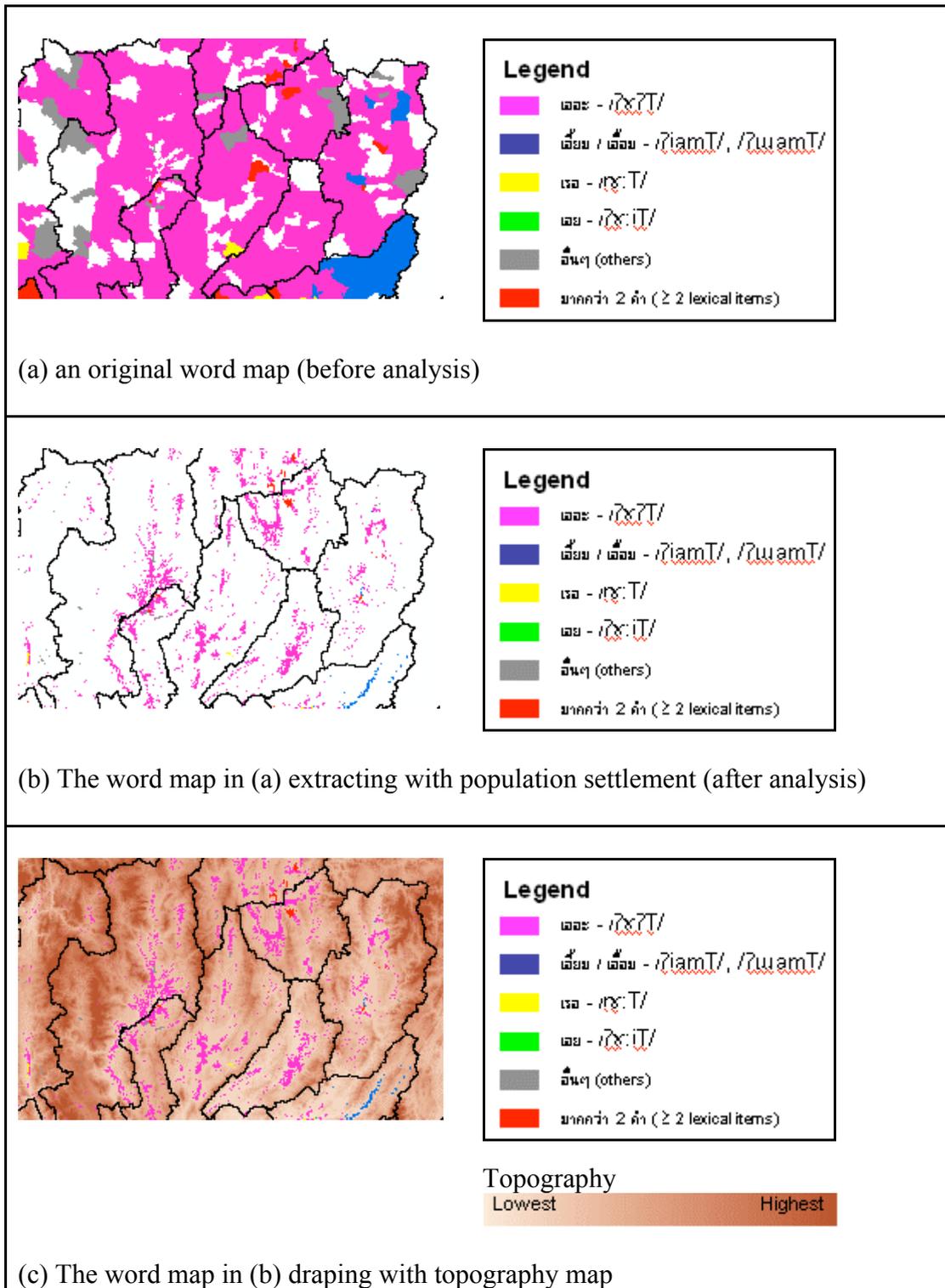


Figure 4: A part of word map of a semantic unit “to belch” showing the (a) ‘before’ and (b) ‘after’ shaping with population density of ≥ 50 persons/sq km, and (c) that of (a) draping with topography.

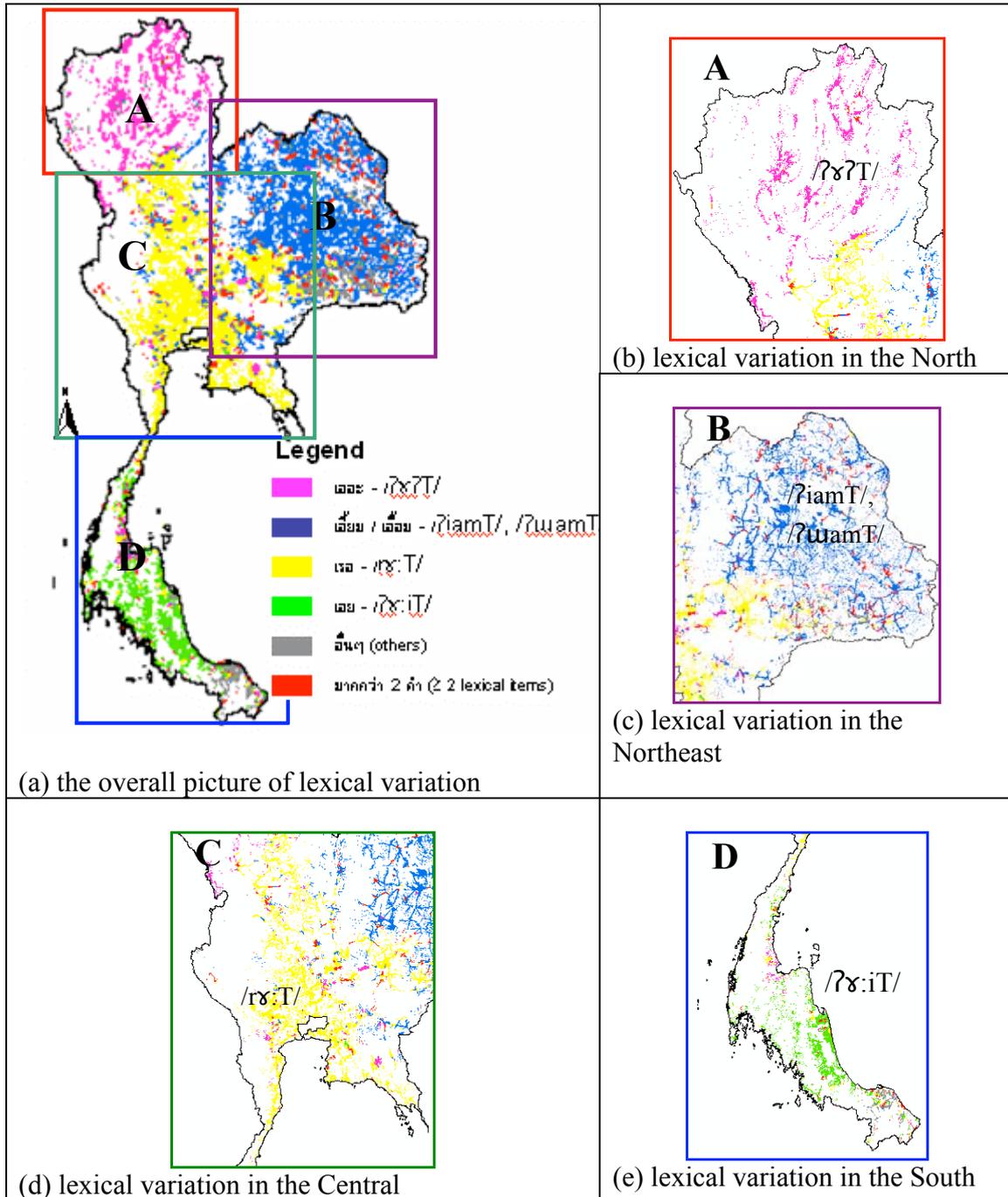


Figure 5: A word map of the semantic unit “to belch” with the magnified area in (a) the North, (b) the Northeast, (c) the Central and (d) the South.

Next, the effect of topography and waterways was investigated through visual observation. In this study area, three noticeable points can be concluded. Firstly, topography plays a key role for the separation between Northern-Central Thai and Northeastern-Central Thai, but not in the Southern-Central Thai. In spite of their

dissimilarities in lexical distribution² as example maps in Figure 6, overall the Northern-Central Thai and the Northeastern-Central Thai boundaries are quite clear and stable. These phenomena can be explained through the investigation of topography. Figure 7 shows the characteristics of the topography of Thailand which can be mainly divided into four natural regions; (1) the North, (2) the Central Plain, (3) the Northeast, and (4) the South. The North is a region dominated by mountains, natural forests, ridges, narrow and fertile valleys. The Central Plain, so-called Chao Phraya River Basin, is a flourishing fertile valley. This region is the richest rice-producing area of the country, irrigated by the Chao Phraya River. Bangkok, the capital of Thailand is located in this region. The Northeast, so-called “Isan” in Thai, is characterized by the Korat Plateau, a rolling surface and undulating hills, watered by the Shee and Mun River. The South is characterized by a long narrow peninsula comprising a hilly to mountainous region. Due to the topographic differences the mountainous region of the North and the Korat plateau of the Northeast can be visibly distinguished from the flat area of the central region as shown in the Figure as a blue dash line. This finding thus confirms the effect of topography on the separation of three major dialects - Central Thai, Northern Thai and Northeastern Thai. In case of Southern-Central Thai in which the topographic characteristics are lacking, other factors, especially historical and cultural contexts e.g. the boundaries between old administrative areas and cultural differences, should be further investigated.

Secondly, waterways, especially through rivers and water basins, present favorable physical environments for settlement which leads to the cluster of one dialect spreading over a large area, especially one clear cluster in the central region and another cluster in the northeastern region in Figure 6 as well as the cluster of subdialects along the waterways in the northern region and the cluster of Southern Thai around the lake, so-called “Songkhla Lake” basin³, in the southern region as shown in Figure 8.

Finally, through the overlay of a topographic map the separation between subdialects/local dialects can be seen and explained through the effect of topography and waterways in the northern region as shown in Figure 8 (left). However, the effect on the separation between main dialects and local dialects in the southern region (see Figure 8 (right)) cannot explain to the overlay of a topographic map. Suggestions to include other factors such as main roads and railways to the analysis is required for future investigation. In addition, it should be noted that, overall, the areas where subdialects and local dialects are located are not clearly seen in this study as these areas have population densities of < 50 inhabitants/sq km. It is thus recommended that

² One significant finding of the previous project, the Word geography of Thailand, is that each semantic unit has its own independent pattern of lexical variation. Some maps show the clustered pattern – the homogeneity of lexical items over a large area, whereas some show the dispersion pattern - a mixture of lexical items covering an entire area. Also some word maps appear as four clear clusters, some appear as three or two clusters, while at least one map appears as a single cluster due to lack of variation.

³ Songkhla Lake is the largest natural lake of Thailand, covering an area of about 1,000 sq km.

for a future study in which subdialects and local dialects are the main focus, adjusting the level of population density is needed.

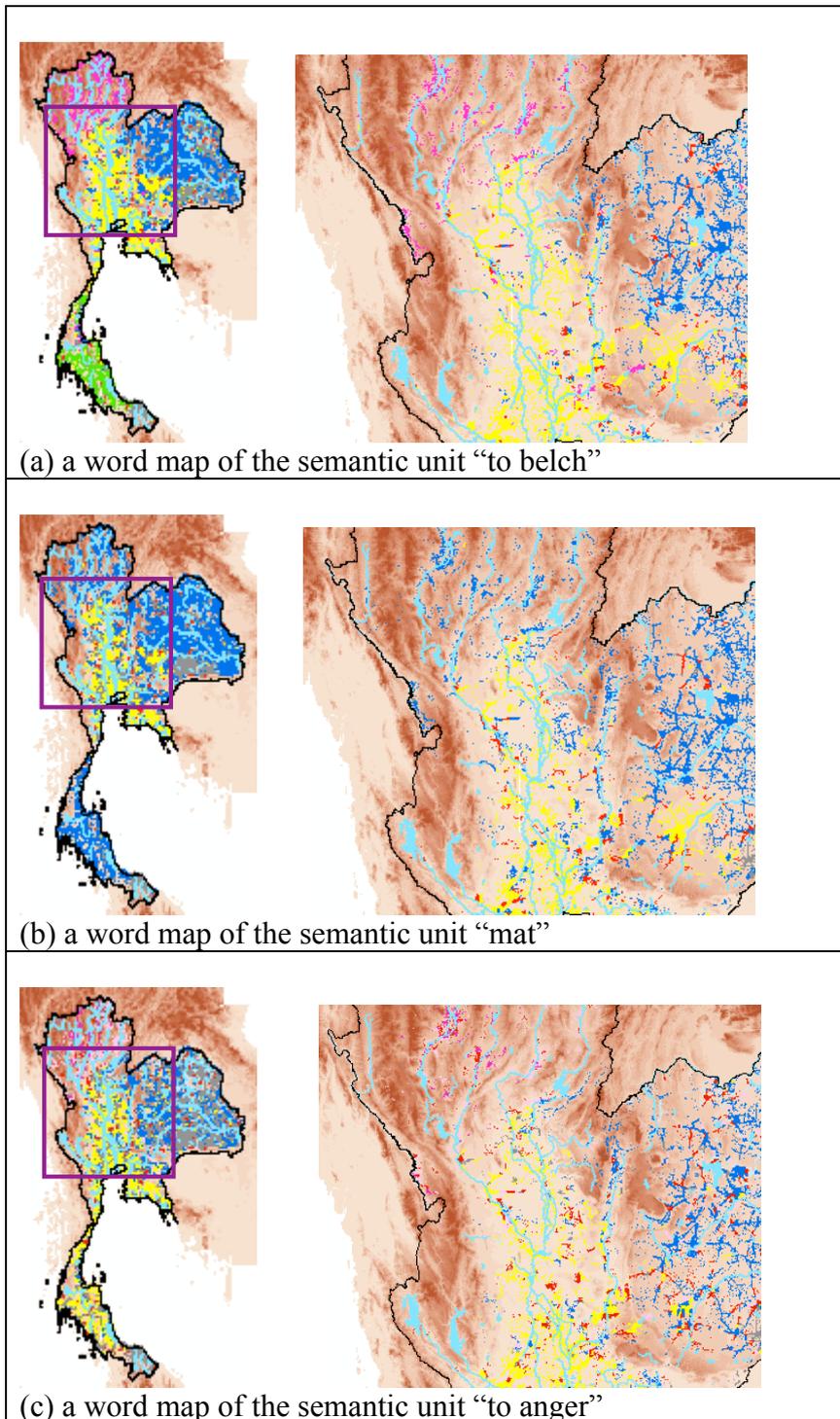


Figure 6: Word maps of the semantic unit (a) “to belch”, (b) “mat” and (c) “to anger” in comparison.

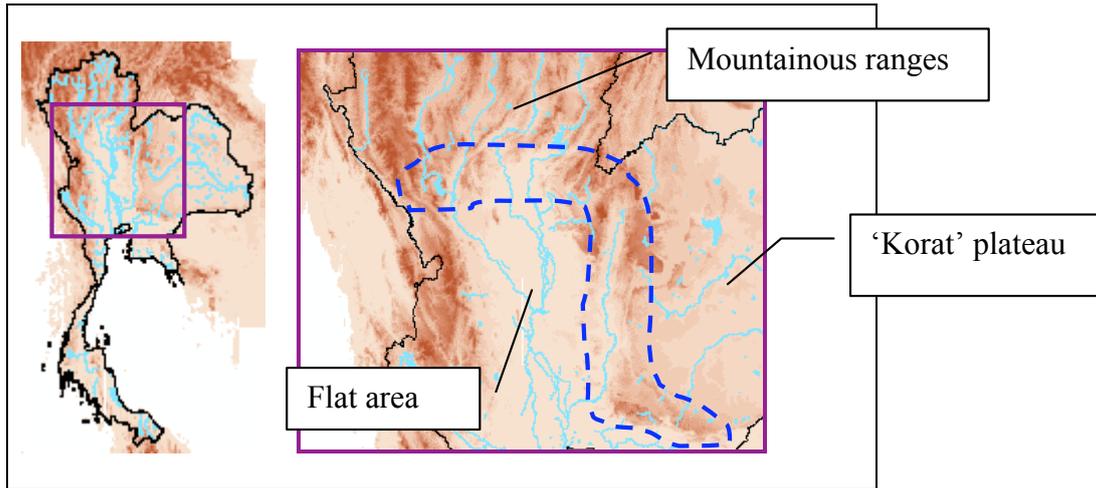


Figure 7: The topographic characteristics of Thailand with the magnified area of central region.

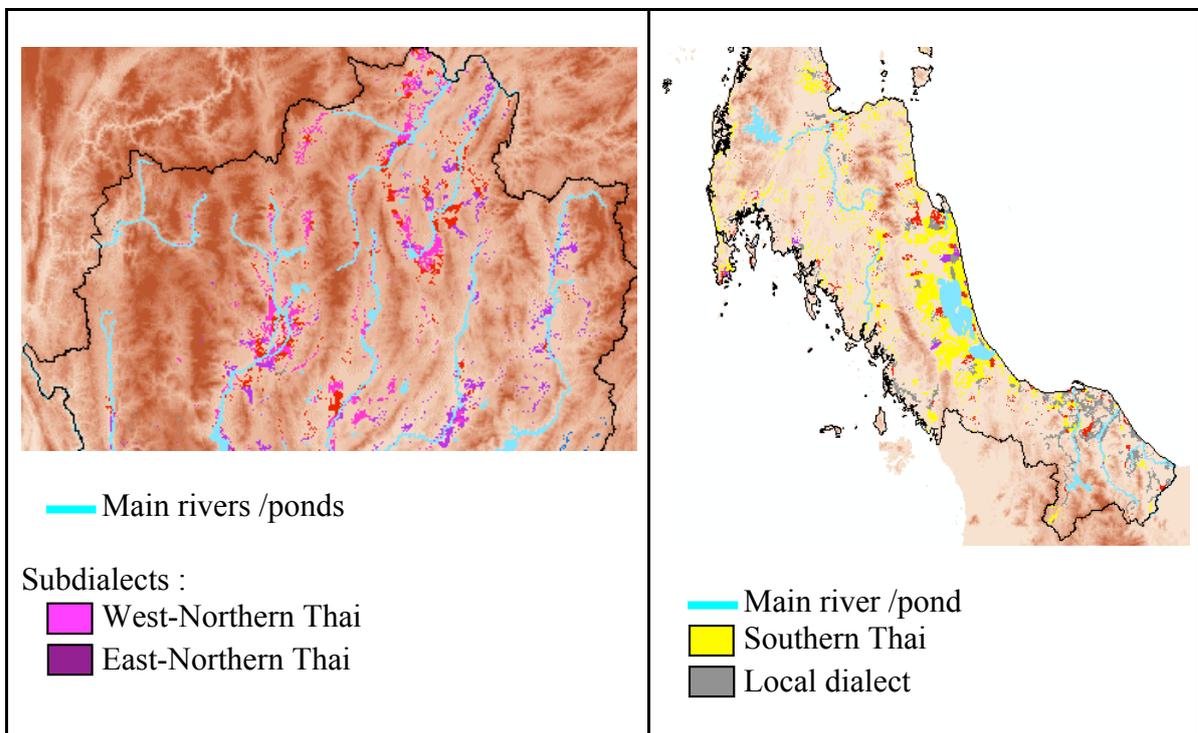


Figure 8: A word map of the semantic unit “to anger”

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTION

This study shows how GIS analysis and incorporation of the demographic and geographic features – population settlement, topography, and river transportation – can help improve the pattern of dialect distribution to be more realistic. Results show that shaping dialect maps with population settlement helps explore the dialect patterns and their locations more accurately. Results also reveal the obvious effect of

topography on the separation of major Thai dialects, especially between Northern-Central Thai, between Northeastern-Central Thai, as well as between subdialects in some regions. It also shows the clustering pattern of dialect on the effect of transportation through waterways. The results thus suggest that the analysis gives a geographical perspective which helps detect the spatial pattern of dialect distribution. It also bridges the fundamental understanding between the fields of linguistics and geography in order to explain the impact of the physical environments on human settlement and activities. Further analysis is required, especially the reclassification of population settlements which appear mostly in the border regions of the country inhabited by many ethnic minority groups. Another research direction is to include roads and railways to investigate their impact on dialect change we see today.

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Put Yourself in Their Shoes:
Representations of terrorism in post 9/11 literature

“How much can we hope to understand those who have suffered deeper anguish, greater deprivation, and more crushing disappointments than we ourselves have known? Even if the world’s rich and powerful were to put themselves in the shoes of the rest, how much would they really understand the wretched millions suffering around them? So it is when Orhan the novelist peers into the dark corners of his poet friend’s difficult and painful life: How much can he really see?”¹ Orhan Pamuk

One has a strange sensation of déjà vu when reading through Edward Said’s 1981 book *Covering Islam*, written in the immediate aftermath of the Iranian Revolution and in the early years of the Soviet war in Afghanistan, a time when certain Arab countries suddenly caught the attention of a world rather stunned by their taking over prime time media with news of bloodshed, religious fundamentalism, anti-Americanism and a dramatic hostage situation. Now, almost thirty years later, the global public eye is more than ever bombarded with news “covering” Islam and particularly Islamism, which have become the topics of the day after the attacks of September 11 and the initiation of the War on Terror. Sadly, however, the issue of Islam being covered by Western media, pundits and intellectuals remains as thorny as Said perceived it in 1981 and the play upon words in the title of his book implies a question that is still worth asking nowadays: just how much is the West covering up, when it covers Islam in the media and in intellectual debates?

Colonialist mentality, over simplification and crude generalization, lack of necessary knowledge (particularly language related but also cultural and historical), “patent inaccuracy”, politicization, self-interested and “cultural and even racial hatred, deep yet paradoxically free-floating hostility”² are some of the factors Said identifies as plaguing the representation of Islam by Westerners, be they journalists or self-proclaimed experts on the subject. Taking the Iranian Revolution and the American Embassy hostage crisis as case studies of problematic media coverage, he pleads for more (self-) awareness on the side of the authors with regard to “the close affiliation between language and political reality”³. One would think that after the “Politically Correct” revolution of the eighties, the public sphere has become a lot more self-reflexive and less prone towards dangerous generalizations and Manichean traps. Still, some of Said’s remarks could very well describe the contemporary state of things: “...instead of trying to find out more about the country, the reporter takes hold of what is nearest at hand, usually a cliché or some bit of journalistic wisdom that readers at home are unlikely to challenge.”⁴ Although good literature is known to complicate concepts rather than to take on ready-made ideas, after 9/11, writers seemed all too eager to pick up the clichés circulating in public debates and include them in a rather unsophisticated form in their work.

¹ Orhan Pamuk, quoted in John Updike, “Anatolian Arabesques: A modernist novel of contemporary Turkey,” *The New Yorker*, August 30, 2004, http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2004/08/30/040830crbo_books?printable=true

² Edward W Said, *Covering Islam* (London [u.a.]: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p.xi.

³ Ibid. p. xvii

⁴ Ibid. p. xi, xii

Competing with the media, many novelists rushed to satisfy the public's thirst for information and knowledge with regard to Islamist terrorism in the aftermath of September 11, taking on the role of public intellectuals. Confronted with what has been called, almost to exhaustion, a "return of the real", many fiction writers declared themselves afflicted with a bad case of the writer's block that forced them to ponder their role as artists and the purpose of fiction in what seemed to be a dramatically changed world order, while at the same time they felt an enormous pressure to prove themselves and fiction in general as still relevant in a time of crisis. Not surprisingly, their first responses to the event have come in the form of journalistic pieces, articles and opinion essays and the public's eagerness to take for granted their authority seems to point to the fact that the role of the artist became fused with that of a public intellectual, which makes the reception of their fiction pieces even more problematic. Don DeLillo and Martin Amis were among the first intellectual figures to publish, later extensively quoted, opinion pieces in the days following the attack on World Trade Center, presenting it as a moment of rupture in the history of the US.

The unexpected offshoot of this merging of roles (of artist and public intellectual) seems to entail a radical change in the position of the author vis a vis "the establishment". The counter-cultural figure of the novelist that empathizes with the idealistic anti-hero in his sometimes violent struggle against state repression, which has become so prominent during the sixties, is no longer the voice that provides the counter-narrative to the propagandistic main-stream media, quite the contrary; nowadays authors seem to want access to the main stream and to desire being perceived as authoritative media figures. Martin Amis for instance, in his essays on September 11 and the War on Terror⁵, describes the few days he spend shadowing Tony Blair, following his busy schedule, which included a visit to the British army base in Iraq, and exudes pride at sharing a drink and chatting with the prime minister, even asking him for an autograph for his daughters, and empathizing with his policies up to a certain extent. At the same time, he is a self-declared Islamismophobe⁶ and his many essays and two pieces of short fiction on the subject emphasize what he sees as the utter irrationality of this new type of religious fundamentalism, which he depicts as a new cult of death similar to Nazi ideology or Stalinism and warns of the danger of a politically correct, liberal approach to this topic.

However tempting it may be to trace the origin of the novelists' claims to public intellectual authority in the aftermath of September 11, critics have been referring to such a tendency among writers, which closely precedes the event and is linked with a return of the omniscient narrator in the post-post-modern literature of the late nineties, that seems to have continued in the new millennium. According to Paul Dawson, this new type of omniscience differs from the one espoused by eighteenth and nineteenth century authors with regard to the authority assumed by the narrator: "Contemporary omniscient narrators can no longer claim the luxury of being spokespersons of authority, asserting accepted truths on behalf of a general consciousness. The contemporary omniscient narrator can best be described as a form of public intellectual: a thinker and writer who is able to speak to a general audience on a range of public issues from a base of

⁵ Martin Amis, *The Second Plane: September 11, 2001-2007* (Vintage, 2009).

⁶ *Ibid.* p. x

specific disciplinary expertise.”⁷ Exponents of this new species of omniscience are, among others, Don DeLillo, Martin Amis and John Updike and they make use of it in their portrayal of Arab terrorists in a problematic fashion.⁸

A fascination with acts of terrorism, or organized politically motivated forms of violence have been a constant source of inspiration for Don DeLillo, one of the authors famous for dealing with controversial historical moments and figures in a complex manner. DeLillo’s 2007 novel *Falling Man* includes two chapters written from the perspective of Hammad, a character inspired by one of the real life 9/11 terrorists and it also features another character of German origin, which might have been part of the Baader-Meinhof terrorist group of the sixties. This allows the other characters to speculate on the difference between how a liberal intellectual perceives the radical terrorists of the sixties as different from the contemporary fundamentalist suicide bomber: “Maybe he was a terrorist, but he was one of ours, she thought, and the thought chilled her, shamed her – one of ours, which meant godless, Western, white.”⁹ This thought expressed by one of DeLillo’s characters epitomizes the shift in the representation of terrorism in post 9/11 novels in comparison to the representation of their Western radical counterparts of the sixties. The threatening, violent character used to come from the same culture as the author and they both shared a critical outlook on the same society, although the means they used to express their rebellion were very different. The religious, ideological, cultural and racial otherness of the Muslim terrorist character, as portrayed by a Western author, complicates the act of representation and raises questions with regard to its legitimacy.

The earliest fictional depiction of a real life 9/11 terrorist that this paper deals with appears in the short story *Varieties of Religious Experience*¹⁰, published in 2002 by John Updike, which includes a very brief fictional episode from Mohammed Atta’s life in Florida, in which the character and his companion follow the order to “blend in” with the Americans. Updike describes him as “a stocky young Muslim—called, like millions of his co-religionists around the world, Mohamed” and places him “in a dim, unholy place, a one-story roadside strip joint on Florida’s east coast”, “ordering a fifth Scotch on the rocks”. Updike seems more interested in describing American life as seen through the eyes of a fundamentalist (and the result is not surprisingly a grotesque depiction of Western decadence) than in developing a complex, believable character. In 2006, with his novel *Terrorist*, the author develops his grim depiction of middle class suburban America as seen through the eyes of a fictional teenage jihadist “hopeful” called Ahmad Molloy, who shares the same disgust with the oversexualized environment that he is forced to inhabit with Updike’s fictional Atta: “*Devils*, Ahmad thinks. *These devils seek to take away my God*. All day long, at Central High School, girls sway and sneer and expose their soft bodies and alluring hair. Their bare bellies, adorned with shining navel studs and low-down purple tattoos, ask, *What else is there to see?*”¹¹ Updike’s 2006 endeavor of entering the mind of a terrorist is more modest in

⁷ Paul Dawson, “The Return of Omniscience in Contemporary Fiction,” *Narrative* 17, no. 2 (2009): 143-161, p. 150.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Don DeLillo, *Falling Man: A Novel* (Scribner, 2008), p. 194.

¹⁰ John Updike, “Varieties of Religious Experience: A Short Story”, *The Atlantic*, November, 2002, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/11/varieties-of-religious-experience/2630/>

¹¹ John Updike, *Terrorist: A Novel* (Ballantine Books, 2007), p. 3.

its scope and at the same time more successful than his earlier attempt because his character is fictional and has a hyphenated identity, he is American-Egyptian. The teenage potential terrorist is a self-proclaimed outsider who seeks to preserve his purity through religion, while living in what he deems an impure, corrupted society. Unlike Amis and DeLillo, Updike creates a character that is not meant to be a “realistic” depiction of an actual terrorist, but rather to function as a literary tool in a manner similar to Dostoevsky’s Prince Myshkin in *The Idiot*; a character idealistic to the extreme, which is used for the unmasking of the godless, morally decaying state of the American middle class. Francis Blessington defines the classical terrorist novel as concentrating “on the dilemma of a character who is trapped among often negative alternatives. The character needs to make a choice.”¹² The hero of an archetypal terrorist story (which the author traces back to the 19th century, to Henry James’ *The Princess Casamassima*) is a fatherless, naïve, idealistic young man “crushed between two opposite and corrupt political forces”¹³, who is searching for a father figure and Updike’s Ahmad fits perfectly into this classical paradigm, with his hyphenated identity and moral dilemmas.

Published in the same year as Updike’s *Terrorist*, Martin Amis’ *The Last Days of Muhammad Atta* is an account of Atta’s interior life as he goes through the last preparations before the attack. This, I would like to argue, is the most problematic representation of a terrorist because Amis takes his character completely out of context, presenting him as a killing machine on his way to put into practice what he has been programmed to do, and focuses on very intimate bodily reactions like Atta’s bowel movements (“Now even the need to shit felt right and good as his destination surged towards him”¹⁴, is one of Atta’s last thoughts) and sexual frustration (which incidentally are the only elements that make this character human) and less on his psychology, or the reasons behind the choices that led him towards this last day. The character’s interior monologue is seeped in self-hatred and expressed in a voice more similar to that of the author than that of the real life terrorist.¹⁵ Dawson relates this propensity of the new type of omniscient narration, in which characters have a voice disturbingly similar to that of the author, with the fact that the author acts as a public intellectual figure and that the omniscient narrative voice claims its authority from an interrelation with the author’s extrafictional voice that is familiar to the public from “the extraliterary publications of the historical author”.¹⁶ A patchwork of omniscient narrative voice, docudrama and essay, Amis’ narrative strategy is extremely undecided and confusing for the reader. The story seems a pointless, absurdist exercise in imagining what it felt like to be in Atta’s skin in the last hours of his life. “No physical, documentary, or analytical evidence provides a convincing explanation of why [Muhammad] Atta and [Abdulaziz al] Omari drove to Portland, Maine, from Boston on the morning of September 10, only to return to Logan on Flight 5930 on the morning of September 11”¹⁷ is a quote from the *The 9/11 Commission Report* that Amis uses as a motto for his short story and could suggest that the author’s endeavor was that of filling the gaps in the narrative of the event that non-fiction cannot provide.

¹² Francis Blessington, “Politics And The Terrorist Novel,” *Sewanee Review* 116, no. 1 (2008), p.118

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 120

¹⁴ Amis, p.123

¹⁵ See more on this issue in Dawson, p. 151

¹⁶ Dawson. *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 95

“In the terrorist novel we find no absolute answers, but neither do we drift into absurdist existentialism or postmodernist claims of unknowability. The characters waver and decide, we see their fates, the authors present their cases, and we judge their validity. What we want most from the terrorist novel is to know and experience why someone chooses terror. We want to be inside the mind of the terrorist.”¹⁸ Amis does a terrible job at presenting Atta’s case in his short story, if that is even his intention, and, unlike Updike, he departs completely from the classical terrorist story line, creating an undecided concoction of the essay form with the fictional recreation of real life events, spoon-feeding the reader with clichés and leaving little room for interpretation. Grouped together with Amis’ essays and articles written from 2001 to 2007 in *The Second Plane*, the short story becomes less disturbing than it appears when read as an independent piece of fiction. The six-year interval allowed Martin Amis to develop and refine his initial response to the attacks.

Nonetheless, his more elaborate and memorable ideas on the subject become evident in his many articles rather than in the two short works of fiction, which may confirm Amis’ fears, expressed in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, with regard to the irrelevance of fiction in the face of such a monumental and painful event.¹⁹ The most elaborate and complex of these essays/articles is *September 11: Terror and Boredom*, which first appeared in 2006 and is as opinionated as Amis’ earlier takes on September 11, but it allows even his most controversial statements to brew and expand. Mostly a personal essay on the age of global terrorism and its consequences, *Terror and Boredom* also makes reference to one of Amis’ abandoned pieces of fiction, written from the perspective of a “diminutive terrorist”²⁰ called Ayed and entitled *The Unknown Known* (based on Donald Rumsfel’s famous and often ironized discourse on the Iraq war). In this particular essay Amis offers a rare outlook into the inner world of the author and his struggle with a topic, laying bare the process of fiction writing and, in this case, the possible reasons for its failure. What makes this perspective different, and perhaps more legitimate politically speaking than his short story having Mohamed Atta as a character, is that fact that the author lays bare his tools, political views, biases and sources:

“There is almost an entire literary genre given over to sensibilities such as Sayyid Qutb's. It is the genre of the unreliable narrator - or, more exactly, the transparent narrator, with his helpless giveaways. Typically, a patina of haughty fastidiousness strives confidently but in vain to conceal an underworld of incurable murk. In *The Unknown Known* I added to this genre, and with enthusiasm. I had Ayed stand for hours in a thicket of nettles and poison ivy, beneath an elevated walkway, so that he could rail against the airiness of the summer frocks worn by American women and the shameless brevity of their underpants. I had him go out in all weathers for evening strolls, strolls gruellingly prolonged until, with the help of a buttress or a drainpipe, he comes across a woman 'quite openly' undressing for bed.”

¹⁸ Blessington, p. 116.

¹⁹ Amis quoted in **Mishra**, Pankaj. “The End of Innocence”. *The Guardian*, May 19, 2007

²⁰ Amis, p. 63

Since Mohamed Atta, or any of the 9/11 terrorist didn't leave any written accounts behind, Sayyid Qutb, who is often referred to as the father of today's Islamist terrorism, seems to have been a great source of fascination, but also of inspiration and a point of reference for both Updike and Amis, his memoirs offering a unique insight into the mind of an Islamist. It is particularly the excerpt in which Qutb writes about his life as an exile and student in the US, in the late fifties, his diatribes against the lack of morals of the society in which he is a guest and the open sexuality of Western women that have been incorporated by the writers in their work and adapted to suit the perspectives of their terrorist characters, be they fictional or based on real life ones:

"The American girl is well acquainted with her body's seductive capacity. She knows it lies in the face, and in expressive eyes, and thirsty lips. She knows seductiveness lies in the round breasts, the full buttocks, and in the shapely thighs, sleek legs — and she shows all this and does not hide it."²¹

Being the most recent and allowing a certain emotional distance from the event to grow, Don DeLillo's take on the 9/11 terrorist character is, I would venture to declare, the most complex fictional representation of the three discussed so far. The character, despite being confusingly called Hammad, seems to be based less on Mohamed Atta and more on Ziad Jarrah, the hijacker of the United 93 flight, who has been painted a more human face by the media on account of his westernized Lebanese background and his relationship with a German-Turkish woman. The sexual frustration cliché is employed by DeLillo too, but his character is also allowed to have doubts regarding his mission, and, most of all, he is endowed with motivation for his violent act, that is what the author called "the intensity of a plot"²², the immense power of the bond between men plotting together. The two chapters dedicated to Hammad's daily life in Hamburg as part of the by now famous Hamburg Cell and later in Florida during the flight training period preceding the attacks are in many ways similar to the episodes narrated by Amis or Updike. Using the old trick of defamiliarization, DeLillo too cannot resist describing banal daily life in the US through the estranging perspective of a fundamentalist, but the outlook of his terrorist is less bitter and angry than that of Amis' Atta. On the other hand, the novelty of DeLillo's work springs from the democratic narrative structure of his novel, which puts the perspective of the terrorist on equal footing with that of characters that are survivors of the attack on World Trade Center.

Comparing terrorist novels written after 9/11 by authors coming from Muslim backgrounds with those by Western authors, a very significant formal difference becomes evident. The non-Western authors, who one would think have more authority in "putting themselves in the shoes" of a jihadist, choose a less authoritative auctorial strategy and a more complex point of view that does not offer the reader direct access to the mind of the terrorist character, framing the story in such a way as to create a multifarious context for the act of violence and allowing the reader to

²¹ Qutb quoted in: Robert Siegel, "Sayyid Qutb's America: Al Qaeda Inspiration Denounces US Greed, Sexuality", *NPR* online, May 6, 2003, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1253796>

²² Mark Binelli, "Intensity of A Plot: Mark Binelli interviews Don DeLillo", *Guernica*, July, 2007, http://www.guernicamag.com/interviews/373/intensity_of_a_plot/

empathize however minimally with the character's dilemmas.²³ American and British authors on the other-hand (Amis and DeLillo in particular, while Updike only to a certain extent) opt for an omniscient narrative voice, which is paradoxically very restrictive context-wise; that is they use an extremely decontextualizing third person narrative. While digging deep into the thoughts of their terrorists in an instant of time, they give no background for the violent choices they make in these limited episodes of their lives that the reader has access to through the mediation of the omniscient narrator. I would like to call this type of narrative strategy, decontextualizing omniscience.

The problematic part of Amis' and DeLillo's depictions of the real life terrorists' fictional inner lives is the fact that they have chosen intimate episodes and they take their characters completely out of their personal, familiar and religious background. The question underlying the endeavor of both authors seems to be how these characters could be so infused in Western daily life, have lunch at Pizza Hut and shop at Walmart, and then continue with the attacks so coolly. The realism of the third person omniscient narrative authors opt for reveals their desire for authority, but also the uncertainty with which they step on the ground of representing real life terrorists through fiction and the conflict arising between auctorial voice and the fictional voice of the character. Unlike the first person narrative, the omniscient narration never allows complete identification with the voice of the character; the narrator has unlimited access to the mind of the character (which entails a position of power), but the access is never direct, the identification is never complete and the character is represented as "other". The only attempt at a first person narrative from the perspective of a fundamentalist terrorist was Amis' abandoned piece *The Unknown Known*, which may have failed precisely for this reason, proving that the issue of identification with the subject is at the core of the problem of these works. Commenting on Qutb's memoirs, Amis notices that, as a reader, he cannot grasp or understand the real man's character from his writing and all he is left with is the fundamentalist rhetoric meant to cover "an underworld of incurable murk". This "incurable murk" and "the unknown known" the title makes reference to "is of course God"²⁴ and the religious motivation of the terrorist character, which is absent from all representations and it might be inaccessible to the "godless" Western author, who in the end manages to do nothing more than hold a distorted mirror to Sayyid Qutb's thoughts.

Hal Foster has appropriated Walter Benjamin's Marxist idea of "the author as producer"²⁵ (who argued that the politically engaged author need not only align himself ideologically with the proletariat, but must also reconsider his means of production, his technique that is; he must support revolutionary content with an appropriately new form) and has adapted it to the equally politicized age of multiculturalism: "Today there is a related paradigm in advanced art on the left: the artist as ethnographer... But the subject of association has changed: it is now the cultural

²³ See Blessington's discussion of *The Attack* (2005), a terrorist novel written by the Algerian author Yasmina Khadra, Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* for formal complexity, and the Palestinian film *Paradise Now* for a contextualized outlook on suicide bombers.

²⁴ Martin Amis, "The Unknown Known", *Granta* 100, <http://www.granta.com/Magazine/100/The-Unknown-Known?view=arti...>, p. 9.

²⁵ Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer", *New Left Review* I/62, July-August, 1970, <http://newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=135>

and/or ethnic other in whose name the artist often struggles.”²⁶ The danger for the artist as ethnographer remains nonetheless the same as in the case of the bourgeois author embracing the cause of the proletariat, namely of that of “ideological patronage”²⁷, or the fallacy of “othering in identification”: “identification with the worker confirms rather than closes the gap between the two, through a reductive, idealistic, or otherwise misbegotten representation”.²⁸ The authors dealt with in this paper also partially embrace the role of “artist as ethnographer” in their attempt of putting themselves in the shoes of “the cultural and/or ethnic other”, but with an even thornier twist: while Foster’s problematization of the role of the artist implies a bona fide identification with the cause of “the other”, that is most probably not the case of the Western artist representing “the terrorist other” in the aftermath of a painful real life event that has had traumatic effects on his culture, with repercussions that have not sedimented yet.

Like Benjamin who called for a formal alignment with the political claims of the engaged author, Foster too adheres to this idea with regard to the work of “the artist as ethnographer”, calling for more self-reflexivity on his part, that is for a type of “work that attempts to frame the framer as he or she frames the other.”²⁹ Looking at Amis’ *The Last Days of Muhammad Atta* from this prism, it seems that it is its formal conservatism and particularly, as mentioned earlier, its highly problematic use of omniscience and the third person narrative that accounts for its literary failure. It is in the non-fiction framework of the essay that Amis manages to achieve what he cannot do through fiction: self reflexivity and more transparency. The essay form allows him to frame himself, which is exactly what is missing from his omniscient piece of fiction and consequently his non-fiction account of a self-declared failure to create a literary piece is more rich and complex than the short story on a similar subject that he didn’t abandon and actually published. The two chapters written from the perspective of Hammad the terrorist in DeLillo’s *Falling Man* suffer from the same lack of self-reflexivity and formal conservatism, but they compensate for this fault up to a certain degree by being part of a novel constructed through a multiplicity of voices, some of which manage to complicate the intradiegetic discourse on terrorism.

Updike on the other hand, simply writes a good old school terrorist novel which fits the framework perfectly according to Blessington and deals with the universal theme of youthful idealism confronted with a faulted society. The fact that this is an age old conflict is both the best quality and the greatest drawback of this novel, since it reenacts the coming of age narrative typical of the Western novelistic tradition, in an altogether new political and historical context, but, by focusing on the universal, it says little about what is particular to this age. Updike’s terrorist has more in common with the Western fictional Holden Caulfield than with the real life suicide bombers. After travelling the same thorny path as Amis and DeLillo with his short story from 2002, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, in which he includes a short account written from the perspective of Mohamed Atta among the perspectives of several New Yorkers witnessing the attack on the tower and its collapse, Updike chooses a more modest and politically safe path with

²⁶ Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real: Art and Theory at the End of the Century* (The MIT Press, 1996), p. 303.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 174

²⁹ Foster, p. 200

his 2006 *Terrorist*. The motto of this paper, a quote from Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow* (which also deals with fundamentalism and manages what none of the Western works discussed here manages: it combines a universal outlook on the subject with one deeply rooted in a local and historical background), taken from Updike's own review of this work, indirectly shows that the author has struggled with the issue of representing the other and in *Terrorist* he has chosen to avoid confronting the other by doing away with his otherness altogether and making him a contemporary version of a literary typology.

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He says, she says: the dynamic rumour process on the internet forum

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1. Introduction

With the internet becoming a significant information source, more and more people have started to seek or spread information online. Of course, the information published online is unable to provide the same level of credibility as traditional communication forms. However, anyone can freely publish information online; indeed, they can provide changes, which suggests that Internet communications speed up information diffusion and enlarge the scope for people getting involved in communication. However, considering the lack of monitoring systems, online information is easily accessed and modified in many ways. Interestingly, some non-verifiable online information, even rumour, has not only spread widely, but also seems to be accepted as truth by some online users (Marett and Joshi 2009).

In the traditional media environment, studies on the dynamics of rumour have achieved many meaningful results. In fact, both diffusers and audiences in mouth-ear communication are certain and their communication is specific designed for each other in some extent. Therefore, in the traditional media environment, the reliability of spreading information is related to the trustworthiness of diffusers judged by audiences. In this way, absurdity might be believed if expressed by someone trustworthy.

However, these results might not apply to online media because of following reasons: first, there is no certain definition of both diffusers and audiences online as sections of user populations as both use self-chosen IDs to describe themselves; second, online diffusers and audiences are normally impersonal. The diffusers who post the information online normally do not predict audiences who will read their information, which means no emotional interaction between them. This means that there is no leeway given to online posters, because no one will easily believe posts from strangers. On the Internet whether information inspires enough trust for people to begin spreading it correlates to the credibility of information rather than personality of diffusers. Based on this, online rumour cannot be a “pure lie” as no particular audience could be theoretically affected. Also, due to there being no emotional connection between online diffusers and audiences, there is a lack of motivation to spread information. Thus, diffusion of rumour in the online environment requires matching audiences’ knowledge due to confuse them to distinguish between fact and fiction.

Rumour is theoretically defined as “an unverified account or explanation of events, circulating from person to person and pertaining to an object, event, or issue of public concern” (Peterson and Gist 1951). In this identify, two features have emphasized: speed of transmission and the number of people involved. When rumour circulates on the Internet, both the speed of transmission and the number of people involved are greatly affected. In this paper, “online rumour” will be explored based these features, being distinct to offline ones. To observe how online rumour is created, accepted and spread, we ask three questions:

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- ◆ What kind of content constitutes “credible information” for online audience?
- ◆ In the online communication environment, what is the motivation to disseminate information to public?
- ◆ What kind of online information attracts people to make follow up posts?

These questions concentrate on the dynamics of online rumour as they describe the spread information and the motivations of those who spread it.

2. related literature

Rumour is normally fostered by collective sense of uncertainty or threat (DiFonzo and Bordia 2007; DiFonzo and Bordia 2007), that allow it to shape a series explanations for a particular event, and might further influence public action (Peterson and Gist 1951).

In studies of rumour, scholars have divided the concept into “wish” and “dread”: two types according to the orientation of specific rumour information (Walker 1996; Bordia and Difonzo 2004). “Wish” focused rumours give positive information to audiences, whereas “dread” based rumours are inclined to spread negative concepts and information. For instance, in rumours of charity donation, a “wish” might be that a popular celebrity has donated £1 million, which might lead to a new donation vogue. On the other hand, a “dread” rumour might be that fundraisers working for big charity defalcate. Although we have to be aware that both possibilities might be rumour, a “wish” could encourage donations and give people who need help more hope. Likewise, rumours that defame the reputation of charities could damage donor motivation and enhance the problems of those they serve.

Moreover, studies of rumour in traditional communication forms claim that they spread more dreads than wishes. In Walker’s study (Walker 1996), he classified all 200 rumors currently moving amongst college students and then defined 113 dread rumours and 54 wish rumours (the rest could not be identified). Dread rumours are easier to create and transmit, because “loss control”³ can be achieved from dread rumour but not from wish rumour (Walker 1996).

On the other hand, rumour has been investigated to explore the dissemination process. French sociologist Edgar Morin first suggested that the creation and diffusion of rumour could be predicted. He deemed that the rumour process, like a disease, goes through a series of transformations, including “incubation, propagation, metastasis, opposition, resorption and residua” (Morin, 1971, cited in (Kimmel 2004):100). Further studies developed the idea of a rumour process, dividing it into three parts: stage-birth, adventure and death (Fine and Rosnow 1978; DiFonzo, Bordia et al. 1994; Kimmel 2004), “Stage-birth” provides a ‘fertile breeding ground’ (Kimmel 2004) for rumours to grow. This situation can be considered as a product of the heavy demand for information and related emotional resonance in our multimedia 24-hour news cycle. The production of rumour particularly depends on a high level of fear and anxiety, which could persuade people involved in information transmission to embellish ‘facts’ in order to alter

³ Loss Control: reducing and eliminating the occurrence of undesired events through enforcement of established procedures, seeking solution and continuous evaluation.

the psychological affect of reading original information. The length of the adventure and death stages is influenced by public interest in the specific rumour and the anxiety it causes.

There are obvious differences between rumour studies online and offline, for instance, the latter can be mixed up on the other information expressed by mass media. These mass media rumours can, along with other information, attract trust or be endowed credibility by strong media entities (Kimmel, 2004: P 109). However, online communications, especially online forums, do not rely on the credibility of the mass media, nor has increased reputation by companying other fact news. Moreover, online platforms might be capable of changing attitudes and behaviours in rumour dissemination through anonymous posting policies.

Meanwhile, in online communities, many researchers have concentrated on textual conversation (Kollock and Smith 1999). Observing textual conversation, (Wellman and Gulia 1999) claimed that information transition in online communities and its diffusion behaviours have been affected by anxiety feelings and peer-group support. More interestingly, (Burnett 2000) argued that in their earliest stages, users of online forums just surf online to skim-read web pages without real purpose. This behaviour is similar to constantly switching television channels to look for interesting content, although TV audiences probably do not have certain definition of “interesting content” (Marchionini 1995)106). Participants join online forums to customize their content, taking part in such congenial “information neighborhood” environments. In this comfortable state, they look through any interesting information by opening links.

At present, there are few scholars discussing the role of rumour in online forums. (Marett and Joshi 2009) has studied the motivations behind disseminating rumour and placing other information on online forum by sample surveys using an open chat room. He gained 471 valid responses from 651 questionnaires, in which only 280 respondents had posted information. This study claimed that disseminating rumour has different motivations for actual posters and ‘lurkers’⁴. However, this result might be limited by the fact that its data was collected from respondents’ subjective interpretations, which could be nothing more than personal inclinations.

3. Discussion

3.1 Analyses of credit given to online rumour

The value of online rumour is often a subjective judgment made by audiences, in other words, how much audiences think they can believe what they read. As discussed above, the credibility of online information generally cannot be accurately estimated by audiences as a result of anonymous communication and the impersonal nature of the Internet. Therefore, online audiences can only estimate reliability judging by a personal assessment of information quality and their own background knowledge. Thus, it seems that only online information that matches audience expectations would be considered trustworthy.

To further explore this possibility, we carried out a questionnaire survey on three regions and received 300 responses. We chose two respondents who had personally started rumours: first is

⁴ Lurker normally represents people who only read online and never post anything, whose activities did not leave trail like lurker.

“Nongfu Spring”, one of famous mineral water in China, includes white arsenic and second is “collapsing buildings” in Shanghai. After these rumours spread, relevant organizations made clarification announcements and we asked interviewees whether they would put their trust in official statements to reverse such rumours. In this survey, 93 percent believed the official statement regarding the first rumour; but only 23.6 percent for the second.

A majority of our respondents claimed they believe these official statements because it is ‘impossible’ that arsenic would get past quality control so this official statement confirmed their existing knowledge of the beverage in question. However, responses show that it was too difficult to understand the official statement in the second case because it included too many architecture terms. Additionally, this explanation did not match public expectations with some respondents questioning the reasons given. Official statements in the second case failed to find recognition in common audiences, thus making them question the rumour as given.

This survey suggests that rumours do not gain wide dissemination if they do not match audiences’ prior knowledge and expectations. Furthermore, if some factors matching them could be added in, trustworthiness of this rumour could be dramatically increased.

3.2 Analysis of expressed motivation under communicated environment

Impersonalization of Internet communications dispels structural intensive relationships, which compel people to express opinion. Therefore, it is possible that some people would be willing to express opinions in the real world, but be entirely silent on the Internet. The way people talk about the weather at the beginning of a conversation, provides us with a good example. In the real world, people normally do this as they feel stressed if there is silence during a meeting, whereas, this kind of problem never exists on the Internet.

To explore the motivation to communicate under non-stressful conditions, our project specifically designed a set of experiments under the controlling condition. In order to explore this, we undertook experiments with the students of this university in January, 2010. The participants of these experiments were 302 university students. First, we organized a meeting of all 302 students, we then asked them to complete a survey aimed at collecting feedback on their lecturers. They were encouraged to submit this questionnaire within one week by posting it into a mailbox located at the central entrance of the teaching hall. To eliminate any pressure they might have been feeling, students had been informed that the questionnaires were anonymous and that there would be no personal consequences relating to participation in the survey. As experimental results, we had 90 completed forms after one week, which have been labeled ‘result A’.

Three days later, we did the second experiment: we handed out the same questionnaire to a set of students without notice when they were attending a casual meeting and they are required them to be filled in before the students left. The valid tables we collect back are 221 in total. This experimental result is marked ‘B’. These experimental results are shown in the figure 1.

Figure1: Experimental results comparing the affect of differential pressure scenarios

Experimental result	Stress state	The number of respondents	Review state	
			Good Teacher Rating (%)	Bad Teacher Rating (%)
A	Almost non-stressful	90	61.2	1.84
B	Absolute stressful	221	62.4	0.96

The experimental data above indicates that the number of people who express became increase as corresponding stress arises, meanwhile, the results of ‘good rate’ are similar but the ‘non-good rate’ is deceased as half. In this case, we have the conclusion as follows:

- 1、 Under the non-stressful conditions, people tend to keep their opinion to themselves;
- 2、 Under less stress inducing conditions, people seem more likely to express negative opinions and assessments of their situation.

As we know, our willingness to express opinions is based on external conditions they are interacting with and that their responses are likely to be based on their interpretation of the other’s disposition. The interpretation of these tendencies is complex, but in the very first instance both sides can make two basic judgments: (1) whether the actions of both sides are reasonable to maintain interaction; (2) the relationship between both parties’ actions and individual interests. If one party considers an action to be unreasonable or just unnecessary we choose not to perform this action. Furthermore, if one party still considers the action in question to be desirable they are likely to choose the most personally beneficial course of action. According to theory of value (Perry 2007), in terms of the interest of equal value, it is considered that the interest of loss is far bigger than that of gain, that is to say, your pain for loss of \$100 is far bigger than the happiness of being rewarded with \$100. Satisfaction comes from the interest received while dissatisfaction from the loss of interest. So, naturally, the expression of dissatisfaction always takes precedence over that of satisfaction. This analysis also has been approved by other studies to describe that dread rumour is more popular and easier to spread out than wish rumour.

Now we can get back to Internet rumours. As the source of such rumours is usually unknown, they do not necessarily begin conversations, therefore, the spread of each rumour needs a more powerful drive of interest, and this is often provided by audience dissatisfaction triggered by the rumours. In fact, as long as we have a close review of the most widely disseminated rumours within the last year, such as “High school students beaten to death by a local government authority”, “the inside story of Super Girl”, “Fake photo of the extinct south China tiger” etc. all of them provided a trigger for a release of public anger about unfair social events, such as unjust legal executions, corruption and adultery.

3.3 Concerns over social profit triggers for the dissemination of online rumours

Thus far we have explored individual motivation to spread rumours but online versions are often generated by a group of unrelated people who take it upon themselves to spread an original message. In this case, we have to ask what condition give rise to the motivation to be involved in

such process.

M. He (2007) has provided statistic results on categories of popular online topics in 2007. In his study, Chinese internet forum has their own focal sights: Firstly, the concern on ethic and moral problems and citizenship education (19%) surveillance of society and media (19%); secondly, the concern of poverty (14%); thirdly, the maintenance of civil right (12%). Meanwhile, the condemning of violence (including social violence and family violence) and promoting a society with high ethical standards is portion of the most important online topic. Furthermore, pornography and patriotism are also the hot topic there on his research. In the respect that all these topics are associated with the great social concerns, they play a recurring role in Internet discussion.

However, such online events are not the equivalent of online rumour, although their generating mechanisms can be consistent (fevered discussed and extensive forwarding). Therefore, the statistics above inspires how we design rumour research. It is evident that the information of significant social issues and conflicts are spread widely on the internet. As discussed, the following posts in online forum represent possibility of diffusing rumour. Our project thus designed to investigate a number of following posters as the statistical sampling for analysis. The designed analyzing logic is as follows:

Firstly, we selected the most popular portals for analysis, because their user demographics are closer to a comprehensive cross section of web users instead of limiting our enquiries to the specific interest groups that might use less mainstream websites. According to this standard, we selected 'Tencent' website forum to be object of our studies. After making this decision, we randomly selected from all the information linked on the 'tencent' front page in one day. Finally, we analyzed all following posts over 24 hours. The reason for choosing 24 hours as a experimental period was to avoid incorrect results overly influenced by posting time and the lifestyle differences of web users.

Following the method above, 370 posts were selected and classified as politics, military, economics, education, culture, sports, entertainment, and so on. Moreover, the number of following posts per hour were calculated and sequenced. In the appendix, we indicate the first ten percent to represent the general view of following posters.

The table on the appendix shows the view of following post in one of popular Chinese website, from which we can have a general idea on the topics and discussion phenomena of online forum in China. It is particularly worth noting that a large proportion of following posters focus their attention on politics, military, and economic topics. Additionally, cultural topics especially related to national cultural identity or traditional culture confidence, also seems to give rise to heated discussion. In contrast, entertainment and posts are subjects so far less discussion. It is suggested that state and civil issues more likely to attract population's interests. Also, these topics generally evoke intense sentiments in some extent.

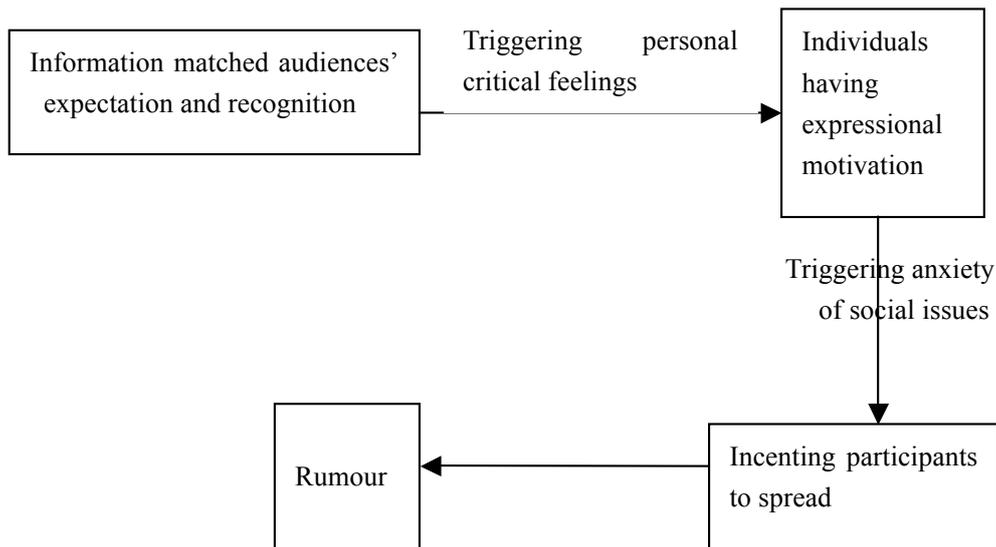
Meanwhile, unlike the entertainment and gossip that seem to dominate interest in traditional media,

the online audiences seem to be more events focused, especially events related to politics. The participation of online information spread might require more personal involvement as we discussed above, which are easily raised by public issues rather than entertainment. In another word, stars' gossip only make fun but political motion could change life. Thus, personal profit could cause rumour spread regarding this analysis.

4. Conclusion

Accordingly, we can illustrate the process of online rumour dissemination as follows:

Figure 2: workflow of online rumour process in internet forum



This figure shows how we generate online rumour and how they relate to the intent behind rumormongering and the validity of information. The spread of information relies on its content matching audience expectations as well as inspiring broad interest. It is inevitable that information could be changed during transmission process. The 'pure reality' of information could thus add more factors to a comprehensive diffusion but this exceeds the focus of this paper and will be explored as part of a future research agenda.

Appendix:

*Analysis of following posts in the 380 most popular topics on internet forum
(first 37 cases)*

Poster title	The number of following posts in the first 24 hours	classification
男子猝死江西看守所续：检方称无人说过噩梦死	1366.4	politics
劳教所所长涉嫌受贿217万 为情妇购买4套房产	1144.34	politics
上海市政府否认上千名考生被拒中高考门外	683.09	politics
慈善排行榜未曝光捐赠不兑现企业	474.9	politics
云南楚雄发生特大交通事故 18人死亡22人受伤	377.84	politics
中组部要求省级以下政府不配助理 启动全国减副	321.12	politics
中原地产:十大房企悄然提价 库存压力仍巨大	317.49	economics
女富豪吴英和她的7名资金“掮客”	276.93	politics
美国专家猜测中国可能会在8月宣布建造航母	259.56	military
大陆客在台被起重机砸中 重伤员目前仍危急	142.01	politics
网帖曝摩托车载8人狂飙超汽车(图)	72	Politics
越南举行仪式任命西沙群岛地区“主席”	71.77	Politics
杭州互联网新规今实施：发帖写博要登记身份	52.33	politics
丁圣元：迎接沪指将涨到4000点的主升浪	51.05	economics
卖艺男子当街表演穿520斤铁鞋行走(图)	40.36	politics
银监会：信贷重点投向五方面 巩固楼市增长	34.03	economics
橡果国际08年亏1.4亿	24.01	economics
日本为何不搞全民学英语	20.125	education
财政部：地方税收收入遭遇多年未遇低增长	18.49	economics
内地富豪香港理财集体巨亏 知名地产商亏百亿	15.62	economics
A股分红派现榜揭晓：最牛分红VS最老铁公鸡	13.44	economics
奥巴马将配专用黑莓手机 可防止任何黑客入侵	13.23	politics
借你一双慧眼 八款绝对不能买的手机	12.07	economics
微软宣布Windows7 RC版将于5月5日公开发布	9.25	politics
百媒穿越地震带行动启动 媒体见证灾区重建	7.92	politics
夏普1300亿日元巨亏真相	6.39	economics
QFII首次对A股判断重大分歧：大摩高盛走岔	5.59	economics
基金公司换帅忙 高管层人事地震愈演愈烈	3.87	economics
人类向外星人发送的“宇宙名片”大揭秘(图)	2.82	technology
圆明园玉玺印章巴黎被拍卖 成交价168万欧元	2.76	politics
用友参与医疗软件竞争 瞄准8500亿新医改方案	1.86	politics
招行08年净利增长38% 高管薪酬总额下降21%	1.15	economics
ST有色：牛股神话的破灭	0.65	economics
王达三：我们还没有学会尊重孔子	0.52	culture
科学家发现“会走的海豹” 生活在2000万年前	0.5	technology
六大知名证券分析师预测五一后A股走势	0.38	economics
3个月换手1711% 华商盛世成或暗藏利益输送	0.19	Economics

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Needs for Long-Distance Collaboration

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Abstract

The application of information and communication technology today affects almost everyone in daily life. Information transmission system allows people to transmit the real time images, voices and even environmental atmospheres. The living lab experiment in this study is to observe how people use the existed information transmission service on computers to do the long-distance collaboration. By observing the participants' behaviors and analyzing the transmitted data, this study is to understand the physical problems by operating the computers and mental situation during long-distance communication.

This is a qualitative research. The research method includes experimental observation and interviews. The participants are 5 groups of college students. Each group has 2 participants and they are separated into 2 rooms in living labs. The participants are required to live in the living labs for 7 days and work on 1 task, which the participants must cooperate to finish by computers and the Internet. The data are collected from the result of the tasks, transmitted texts and files, and the interviews transcripts. All the data are analyzed by data mining. This finding could provide designers and engineers a user-centered consideration for building the future communication or collaboration platforms.

Author Keywords

Long-distance collaboration, Living Labs, Computer, Experimental Observation, Data Mining

Introduction

Due to the development of information communication technology, people could communicate with others all around the world easier and faster. The application of communication technology today affects almost everyone in daily life, which brings new working styles and provides more opportunities to have oversea cooperation.

CSCW (computer supported collaborative works) is an integration of people

teamwork and computer based platform (Paul, 1991). This computing platform breaks the limitation of time and distance, which helps people at different areas working together. This concept is also been developed on the computer aid education.

No longer working together is only happened while people are staying at the same place. Ancillary technology products allow two groups to cooperate on one assignment, even when these two groups are located in two ends of the earth. However, the phenomena has been doubted with the negative cooperation experience and working efficiency. Thus, this research is based on the user center concept to find out the undiscovered problems and needs for long distance cooperation by living lab experiment.

Living lab experiment offers an opportunity to see how everything works in real life. The idea of using living lab experiment is a fulfillment of open innovation concept, which allows more variables to exist at the same time. By observing the participants' activities, more undiscovered factors are found.

This research includes experimental observation and depth-interview. The experiment is focusing on observing the time that participant would use or need MSN or other media and how they use it for team cooperation, understanding the content to understand the differences between MSN and other Media for team cooperation, and the user expectation before and after using MSN or other media. By observing those points, the data from participants are collected. Data mining would be used for analyzing the collected data to fetch out the undiscovered keys. These factors might benefit for future design or investment.

Living Lab Experiment Design

This research intends to create working together atmospheres, and let group members finish practical mission through video, audio and other interactive behavior. Participants are college students and they are divided into groups. Each group contains two members, a male and a female. Group members are separated to live in the living labs, which are two rooms in student dormitory for one week. During the period of living in the labs, the participants are also asking to finish a task before deadline.

The topic of the task is "mobile". The participants has to find out 30 keywords that related to the word "mobile" and make a presentation file to introduce the word "mobile" or other nouns that related to "mobile". This task is designed to ensure that participants have the same goal to work on and have interaction. The task result is also a standard to do the valuation and comparison among different groups.

The equipments setting in living labs are including participant's daily supply, the Internet connection and webcams. Computer will be placed on the cabinet with

pedestal nearby table to avoid the video taking the whole room. The Internet setting will allow MSN to connect two rooms. This experiment is not to emphasize on constraining the behavior of exist communication behavior, but to study the participant's need and the weakness of exist communication when the participant use other communication tools.

There are three interviews with each group. The first interview is held before participants live in to the living lab. The interview content will include the user experience with using 3C products, communication habits and the expectation of Hyper-window. The second interview is held on the third day during the experiment, which is to realize the participant's experience and the way of doing cooperation.

The last interview is held two days after the experiment. Each Participant will be required to fill up a sample questionnaire and have a depth interview after finishing the experiment. Thus, the depth interview is to understand the user's experience and user's suggestions. This information would be compare to the user's daily behavior, which is investigated before the participant living into experiment field. The comparison will show up the relation between user behavior and user experience of using MSN or other media.

The collected data from the participant's discussion are MSN text record, 30 keywords and power-point file. There are audio files, which were recorded from the interview. These audio files are also translated into text files.

Data Analysis & Result

Data-mining method is used for analyzing the data. By comparing the texts from the conversation contents, MSN records, and tasks results; there are some similar situations and differences among groups showing up.

The similar situation among different groups

- Transmit file by MSN
- Send Links to the other person
- Leave off line messages to the other person.
- Confused about the task at the first beginning
- Using search engine during the discussion

The difference among different groups

- It is easy/hard to find the other person to have a discussion.
- The task is kind of difficult/easy.
- Having voice discussion by MSN is convenience/ not necessary.
- The imagination of using Hyper-window to complete the work.

Conclusion

Living lab experiment would bring out huge amount of data. To clarify specific situation and integrate the data into information is an essential process in this experiment.

The finding from the experiment is that all the groups mentioned a common problem. The first, Person at one side could not know what the other side person is working on. In the reason, they have to send their current working file to the others to check that they are both working on the same direction. Second, search engine is an essential serve in this experiment. Participants might use text or conversation to transmit their thoughts. However, their ideas were basically from the search engine. This experiment also points out the participants characteristics that would directly affect the experiment are sexual, personal attitude, study department and mother language.

The finding of these factors for long distance cooperation from users is expected to provide a user-centered consideration for building the future communication or collaboration platforms.

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**A Journey to the West: Hong Kong Film Auteur Wong Kar-wai's
Response to Globalization?**

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A Journey to the West: Hong Kong Film Auteur Wong Kar-wai's Response to Globalization?

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Introduction

Owing to the provocative cinematic imagination evident in his films, Wong Kar-wai has come to be regarded as the 'most artistically adventurous director'¹ in contemporary Hong Kong cinema. Wong's audiences are afforded the opportunity of witnessing a visually structured portrayal of melancholy love romance intertwined with an obsessive pursuit of lost time and memory highlighted by an embedded sense of nostalgia. Frequently absent from his artistic conception are concerns with linear narrative structure, as time and space are often ruptured and distorted; this is meant to resonate with the impermanence of human love, relation and the loss of memory. The multi-layered visual expressivity of his films has propelled Wong to be regarded as Hong Kong's unique 'auteur of time'². Ever since his directorial debut *As Tears Go By* (1988) brought him a nomination for Best Director at the highly prestigious Hong Kong Film Awards in 1989, he has maintained his position at the forefront of Hong Kong's auteur cinema with works such as *Days of Being Wild* (1990), *Ashes of Time* (1994), *Chungking Express* (1994), *Fallen Angels* (1995), *Happy Together* (1997), *In the Mood for Love* (2000) and *2046* (2004). Most of these films have not only won numerous domestic and international film awards for Wong, they have also resulted in him becoming the subject of an extraordinarily high number of academic studies in both East and West. Most of these have focused on the visual richness, complexity, thematic portrayal and postmodern appeal of Wong's cinema. For example, in discussing the subjects of Wong's thematic portrayals, film scholar Vivian P.Y. Lee has noted that 'from the early films to the latest, the perennial themes of frustrated love, time, memory, and nostalgia have sustained a haunting presence in Wong [Kar-wai]'s cinematic imagination.'³

In 2007, Wong made his Hollywood independent debut *My Blueberry Nights*, featuring A-list stars Jude Law, Natalie Portman and Rachel Weisz. This foray into Western filmmaking poses some very interesting questions, such as to whether Wong's transfer from the East to the West was simply an "overnight event" or the result of a more protracted "journey". Also, did Wong consciously adapt his distinctly idiosyncratic filmmaking style, through the "recycling" of his earlier Hong Kong films, in the making of *My Blueberry Nights*, or did he depart from his established repertoire in an attempt to specifically target the American film market? My intention in this paper is to attempt to

¹ David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 270.

² Stephen Teo, *Wong Kar-wai* (London: British Film Institute Press, 2005).

³ Vivian P.Y. Lee, *Hong Kong Cinema since 1997: The Post-nostalgic Imagination* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 22.

answer these questions through an analysis of some of Wong's work leading up to *My Blueberry Nights* and an analysis of the film itself.

A Journey to the West

Inspired by the short novel *On Seeing the 100% Perfect Girl One Beautiful April Morning*, by Japanese writer Haruki Murakami⁴, Wong's 1994 feature *Chungking Express*, is a light-hearted mirthful romantic drama and remains his most speedily completed, lowest budget feature to date.⁵ Interestingly, despite its lack of obvious 'seriousness and gratifying deliberation'⁶, epitomized by Wong's *wu xia* genre *Ashes of Time*, *Chungking Express* is the first film that brought him any degree of international recognition⁷. That recognition clearly benefited from the patronage of Quentin Tarantino and the access afforded to the latter's company Rolling Thunder's distribution channels⁸ that ensured the film's success irrespective of the director's talent. *Chungking Express* established Wong's reputation as a Hong Kong art-house auteur on the international stage, increasing his exposure at European film festivals (for example the Locarno International Film Festival in Switzerland and Stockholm Film Festival⁹), and marked the first step towards *My Blueberry Nights*.

As the 1997 postcolonial hand over approached, many Hong Kong filmmakers made films that captured a sense of nostalgia, a sense of anxious uncertainty manifesting itself in fin-de-siècle sentiment. Wong responded to the 1997 hand over quite differently by escaping its reality¹⁰ through relocating his entire filmmaking machinery to Argentina for the production of *Happy Together*, a film that distinctively addresses the themes, rare in Hong Kong cinema at the time, of homosexuality and exile¹¹. *Happy Together* pays homage to the novel *An Affair in Buenos Aires* written by Argentinean author Manuel Puig. In fact, Wong's enthusiasm for making *Happy Together* was drawn from his passion for Latin-American literature and prior to the production of the film Wong had made a preparatory reconnaissance trip to Buenos Aires that lasted several months.

⁴ Stephen Teo, *Wong Kar-wai* (London: British Film Institute Press, 2005), p. 50.

⁵ The film was completed in only two months with a budget of HK\$15 million, see Stephen Teo, *Wong Kar-wai* (London: British Film Institute Press, 2005), pp. 48-49.

⁶ Peter Brunette, *Wong Kar-wai* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2005), p. 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁸ Rolling Thunder bought the international distribution rights of *Chungking Express*. The film was released in the USA and most of the European countries such as the UK, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Netherland and generated substantial box office revenues and positive critical reviews.

⁹ <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0109424/awards>, Accessed 19 March 2010.

¹⁰ Jimmy Ngai, 'A Dialogue with Wong Kar-wai', in Danièle Rivière (ed.), *Wong Kar-wai* (Editions Dis Voir, 1997), P. 112.

¹¹ Marc Siegel, 'The Intimate Spaces of Wong Kar-wai', in Esther C. M. Yau (ed.) *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 277.

The production of *Happy Together* was truly transnational.¹² Dealing with the unrequited love of a gay couple, *Happy Together* was seen as having taken Wong to the zenith of his cinematic art,¹³ and won him the award of Best Director at the 1997 Cannes Film Festival and Most Popular Foreign Film from the 1998 Arizona International Film Festival.¹⁴ The film also had successful theatrical runs in both the US and Europe. These awards and successful theatrical releases further established Wong's reputation in Europe and the US. As a 'carefully planned relationship picture'¹⁵, *Happy Together* was to 'set the pattern for Wong's bigger and more elaborate productions in subsequent years'¹⁶.

In 2000, Wong made the sensual nostalgic drama *In the Mood for Love*. Featuring A-list Hong Kong stars Maggie Cheung and Tony Leung Chiu-wai, an authentic historical recreation of period-1960s Hong Kong, exuberant visual expressivity, cross-border location shootings (Hong Kong, Bangkok and Cambodia) and the prominent use of music to convey the mood of nostalgia that is prevalent in Wong's oeuvre, *In the Mood for Love* was rewarded with seven international awards¹⁷. Following *Happy Together*, *In the Mood for Love* achieved an even wider range of distribution and consolidated his auteur status internationally.

How far Wong's international authority had advanced can be demonstrated by the fact that the 2004 Cannes Film Festival delayed its opening and altered the scheduling of other films' premieres to accommodate the arrival of Wong's 2004 pan-Asian feature *2046*.¹⁸ *2046* highlighted Wong's business managing potential as evidenced from his successful financing of the film from multinational sources.¹⁹ This increasingly international production strategy continued in 2005 with the portmanteau *Eros* project, co-directed by Steven Soderbergh and Michelangelo Antonioni. Wong's contribution to this anthology film, the episode *Eros*, conformed to Wong's established filmic style of relying more on visual emphasis and less on plot development, and starred Mainland-turned-Hollywood actress Gong Li (*Miami Vice*) and the Taiwanese actor Chang Chen (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*). Critical reception of the project as a whole tended to favor Wong's contribution over those by Soderbergh and Antonioni.²⁰ The favorable

¹² From the film's production perspective, the film shows an international characterization in that Wong's own production company Jet Tone (established in 1993), together with its 1997 established subsidiary Block 2 pictures, allied with Argentinean film production companies Cinecolor S.A. and Rental Film, who supplied the film with local actors, a laboratory for the film's editing and post-production and camera equipment. For the film's distribution, companies from Japan (Prenom H.) and South Korea (Sewoo Film) packaged the film financially and handled the film's international sales.

¹³ Peter Brunette, *Wong Kar-wai* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2005), p. 70.

¹⁴ <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0118845/awards>,

Accessed 20 March 2010

¹⁵ Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yeh Yueh-yu, *East Asian Screen Industries* (London: British Film Institute Press, 2008), p. 153.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁹ *2046* was funded by the companies from France, Italy, China and Japan, see Stephen Teo, *Wong Kar-wai* (London: British Film Institute Press, 2005), p. 153.

²⁰ Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yeh Yueh-yu, *East Asian Screen Industries* (London: British Film Institute Press, 2008), p. 154.

critical reception afforded to his films and the geographical expansion of his theatre of operation against a backdrop of increasing globalization throughout the film industry as a whole, appear to have combined towards the inevitable and in 2007 Wong finally completed his westward “journey” with his arrival on the Hollywood scene with the release of *My Blueberry Nights*.

Arriving on the Platform of Hollywood: *My Blueberry Nights*

Whilst *My Blueberry Nights* is by no means a simple remake, or an English version, of *Chungking Express*, the parallels between the two films are clear. Wong skillfully attempted to adapt the plot, themes and characters into something that might appeal to the tastes of, and be immediately recognizable by, American audiences. *Chungking Express* told two independent stories that both center on the romantic encounters experienced by the central characters. In each story, at least one character experiences lost love and subsequently struggles to “find themselves” again. Similarly, *My Blueberry Nights* is divided into three independent episodes and the development of the story in each episode is motivated by the character Elizabeth (Nora Jones) who “loses herself” when faced with her boyfriend’s infidelity and decides to go on a road trip in order to cure her wounded heart and search for the meaning of her own existence. In *My Blueberry Nights*, Elizabeth takes a bus trip across America from east to west, leaving New York, temporarily staying in Memphis, Tennessee before moving on to Nevada and Las Vegas. Following the classic format of the road movie, Elizabeth’s journey is designed to be instantly recognizable to American audiences.

Elizabeth closely resembles Faye (Faye Wong) in *Chungking Express* in that they both need to embark on a journey in order to search for the meaning of their existences. For Faye, the relocation is to be achieved by emigration, and relocating from Hong Kong to California, as the claustrophobic geography of Hong Kong limits the opportunities for her. The resemblance of Faye and Elizabeth extend to their destinies, in that at the end of both films they come back to the place from where they originally departed, ready to embrace a new relationship. The choice of actresses to play the characters Faye and Elizabeth is also significant; both Faye Wong and Nora Jones were established pop singers, but had little acting experience prior to their casting by Wong.

In *Chungking Express*, “Express” refers to the fast food stall Midnight Express where Faye works and meets policeman number 633 (Tony Leung Chiu-wai) with whom she falls in love. The focus on “food” often plays a prominent role in Wong’s cinematic world. Food outlets are places where people meet; it is over food that people reflect, and it marks a recurring subject that represents the influence it has on people’s daily lives. For instance, in the first story of *Chungking Express*, we witness the character He Qiwu (Takeshi Kaneshiro) constantly buying cans of pineapples that have a sell-by date of May 1st, which corresponds to He’s birthday and also marks the one-month anniversary of the breakup with his girlfriend. Throughout *In the Mood for Love*, we regularly experience slow motion shots of the protagonist Su Lizhen (Maggie Cheung) carrying her portable food container to a nearby noodle stall to buy her noodles. In *My Blueberry Nights* Wong

adopts American food culture to achieve an instant recognition on the part of American audiences. The “*Blueberry*” part of film’s title refers to the blueberry pies that Elizabeth eats whenever she visits the New York café owned by British expatriate Jeremy (Jude Law). Wong’s choice of “blueberry pie” for the film is unlikely to have been a purely random selection but a rather more careful choice. The blueberry is an indigenous North American fruit species. For centuries, Native American tribes revered blueberries and believed them to contain spirits.²¹ Pies are also central to American culinary traditions. Jeremy’s cafe resembles the Midnight Express in *Chungking Express*, with the cafe serving as ‘a still center, a spatial point de repères’²² where the characters can meet, leave and come back to. The blueberry pies in Jeremy’s cafe hold the promise that ‘at the end of night, there is always a whole blueberry pie left, untouched, no one wants it’, signifying intensely frustrated emotion from Jeremy who possesses them and sympathetic affection from Elizabeth who is seemingly alone in wanting them. These emotions sustain a haunting presence in the film. Apart from the perennial themes of love, memory and the search for culture and identity, Wong’s trademark obsession with time and space is also evident in *My Blueberry Nights*, for example, in a recurring montage that indicates both time and space as: Day 57, 1,120 miles since New York; Day 185, 3,906 miles since New York; we often see shots containing a neon clock in the background glaring out the time; there are several first-person monologues referring to “that night” or “at the end of that night”; and so on.

In terms of *Blueberry Night*’s production, Wong employed Hong Kong cinematographer Pung Leung Kwan with whom he had collaborated previously on *2046*. But Wong also engaged the services of prolific Hollywood cinematographer Darius Khondji (*The Beach* [2000]) to lend the film a contemporary mainstream Hollywood appearance. Neon glossy, with blue and red color contrasts, that are reminiscent of Warholesque Pop art, *My Blueberry Nights* successfully creates a “bubblegum” cultural vision that mirrors *Chungking Express* but without the disorientating cinematography and brash use of hallucinatory imagery of the earlier film. However, Wong’s trademark eroticism is still very much in evidence in *Blueberry*. Whilst there is some obvious continuity of the sexual iconography of Wong’s previous work, viz. the lingering stiletto close-ups, there is also an apparent east-west adaptation in that the high necked, split skirt cheongsam worn by Maggie Cheung in *In the Mood for Love*, is replaced by the low-cut, bra revealing fashions of the female protagonists of *My Blueberry Nights*. We witness Sue Lynne (Rachel Weisz)’s entrance, with the camera lingering on her sultry frame, dramatically emphasized by a low-cut clinging black dress and her slow motion sashay towards camera; we view close-ups of young Leslie (Natalie Portman)’s heavily made-up, mascara laden eyes, and flirtatious body movements in a revealing blue chiffon dress. It can be argued that for *Blueberry Nights* Wong rendered his portrayal of sexuality far more explicit and more in keeping with American conventions.

In as much as Wong’s films are usually inspired by literary works, the story of *Blueberry Nights* was inspired by three books: One of the books was written by the French writer

²¹ <http://www.blueberry.org/blueberries.htm>,
Accessed 25 March 2010.

²² Peter Brunette, *Wong Kar-wai* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2005), p. 48.

Sophie Calle entitled *Exquisite Pain*, another was a guide book to quitting addictions, with the third book being a collection of short stories written by the acclaimed contemporary American crime writer Lawrence Sanders²³. However, the construction of *Blueberry*'s narrative appears far more linear than any of Wong's earlier films. As previously discussed, the character Elizabeth becomes a central focus of the three distinct episodes' development offering some measure of continuity. The storyline is also constructed in a more linear fashion. The experience of watching Wong's earlier films *Ashes of Time*, *Chungking Express* or *2046*, of feeling trapped in a labyrinthine world, is rarely in evidence in *My Blueberry Nights*. Whether this aspect is a stage in the development of his filmic style in general on the part of Wong or a deliberate adaptation to please American audiences is hard to decide but the effect is the same, it makes the film more accessible for mainstream audiences.

Music is critical in shaping Wong's cinematic language and it still eloquently controls the filmic impulses of *Blueberry* in the same manner it does in any of Wong's films. From the film's opening sequence, introduced by soft Jazz mood music accompanying Nora Jones's voice, through the intermittently melancholy harmonica melody composed by Japanese musician Chikara Tsuzuki, the music of the largely New York-based contemporary free-jazz singer Cat Power, to that of the influential 1960s American soul singer Otis Redding, the music defines the lingering emotions of *Blueberry* and 'creates colors'²⁴ for the postmodern urban space that *Blueberry* portrays. The film ends in Jeremy's cafe, the source of all the stories within the film, and the place where Jeremy and Elizabeth first meet. The scene is shot as an overhead view of the pair from a vertically located camera, accompanied by the same music that introduces the film's opening sequence; we see Jeremy and Elizabeth face to face on a tableau sharing a tender kiss. It is at this point that we realize the film has finally come full circle when we hear Elizabeth's voice-over: "it took me nearly a year to get here, it wasn't so hard to cross that street after all, it all depends on who is waiting for you on the other side."

The Critical Reception of My Blueberry Nights

My Blueberry Nights premiered at the 2007 Cannes Film Festival where it received lukewarm to negative reviews.²⁵ After a considered revision by Wong that cut the film in length, altered its rhythm and reduced some voiceovers, the film was eventually released worldwide.²⁶ From the beginning of his filmmaking career, Wong's success has been based not only in the idiosyncratic artistry of his films, but also in his showmanship. Wong has always been very adept at manipulating the media to create prerelease publicity for his projects. For *My Blueberry Nights*, Wong's showmanship was fully exploited: the film was heralded as a Chinese film auteur's first English-language film centering on America presented with an idiosyncratic art house film technique within a package featuring Hollywood A-list stars. This claim was somewhat selective- it ignored

²³ Tony Rayns, 'The American Way', in *Sight and Sound*, vol. xviii, issue 3, March 2008, pp. 32-34.

²⁴ Peter Brunette, *Wong Kar-wai* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2005), p. 133.

²⁵ Tony Rayns, 'The American Way', in *Sight and Sound*, vol. xviii, issue 3, March 2008, p. 32.

²⁶ Ibid.

the previous forays of other Chinese directors within the American industry, ranging from John Woo's blockbusters in the 1990s, Peter Chan Ho-sun's *The Love Letter* (1999), or Ang Lee's films, to name only three prominent examples. The re-cut version of *Blueberry* had its opening night in New York and Los Angeles and received a considerable level of critical attention from the American media with most of the attention focused on Wong's capability in capturing a verisimilitude of the geographical landscape of America and accurately depicting Americana, particularly since the film marks Wong's US debut. Anthony O. Scott from *The New York Times* argued that Wong's attempt in presenting America in *Blueberry* was 'wildly unrealistic, even though much of it was shot on location in the real-deal U.S.A. The smoky Tennessee juke joint and the cute little Manhattan bakery-cafe look like theme restaurants catering to the tourist trade, and even the highways snaking through the mountains and deserts have the inauthentic glow of rental-car advertisements. Mr. Wong...make[s] America look so pretty that you may have trouble recognizing it'²⁷. The journalist Meghan Keane agreed by suggesting that 'sadly, Mr. Wong's interpretation of American lives and landscapes has an alien quality to it. He fetishizes the American countryside... the image of beautiful women in oversize sunglasses leaning against convertibles is not an accurate depiction of Americana - but it doesn't make for a bad visual'²⁸. Evidently, these reviews suggest that Wong's attempt to adapt his style to American themes and spaces was regarded by many as a "misrepresentation". At the same time, Wong's idiosyncratic visual expressivity and romanticized portrayal of emotions were well received. This is evident in quotes such as these: 'In his first English-language film, the Hong Kong avant-pop auteur Wong Kar-Wai shoots American dive bars in gorgeous hot reds, and ... teases out moments of terrific acting...*My Blueberry Nights* hints that buried in Wong's spicy odd noodlings may be an even better conventional filmmaker'²⁹, or 'Wong romanticizes urban New York with the same woozy color and retro glamour as his yesteryear Hong Kong of "*In The Mood for Love*"... "*My Blueberry Nights*" captures the overwhelming and uncontrollable emotional assault of loving and living through captured moments and sensuous images. That lush romanticism makes you wish Wong's New York existed outside of this big screen dream'³⁰.

Wong's usage of the stars in the film also drew great appreciation from critics. Mick LaSalle commented: '...Wong subjects [Rachel] Weisz to the vicious scrutiny of an extended, emotional monologue in one unbroken close-up. It's the best acting she has ever done. And as for [Natalie] Portman, this is the movie that crystallizes an impression that she is turning into one of our most impish, fun-to-watch actresses. There's a range

²⁷ Anthony O. Scott, 'On the Road, With Melancholia and a Hanking for Pie and Ice Cream', in *The New York Times*, April 4 2008, <http://movies.nytimes.com/2008/04/04/movies/04blue.html>, Accessed 26 March 2010.

²⁸ Meghan Keane, 'On the Road, With a Translator', in *The Sun*, April 4 2008, <http://www.nysun.com/arts/on-the-road-with-a-translator/74160/>, Accessed 26 March 2010.

²⁹ Time Warner, 'My Blueberry Nights', in *Entertainment Weekly*, April 4 2008, <http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,20187701,00.html>, Accessed 26 March 2010.

³⁰ Sean Axmaker, 'My Blueberry Nights is both sweet and sour', in *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, April 17 2008, http://www.seattlepi.com/movies/359476_blueberry18q.html, Accessed 26 March 2010.

here that Hollywood has barely started exploring.³¹ Meghan Keane noted: ‘...Mr. Wong has chosen two of Hollywood’s most luscious actresses, Rachel Weisz and Natalie Portman...They both captivate, but it is Ms. Weisz who grabs hold of the screen and sucks the air out of the room every time she enters as the lovelorn divorcée Sue...Ms. Portman may be miscast as a gambling miscreant, and her bleached pixie cut a misguided style choice, but she still manages a captivating charisma that makes her scenes worth watching.’³² The spontaneity that critics noted in the performances in *Blueberry* might well be attributable to Wong’s directing style that he employs at the shooting stage, where he encourages his actors to be proactive in suggesting improvisations to the script.

Conclusion

From the above discussions, it is evident that Wong’s move from Hong Kong to international cinema marks a protracted “journey”. This involved an initial response to the postcolonial uncertainty surrounding the ending of Hong Kong’s western colonial status and an exploitation of the opportunities afforded by an increasing globalization within the film industry. The latter afforded Wong the opportunity to gradually export his unique Hong Kong art house style onto the global stage, eventually culminating in its repackaging as an ultimately westernized product. At the time of writing this paper, Wong is reportedly working on several projects, which include the long-awaited Hollywood classic remake *The Lady from Shanghai*, possibly casting Nichole Kidman in the leading role, and an action feature *The Grand Master* embracing some of the biggest stars in Asia such as Ziyi Zhang (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*), Brigitte Lin (*Chungking Express*) and popular Korean TV actress Hye-kyo Song (*Autumn in My Heart*)³³. Whichever direction he takes, the next stop on Wong’s filmmaking “journey” will be eagerly anticipated.

With regard to *My Blueberry Nights*, I have suggested that by carefully comparing it to Wong’s earlier films, it can be reclaimed against its critics as an original and creative symbiosis of the unique Eastern aesthetic and Western cultural subject matter and sensibility. Wong not only refashions his own earlier oeuvre, but also re-interprets American landscapes and the ideological substance of Americana. Whether his vision found acceptance and sufficient economic success or not, one could argue that Wong’s film provides us with a glimpse of a different America from an outsider’s perspective. While *My Blueberry Nights* may have alienated some of Wong’s existing aficionados and disappointed the critics, I contend that the film displays a different aspect to Wong’s directorial skill and one that I personally greatly appreciated.

³¹ Mick Lasalle, ‘Wong’s Passionate *Blueberry*’, in *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 2008, <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/04/18/DD46105VIB.DTL>, Accessed 26 March 2010.

³² Meghan Keane, ‘On the Road, With a Translator’, in *The Sun*, April 4 2008, <http://www.nysun.com/arts/on-the-road-with-a-translator/74160/>, Accessed 26 March 2010.

³³ <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0939182/>, Accessed 27 March 2010.

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EFL Learners' and Teachers' Beliefs and Strategy Use of Translation

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EFL Learners' and Teachers' Beliefs and Strategy Use of Translation

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Abstract

Present study investigates EFL learners' and instructors' beliefs on the use of translation. Participants are junior and senior high school students to investigate whether there is an age threshold in using translation on language learning. A comparison between students and teachers is made to gain an insight into the strategy use of translation. By picturing out the overall belief and use of translation, this study reexamines the role of translation in language classrooms.

Introduction

Translation is one of the cognitive strategies (Oxford, 1990) that have been used to facilitate language learning by both language learners and instructors. It's one of the L1-based strategies which involve the knowledge of both native and target languages. Language transfer thus could occur at all levels during the language learning process (Tarone, 1977). The levels of relying on native language are found to differ among learners of proficiency levels (Rahimi, Riazi, & Saif, 2004; Tonzar, Lotto, & Job, 2009; Vandergrift, 2003). Studies have analyzed the elements of translation strategies in order to raise language learners' conscious awareness of translation (Liao, 2007). Though translation is proved to be an effective and efficient strategy in language learning (Atkinson, 1987; Cohen & Brooks-Carson, 2001 ; Ellis, 1985), the lately developed teaching methods, such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Direct Method argue for the possible interference of language transfer between L1 and L2 and discourage the use of native language and translation during the process of language learning. Attacks on grammar-translation by the "reform movement" at the end of the 19th century (Howatt & Widdowson, 2002) arise the issue on whether the use of translation is appropriate in second language pedagogy (Cook, 2007). Present study aims to find out the use of translation by both teachers and students in EFL: settings across age levels. Unlike previous studies focusing on the relationship between proficiency levels and the use of translation, this study attempts to explore whether age is one of the factors that affect the strategy use of translation.

Literature Review

Definition

Translation in this study is defined as an intelligent activity, involving finding equivalent terms in the target language (Sager, 1994) and making and implementing

decisions, active reading, comprehension and production (Darwish, 2003) which are related with language skills. The relationship among the four skills in language learning, namely listening, speaking, reading and writing and the use of translation is one of the focuses for the present study.

The Use of Translation in Language Learning

Previous studies have proved the effectiveness of using translation in language learning. Lotto & Groot (1998) looked at the efficacy of two different learning methods, the picture learning and translation, in the acquisition of words by adult language learners. In terms of retrieval time at test, translation led to better performance than picture learning. The effects of learning method indicated that presentation of L1-L2 word pairs during learning provided a better opportunity for acquiring L2 words than did the presentation of picture-L2 pair (Lotto & Groot, 1998). Thomas & Wang (1996) also provided evidence on translation to be a more effective vocabulary acquisition method than the rote rehearsal. Pianta and Bentivogli (2000) stated that translation could be used in various interesting ways to speed up and automate the linguistic annotation of texts. They found that if the texts in one language had been annotated and the others had not, annotations could be transferred from one language to the other. In sum, translating L1 words into L2 words is proved to be faster and more effective in language learning.

However, other studies have demonstrated the negative correlation between translation and language learning. Barcroft (2009) indicated that although many learners seemed to employ L2-L1 translation and repetition as their most frequently used strategies, these strategies were found to produce lower amounts of vocabulary learning than other strategies, such as mnemonic technique and L2-picture association. Some lately developed teaching methods, such as the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), state that L1-based strategies may be less compatible with the general philosophy of CLT which prefers not invoking L1. Differ from what is typical in Grammar Translation method, the tenets of CLT are held based on the belief that under certain amount of comprehensible input language could be naturally acquired without the help of L1. Traditionally, language teachers are mostly concerned with the accuracy of the final oral/written products. Much emphasis is placed upon the “model translation” provided by the teacher, and students are asked to follow the exact form. Translation is considered as a strategy that stands in the way for learners to naturally acquire a language. Present study attempts to find out how EFL learners and teachers in Taiwan perceive using translation in language learning and how translation is adopted as one learning strategy in language classrooms.

The Beliefs of Using Translation in Language Learning

It is usually considered that the language transfer would decline with proficiency. Kobayashi & Rinnet (1992) reported that 88% of the higher proficiency Japanese participants preferred direct composition to translation. Students stated that they preferred direct writing because they wanted to be able to think in English directly. The same findings are shared under the Chinese context. Chinese-speaking high achievers in Wen & Johnson's (1997) study stated that using Chinese would be harmful for their English learning while the low achiever considered the use of translation would not hinder their progress. Furthermore, Kern (1994) found that even though foreign language teachers and students realized the inevitability of mental translation in L2 reading, both viewed translation as an undesirable "crutch."

On the other hand, translation has been considered as one learning strategy which leads to effective learning and teaching. Prince (1996) stated that the students considered translation as one effective tool in learning new vocabulary with the new word being linked to its native language equivalent. Based on the positive correlations between varied strategy use and vocabulary proficiency (Ahmed, 1989) and between varied strategy use and intentional vocabulary learning (Barcroft, 2009), it's assumed that students with high levels of vocabulary proficiency are better equipped with a varied repertoire of vocabulary learning strategies and translation is one of the effective strategies. Research questions are addressed as follows:

1. What are students' beliefs about using translation in learning English? Are the beliefs different among age levels?
2. What learning strategies do students report using translation in leaning English? Are the reported strategies employing translation different among age levels?
3. What are the teachers' beliefs about using translation in instructing English?
4. What teaching strategies employing translation do teachers report using in instructing English?
5. Do teachers' beliefs differ from their students'?

Method

Participants

Stratified sampling is used to select participants from six different age levels: the 7th (n=65), 8th (n=90), and 9th graders (n=153) in junior high schools, and the 10th (n=190), 11th (n=161) and 12th graders (n=235) in senior high schools. Both students and their English teachers (5 junior high school teachers and 8 teachers in senior high) are included in this survey. Both parties completed two questionnaires: the Inventory for Beliefs about Translation and the Inventory for Translation as a Learning Strategy.

Instruments

The instruments in present study are two questionnaires. Both questionnaires are translated from English to Chinese and have established satisfactory reliability and validity (Liao, 2002). Factor analysis and canonical correlation analysis among beliefs and strategy factors are used to suggest that learners' beliefs about how translation can function in their English learning influenced their use of translation strategies (Liao, 2006).

Results and Discussion

1. What are students' beliefs about using translation in learning English? Are the beliefs different among age levels?

Significant differences were shown on the following statements of beliefs about using translation in learning English.

4. Translation helps me speak English.

Significant differences are found between 7th and 11th graders and between 7th and 12th graders. While all age levels in the junior high agree on the use of translation to help improve English speaking ability, the senior high school students tend to disagree. The possible reason would be the shift of learning goals. Oral activities such as tongue twisters and English songs are included in junior high English textbooks but have been degraded to be a minor focus in senior high. Speaking is not tested for the entrance exam and such backwash has an impact on the textbook design and instructional priority.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	12.224	5	2.445	4.043	.001
Within Groups	536.979	888	.605		
Total	549.204	893			

6. Translation helps me understand English grammar rules.

All age levels in junior high agree that using translation would help the understanding of English grammar rules while the senior high school levels hold the opposite opinion. Possible reasons would be that the grammar rules taught in junior high levels are of lower complexity and are much easier to comprehend. Direct instruction in Chinese leads to the effective grammar learning. One wake up call would be that since senior high students consider Chinese would be not that useful for the learning of grammar rules, it is assumed that they are crammed with grammatical terms without fully understanding. Under the EFL context, translation should play a role of an efficient access for comprehending complex language structure instead of

cramming students with translated grammatical terms.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	9.755	5	1.951	3.390	.005
Within Groups	511.055	888	.576		
Total	520.811	893			

8. Translation does not help me make progress in learning English.

Significant difference is found between the 9th graders who believe translation is beneficial for English learning and the 11th graders who disagree. The 9th graders are those who are going to take the senior high school entrance exam in the coming May and they consider translation to be a more efficient tool for English learning under the time pressure. The 11th graders are at their second year in senior high equipped with certain level of learning capacity. They are not satisfied with the use of translation in English classes which they doubt its usefulness on their language learning and are huger for more exposure of the target language.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	7.840	5	1.568	2.380	.037
Within Groups	585.132	888	.659		
Total	592.972	893			

11. The more difficult the English assignments are, the more I depend on Chinese translation.

A tendency of depending more on Chinese translation increases with the age levels. It is assumed that the English assignments for the junior high school levels are still at the fundamental ability unlike those assigned for the senior high. Furthermore, the nation-wide exams take the lead of instructions at school. For the entrance exam of senior high schools, the exam focuses on the basic achievement of language ability, while it's the competence test for the entrance of universities. The backwash has impact on the English assignment in which the senior high school teachers tend to raise the level of difficulty on the assigned tasks.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	29.781	5	5.956	9.232	.000
Within Groups	572.887	888	.645		
Total	602.668	893			

15. The use of Chinese translation may interfere my ability to learn English well.

The tendency reveals that the younger the students are the stronger belief they have on the interference of using Chinese to learn English. Communicative Language

Teaching is widely adopted in English classrooms in Taiwan, especially at the elementary levels whose main focus would be the development of listening and speaking abilities. Beginners are expected to learn L2 naturally under the exposure of the target language. While the focus shifts to the vocabulary learning and grammatical explanations, both teachers and students tend to rely more on the use of translation under the time pressure.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	18.429	5	3.686	6.817	.000
Within Groups	480.105	888	.541		
Total	498.534	893			

16. Chinese translation diminishes the amount of English input I receive.

The tendency echoes with that of the previous statement. The younger the students are, the stronger belief they have on the use of Chinese which is believed to diminish the amount of received English input. The use of whole language which increases the exposure opportunity of the target language seems to be preferred by junior high school students. Post Hoc confirms such findings. Significant differences are found between junior and senior high school levels.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	39.239	5	7.848	12.064	.000
Within Groups	577.669	888	.651		
Total	616.908	893			

19. I will produce Chinese-style English if I translate from Chinese to English.

Though all age levels disagree that they would produce Chinglish during the translation process, the tendency shows that the younger the students are the more confident they are on such statement. Senior high school students are practicing the English writing for the college entrance exam and unlike the younger students they are expected to produce sentences in a more complex structure such as the embedded clauses. They believe that as the complexity increases, the possibility of being interfered by the L1 increases as well under the assumption that English writing is mainly translating ideas from Chinese to English.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	14.035	5	2.807	4.656	.000
Within Groups	535.369	888	.603		
Total	549.405	893			

20. My English teacher often uses translation in class.

Comparing with the senior high school students, junior high school students have stronger belief that their English teachers use Chinese a lot in class. As the previous discussion states, younger students are hunger for much larger portion of L2 exposure in class and from their statement, their English teachers fail to satisfy such needs.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	10.308	5	2.062	4.500	.000
Within Groups	406.869	888	.458		
Total	417.177	893			

21. I prefer my English teachers to use English to teach me.

Surprisingly, all age levels disagree with this statement. The tendency shows that the older the students are the stronger disagreement they would show on the use of English in class. One possible reason for junior high school students to disagree on the use of English in class would be the distrust of their English teachers' oral proficiency. Students would complain their teachers' nonnative like pronunciation and ask for more authentic inputs except the assigned textbook.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	16.850	5	3.370	5.197	.000
Within Groups	575.790	888	.648		
Total	592.640	893			

24. When using English, it is best to keep my Chinese out of my mind.

The tendency shows that younger students consider that L1 does interfere the L2 learning and as age grows, the dependency on L1 grows as well. Post Hoc showed the significant differences between junior and senior high school students.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	51.392	5	10.278	14.854	.000
Within Groups	614.470	888	.692		
Total	665.861	893			

25. I believe one needs to be immersed in an English-speaking culture for some time before he/she is able to think in English.

Interestingly, only the 12th graders agree with this statement. The tendency reveals that the older the students are the stronger belief they have on the importance of immersion in the L2 environment.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	15.986	5	3.197	5.022	.000
Within Groups	565.340	888	.637		

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	15.986	5	3.197	5.022	.000
Within Groups	565.340	888	.637		
Total	581.326	893			

2. What learning strategies do students report using translation in leaning English? Are the reported strategies different among age levels?

Significant differences are found among the following statements.

4. To write in English, I first brainstorm the topic in Chinese.

The tendency shows that at the senior high school levels, the older the students are, the less Chinese they would use to think about the topic and the written content during the English writing. It's assumed that with higher language proficiency, students are more capable to think in the target language.

Strategy 4	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	10.724	5	2.145	4.985	.000
Within Groups	382.105	888	.430		
Total	392.829	893			

5. When I write in English, I first think in Chinese and then translate my ideas into English.

The tendency shows that during the junior high school levels, the older the students are, the more likely they would think in Chinese and then translation ideas into English during writing, while it's the opposite situation at the senior high school levels. It's assumed that there is a threshold of English proficiency between junior and senior high school levels. The 7th graders just graduated from the elementary school whose instructional priority is on the development of listening and speaking abilities. As the complexity increases with grades, students tend to rely more on their L1. Such reliance reaches the top at the first year of senior high school and gradually decreases as the students develop their English capacity.

Strategy 5	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.154	5	1.631	3.360	.005
Within Groups	431.006	888	.485		
Total	439.160	893			

6. I write Chinese outlines for my English compositions.

The finding echoes with the previous statement. Students tend to rely more on Chinese as they grow older at the junior high school levels but such reliance

decreased with ages at the senior high school levels. Post Hoc reveals the significant difference between the 9th and 12th graders.

Strategy 6	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.674	5	1.735	2.671	.021
Within Groups	576.655	888	.649		
Total	585.329	893			

8. I read the Chinese translation scripts before I listen to instructional English tapes or CDs.

Post Hoc shows a significant difference between the 9th and 12th graders. It's assumed that as the English proficiency has reached a certain level or threshold, students would be able to rely less on their L1

Strategy 8	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	12.224	5	2.445	3.752	.002
Within Groups	578.627	888	.652		
Total	590.851	893			

15. I use Chinese translation of grammatical terms such as parts of speech, tenses, and agreements to help me clarify the roles of the grammatical parts of English sentences. Post Hoc shows significant differences between the 9th and 12th graders and between 10th and 12th graders. The 12th graders are now summarizing the grammatical rules they have learned in past six years and therefore, they consider themselves to be familiar with the grammatical terms in Chinese already. As for the 9th graders in junior high and the first graders in senior high, both rely more on L1 when learning L2 grammar. It is assumed that there is a cutoff point on the English proficiency level between junior and senior high school levels.

Strategy 15	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	9.249	5	1.850	3.199	.007
Within Groups	513.513	888	.578		
Total	522.762	893			

19. I use an electronic translation machine to help myself learn English.

Levels at the junior high school all disagree with such statement while it's the senior high school students who rely more on the electronic translation machines when learning English. The possible reasons would be due to the L2 complexity and the shift of instructional focus between age levels.

Strategy 19	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	31.200	5	6.240	10.439	.000

Within Groups	530.800	888	.598		
Total	562.000	893			

24. I take notes in Chinese in my English class.

Among the six age levels, only the 10th graders in senior high state that they take notes in Chinese in English classes. Possible reason would be the huge gap of test complexity between junior and senior high schools. Both the lexical density and the grammatical complexity increase as students enter senior high school. As these 10th graders state, it takes them quite a time to get used to the heavy learning load.

Strategy 24	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	15.810	5	3.162	5.498	.000
Within Groups	510.682	888	.575		
Total	526.492	893			

3. What are the teachers' beliefs about using translation in instructing English?

Both junior and senior high school teachers believe that translation help students understand the textbook content, write English compositions, comprehend conversations and speak in English, and memorize new vocabulary. But disagreement is shown on the statement of using translation to comprehend grammatical points. Junior high school teachers state that the use of translation fails to help students comprehend grammatical points and retrieve what they have learned after class. They also believe that students can do their homework without the help of translation no matter how difficult the assigned homework would be. These junior high school teachers believe students at this level can actually learn English without Chinese translation. Though both senior and junior high school teachers believe that translation would help students understand the instruction effectively, they think students would prefer them to use English in class and they consider themselves use more English during instruction as well. They don't think students would produce Chinglish if they are exposed to Chinese translation and such exposure would not lessen the opportunity for students to listen and read English. Both of them emphasize the importance of L1 and disagree that students should totally get Chinese out of the way when learning English. As for the senior high school teachers, they don't think their students would feel stressed or frustrated if students are asked to think in English and they don't think students need to be immersed in a whole English-speaking environment to be able to think like a native speaker.

4. What teaching strategies employing translation do teachers report using in instructing English?

After teaching reading, the junior high school teachers would ask students to use the Chinese translation to check whether they have understood the reading or not while it's not the case for the senior high school teachers. Also when teaching writing, junior high school teachers would ask students to think what they would like to write in Chinese before putting the ideas down in English. When introducing English movies or TV programs to students, they would use the Chinese subtitle to check students' comprehension. As for vocabulary learning, neither would use translation to help students memorize new words. However, for the grammar instruction, only the senior high school teachers would use Chinese to help students comprehend grammatical rules. Under the category of using dictionaries, junior high school teachers would ask students use the Chinese-English and electronic dictionaries while the senior high school teachers would ask students to use the English-Chinese dictionaries instead. If students have trouble understanding English expressions, only the junior high school teachers would ask students to translate English into Chinese and ask them to write down the Chinese translations on textbooks. Both believe they have tried to use translation to let students understand the differences between Chinese and English and would let students practice taking notes in English.

5. Do teachers' beliefs differ from their students'?

Both senior and junior high school teachers have stronger belief on the assistance of translation on students' English learning than the selected students. Teachers believe that translation won't get in the way of students' learning while the students hold the opposite opinion. That explains the gap between both parties: the students are eager for more exposure of English during class but the teachers fail to do so. Possible reasons would be the lack of confidence of self oral proficiency and the time pressure for the coming entrance exams. As for the strategy use, significant difference is found between senior high school teachers and students on the use of Chinese translation on English writing. Students would construct their ideas in Chinese first while the teachers choose not to teach writing in that way. Teachers would like their students to think like a native speaker in all learning activities, particularly writing and speaking, while the students consider themselves to have not developed such language distinct and would feel safe by using translation first. Certain level of English proficiency is required to depend less on the assistance of L1. Under such disagreement, it's obvious to expect a gap between senior high school teachers and students on the use of dictionaries. Teachers would like students to depend less on the electronic dictionary while the senior high school students state that they use it a lot. It would be arbitrary to judge the effectiveness on the use of online or electronic dictionaries. But since the majority of students own such access, teachers may need to reevaluate their

consideration of making the best use of such language learning tools. As for the supplementary exposure of English, students would like to use the Chinese subtitle to check their comprehension while the senior high school teachers would prefer not to provide one. The provision of visual clues, such as English and Chinese subtitles, shall depend on students' proficiency levels and the instructional focus. For EFL senior high school students, movie clips are considered to be one authentic input of the target language and without doubt the difficulty and complexity level should take into careful consideration. The Chinese and English subtitles could be provided step by step in order to get the language input transferred effectively.

Limitations

Future studies may add the class observation for the discourse analysis to verify whether the stated leaning and instructional strategies are actually adopted. Interviews could be adopted with both parties which help to clarify their stated beliefs. Correlational studies could be conducted to evaluate the relationship between the effectiveness of translation and the development of language skills.

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Title: Development of a Taiwan Adult Health Literacy

Scale: A Preliminary Study

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Development of a Taiwan Adult Health Literacy Scale: A Preliminary Study

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Abstract

Research in the area of Health Literacy has long ignored in this country. Measurement available in other countries such as those in U.S.A and Europe may not be appropriate for use in Taiwan due to different language system, and many other cultural and political contextual factors. Purpose of this research was to develop a Health Literacy Measurement specific for Taiwan and to test its initial reliability and validity. Five expert clinic physicians; healthcare administrators and scholars identified 125 common used health related Chinese phrases from major medical knowledge sources that easy accessible to the public.. Five-point Likert scale is adapted to measure the targeted population's understanding on these phrases. Such measurement is then validated with levels of respondents' health knowledge levels. Samples under study were purposefully taken from four groups of people in the northern Pingtung, OPD patients, university students, community residents, and casual visitors to the central park. A set of health knowledge index with 10 questions is used to screen those false responses. A sample size of 686 valid cases out of 776 was then included to construct this scale. An independent t-test was used to examine each individual phrase. The phrases with the highest significance are then identified and retained to compose this scale. At last, the Taiwan Health Literacy Scale (THLS) with 66 health-related phrases is established with nine divisions. Cronbach's alpha of each division is at a satisfactory level of 89% and above. Factors significantly differentiate the levels of health literacy are education, female gender, age, family members of stroke victims, experience with patient care, and healthcare professionals in the initial application in this study.

Keywords: Health Literacy; Health Knowledge; Validity; Reliability

Introduction

Research background

Effective communication between healthcare services providers and receivers is a core to quality of a healthcare service. Such effectiveness could be reached by jointly effort of both healthcare professionals and healthcare consumers. Recent healthcare professional training has noticed the need and accordingly included relevant training in incubation education or on the job program of using plain terms or words while communicating with patients or consumers. Service providers may perform a better job when deliver medical advices or health education messages to patients as long as they have good knowledge on the patient's level of knowledge or literacy on health related services(Weiss, 2001). Although a service provider could use as plain as possible words to communicate their patients, yet the communication could be more effective if the service provider would include the patient's health literacy in his/her message encoding stage. Consequently, a quality care could be expected, and error-free medical dispute could be proportionally lowered. Many western countries have developed certain measurements for various purposes. A physician may use this information of health Literacy level to perform healthcare service deliveries and to give home care advices. Public health department of a government can also used this as a reliable tool to assess and deliver appropriate health related information. Taiwan has launched her National Health Insurance Policy in 1995 with great success in caring her nationals' health, of which is one of the best systems in the world. In the meantime, Taiwan has also devoted numerous resources in health education. Unfortunately, Taiwan has no Chinese-specific scale available for use to assess her national's health literacy. This research aims to develop a health literacy scale that specific for Chinese in Taiwan.

Literacy, health literacy, and functional literacy

Discussions on Health literacy (HL) related issues could be traced back to the studies on literacy, and some 3,500 articles had addressed this particular topic as of the year of 2002 (DeWalt, Berkman, Sheridan, Lohr & Pignone, 2004). In 1930s and 1940s, literacy is generally defined as a composite capability of 'reading', 'writing', 'listening', and 'speaking' of mandating particular language while communicating with others. Some scholars further argued that literacy is not static but dynamic, and should accompany with an abstract thinking capability (e.g. Cervero, 1985; Imel, 1985; Levine, 1986; Imel & Grieve, 1985; Fingeret, 1992). Past research has also generally indicated that the level of literacy of a person could be affected by many different factors such as years of education (Campbell, Kirsch, & Kolstad, 1992), social education (Hunter & Harman, 1979) among others. In 1991, the National

Literacy Act of United States broadens the concept of literacy by including the computational capability as part of literacy, and further add a purpose of such literacy as to solve a problem and accordingly to develop a person's potential and to fulfill a personal objective (Levine, 1986; Campbell et al., 1992). This means a person's literacy is not only representing the capabilities of reading, writing, listening, and speaking but also data collecting and information interpreting, and adopt the information in solving a problem and achieving personal goals (Hunter & Harman, 1979). Today, many works have adopted the concept of literacy in relating with an object's self efficacy, motivation, choice, and many other attitudinal and behavioral constructs (DeWalt et al., 2004). Functional literacy that used by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization of (UNESCO) could be viewed analogically the same as health literacy. Both functional literacy and health literacy are illustrating a set of capability that is used by the person to solve the problem and to achieve or fulfill personal goals. Apparently, the health literacy is the specifically more concern on a person's health status.

Health literacy scales

WRAT is well known for its high reliability and validity while identifying an individual's understanding on general English in terms of pronunciation and spelling. This scale has been proven having good criteria related validity with years of education. The major drawback for WRAT was that the terms used in the scale are not health-specific (Wilkinson, 1993). A WRAT test may take around 10 minutes.

Similar to WRAT, REALM is a scale based on the understanding of English pronunciation and spelling, but further on health-specific terms. Items used in this scale were drawn from health-education material, including public health and primary care. This scale has been proven having good reliability and criteria related validity with years of education as well, and is good to be used to identify those individuals with low health literacy. Unfortunately, this scale is not able to measure to what extent an individual understands the meanings of the terms in the scale (Wilkinson, 1993). Although a Chinese version has been translated in 2007 (Lin, Chen, Kwo, & Hwang, 2007), it is doubtful that the scale could be used in a proper way since Chinese and English are two languages with totally different structure.

TOFHLA focus on the health literacy of adult. This scale uses a method of Cloze by enquiring into a respondent to fill out proper words in a five- to seven- words phrases. Besides, testing of an individual's computation capability is also included. This makes TOFHLA distinctive that can identify the respondent's reading, comprehension, and calculating capability in one test. A drawback for this scale is the required time, of which may need around 30 minutes to complete.

As noted earlier in this paper, REALM has been translated into Chinese in Taiwan. The Chinese version REALM has at least three shortcomings. First and could be the major drawback, REALM is developed with health-education materials that are popular in USA, which is highly context-specific. Healthcare professional generally agreed that types of healthcare need may be widely varied from one nation to another. American nationals may share similar experiences of living and education under a roughly similar environment. Second, English and Chinese are two totally different language system with huge differences in words composition, expression (grammar), and phonetic. This difference could be exacerbated when terms or words were given and been accepted by others with additional meaning or metaphor that originated from a shared living experiences.

Main purpose of this research is to develop a scale that truly reflects the health literacy status of an adult who had interacted with the health and healthcare environment of Taiwan, and that identifies an adult's capability in communicating with healthcare professionals and gaining sufficient health and healthcare information in Taiwan. This scale could be further verified with acceptable reliability and validity, and could be used to identify specifically the health literacy level of an adult in Taiwan.

Research Design and Sampling

Research design

Based on the definition of health literacy of World Health Organization, this research collects data with a focus on the materials that have been widely used in health-related issues in Taiwan. A health literacy panel is created. Main source of the panel is derived from the Bureau of Health Promotion (<http://www.bhp.doh.gov.tw>), rtment with the most comprehensive and widest range of collection of health related information in Taiwan. Five dimensions of health related terms are considered as major contributors to a useful health literacy scale. First dimension includes popular and simThe first rms about human organs, physiology, and biochemistry that frequently appear in essential health education programs. Second dimension involves top ten death The second in Taiwan. Thirds dimension regards general diseaseA Third are popular in Taiwan. Fourth dimension focus on the causes and prevention of major illnesses, and the firth dimension covers the major health issues that currently prevail in Taiwan.

Each member of the research team first chooses 100 terms from the literacy panel. All terms are then consolidated as one list. Five healthcare clinicians and experts are the invited to examine the list. These ethenrts are physicians from the family medicine, the obstetrics & gynecology, neurology, and a surgeon of

gynaecology, medicine & rehabilitation, and a vice director of medical center who is an expert of public medical center. Terms that concurrently appear in every individual list are kept, and 50 additional terms are then added as suggested by the expert group. After two rounds of Delphi technique and discussion, 125 items reached a common agreement. In the last stage, 5 items were replaced based on an initial reliability test. In the meantime, we develop a health knowledge scale to screen those unreliable responses. The health knowledge scale contains 10 questions that are popular in clinical offices. This scale is used to assure the truth of a respondent's reaction to the self-response scale. Additionally, the health knowledge scale may provide additional evidence to the validity of the health literacy scale by examining the mutual relationship of health knowledge and health literacy.

A pilot test is then conducted with random selected adults from several public areas of Pingtung City. After some statistical verification processes such as item analysis, t-test, and item-to-total analysis, 66 items out of 125 items were kept in 9 different categories. Internal consistency, shown as Cronbach's α , for each category is high at from 0.851 (Superficial characteristics) to 0.931 (Critical care medicine), and overall reliability is 0.976.

Ethics of research

Personal data of respondents were all treated with strictly confidential manner. All researchers have signed an affidavit to confirm their strict follow the rules of ethic. Interviewers shall obtain an informed consent of each respondent before the survey. Respondents were advised the purpose of the research as well as the promises of not releasing any of personal data before they started to fill the questionnaire.

Samples

Samples are taken from Pingtung County. Common characteristics all groups are respondents shall be 18 years old and over, residents of Pingtung County, having average communication capability, and are mentally healthy. To maximize the variance, this research purposefully selects varied groups that are apparently different in healthcare knowledge. The research successfully obtained 776 samples, in which 90 of them were deleted because of some missing data and 686 valid samples remain for further analysis, as shown in table 1. These groups are 1. Residents of Chian- Jin Li of Pingtung City, where most residents are aged farmers. 88 samples in total and 12.83% of entire sample 2. Visitors to and sport activities participants in the Pingtung Park. This group has 186 samples, 27.11% of correspondents. 3. Patients and their escorts to a local hospital. This group has 205 samples with 29.88% of entire sample. 4. Collegiate students from two universities

and one technological college. This group is the largest one with 207 samples or 30.17% of the entire sample. Testing is conducted between January 20th and April 31st of 2007.

Data Analyses and Results

Sample description

Age, gender, education

Among all 687 respondents, 329 (or 48.0%) are male, 364(53.0%) female with age ranges from 18 to 88 with average age of 41.8 for male, and 35.8 for female. Educational degree in this survey covers full range from illiteracy to doctor degree. 17(or 2.5%) are illiterate, 16(2.4%) have some literacy, 51(7.5%) have elementary education, 48(7.0%) completed junior high and 112(16.4%) senior high schools education, collegiate at 348 (51.1%) as the major group, and masters and doctorate degrees are 11(1.6%). Male and female are not significant different in education, as shown in table 2.

Sample representation

Samples included in developing this scale are taken from hospital patients and their relatives, sports or leisure population in the park, senior citizens in community, and college students. These four groups are believed roughly representing vast proportion of Taiwan population in terms of living style and levels of health knowledge.

Consistent to the national distribution, gender of respondents in this research has no significant difference in education, male has higher rate of chronic disease than that of female, and a female more that a male that takes care of ill family member.

Source of health knowledge

Gender has not significant difference in the source of heal knowledge. Major sources are news report of TV channels (85.1%), newspapers (66.7%), hospitals or clinics (33.5%), and the website of National Healthcare Bureau (7.6%). It appears that respondents with lower education incline to obtain healthcare information from TV or relatives, whereas respondents with higher education (i.e. collegiate or higher) receive healthcare information from published materials (books, booklets) or websites.

Health hazardous behavior

Several hazardous behaviors are found among respondents, of which 38.4% of male and 5.9% of female smoke cigarette, and 16.1% of male and 2.5% of female habitually drink alcoholic products. Gender has significant difference in these

hazardous behaviors, as shown in table 2.

Score distribution of health knowledge and health literacy

Females have better score than their male counterparts in the tests of health knowledge and health literacy score. In the health knowledge test, female reply with more correct answers in 8 out of 10 questions of the test. In the 125 items of the initial THLS, female has better score in 92 items, and male is better in only 2 out of 125 items, the terms of Nicotine and Impotence. The rest items are not significantly different.

Taiwan Health Literacy Scale

Factors on score of health literacy

To reveal the determinants of health literacy and health knowledge, this research take average score of health literacy (125 items) and health knowledge as dependent variables to examine the relationship with several independent variables. Independent variables include demographic variables, experiences of caring cancer patient and / or paralysis patient, experiences of having family members that are cancer patient and / or paralysis patient, and whether the correspondent or any family members work as healthcare professional. The result of logistic regression shows educational level, correspondent is a healthcare professional, having experience in caring paralysis patient, and female gender are significant determinants of health literacy and health knowledge, shown as in table 3.

Item analyses

The consensus 125 items are then categorized into 9 factors of pharmaceutical, top ten death causes, general diseases, organs, physiological, physical examination, medical treatment, disease symptoms, and superficial characteristics of disease. This research further simplifies the scale by reducing 125 items to 66 items as other popular scales did. The nine categories remain. Methods used in this analysis are factor analysis, descriptive, and critical ratio. The critical ratio method is found to have a better discriminate capability than the others (Chiou, 2005).

A grade is given to each individual term on the basis of scores the respondents answered. 'Simple' is given to the terms that receive the first quartile of all scores, 'Rather simple' for those in second highest quartile, 'Rather difficult' for those in the third quartile, and 'Difficult' for the quartile that receive lowest score. We use this grading to check the relationship with health knowledge, and found a need to amend the distribution of these health terms and the content of the scale items. Several items

are then deleted base on the criteria of item-to-total analysis and a consensus of terms that having similar discriminate capability, and several terms are added (e.g. Jaundice , carbon monoxide poisoning, Alzheimer's disease, Cancer, Brain death, Computerized tomography scan [CT scan], and Paranoia, etc.). We then add several terms to reflect the current medical advancement, terms of this kind such as Magnetic resonance inspection (MRI), Hospice care, and others to reach a 66-item scale. Every item in each category is characterized with good discriminate capability. A further test shows that score for pharmaceutical terms are significant lower than those in other categories. Rest of the categories shows no significant differences between each other. The scale is termed as Taiwan Health Literacy Scale for Adults or in an abbreviated form as THLS.

Age, Education, and THLS

In general, an individual receives health education in his / her school educational program, and the government-support health promotion campaigns are always executed through school education system. This means an individual's knowledge on health and healthcare will be accumulated along with his / her education. Therefore, any scale aims to assess the health literacy level should substantially reflect the respondents' educational experience. This research first categorizes respondents into six different levels of education from illiterate to doctorate, and then conducts a correlation with score levels of THLS. The result shows a strong relationship between THLS score and educational levels, as shown in figure 1.

Different age group appears to have significant different in THLS score as well, shown in figure 2. The age group of 20-29 years old is a block that has typically completed collegiate education, and is hence having higher score in THLS. THLS score is then decreasing along with older ages.

Reliability

Internal consistency test appears to have a good result. Pharmaceutical terms receive lowest score among the nine categories of health literacy scale with corrected item-total correlation (I-T) at 0.828, whereas others are 0.87 or above. Overall Cronbach's α is high at 0.98, as shown in table 5. Cronbach's α of medical treatment is 0.87, terms of medicine is 0.89, and the rest constructs are all over 0.90, $p < 0.001$, overall Cronbach's α is high at 0.97.

During the scale development process, the respondents fill the scale with a 5-point Likert scale. "1" represents the respondent has never heard this term, "2" represents the respondent has ever heard about but do not understand the meaning of the term, "3" represents the respondent has ever heard about and somehow understand

the meaning of the term, “4” represents the respondent has heard about and fully understand the meaning of the term, “5” represents the respondent has sufficient knowledge about the meaning so as the application (equivalent level of a healthcare services professional). In order to prevent blind responses or disguise that may misguide the interpretation, we attach a general health knowledge testing with 10 simple questions to the health literacy questionnaire. Four terms of the literacy scale were included in the knowledge testing, Systemic lupus erythematosus (SLE), Degenerative arthritis, Steroid, and Urate (Uric Acid). Answers to these four questions and terms will be used to compare, we will then delete those samples with inconsistent answers.

Validating the THLS

Unlike REALM that measures the subject’s health literacy level by phonetic method, the current scale assess the subject’s understanding on the meaning (and the associated medical treatment) of the terms in question. The current scale embraces the differences of two language system, and further explores the subject’s true understanding on the meaning of a healthcare term. Initial validation that was conducted with hospital patients, the correlation between scores of health knowledge (10 questions) and health literacy scale (66 terms) appears to have an acceptable value at 0.69.

To further validate the validity of this scale, we took several demographic factors that have been proofed having strong relationship with an individual’s health knowledge and health literacy level to test the correlation with the scale.

Education. The higher education level an individual has, the better of the health literacy will be. This may stem from an individual will accumulate health knowledge and increase health literacy level along with regular education, as those found in Al-Tayyib et al.(2002) when developing REALM.

Gender. In general, female is superior to male in terms of health literacy and health knowledge, particular for those types of knowledge associated with medical treatments. Consistent to Al-Tayyib et al. (2002), this research has found female received significantly better score in 46 out of 66 terms (another 18 terms are not significant at $P < 0.05$). This means female is more concern the health issues than male.

Hazardous behaviors. People that has none of any hazardous behaviors of smoking, alcohol abuse, or betel nut chewing appears to have higher score in THLS. Since few of female has these bad behaviors, we are not sure whether the gender will mediate the effect or not. It is also reasonable to assume that people with bad habits may be because they were not well educated, and that responsible for a low THLS

score. In other words, it is not the hazardous behaviors that result in a low THLS score, but the factors had brought them to these behaviors. Causal effects may not exist in the relationship between hazardous behavior and low THLS score.

Factors with family. Subjects whose family members work as healthcare professionals, or ill with serious diseases or chronic diseases have higher scores in THLS. Since seeking and receiving information on particular disease and or healthcare services is part of his / her life for this group, no wonder that these people have better chance in correctly answering THLS questions. This has also further validated the THLS.

Personal experience with healthcare. THLS scores are also high for the group of people who have experienced in taking care of patients or family members. These people more frequently expose themselves than the others to the healthcare services environment, thus will have better chance in accessing healthcare knowledge.

Healthcare professionals. Healthcare service providers, such as physicians, surgeons, dentists, nurses, medicine technologists, and many others have better THLS than those of non-health care professionals. This fact has also validated the THLS, since health care professionals not only accumulate health and healthcare knowledge throughout their incubating education but also need to attend continuous education as part of their job requirement. Again, better healthcare knowledge will have better scores in THLS.

Age. Consistent again to the Al-Tayyib et al (2002), this research gain a similar results that shows the age factor is not a determinant of THLS score. In this research, we found a reverse double U shape relationship between age and THLS score. The peak appears at the age of 20-29 as the first and highest point, the first downturn is found at age 30-39; the second peak emerges at the age of 50-59, and downturns again after that point. Official education may play significant role with age factor in differentiating the THLS score.

Application of THLS

Levels of THLS scores are found having relationships with some personal factors such as education, gender, and hazardous during the research. This means THLS could be a reliable tool in assessing an individual's need of health education and in evaluating the appropriateness of a health-promotion program. For example, Average scores for groups of illiterate, some literate, and having junior high school education are 1.66, 1.70, 1.81 respectively, and 2.27 for those having senior high school, and 3.07 for those have bachelor degrees. According to the distribution of average scores, score of 3.0 could be viewed as having an average capability in receiving health related information and accordingly utilizing such information and

transferring into health knowledge. An individual who is assessed with a score lower than 3.00 in THLS may have some difficulty in receiving and understanding health related information. Those individuals that are assessed with scores lower than 1.70 would be a risky group that exposed to a highly risky environment because of less or least capable in accessing and comprehending sufficient health related information.

Discussion

Despite that Taiwan is one of the advanced countries in medical service, and is well-known in providing quality healthcare services with a relatively low price for her nationals, she has no reliable health literacy assessment instrument that specific for local Chinese people in Taiwan. Lacking such an instrument may be harmful to the interaction relationship between healthcare service provider and receiver, and consequently, prevent a further quality advancing and expose to a risk of misuse of healthcare resources. Since this is a pioneer research that aims to develop a reliable health literacy scale for local use, it is essential to start from the very beginning by collecting raw material. This research is undertaken by including clinical physicians from the industry and healthcare management scholars from academic throughout the entire process of collecting, screening, discussing, and categorizing, testing, and validating. The initial result has shown that the scale is valid for use in certain contexts of clinical offices and general public. We discuss the possible application, limitation, and future research direction in this section.

On the coverage and scope of a term of health literacy

WHO defines the health literacy as represents the cognitive and social skills which determine the motivation and ability of individuals to gain access to, understand and use information in ways which promote and maintain good health (WHO, 1998). According to such a definition, health literacy means more than being able to read pamphlets and make appointments with healthcare service providers. Individual with sufficient health literacy shall be able to access and effectively use health information. Although health literacy is mostly dependent upon more general levels of literacy, a poor literacy can affect people's health directly by limiting their personal, social and cultural development, as well as hindering the development of health literacy. It is no wonder a high relationship between education and health literacy is generally found in past studies.

Health literacy, as what were defined by the National Library of Medicine, World Health Organization (1998), Nutbeam (2000), and *Healthy People 2010*, includes an individual's capability in reading, writing, listening, expressing, and information searching. Moreover, such a capability is a form of integrative that will

enhance the individual's perception toward personal needs of health, access and acquire health resources, by which maintain and promote personal health. Although this research has just completed the wording (i.e. reading and comprehension) in the current stage, the scale has been proofed as a reliable tool in assessing a respondent's health literacy level.

Possible factors lead to a better THLS score

We have found that levels of health literacy score are different in terms of education, gender, age, hazardous behaviors, personal and family member disease experiences, experiences of patient care, and personal occupation. A logistic regression shows that higher education, female gender, non-smoker, healthcare professionals, and family member experience with paralysis tends to have better health literacy scores and better health knowledge. Known that the female has longer average life expectancy than that of the male, it will be interesting to explore whether the difference of health literacy (and so as the level of health-care) result in a difference of life expectancy beyond the biological difference (Al-Tayyib et al., 2002).

Conclusion

After a long hauling, an initial version of Health Literacy Scale for Taiwan Adults has now been developed with acceptable reliability and validity in several initial contexts with different groups. We wish this THLS may provide contributions in several directions. First, we wish the THLS could be included in the national education program as a guide in editing materials for health education. Second, further experiential research should be undertaken to further validate this scale, and third, to expand the usage of this scale. The fourth and the most important one, we hope this scale could be tried and modified with samples taken from more Chinese speaking population beyond Taiwan, for example, Hong Kong, China, Macau, and even Singapore. To our best knowledge, health literacy scale remains absent in these areas. Although some dialectic differences may exist, Chinese people in these areas generally share similar Chinese culture. These regions may take THLS as a base to add, edit, amend, delete, or simplify to produce distinctive but related health literacy scales, by which these regions are able to have an inter-region cooperation for a health promotion program.

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Appendix 1 Tables and figures

Table1 Samples screening

Sampling groups	Screening								S. total	
	Deletion		Blank		Not reliable		Passed		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Hospital patient	1	0.4	7	3.0	11	4.8	211	91.7	230	100
Citizen, park	16	7.6	8	3.8	4	1.9	183	86.7	211	100
Citizen, community	1	1.0	11	11.0	3	3.0	85	85.0	100	100
Students, college	0	0	6	9.2	5	7.7	54	83.1	65	100
Student, college	0	0	3	4.3	1	1.4	66	94.3	70	100
Student, under	0	0	9	9.0	4	4.0	87	87.0	100	100
Sum	18	2.3	44	5.7	28	3.6	686	88.4	776	100

Table 2 Gender & Education

	Gender				S. total	
	F		M		n	%
N	357		329		686	
Avg. age	35.8		41.8		38.7	
Sd.	18.2		19.5		19.1	
Education	n	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate	10	2.8	7	2.1	17	2.5
Some	5	1.4	11	3.4	16	2.4
Elementary	21	5.9	30	9.2	51	7.5
Junior H.	26	7.3	22	6.7	48	7.0
Senior H.	40	11.2	38	11.7	78	11.5
Senior V.	57	16.0	55	16.9	112	16.4
College	159	54.9	153	46.9	348	51.1
M & D.	1	0.3	10	3.1	11	1.6
S. Total	355	100.0	326	100.0	681	100.0

Source of Health Knowledge

Source	F		M		S. total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
TV news	313	87.9	269	82.0	582	85.1
Radio	88	24.7	67	20.4	155	22.7
Book	203	57.0	144	43.9	347	50.7
Newspapers	249	69.9	207	63.1	456	66.7
Magazines	159	44.7	112	34.1	271	39.6
Sch. Edu.	114	32.0	68	20.7	182	26.6
Friends	133	37.4	88	26.8	221	32.3
Primary care	30	8.4	22	6.7	52	7.6
Hospitals	129	36.2	100	30.5	229	33.5
Internet web	140	39.3	119	36.3	259	37.9
DOH	30	8.4	22	6.7	52	7.6
Poster	50	14.0	32	9.8	82	12.0
Speech	39	11.0	24	7.3	63	9.2
Others	12	3.4	13	4.0	25	3.7
S. total	356	100.0	328	100.0	684	100.0

Hazardous Behaviors and Gender

Smoke	N	336	94.1	202	61.6	538	78.5 *
	Y	21	5.9	126	38.4	147	21.5
Alcoholic	N	317	89.5	202	61.4	519	76.0 *
	Y	9	2.5	53	16.1	62	9.1
	some	28	7.9	74	22.5	102	14.9
Betel nut	N	355	99.4	290	89.9	650	94.9 *
	Y	2	0.6	33	10.1	35	5.1
Any of above	N	328	91.9	186	56.5	514	74.9 *
	Y	29	8.1	143	43.5	172	25.1

Table 3 Health literacy scores and personal factors

Model	Non-standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
	B est.	Sd.	Beta	
Independent variables				
Constant	1.903	0.149		12.735***
Exp. cancer pt. care	0.087	0.077	0.048	1.126
Exp. Family as cancer pt.	-0.036	0.067	-0.022	-0.538
Exp. Paralysis pt. care	0.211	0.077	0.122	2.730**
Exp. Family as paralysis pt.	0.010	0.071	0.006	0.144
Family in HC service	0.056	0.058	0.034	0.978
Personal in HC service	0.501	0.097	0.181	5.147***
Gender	-0.167	0.050	-0.113	-3.339**
Age	-0.002	0.002	-0.057	-1.402
Education	0.170	0.018	0.375	9.364***
R=.517, R ² =.267, AdjR ² =.257, F=27.032, p<.001				
Dependent variable: Health literacy score (125 items)				
*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001				

66 項健康詞彙的自我評估

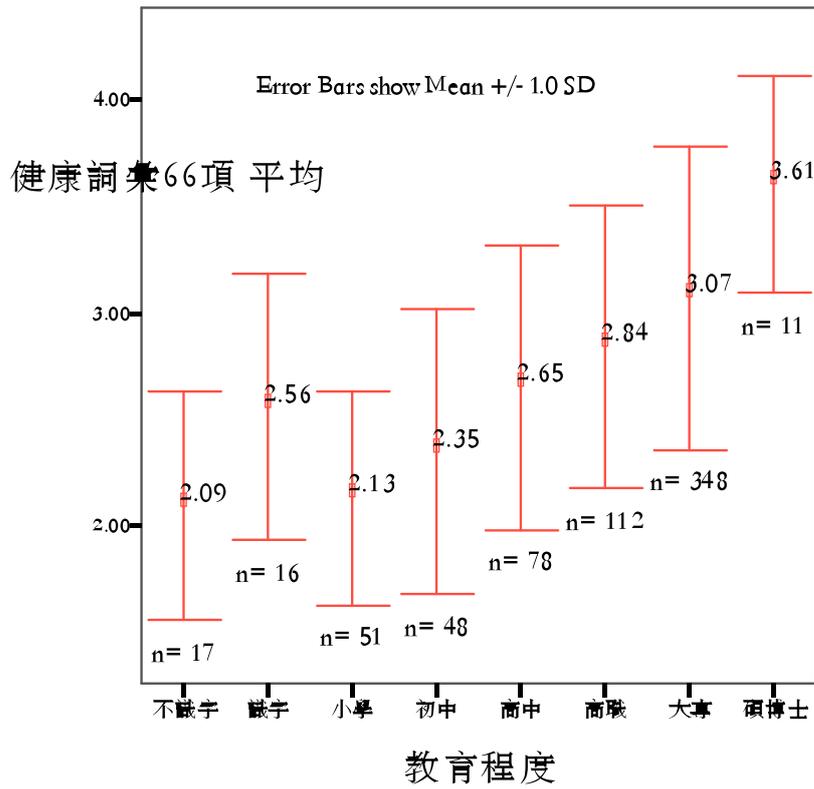


Figure 1. Education versus THLS

Table 4 A sample form of THLS in Chinese

表四、台灣健康知能詞彙量表 第一版 蘇哲能、潘豐泉、陳榮基 2007, 06

以下是一些健康與醫療詞彙，依你的認知請於各詞彙後面打評分，由1-5代表如下：
1:沒聽過 2:聽過但不知其代表意義 3:聽過略知其代表意義 4: 醫療用詞的字面與涵義稍了解 5:完全了解疾病機制及醫療處理程序。(有專門科護理師級以上的認知)

健康詞彙 I	評分 (1-5)	健康詞彙 II	評分 (1-5)	健康詞彙 III	評分 (1-5)	健康詞彙 VI	評分 (1-5)
止痛藥		骨質疏鬆症		更年期		核磁共振檢查	
尼古丁		高血壓		胎盤		高纖食品	
抗生素		肺結核		冠狀動脈		血管攝影檢查	
利尿劑		痔瘡		骨盆腔		超音波檢查	
制酸劑		痛風		荷爾蒙		腦死	
非類固醇消炎藥		腎衰竭		循環系統		心絞痛	
維骨力		愛滋病		鈉離子		失語症	
類固醇		腦中風		膽固醇		尿失禁	
B型肝炎		胃潰瘍		攝護腺		咳血	
一氧化碳中毒		癌症		大腸鏡檢查		眩暈	
巴金森氏症		疝氣		子宮頸抹片		脂肪肝	
肝硬化		甲狀腺		化學治療		強迫行為	
糖尿病		收縮壓		安寧緩和醫療		蛋白尿	
阿茲海默症		血小板		流感疫苗		黃疸	
紅斑性狼瘡		自體免疫		電腦斷層檢查		過敏	
慢性阻塞性肺炎		胰島素		胃鏡檢查			
退化性關節炎		尿酸		心律調節器			

範例：阿斯匹林(Aspirin)

1：沒聽過; 2：我曾經在聽過或見過但不知其代表意義; 3：略知此種為止痛藥
4：知道他是一種止痛解熱藥及副作用; 5：很了解此藥的作用與臨床上的運用。

甲 簡易健康知識試題 選擇題：請將你認為正確的數字填入空白中

- 1.長期服用會造成免疫力下降等多項後遺症的藥物是 1.膽固醇 2.類固醇 3.制酸劑 4.鎮定劑。
- 2.紅斑性狼瘡是那一種系統出問題 1.血管 2.免疫 3.呼吸 4.腸胃系統
- 3.維骨力對下面那一種有幫忙 1.骨質疏鬆症 2.退化性關節炎 3.壓迫性骨折 4.肌無力症。
- 4.痛風是因為血中的何種物質太高引起 1.尿酸 2.葡萄糖 3.脂肪 4.鈣。

乙 簡易健康認知量表:請針對下列問題，填入你的認同程度。

極 · 非
不中 · 常
認認 認認
同同立同同
1 2 3 4 5

- 1.有B型肝炎的人比較容易罹患肝癌
- 2.治療高血壓時，若血壓已正常就該停止服用治療高血壓藥。
- 3.大部份高血壓，高血糖及高血脂病人初期症狀都不明顯。
- 4.抗生素是用來殺細菌的，時常服用可以增加免疫力避免感染。
- 5.腦中風是自然現象無法防治的。
- 6.口齒不清，吞嚥困難可能是中風的症狀。

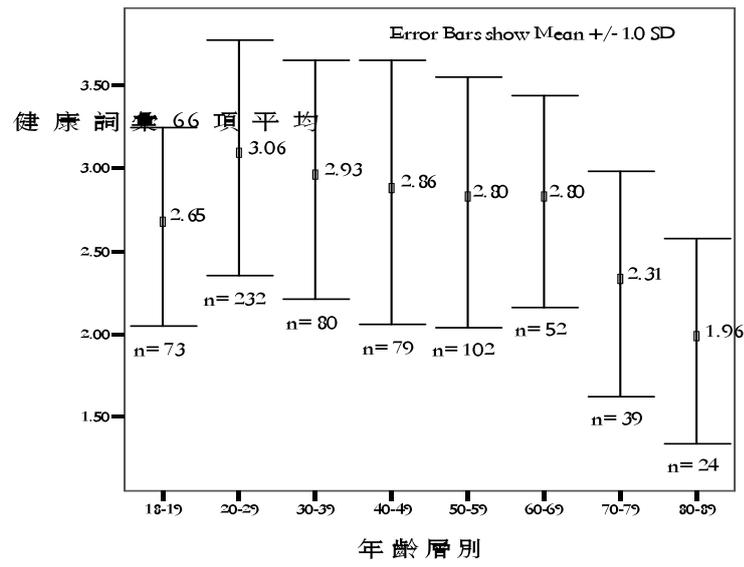


Figure 2. Age vs. scores of THLS

Table 5 Reliability of scales of 9 categories of THLS

	Mean	s.d.	Item to total	Alpha when deleted
Pharmaceutical 8	2.70	0.77	0.828	0.976
Serious diseases 10	3.03	0.75	0.900	0.974
General diseases 10	2.86	0.77	0.921	0.973
Organs 7	2.87	0.91	0.908	0.973
Physical terms 7	2.81	0.88	0.920	0.973
Examination 7	2.84	0.85	0.905	0.973
Medical treatment 5	2.77	0.89	0.900	0.974
Health symptoms 7	2.92	0.78	0.910	0.973
Clinical signs 5	2.76	0.81	0.879	0.974

Table 6. Scores of THLS vs. education

Education	n	THLS average scores					Lower limit of THLS	
		Bottom 25%	Middle	Top 75%	Average	s.d.	Avg - sd.	Est. limit
Illiterate	30	1.66	2.28	2.67	2.24	0.58	1.66	1.7
elementary	51	1.70	2.21	2.55	2.13	0.50	1.63	1.7
Junior H.	48	1.81	2.45	2.87	2.35	0.67	1.68	1.7
Senior H.	190	2.27	2.81	3.11	2.76	0.67	2.09	2.0
College	351	2.61	3.00	3.56	3.07	0.71	2.36	2.5
M & D.	11	3.20	3.52	3.86	3.61	0.51	3.10	3.0
S. total	681	2.33	2.82	3.35	2.84	0.75	2.09	

Notice: This research suggests that 3.0 in THLS as the average score to have acceptable quality of communication with healthcare professionals, whereas THLS score lower than 1.7 would be viewed as seriously poor in health literacy, and 2.0 as moderate, and 2.5 as slightly poor in health literacy.

Beyond Typography – Inspired by the past, stimulated by the future

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Visual Arts

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1. Introduction

Language is unique in different countries and so is in Singapore. English is widely spoken in Singapore but over the years, Singaporeans have developed their own brand of English fondly referred to as 'Singlish'. With the multi-racial background, Singlish is evolved from many years of mixing languages of Chinese, Malay, Indian and European. In Singapore, there are many debates on whether or not to do away with Singlish. The author felt that Singlish is evolved from many years of mixing languages; it truly shows Singapore's development as a multicultural nation. Doing away with Singlish is like erasing a huge chunk of Singapore's history. With a belief that Singlish is a culture in Singapore, an infusion of east and west, this project aims to re-present Singlish in an interesting way to reconnect with fellow Singaporeans.

The concept of this research project is based on my latest research – Beyond Typography. It explores experimental typographic design through Singlish pangrams. It showcases the uniqueness of the Singlish sentence in the form of pangram – pangram is a sentence using the 26 letters of the alphabet at least once. The important part of this project is not to promote Singlish but hopes to influence or change how students and fellow Singaporeans look at our own cultures, especially our cultural heritage, in this globalization era. It also hopes to inspired students to do contemporary design with a touch of their eastern personality.

The students participating in this research are third year BFA undergraduates, major in Visual Communication at School of Art, Design and Media in Nanyang Technological University. This paper reports on the design and implementation of the typography course content through the Visual Identity Discovery Approach. The course was conducted once a week for duration of 14 weeks. There was three parts of the study, firstly, students were told to create a Singlish pangram, and secondly, each of them was expected to design typefaces through exploration of combination and elimination methods. Lastly, students formed into groups to design three-dimensional installations to illustrate the message of their chosen pangram. The final designs of the installation were exhibited in Singapore Design Festival 2009 to reconnect with fellow Singaporeans.

2. Brief Overview of Singlish

Singapore is a small and relatively modern amalgam of Chinese, Malay, Indian and European immigrants, the culture of Singapore expresses the diversity of the population as the various ethnic groups continue to celebrate their own cultures while they intermingle with one another. In order to communication with the one another, our minister mentor, Lee Kuan Yew, then Prime Minister of Singapore, had made English the official working language of Singapore. Over the years, Singaporeans have developed Singapore English. Singapore English is one of the varieties of English in the world today and Singlish is one of the sub-varieties of Singapore English. Although this term is widely used, especially by the media, it has seldom been defined. According to Platt (1975), it is developed from the transference of

features from the languages of several ethnic groups. Largely, the Singaporean, being multiracial and multilingual, contributed to the development of Singlish. The vocabulary of Singlish consists of words originating from English, Bahasa Melayu, Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Tamil, Bengali, Punjabi and to a lesser extent various other European, Indic and Sinitic languages, while Singlish syntax resembles southern varieties of Chinese.

3. The Approach

Visual Identity Discovery Approach (VIDA) is an approach that I have developed since 2007 for my teaching. The VIDA basically consists of three stages, namely, Exploration, Implementation and Finalization. Exploration stage is mainly using Problem-Based Learning¹ steps to identify problems, generate solutions, as well as exploring the notion of Singaporeanness. In this stage, students are encouraged to have fun and experiment. During Implementation stage, further research and identification will be the main focus on student development. They would be exercising their critical thinking skills and build confidence in making design decisions. Lastly, in Finalization stage, the emphasize will be on the design process, design sense, aesthetic and craftsmanship. This experiment is designed so that students will meet learning objectives while covering graphic design content. Through immersion into such a problem, students experience the following:

- Learn to research and collect information
- Hone their critical thinking processes
- Develop their collaborative skills
- Advance their skills in the problem solving process
- Improve their communication skills
- Familiarize themselves with the design process

The VIDA process is illustrated in figure 1.

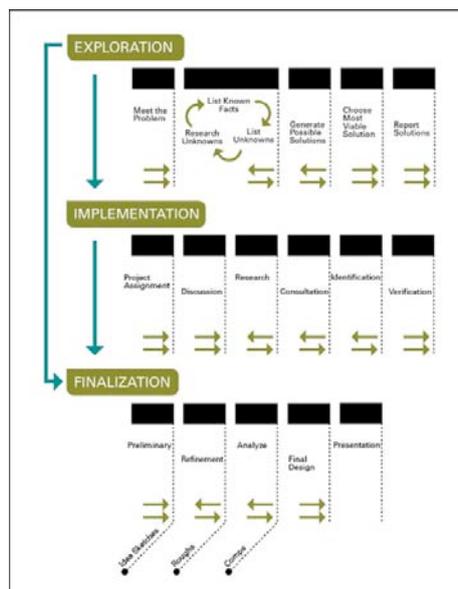


Figure 1: Visual Identity Discovery Approach

¹ Problem-based Learning is an instructional methodology that uses a carefully designed, open-ended problem to prompt students into a 'real world' investigation.

4. Procedures and Methods

The participants in this study were students majoring in visual communication in School of Art, Design and Media at Nanyang Technological University. These students were a mix of Singaporean, Indonesian and Korean. There were a total of 40 students and they were divided into 2 classes. The studio class was once a week for duration of 14 weeks. The study was divided into three parts; on part one, they were asked to create a Singlish pangram individually. On part two, they had to generate new typefaces through exploration of combination and elimination of existing typeface, and on parts three; they worked in group of three and four to design a three-dimensional installations to illustrate the message of their chosen pangram.

4.1 Exploration

In order to give them a quick start and a better understanding of Singlish, a series of activities was implemented to strategically help students to comprehend. In week 1 to 4, students were introduced to Problem-Based Learning (PBL). Students were expected to explore/research the usage, grammar and vocabulary of English, Chinese, Malay, and dialects through PBL steps. The objective was to explore and identify each of the different languages used in Singapore that form Singlish. Sentence, idiom and lingo were collected, examined and identified in class. The exposure and familiarization with various types of languages help students understood differences among them and eventually identified keywords for Singlish pangram development. A good pangram usually contained as few letters as possible, between 80-120 letters. Students were asked to create a pangram not more than 120 letters and to make it more challenging; they were given an alphabet to start their pangram. At end of week 4, forty Singlish pangram were generated from A to Z. Following is a few examples of the Singlish pangram:

- For hours blue taxis drive up Clarke Quay's jammed roads like maze, so where to go now?
- Jack Neo is a zai Singapore film maker who directs good quality movies such as xiao hai bu ben.
- Kena hit on by a stupid ah qua while waiting for taxi just now, and everyone look at me, can die siaz.
- My father kena fined by the very gan-chiong summon uncle at the Queensway HDB carpark exit.
- Queuing for the MRT is very sianz when kiasu people block the exit just to board first.
- The fried kway teow by the quiet zichar uncle is very expensive but damn tok gong to jia.
- We like to talk cock sing song, go to school play a fool, come along play mahjong, very 'xian' queue for zouk by then we all puked.
- Xianz lor, my big cousin has just kena pig flu and has to quarantines for twelve days.

4.2 Implementation

From week 5 to week 8, students were expected to design two fonts through the exploration of elimination and combination of existing typefaces. For elimination effect, they were asked to deconstruct a font into the minimum number of visual clues and yet still able to convey language information. For combination effect, they were asked to combine elements of the serif and sans serif typefaces to produce a hybrid font that exhibits both the serif and sans serif's characteristics. To begin with the assignment, students had to discuss the directions, feels and meaning of their Singapore pangram in class. Next, they researched into the pool of typefaces to identify a few suitable one for exploration. The objective of these assignments was to ensure students paid extra attention to the anatomy of typefaces, familiarized with the characteristics and differences of each typeface, as well as to understand the fundamental of a good typeface. Lastly, students had to use the deconstructed and hybrid fonts to form the Singlish pangram they had created, in order to evaluate the effect of the new font.



Figure 2: Deconstructed fonts by students



Figure 3: Hybrid fonts by students

4.3 Finalization

From week 9 onward, students came together and formed groups of three and four. Each group was asked to design an installation using their best Singlish pangram either in elimination or combination effects. Students were asked to focus on the expressive letterforms, as well as the sensual, spatial and sculptural experiences. The aim was to design an installation that was both informational and meaningful. In the design process, they started off with the preliminary ideas of the installation; the pangram message they were conveying, how the installation would be experienced, as well as how to keep the viewer's interest. Then, they refined it through mock-ups to understand the scale and how it was visually connected and interacted with its environment. In the end, they had to run viewers tests in school to verify clarity and experience. The installation is successful if it entertains and maintains the interest of reviewers.



Figure 3: Development and test run by Loong Cuiwen, Cherlyn Chong, Lynne Goh and Trixie Wang



Figure 4: Development and test run by Adrian Ngrn, Soh Jinping, Lee Kwok Onn and Hung Yi-Sheng



Figure 5: Development and test run by Diyana, Joanne Wee and Song Song I



Figure 6: Development and test run by Iffah, Heng Shaoning, Lin Junyao and Kiyoko

5. Singapore Design Festival 2009

To investigate the aim of this study, re-presenting Singlish in an interesting way to reconnect with fellow Singaporeans, the final designs of the installation were exhibited in Singapore Design Festival 2009. The objective was to collect feedback on how the viewers perceived the Singlish pangrams and the installations. A questionnaire survey was used and 102 Singaporeans were interviewed. Overall, the result was positive as 92% of the viewers liked the exhibition and would recommend it to their family members, friends and colleagues. The generations aged 40 and above, were glad that some of the Singapore pangram used the lingo from their younger days. They mentioned that it has not been used since the 70s and it really warm their heart by reconnecting with the familiar words. As for the younger generations, they did not know most of the Singlish words used but stated that they had learned a lot about Singlish after viewing the exhibition. They also mentioned that it increased their curiosity to find out more about Singlish. 84% of the viewers would surprise to learn that Singaporean actually used different Singlish in different generations. On the whole, 100% of the viewers enjoyed the international art form with strong Asian message, and stated that they would like to see more of such exhibition in the future.



Figure 7: Final installation art pieces in Singapore Design Festival 2010



Figure 8: Final installation art pieces in Singapore Design Festival 2010

6. Conclusion

The journey of re-presenting Singlish in an interesting way to reconnect with fellow Singaporeans completed fruitfully, in term of new knowledge gained in the area of Singlish, unconventional typography design and interactive design experience. Through the Visual Identity Discovery Approach, students had gained a better understanding of the different lingo and idiom of Singlish, and how it was used in our multicultural society. Students had also learned the alternative way to create fonts, as well as applied and integrated it into installation art pieces.

The installation arts produced by the students were of high quality art forms, and it exhibited a strong Singapore culture that could relate to every Singaporean. There is installation on day-to-day activity of taking Mass Rapid Transit (MRT), where you meet all the 'Kiasu' Singaporean that block the doorway and trying to rush in before you alight. There is also one on the army field trip showcasing how underwear gets muddy during the national service where every man in Singapore needs to go through. Last but not least, is the installation that represents the recent breakout of N1H1 in Singapore, so close to heart especially to those people whose loved one is infected. Overall, students had gone beyond the expectation of just creating a Singlish pangram, they brought their personal experience as a Singaporean into the project.

The VIDA approach has enable students to research and analyze information, and as a tool to generate ideas. Through the project, students had learned to understand that the existence of Singlish hold particular meaning to Singapore society, and it is also an identity/culture that we should not be ashamed off. The important part of this project is not to promote Singlish but hopes to influence or change how students and fellow Singaporeans look at our own cultures, especially our cultural heritage in this globalization era. It also hopes to inspired students to do contemporary design with a touch of their eastern personality.

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Impact of Modernization/Westernization on Traditional Dress- Pattern

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Modernization of clothing pattern

Introduction-

According to Jayaswa R (1992:9) "The term changes, in the world means, a revolutionary transition from closed and rigid structures of traditional societies, to differentiated and relatively open structures of developed nations, the change associated with modernization affects the society and culture. Both, social structure and the way of life are basically transformed as the transition proceeds from the underdevelopment (traditional) to the developed (modernized) conditions."

Ferraro.G (1977) from the cultural anthropological point of view, social and cultural changes are caused by both internal and external factors. Internal mechanisms lead to innovation and discovery and external mechanisms lead to the derivation and dissemination. Hence, cultural dissemination (expansion), cultural derivation, innovation and discovery are four internal and external factors of changes which are fundamental on the expanding of the modernization. From the cultural anthropological point of view, modern nations are recognizable by high level technology, industrialization, urbanism, formal educational system, Bureaucratic government, powerful economy, exact time calculating, high movement of population, aptness, rapid changes and planning for future. These features in modernization phenomenon are known as modernization factors.

According to Michael M.Ames (1969), modernization refers to a set of related processes and changes involving such things as mechanization, industrialization, and urbanization, act. And the impact of these forces on social, political and religious life.

Tim Wood (2001) observed that " Modernization as a process also affects the way a society thinks, its attitudes, beliefs, food, dress habits, and cultural patterns at the level of individuals, and as the individuals can be seen as units of the society.

According to Rogers (1962) social change is a process in which significant alteration occur in the structure and function of the particular social system". Hence, it is a continuous process without beginning and end.

Giddens, (1989:56) defines cloth and says; "cloth is symbol of culture and identity of the people, because culture means life style of an identified society and its customs and traditions along with the production of goods."

Moshirpoor (1967) in a research entitled as 'History of change in clothing pattern in Iran from the beginning up to Islam', stated that "Primarily human beings were using leaves and skins of the animals as their cloths and also for protection from cold and heat. Gradually, human beings inculcated appetite for beauty and art. Environmental elements were also effective in the sphere of clothing. Occupation, war, and social changes have been some other effective factors responsible for changing the style of clothing. People should be aware about the changes in the clothing pattern as it reflects the social and culture change.

Ghorbani. R (2006) in his research about Cultural changes among the settled Ashayer (nomads) of Talesh' asserts that the main factor of change in traditional clothing pattern is the urbanization.

Matin.P (2004: 61) in a research about the clothing, states that "the people have a maximum tendency to prefer western style and fashion. This preference has brought changes in clothing pattern." He observers that the new generation feels that the traditions and beliefs are not suitable in the modern age.

Mehdi Salah (2004) observes that during his regime, Reza Shah advocated for ban on compulsion of Hejab/veil for women.

Broad Objective-

To understand and analyze the process of modernization of clothing pattern in the city of Kelardasht in Iran.

Research of Methodology-

-Area and location of study / Universe of sample-

This research was undertaken in the city of Kelardasht, a city in Mazandaran province. It is about 180 km away from Tehran- the capital city of Iran. Kelardasht is in the west of Mazandaran Province. Kelardasht is considered as one of the most important tourist places in Iran (Salahinejad, A, 1997:16).

The city of Kelardasht has been selected for the present study because-

- i. This city of Kelardasht is a historical place of traditional and historical significance / importance
- ii. The pace of modernization is relatively rapid in the city of Kelardasht.

Sampling-

Proportionate sampling method was used for selection of respondents from different parts of the city of Kelardasht. Census list was used in the process of

sampling. 379 households from 7 different areas in the city of Kelardasht were selected for the study.

Techniques applied-

Quantitative information was collected with the help of structured schedule.

Qualitative information was collected with the help of

- i. Participant observations, supplemented by photographs;
- ii. Informal, open-ended and in-depth interviews;

Data analysis-

The huge mass of logically arranged data was then subjected to:

- i. intelligible and systematic organization;
- ii. In-depth content analysis;

Analysis and Discussion of Data-

Traditional clothing pattern in Kelardasht

During the olden days, most of the people in the city of Kelardasht used to wear clothes with traditional pattern. In olden days, the clothes were made from wool extracted from the fur of sheep or goat.

Everyday garment- Present day scenario-

In the olden days, the people used to wear traditional clothes. However, now there is a change in the trend with the availability of the modern clothes.

Table No.1-Everyday garment

Everyday garment	Frequency	Valid Percent
.Traditional clothes	35	9.3
Garment with Modern fashion	132	35.2
Both traditional &modern	76	20.3
No special preference	132	35.2
Total	375	100.0
No reply	4	
Total	379	

From the above table, it is observed that-

35.2% of the respondents stated that they preferred to wear garments with modern and stylist fashion.

35.2% of the respondents indicated that preference for traditional or modern clothing pattern was not of much importance for them.

20.3% of the respondents stated that they favoured using both traditional and modern pattern of clothing.

Only 9.3% of the respondents indicated that they favoured wearing traditional clothes.

Some informants stated that-“In the course of development, and advancement of technology, various alternatives to the traditional clothing pattern became available and these alternatives were also affordable to the people. Through these alternatives, the younger generation is interested in modern, fashionable clothing pattern with variety, comfort, and beauty.

The elders believe that the adaptation of modern clothing pattern is an indication that the members of the younger generation are not interested in the traditional beliefs and values of the society. The members of the olden generation believe that the modern clothing pattern does not fulfill the basic objective of clothing. An informant stated that" acceptance of modern clothing pattern by the members of the younger generation clearly indicates the erosion of religion beliefs among them."

Source of inspiration for trendy fashions-

In the olden days, the people of Kelardasht were wearing simple clothes which covered the body completely and properly. Apart from covering the body, the clothes were warm and protected the people from extreme cold conditions in the city of Kelardasht. Some informants indicated that "in the olden days, fashion was not important. Hence, clothes / garments were not fashionable. The clothes were basically designed for warmth and protection from cold climate."

Table No.2 -Source of inspiration for trendy fashions-

Source of inspiration for trendy fashions	Frequency	Valid Percent
Family members	93	25.2
Friends & colleagues and relatives	40	10.8
Actors programmers in TV	19	5.1
Actors in Satellite TV programmers or actors in films	105	28.5
Shop windows	18	4.9

Magazines	93	25.2
Total	369	100.0
No reply	10	
Total	379	

From the above table, it is observed that-

28.5% of the respondents stated that their source of inspiration for fashion was from the actors in satellite TV programmers or actors in films.

25.2% of the respondents indicated that they got the inspiration for fashion from different magazines. The different media gives attractive information about fashionable / stylist modern clothes / garments.

25.2% of the respondents stated that they had the inspiration for fashion from within the family.

10.8% of the respondents indicated that their colleagues, relatives and friends were a source of inspiration for picking up a fashion.

It was stated that wherever people meet their colleagues, relatives and friends, there is a lengthy discussion about fashion / stylist of clothes / garments they have.

5.1% of the respondents stated that the actors in various programmes on National TV inspired them for any particular fashion.

4.9% of the respondents indicated that the show-windows were a source of inspiration for taking up a fashion.

Many of the informants indicated that "now-a-days, the members of the younger generation take inspiration from different media such as National T.V, dish T.V, internet, and different magazines for picking up popular fashion."

Some informants stated that- "they choose their clothes according to the new fashions which they see in various magazines, satellite T.V and in shops."

Some informants indicated that -"their favorite channels are 'fashion'. They usually spend several hours with friends for looking this channel every day. They feel that now they can easily select any fashion from internet, dish T.V and magazine."

The different media gives attractive information about fashionable / stylist modern clothes / garments. It was stated that wherever people meet their colleagues, relatives and friends, there is a lengthy discussion about fashionable / stylist modern garments / clothes.

Priorities while choosing clothes-

An attempt has made to understand the factors considered while choosing clothes.

Table No.3

Priorities while choosing clothes	Frequency	Valid Percent
Fashion / style	25	6.8
Comfort	104	28.5
Price	61	16.7
Imported	10	2.7
Color / color combination	27	7.4
Unique features	18	4.9
Durability	78	21.4
. Beauty	42	11.5
Total	365	100.0
No reply	14	
Total	379	

From the above table, it is observed that-

28.5% of the respondents stated that comfort was the preferred criteria while choosing clothes.

21.4% of the respondents indicated that they considered durability as an important factor while choosing clothes.

16.7% of the respondents stated that the cost was taken into consideration while choosing clothes. It was indicated that the respondents preferred clothes which they thought had a reasonable cost.

11.5% of the respondents indicated that while choosing clothes, they considered the overall appearance of the clothes and the potential addition to their beauty on adorning the clothes.

7.4% of the respondents stated that the colour and effect of overall colour combination was primarily considered while choosing clothes.

6.8% of the respondents indicated that fashion and style were considered to be important while choosing clothes.

4.9% of the respondents stated that they were interested in buying clothes which had unique features.

2.7% of the respondents indicated that while purchasing clothes, they preferred imported clothes.

Adaptation of modern fashion / style / design -

In the olden days, most of the people in Kelardasht city used to wear very simple clothes. Fashion / style as such were almost non-existent during the olden days. All the people were engaged in traditional form of occupation (agriculture and animal husbandry), were using the traditional pattern of clothes. With the changing scenario and with availability of options and alternatives, adaptation of fashion has become more common.

Table No.4- Adaptation of modern fashion / style / design -

Adaptation of modern fashion / style / design	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	189	51.1
.No	181	48.9
Total	370	100.0
No reply	9	
Total	379	

From the above table, it is observed that-

51.1% of the respondents stated that they prefer to have clothing pattern with modern fashion and style.

Reason for adaptation of fashion / style / design

- Liking / preference for modern clothing pattern
- Good appearance;
- Wide range of variety;
- Good quality clothes;
- Satisfaction of following others;
- Modern clothes are considered to reflect high status / position in the society.
- Attracted by advertisement in different media.
- Influenced by colleagues, friends and relatives.

48.9% of the respondents indicated that they prefer simple clothing pattern without modern fashion and style.

.Reasons for simple clothing pattern without modern fashion /style / design-

- Modern / fashionable / stylist – clothes are considered to be expensive. Hence, not affordable.
- Modern / fashionable / stylist clothes are considered to be un-suitable for personality.
- Adaptation of fashion / style- is not considered to be a good deed.
- Adaptation of fashion / style is considered to be against traditional religious beliefs.
- Adaptation of fashion / style is considered to contribute to the loss and erosion of traditions and religion.

Using traditional clothes-

It is observed that- even in the realm of modernization, there are some people who do prefer traditional clothing pattern even today.

Table No.5- Using traditional clothes-

Using traditional clothes	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	101	27.4
No	267	72.6
Total	368	100.0
No reply	11	
Total	379	

From the above table, it is observed that-

72.6% of the respondents stated that they did not prefer traditional clothing pattern.

It is obvious that this group represents the younger generation.

Reasons for not using traditional clothing pattern-

- Liking / preference for modern clothing pattern.
- No liking for traditional clothes.
- Traditional clothes- not easily available in the city.
- Members of the younger generation are not ready to take up the responsibility of the production of traditional clothes.

- Religious / traditional beliefs are considered to be less important.
- Traditional clothes are considered to be relatively expensive.

Some informants stated that they believe in following the popular phrase -"In Rome do as the Romans do."

27.4% of the respondents indicated that they preferred traditional clothing pattern.

It is obvious that this group represents the older generation.

Reasons for using traditional clothing pattern-

- Liking / preference for traditional clothing pattern.
- Traditional clothing pattern is considered to be comfortable.
- Traditional clothes are considered best for women, as the traditional clothes have the potential of covering the body in the best possible manner.
- Traditional clothes reflect their customs, values, traditions, history and culture.
- Traditional clothes are in accordance with traditional / religious beliefs.
- Following religious / traditional beliefs is considered to be more important.

The norms for women for covering the body with reference to different places-

I- Inside the Offices and Institutions

II- In Public places in the city and at home

I- Inside the Offices and Institutions-

Offices and Institutions have been established in the recent past in the city of Kelardasht. Now, there are many Office and Institutions in the city. The number of women working in these Offices and Institutions is considerable.

The normative traditional and desirable dress code for women while attending Offices and Institutions and associated behaviour -

- While attending offices and Institutions, the women are expected to completely cover their body i.e- *Ba- Hejab* (complete covering).
- In addition to the Hejab (basic covering), the women are expected to further cover their body by using a Chador (black in colour) or Manto (Multi

colored). Some women use both Chador and Manto. The Manto is on the inner- side and the Chador on the outer-side.

iii. Apart from covering the body, the women attending Offices and Institutions are expected to completely cover their head (hair) with a scarf.

iv. According to Islam, the women are forbidden to use any kind of 'make up' while they attend Offices and Institutions and also while moving in public places.

v. It is observed that-after coming out of the premises of Offices and Institutions, after office hours, a few women may-

(a) Change the outside covering. They take off the Chador and keep it in the bag. Even after removing the outside Chador, there is a Manto on the inner-side. This group is represented by a few women.

(b) Adorn 'make up' on their face.

II- In Public places, in the city and at home-

As far as clothing pattern in public places in the city and that at home is concerned, following evolutionary trends are usually observed -

A- Exclusive use of traditional dress pattern-

This group is represented by a few members from the older generation. The representatives from this group are very firm upon their religious and traditional beliefs. Hence, this group prefers to use the traditional clothing pattern while at home or while in public places in the city. The traditional clothing pattern comprises '*jomeh*' (shirt), '*Tange tamoon*' (pants), '*Lechak*' (traditional scarf, made from local material and by local women) and '*Kalosh*' (shoes, made from local leather). As the traditional dress is loose in its fitting, a Chador / Manto is not required. However, a Chador is generally used while travelling to other cities. This small group never resorts to using modern / western clothing pattern inside the house or while in public places in the city. This small group never resorts to any 'make up' while at home and in public places in the city.

B- Beginning of changes –

It was indicated that in the past, the mothers and daughters were expected to completely cover their body. Apart from covering their body, they covered their heads with scarfs, in front of male individuals in the family. According to traditional

customs the mother is expected to cover her head in front of the children, and the girls are expected to cover their heads in front of their brothers and father. However, now the entire scenario has changed. Today the mother and daughters in the families have adapted to a completely changed dressing pattern while at home. Their dressing pattern while at home is modern and westernized. Using jean pants / trousers and tops / t-shirts / shirts- is very common. Now-a-days, while at home, the mothers and daughters do not feel it necessary to use scarfs to cover their heads in front of their children and brothers / fathers respectively.

C- Use of Chador for covering basic clothes-

This group is represented by women –who by virtue of their respect and regard for the traditional and religious beliefs, do not use modern / western clothes while in Public places in the city. However, a few of them do use modern / western clothing pattern while at home. Moreover, they promptly cover their modern / western clothes by using a chador. Chador covers the Hejab (basic clothes / covering). As per Islamic norms, the Government advocates the use of chador as a covering over the Hejab (basic clothes) because it is considered to be the best for covering the body. This small group resorts to use of 'make up' within the house.

D- Adaptation of Manto in the recent past-

This group is represented by women who resort to use modern / western clothes while they are at home. Moreover, the women in this group promptly cover their modern / western clothes by using a Manto. In addition to covering their modern / western clothes by a Manto, they also cover their heads by using a scarf. A few women in this group cover their modern / western clothes by using a manto (from inner-side) as well as a Chador (from outer-side). At this point, it is pertinent to note that the Manto (multi-colored) has been adapted in the clothing pattern of women, in the recent past just 20-25 years ago.

E- Exclusive use of modern / western clothing pattern-

This group is represented by women from predominant younger generation who are exclusively using modern / western dress pattern such as-jean pants / trousers / skirts / short and t-shirts / shirts. They use the modern / western clothing pattern while they are at home as well as when they go to public places in the city. Tops are used

only while they are at home. Tops can be used in public places along with a Manto. The members of this group do not use a Chador for covering their basic clothes. However, they attempt to indicate that they are covering their basic clothes by using a modified Manto. This modified Manto has a different pattern and design which suits the modern / western clothing pattern. Moreover, the modified Manto is approximately half the length of the Manto that adheres to the traditional / religious norms prevalent. The members of this group also indicate that they want to cover their heads by using imported scarfs. However, it is observed that while attempting to show that they want to cover their heads, they do not completely / properly cover their heads as per the traditional / religion norms prevalent. The scarf on their heads is tied in such a manner that their hair are exposed. It is observed that while going to public places in the city they adorn themselves with heavy 'make up'. They also use fashionable sunglasses when they go to public places in the city. In the light of Islamic rules and traditions, use of exclusive modern / western dress pattern is viewed as- violation of the religious / traditional beliefs and norms. Hence, use of exclusive modern / western dress pattern is considered to be '*Bi Hejab*'-(incomplete covering) in the light of Islamic rules. This is considered to be undesirable because it is against the religious norms. The Government and the religious leaders object the exclusive use of modern / western dress pattern by the women from pre-dominant younger generation, Notifications / warnings are given for restraining girls and younger women from resorting to exclusive use of modern / western dress pattern. A few women take these notifications / warnings seriously and attempt to change their dress pattern that adheres to the religious traditions and norms. However, majority of the women from the predominant younger generation do not take these notifications / warnings seriously.

Some reasons for adapting modern / western dress pattern-

1. Universalisation of modern education
2. Education of girls / women
3. Use of technological Advancements by the society-(Use of computer and internet).
4. Accelerated growth of urbanization
5. Changes in occupation structure

6. Inclusion of women in work-force
7. Expansion of usage of print media
8. Expansion of usage of electronic media (Use of TV / Dish TV).
9. Traditional / Religious restrictions got diluted from their attachment to everyday life style
10. Acceptance of modern / westernization in everyday life style.

Adaptation of Modern / western dress pattern by men-

- in the public places, in the city, at home, and in the Offices / Institutions

The men use modern / western dress pattern in the public places in the city, at home and offices / Institutions. Men comfortably use sports wear, jean pants, suits, and other stylist / fashionable garments. Moreover, some religious Offices do not allow their employees to use modern / western dress pattern while in the Office.

Dress- pattern related restrictions on men and women –

As far as the dress pattern related restrictions are concerned, men do not have many restrictions as compared to the restrictions upon women. It is observed that there is more sensitively regarding the dress pattern of women as compared to the dress pattern of men.

Conclusion-

During the olden days-

in the olden days, the traditional clothes were made from wool extracted from the fur of sheep or goat.

Everyday garments-Present Day Scenario-

From Table no 1- it is observed that 35.2% of the respondents stated that they preferred to wear garments with modern and stylist fashion.

35.2% of the respondents indicated that preference for traditional or modern clothing pattern was not of much importance for them.

20.3% of the respondents stated that they favoured using both traditional and modern pattern of clothing.

In the course of development, and advancement of technology, various alternatives to the traditional clothing pattern became available and these alternatives were also affordable to the people. Through these alternatives, the younger generation is interested in modern, fashionable clothing pattern with variety, comfort, and beauty. With a few exceptions / special events such as traditional or religious festivals or marriages, the members of the younger generation do not favour the traditional clothing pattern in general. The elders believe that the adaptation of modern clothing pattern is an indication that the members of the younger generation are not interested in the traditional beliefs and values of the society. The members of the older generation believe that the modern clothing pattern does not fulfill the basic objective of clothing.

Source of inspiration for trendy fashions-

From Table no 2- it is observed that

28.5% of the respondents stated that their source of inspiration for fashion was from the actors in satellite TV programmers or actors in films.

25.2% of the respondents indicated that they got the inspiration for fashion from different magazines. The different media gives attractive information about fashionable / stylist modern clothes / garments.

25.2% of the respondents stated that they had the inspiration for fashion from within the family.

The different media gives attractive information about fashionable / stylist modern clothes / garments.

It was stated that wherever people meet their colleagues, relatives and friends, there is a lengthy discussion about fashion / stylist of clothes / garments they have.

Priorities while choosing clothes-

From Table no 3- it is observed that

28.5% of the respondents stated that comfort was the preferred criteria while choosing clothes.

21.4% of the respondents indicated that they considered durability as an important factor while choosing clothes.

16.7% of the respondents stated that the cost was taken into consideration while choosing clothes. It was indicated that the respondents preferred clothes which they thought had a reasonable cost.

11.5% of the respondents indicated that while choosing clothes, they considered the overall appearance of the clothes and the potential addition to their beauty on adorning the clothes.

Adaptation of modern fashion / style / design –

From table no 4 it is observed that -

With the changing scenario and with availability of options and alternatives, adaptation of fashion has become more common.

51.1% of the respondents stated that they prefer to have clothing pattern with modern fashion and style.

- Reason for adaptation of fashion / style / design

Major reasons include- Attraction, preference and resulting appearance.

48.9% of the respondents indicated that they prefer simple clothing pattern without modern fashion and style. The major reason for preferring simple clothing and opposing modern / fashionable / stylist clothes is the ideology that adaptation of fashion / style is considered to be against traditional religious beliefs, leading to the loss and erosion of traditional and religion.

Using traditional clothes-

From Table no 5- it is observed that- even in the realm of modernization, there are some people who do prefer traditional clothing pattern even today.

72.6% of the respondents stated that they did not prefer traditional clothing pattern.

It is obvious that this group represents the younger generation, which has a liking and a preference for modern clothing pattern.

Some informants stated that-they believe in following the popular phrase -"In Rome do as the Romans do."

27.4% of the respondents indicated that they preferred traditional clothing pattern.

It is obvious that this group represents the older generation, which opines that -

Traditional clothes are best for women, as the traditional clothes have the potential of covering the body in the best possible manner and traditional clothes are in accordance with important traditional / religious beliefs.

The norms for women for covering the body with reference to different places-

I- Inside the Offices and Institutions-

The normative traditional and desirable dress code for women while attending Offices and Institutions and associated behaviour -

- i. While attending offices and Institutions, the women are expected to completely cover their body i.e- *Ba- Hejab* (complete covering).
- ii. In addition to the Hejab (basic covering), the women are expected to further cover their body by using a Chador (black in colour) or Manto (Multi colored). Some women use both Chador and Manto. The Manto is on the inner- side and the Chador on the outer-side.
- iii. Apart from covering the body, the women attending Offices and Institutions are expected to completely cover their head (hair) with a scarf.
- iv. According to Islam, the women are forbidden to use any kind of 'make up' while they attend Offices and Institutions and also while moving in public places.

II- In Public places, in the city and at home-

As far as clothing pattern in public places in the city and that at home is concerned, following evolutionary trends are usually observed -

A- Exclusive use of traditional dress pattern-

This group from older generation prefers to use the traditional clothing pattern while at home or while in public places in the city. This small group never resorts to using modern / western clothing pattern inside the home or while in public places in the city.

B- Beginning of changes –

According to traditional customs the mother is expected to cover her head in front of the children, and the girls are expected to cover their heads in front of their brothers and father. However, now the entire scenario has changed. Today the mother and daughters in the families have adapted to a completely changed dressing pattern while at home. Their dressing pattern while at home is modern and westernized. Now-a-days, while at home, the mothers and daughters do not feel it necessary to use scarfs to cover their heads in front of their children and brothers / fathers respectively.

C- Use of Chador for covering basic clothes-

This group is represented by women –who by virtue of their respect and regard for the traditional and religious beliefs, do not use modern / western clothes while in Public places in the city. However, a few of them do use modern / western clothing pattern while at home. Moreover, they promptly cover their modern / western clothes by using a chador. Chador covers the Hejab (basic clothes / covering).

D- Adaptation of Manto in the recent past-

This group is represented by women who resort to use modern / western clothes while they are at home. Moreover, the women in this group promptly cover their modern / western clothes by using a Manto. In addition to covering their modern / western clothes by a Manto, they also cover their heads by using a scarf. A few women in this group cover their modern / western clothes by using a manto (from inner-side) as well as a Chador (from outer-side). At this point, it is pertinent to note that the Manto (multi-colored) has been adapted in the clothing pattern of women, in the recent past just 20-25 years ago.

E- Exclusive use of modern / western clothing pattern-

This group is represented by women from predominant younger generation who are exclusively using modern / western dress pattern such as-jean pants / trousers / skirts / short and t-shirts / shirts. They use the modern / western clothing pattern while they are at home as well as when they go to public places in the city. Tops are used only while they are at home. Tops can be used in public places along with a Manto. The members of this group do not use a Chador for covering their basic clothes. However, they attempt to indicate that they are covering their basic clothes by using a modified Manto, having a different pattern and design which suits the modern / western clothing pattern. The members of this group also indicate that they want to cover their heads by using imported scarfs. However, they do not completely / properly cover their heads as per the traditional / religious norms prevalent. Use of exclusive modern / western dress pattern is viewed as- violation of the religious / traditional beliefs and norms. Hence, use of exclusive modern / western dress pattern is considered to be '*Bi Hejab*'-(incomplete covering) in the light of Islamic rules. Notifications / warnings are given for restraining girls and younger women from resorting to exclusive use of modern / western dress pattern. However, majority of the

women from the predominant younger generation do not take these notifications / warnings seriously.

Some reasons for adapting modern / western dress pattern-

Major reasons include education, urbanization and adaptation of technological advancements.

Adaptation of modern / western dress pattern by men-

-in the offices / Institutes / public places in the city and at home -

The men use modern / western dress pattern offices Institutes in the public places in the city and at home. Men comfortably use sports wear, jean pants, suits, and other stylist / fashionable garments. Moreover, some religious Offices do not allow their employees to use modern / western dress pattern while in the Office.

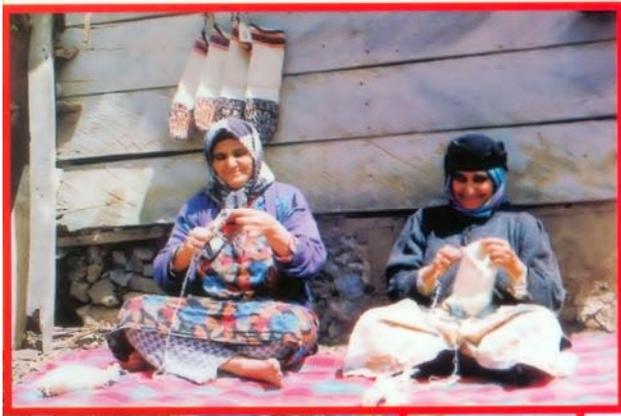
Dress- pattern related restrictions on men and women –

As far as the dress pattern related restrictions are concerned, men do not have many restrictions as compared to the restrictions upon women. It is observed that there is more sensitively regarding the dress pattern of women as compared to the dress pattern of men.

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Photograph N. 1 & 2 - preparing traditional clothes in the olden days



Photograph No. 3- Modern / western clothing in the park



Photograph No. 4- Chador and Manto in the public place



Photograph No. 5- Using Manto in the public place



Photograph No. 6- Using modern /western clothing in the public place



Effects of Cultural Changes on Jewelry in the Age of Globalization

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Topic:

Arts: Other

Effects of Cultural Changes on Jewelry in the Age of Globalization

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Introduction:

The world is witnessing today in various fields many developments and changes which are unprecedented in earlier times. The most important of them is the emergence of the phenomenon of globalization which is considered to be one of the most widespread phenomena of our time. It has powerful influence on the lives of people through the creation of a number of political, economic, cultural and intellectual challenges.

Culture was impacted by different changes and challenges in the age of globalization. Globalization calls for a culture without borders. It is assisted by the technological development, particularly in the area information and communications which helped in transforming culture into a commodity that is exchanged between nations and people of the world.

People took different positions in confronting globalization. One group embraced the open global culture, whereas a second took a more conservative approach towards facing the culture of the other. They were fearful of losing their own culture, which represents their national identity. The third group adopted a balanced approach that felt that globalization will not scrap cultural diversity but will increase the interaction and exchange between different cultures while preserving their identities and local cultures. By enlarging the circle of interactions with other people, the local culture will be enriched by different expertise.

This intellectual diversity in dealing with globalization was reflected on arts in this current era. Art is a mirror of the society that describes culture and way of thinking. Jewelry is one of arts that was impacted by the culture of its designers who were influenced by globalization in terms of design, fabrication and marketing.

The objective of this research paper is to shed some light on cultural changes in the era of globalization and its challenges and its impact on metal jewelry.

We shall take up in this research the following subjects:

- First: the concept of globalization and its inception.
- Second: The culture in the era of globalization.
- Third: The impact of globalization on metal jewelry.
- Fourth: Conclusion and recommendations.

1. The concept of globalization and its inception

Globalization cannot be limited to one definition. It is a broad concept and a large phenomenon of a holistic effect; therefore many intellectuals define only a part or one aspect of it.

In the opinion of the pioneers of globalization and its supporters, it aims to find common ground between peoples and the development of dialogue and the promotion of peace and tolerance, based on common interests and the need for joint humanitarian effort. Globalization in this sense is not the result of our contemporary world, the idea of "global" arose in the period of Greek philosophers. It then crystallized and developed with the booming era of nationalities in Europe where ideas of "Pierre Dubois" (1250-1323), as well as Kant in the eighteenth century. The liberal thought also witnessed the many thesis for universality from the first ideas of Mielles (1858-1917) until Parsons (1902-1979) where the importance of the role of innovation in creating one humanity [1].

The term "globalization" was first used by Marshall McLuhan, professor of sociology at the University of Toronto, when he coined the concept of global village in the late sixties. He focused in his book (War and Peace in the Global Village) on the role of the broad developments in the communications media in converting the world into a global village [2].

Globalization is a nested web which includes economic, cultural, political, and social views, and each one defines globalization from its point of view. We will present here some of these definitions.

The definition of globalization from the economic point of view:

The emergence of new trends and indicators and global economic institutions that were not present in the past, affected the definition of globalization. Wolfgang Reinicke defined globalization as "the phenomenon of complementarity in the structural and strategic aspects of companies where their systems reach beyond national borders to achieve international competitiveness." [3]

Globalization was also known as the expansion in communications and information systems, the growth of financial markets that do not recognize borders, the increasing role of multinational companies and the emergence of regional economic blocs [4].

The definition of globalization in terms of the political dimension:

Some defined globalization as "greater coherence and cohesion between the constituent parts of the planet, where a political decision in one country can affect the lives of millions of people in distant places." [5]

The definition of globalization in terms of the cultural dimension:

Multiple definitions of globalization emerged from the cultural dimension, "where the rise of culture as a global commodity marketed like any other commercial commodity. It was followed by the emergence of awareness, recognition, concepts, beliefs, symbols and media of a global nature." [6]

The definition of globalization based on the social dimension:

The emergence of global civil society and the issues of common humanity gave rise to social globalization. It treats social problems such as migration, population growth, drugs, violence and other issues that cannot be addressed by one state alone. Some defined it as "a process of evolution often as a positive force working to unite the various communities and achieve integration in the global village." [7]

Through these definitions, we can say that globalization is a general phenomenon which is mainly impacted by economy and then politics, culture, sociology and behavior. Its membership is for the whole world across national borders.

The start of globalization:

Globalization appeared approximately after the Second World War during the last century. Many changes had appeared across the economic, political and social fields that led to the emergence of a new phenomenon not known previously, which was named later as globalization. We will address these changes and their role in the emergence of this phenomenon.

First: Political Changes:

Among the many events that transformed the world is the fall of the socialist system in the Soviet Union, which have been for decades an important pole and had a powerful influence on the global system. This resulted in the end of the Cold War and the resort of many socialist countries to the open liberal system. Their policies have changed internally and externally and became more flexible to accommodate both their national agenda and international politics. Then, a wave of democratization started at the global level in political terms which contributed in one way or another in the increasing interdependence between nations and peoples of the world.

Second: Economic Changes:

The global economic thought saw many changes that contributed to the marked differences in economic policies. Technical development at the end of 1960's made national markets too small to accommodate all the production output as well as the entry of new countries in economic competition, such as countries in Western Europe and Japan. This gave rise to giant multinational companies that targeted the whole world market, and thus moved the supply and demand and economic competition from local to global. Globalized goods became more similar and homogeneous in accordance with global standards.

Third: The Technical and Scientific Revolution:

Eight thousand years ago, the agricultural civilization was the first wave of civilizations, which was followed by the industrial civilization at the beginning of the twentieth century where factories played a major role. A third wave emerged in the mid-twentieth century which is the information civilization, where the discovery of space took place. In addition, the use of electronics resulted in fast and easy communications and interaction among the world which led to new forms of social life. The progress in this revolution is achieved by knowledge and its technological applications as a new production force and resulted in the growth of the forces of the human creativity. The aim of the revolution of modern technologies is to adapt the machine to perform the functions of mind which multiplies the human intellectual capacity.

Consequently, the technological revolution moved to unite the world in one context and to the elimination of the traditional geographical differentiations and political boundaries. Communication and Information technology such as satellite television and radio stations in addition to the Internet became one of the most important tools for cultural change, particularly in the area where globalization promotes interdependence among peoples.

Fourth: The trend towards the Global Civil Society:

Awareness of people about the environmental and public health has increased and therefore everyone is responsible for it. We live in one planet and environmental abuses such as the wasting of natural, human, water sources, the disposal of nuclear waste and nuclear testing are all capable of creating a real catastrophe. This catastrophe is not limited to one country but may spread across geographical boundaries.

Human phenomena are no longer limited to certain people over others, but had become global such as the spread of famine and vulnerability of the ozone layer and the spread of new viruses. This has led to the understanding among people that we live together in one planet and its well being is the responsibility of all. Thus, many international organizations were formed. "The United Nations stressed in 1998 on the importance of the protection of International natural resources and the foundations of life since we all live on one boat." [8]

2. Culture in the Age of Globalization

The Conference of Cultural Policies in Europe which was held in Helsinki in 1972, defined culture as "all of the spiritual and material manifestations in the community coming from the creative capacity of humans or is based on these capabilities; it can be summarized as the way of life in society, with all embedded things in this expression such as behavior, knowledge and values." [9]

Knowledge is strongly linked with culture, and we can identify two types of knowledge: one that can be coded, written and transferred to others such as that acquired through a given trade, while the other is tacit and is often not declared and can be obtained by slow and difficult to transfer such excellence in the field of competitiveness among civilizations [10].

Knowledge has become in modern times the most important factor in determining the standard of living more than working the land or wealth or the machine. Many economies of developed countries rely on knowledge as the most valuable asset. Each society has its culture that distinguishes it from other societies, and constitutes a pattern of behavior. The culture is also defined as "a unique phenomena and symbols that are specific to a society, including lifestyles, production methods and different values, beliefs and opinions." [11]

We can say that culture is the medium in which all the characteristics of civilized society and all its parts are formed, according to the its highest goal. The culture is the cluster that includes homogeneous customs, integrated traditions and similar emotions all which gives the civilization its own character.

3. The impact of globalization culture on metal jewelry

Globalization has crystallized a new form and concept of politics, economics, and social life, which was reflected on the local and global culture as the core of social activity. We can clearly note that the cultural production in this era and the monopoly of symbols and values are the highlights of the current world order in the production and distribution of culture. In addition to materialistic development, the nation that wants to be a representative of the universal culture must also be the source of general human values. It considers the human as an example and model for the humanity as a whole, where individual freedom is a fundamental value in forming the civil society in the modern era.

Metal jewelry has been affected by the new global culture, like all the arts and other sciences. This type of jewelry has also realized that this new world culture has opened for it new fields of research, development and innovation.

We can classify changes in the metal jewelry under the shadow of globalization into three categories. These categories are distinguished according to the inclinations of communities and people resulting from internal conviction about globalization and its new culture [12]. There were various attitudes towards globalization and its culture, where cultural attitudes differed in responding to it as the beginning of a new phase in human history. This in turn affected metal jewelry in terms of its design and production.

I: The merger and structural adjustment with the requirements and necessities of the global market

Some called for the complete merger and structural adjustment with the requirements of the global market. After the end of World War II in 1945, an optimistic spirit had grown with a bright future and promising days. The growing economic conditions strengthen this spirit, which in turn was reflected on fashion with the emergence of new fads led by international designers. For example, Dior created the "new look" in fashion; he was later to be followed by other fashion designers who turned to bold, futuristic patterns and bright colors [13].

As for metal jewelry, it was not quickly affected by new fads as in the field of fashion, especially if we talk about precious jewelry. However, many factors impacted the trading and manufacturing of metal jewelry. They came about as a result of the improvement in the standard of living of individuals in many parts of the world, and especially after World War II and the recovery of the global markets. Other factors include the commercial and industrial developments and growth of tourism, where individuals were able to travel to non familiar places.

The pioneering companies in this field had noticed the dramatic changes taking place in the culture of the people because of the previous reasons. People no longer accept the specific designs that are confined in one place. As a result, jewelry houses sought to diversify their production to touch a broader spectrum of individuals and opened branches in different parts of the world. These houses also sought the elimination of the traditional effects of geographical and political boundaries and started to produce different designs of jewelry satisfying several tastes under the brand of the parent company.

Cartier is an example of one of the major international jewelry manufacturing houses, which had been clearly affected by the globalization culture. François Cartier, the

master jeweler, established the Cartier jewelry store in 1874, which was a period of economic recovery in Paris. Cartier focused on the production of pieces of precious and special jewelry and the store's reputation spread among the upper-class society. The cousin of Napoleon the third, Princess Mathilde' made a special recommendation to the store, and this helped the store proliferation and expansion. In 1902, Cartier stores opened in London and New York. Cartier is renowned for producing high-end pieces for the royals such as the royal crowns for each of the kings of Britain, Egypt, Morocco, Spain, Portugal, and Romania, and because of that, the company was named the empire of jewelry.



Brooch. Platinum and diamond by Cartier in 1953.for Queen Elizabeth II [13].



Crown of white gold and diamond by Cartier, 1913 [14]

In the current era, Cartier sought to merge its aesthetic classical design with the spirit of modernism. In addition, Cartier produced of a series of pieces of a specific artistic subject such as, "the series of subject creation", "the reproduction of high-quality jewelry's art" and others. Furthermore, they produced fashionable jewelry pieces with lower cost materials that retained the classic Cartier design and prestige targeting a wider customer segment. Thus, the company stores spread across most parts of the

world and were able to achieve the globalization of its brand while preserving the spirit of Cartier as one of the finest jewelry houses in the world.



Bracelet of multi gems and diamond by Cartier which has an oriental influence in the delicate flower and branch design, 1925 [14]



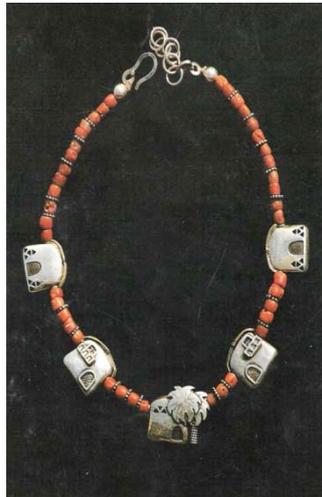
Production of modern innovative designs from Cartier fit the spirit of the modern era, and made of white gold and diamonds and precious stones



A Fashion Piece by Cartier "love bangle", an eighteen-carat gold, designed as a series of screw-heads; the clasps is a screw device which need the accompanying screwdriver to open [14]

II: Adherence to cultural identity by developing and deepening its cognitive and production aspects

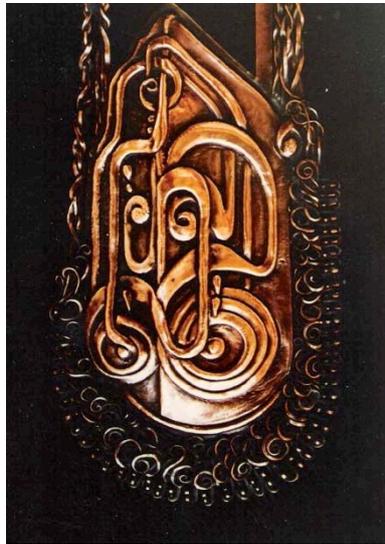
Some jewelry designers strived to adhere to their cultural identity and national interests at the economic, political, social and cultural levels by working to develop and deepen its cognitive and production aspects. Those who adopted this trend believe that globalization will not negate cultural diversity, but will work to increase interaction between different cultures. The direct impact of globalization has influenced the culture by giving it a broad concept called global culture. It is the culture where its core is human but takes into consideration that there are variations in cultures and relativity in concepts. Therefore, it seeks to build bridges of communication and understanding with other cultures and do not seek to be a substitute for or to abolish it. Many jewelry designers and implementers believed in this global culture by designing and producing pieces of jewelry which bear the local or regional character and trying to globalize those pieces in order to spread the culture of their country. They used the communications means that have spread and facilitated the juxtaposition and merging of cultural symbols. They feel that countries should utilize the tools of cultural development. The intermarriage between different cultures can make a given culture a highly attractive commodity easily accepted by others.



Sterling silver necklace and stone Ruby inspired local houses of Egyptian countryside, and was produced in 2000



Pendant necklace from silver by the researcher that merged between heritage and contemporary, 2008 [15]



Yellow gold necklace bearing formation and decorations inspired by modernized Arabic calligraphy to fit the spirit of the modern era, 2002

Many jewelry designers believe that globalization calls for crossing borders, which led them to be more aware of the importance of clinging to their cultural boundaries. There is nostalgia for the past and the heritage where these cultures wish to escape to the past and assert their authority against the authority of modernity. Some designers worked to copy the symbols and the meanings of heritage and formulating them in a modern shape that is consistent with the present. Other designers produced jewelry pieces that give direct impression through the use of direct symbols that form original heritage.



Yellow gold and cloth necklace inspired by the original Saudi heritage inherent in the traditional necklace. It was produced in 2006.

III: Non-recognition of the substantive presence of globalization and the boycotting of all its aspects

Some people denied the substantive presence of globalization or global cultural by being content with just condemning and ignoring it and boycotting the whole era in general. The thought of these groups was reflected on their behavior and adaptation to this era. They have their own identity that distinguish them from others. Those groups believe in their thoughts, fight intrusive thoughts, and call for the necessity of the preservation of originality and not mixing it with different cultures. This is what we observe on a range of communities such as Indian communities who have settled in parts of Northern and Eastern United States. Many of them still live in isolation from society and continue to cling to their own lifestyle. They still live within tribes, live in special tents, wear feathers, hunt buffalo and speak their own language [16].

Their jewelry still show simple techniques and original designs which are not affected by modern designs such as the use of Western symbols, or modern materials. Their jewelry is distinguished by originality in the selection of raw materials available in their area such as pure silver and stones. In addition, their jewelry is characterized by expressive designs that are inspired by the beauty of their environment with all its elements, values and symbols which are expressed in their jewelry pieces.



A set of ornaments of the people of the Indian Zuni tribe in North America that have original symbols and simple techniques

4. Conclusion and recommendations

This paper discussed globalization as new phenomenon which imposed its presence and dominated many political, economic and social aspects. It changed many concepts that led to the birth of a new culture which is called the culture of globalization. There are different attitudes towards globalization ranging from welcoming it, rejecting it or adapting it. This was reflected on jewelry in terms of its design and production.

We believe that jewelry designers should work towards building a humane world, by becoming aware and having deeper recognition of the indigenous national cultures. Each nation must renew its culture and make it more effective in the light of globalization, by developing within the culture values of freedom and openness, dialogue and justice. In addition, the culture should live its time in terms of its own history and that of others through dialogue, to generate a humanitarian civilization with common values and goals. Thus, globalization gets its true meaning, and the global cultural values become unified.

It is important to establish a new conceptual and psychological framework to examine the emerging human interdependence, and to identify factors that can lead us to common sense of humanity and reality. This is obtained through the continuation to hold more conferences that aim to preserve national cultures, cultural diversity and interaction between cultures, without the tyranny of one over the other.

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The Art of Using Appliqué
and Batch Work in Decorating the Traditional Costume of Saudi
Arabia

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The Art of Using Appliqué and Patch Work in Decorating the Traditional Costume of Saudi Arabia

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Introduction

The method of patch and applied work of fabric pieces is well known in various civilization throughout ages that it becomes a traditional craft which exceeds social and cultural differences . it united peoples together and created art and craft importance that seized on minds, reflected skills and environment needs, experiments of ancestors and heritage development .

This method is known since ancient times when man knows the fabrics as a quick solution for problems of garments such as tearing, cutting, consuming or other uses . it becomes when ages pass an art of traditional ornaments many countries and acquires an aesthetic in which innovation of both the artist and maker is seen at the same time .

Thoria Nasr mentions (2000, 94-95) the first known trial of textiles and garments ornaments in history with the simplest and cheapest way. It exists all over the world but it is used in every country according to its traditions. Pipa Abrahams (1995) expresses that this craft depends on traditions and techniques of many cultures and civilizations. It uses drawings and ornaments of different tribes and peoples all over the world. It is similar in all ancient civilizations which forms part of human united heritage that makes it popular until today.

Mararet Nichds (1999) says that patch work reflects time, people, way of life, ideas, feelings, beliefs a hopes and dreams. It is a kind of writing history by women concerned with this craft and it is so for us until now although the main purpose of patch is to realize a certain work but it is also a means to express the self and social reaction.

This art appears clearly in ancient Arab hand crafts and Islamic arts as an important ornamental art as Arabs adore decoration and as well as beauty but it attains other useful aims to overcome some difficulties :narrow area of fabric, to enlarge the needed width, to secure comfort and protect against tearing in some parts of garments.

Because of the specialty of this art and its ornamental importance in Saudi traditional garments, the researcher finds it is important to study the technical aspect of this heritage, to present its several forms, to define clothes in which it is used in various regions and to document this type of ornamental arts before its disappearance and to try revive it as a traditional craft and art of distinguish form as well as to benefit from it in modern uses and to include it in small industries and crafts that realize the national concern of the heritage and culture and to supply touristic markets with traditional products having ornaments and techniques that deserve to be studied.

Aims:

- to assist in documenting a decorative art that is used much in Saudi garment heritage.
- to define methods used in patch and applied work.
- to indicate ornamental forms used in this art.
- to count types of fabrics used in it.
- to explain its function and aesthetic aspects.
- to use this art in modern applications to benefit modern uses.

Importance of the study:

It is important to study traditional ornamental arts so as to preserve the heritage and use it positively in modern applications at present thanks to its great history, unusual and excellent techniques that can be used in future creations and innovations which make our arts special and precious that should be spread in everywhere under globalization.

Questions of the study :

- how much is the art of patch and applied work in garments is spread out in Saudi Arabia?
- What are the techniques used in this art, its forms, decorations and materials used in it?
- How can this art be used at present?

Methodology :

Historical, descriptive, analytical and applied methodology. This research is confined to study a sample of women's traditional garments decorated by using patch and applied work and which is collected from various regions in Saudi Arabia . The study depends on observation, recording the data and photography.

Terminology :

1. patch work

it means assembly of small pieces of fabric in a harmonically way to make a big piece. It is possible to use chips or shreds of cloth that can't be use in any other purpose (Jean Eaton, 1993 : 190). It consists of sewing these small chips of fabric together so as to make a big piece.

It is folklore art that reflects simplicity of poor people and their concern of family life (Nichols, 1999 : 7).

It depends also on assembly of several fabric or textiles or both, putting them on the background in balanced and harmonious way and sewing them with visible and invisible stitches to fill in the space of the background without appearing any part of them (Kefaya Sulieman and others, 2000 : 50).

The purpose of this study is to make patch work of cloths of different colors in harmonious way and to sewing them to attain decorated big pieces and sometimes to realize different useful purpose.

2. Applied work :

It is to add small pieces of cloth to big cloth of different color and sometimes different material by the means of sewing with different stitches so as to produce ornamental elemental element (Tark Saeed, 1987 : 89).

The general name applique is derived form foreign languages such as appliquer in French and applied work in English where it means addition by fixing the concerned units manually or automatically (Wilcox Turner, 1992, 8). It is known in Iran by the name of Kalapdon or Racht ⁽¹⁾ and in Egypt by tent work. If the ornaments are very tiny with various colors, they are called mosaic (Tarek Saeed 1987, 89 & Thuria Nasr 2000, 14). It is known also by a method of putting simple form of one layer of cloth on another cloth or embroidery by putting some cloths or leathers on the fabric.

It aims in this research to add small pieces of fabric to wide area of another fabric of different color and sometimes of different material for the purpose of decoration and useful function by fixing them with many methods.

Background :

This art is clearly known in ancient cultures especially Applied fabric where it appears in Garments, clothes, blankets and pillows during Pharoanic ages (Tarek Saeed, 1987, 90). Pharoanic artist was skilful in applying white wool fabric and cotton to garments of raw linen garments (Kefaya Sulomon and others, 2001, 67).

Applied stripes and bands were used on Greek, Roman and Byzantine garments with geometric forms and plant ornaments of different color such as ennabi Red, Kuhly, white, green or violet (Laila Al-Bassam and Mona Sdky, 2003, 34, 41).

Fabric was applied in the form of narrow stripe around the neck opening during Coptic ages in Egypt. It was also applied in the form of extended stripes from the front to the back through shoulders as well as squared or circular bands on shoulders and at the tail of the garment (Thanaa Belal, 1982, 11).

The art of combining material has reached a high innovative degree with Arab artist who uses patch and applied work creatively with materials of different textures, types and colors to produce wonderful formations.

He uses gilded materials to produce distinguished pieces as well as more than one patch work of different materials (Kefaya sulomon, 2001, 18). The method of ornament by using embroidered bands was known in Islamic age where garments were fabricated in embroidery houses. Embroidered bands were applied with the name of the fabricator, date of fabrication, prayers and Phrases indicating the history of the garments were written on these bands which were of silk and applied to garments of different textiles. There are much proofs that ornamented bands from old garments were cut and applied to new ones (Soaad Maher, 1977, 50).

1. Racht is a small city on Caspian sea which was important center for embroidered textiles in 18th century. The method of Racht consists of added pieces surrounded by embossed embroidered by delicate card on stitches (Tarke Saeed 1987, 91).

He uses gilded materials to produce distinguished pieces as well as more than one patch work of different materials (Kefaya sulomon, 2001, 18). The method of ornament by using embroidered bands was known in Islamic age where garments were fabricated in embroidery houses. Embroidered bands were applied with the name of the fabricator, date of fabrication, prayers and Phrases indicating the history of the garments were written on these bands which were of silk and applied to garments of different textiles. There are much proofs that ornamented bands from old garments were cut and applied to new ones (Soaad Maher, 1977, 50).

Public textiles that are weaved on narrow looms were separated at chest and back by patching two lengths or tow width. Some embroidered units were patched at the Joining points of these patches of simple of widths so as to cover the patch colors which are different from the original garment and the non-harmony of warp and weft direction all over the garment (Saad El-Kadem, 1978, 32).

The method of patch work played an important role in decorating tents in Islamic ages during Abbasid to Fatimid, Ayuppid and Mamluki until present as an art of folklore used in tents cloths that are built during feasts, occasions and events that need to gathering of people whether in pleasure or sadness. Cairo has a special market in old El-Khiamia district that has Islamic character with fabricators inherited this art from their earlier ancestors (Tarek Saeed, 1987, 88).

The art of patch and applied work was spread into other peoples since medieval ages in Europe, Maori tribes in New Zealand, red Indians in North America, Tibet, China, Japan and west Africa. Patch work was used in making counterpane and covers during 18th century in Britain and north America due to scarcity of old garments and cloths for making these tribes. The process of patching work was development after the crisis of old garments and cloths that there are now fairs for them and are preserved in museums. This art is still a famous traditional art.*

Results and discussion :

1. Analytical and historical study of some Saudi garments :

The researcher tries to define traditional fashion that uses patch and applied work in its ornament by studying, testing and recording information about the material sample with illustrations and photos.

The garments of this study are defined as follows :

1. garment pieces :

- Mahareed garment (nufaihy), Selim tribe / Hejaz: this garment is marked with excellent ornaments of various styles combining embroidery with patch and applied work. It has two sleeves of pendants called Mahareed which become lighter in color and different from the original garment color that is made of cotton. These pendants are of light yellow and sometimes blue. They fixed by manual surface sewing (English). The tail of the sleeve is extended by applied red fabric with bands and triangles of beige by the method of patch work. There is at the tail of this garment a quadrangle with width of half meter called wall as it surrounds the tail and is decorated by applied work of geometric

* annual counterpane fair held in American embassy , Riyadh.

ornaments consisting of patch triangles and beige horizontal lines above vertical quadrangles of various colors such as red, green and yellow, all these patch and applied works are sewn accurately by straight, bent or blanket stitches and sometimes they are left without fixing or bending (figure 1-5).

- Dok garment, Harb tribe, Hejaz : it is made of thick black cotton known as Dok and is similar to the Mahareed garment in general form and ornament styles. The sleeves are made of patch work of blue and green triangles while the tail consists of black quadrangle of 25 centimeter approximately and is decorated with vertical quadrangles of cloth engraved by blue and white tiny squares. The applied work is sewn by stitches that alternate with an area that is equal to the width of the quadrangle on the basic ground of the garment head covers accompanying these garments of Bani Salim and Harb tribes and are decorated with applied work are as follows :
- Qarqosh : it is like a rectangular funnel taking the shape of the head with length that reaches to the center of the back. It is decorated with rectangular reddish silk of applied work with certain shapes of red cotton in its center. It has sometimes over it other small quadrangular of green cotton surrounded with lead beads and shell buttons embroidered by the same method of the sleeves.

Qarqosh is wore directly on the head (figure 7, 8).

- mask : it is rectangular of black cotton with tail surrounded with band of red cotton by the method of applied work. Its two corners are decorated with red quadrangular over which there are sometimes small green ones and around them lead beads of triangular and rows of shell batons across the red and green quadrangular.
- Head hobble or agal or Ouqal : it is decorated with applied work with the same method of the garment. It is the last layer of head covers.
- Mangal garment – Jahadela tribe, Hejaz : it consists of blouse and skirt. Applied work is necessary in its ornament. It is made of brown red cotton with black cotton. the blouse is often added with big triangular on the upper part of the chest and rectangular stripe around the tail of the sleeves and the tail of the blouse at the front and the back that is taller than the front and has loose stripes (figure 9).

The skirt is triangular and has complete lining tied with stripe at the waist. It is decorated with stripes by applied work with different spaces between them and different distributions from one skirt to another. The last stripe ends the tail of the skirt by bending it outside the skirt. All pieces of the applied fabric are surrounded by leads and sometimes are embroidered at some places of the garment. The width of the stripe are between 1.5-5 centimeters (figure 10).

There is one complete garment that is one piece with the same general form as the Mangal garment. This garment is called El-Mahthal due to its tail tied to it from back and it may be without tail. The head covers accompanying of Jahadela garments decorated with applied work are as follows :

El-Masfaa :-

It's rectangular cover of light black cotton of three meters length. It is decorated with applied work of small red rectangular around one of its ends in alternate with

similar rectangular on the ground is and surrounded with embroidered by lead beads. One of its width is decorated with two triangular of applied work and lead beads on the apparent corners when wearing and fringes of red silk threads. Its ends are decorated with rows of red fabric of applied stripes defined by lead beads.

- Mubaqqar garment – El-Teaf tribe (Thaqif and Hatheel), Heja :-

This garment is marked all over by patch work of stripes of black and blue cotton alternately with width of five centimeters and sometimes more than that according to its place on the garment. The tail of the garment ends with a wide black rectangular surrounding the garment. It is decorated with squares resulting from crossed lines embroidered by branch red stitches at Thaqif and Hatheel (figure 11).

The garments of Muharram valley have different tail where its front part is separated its back part and from its both sides. The tail is decorated with thin stripes of applied work and sometimes penetrates from the red fabric with two tones with the black chest in its place (figure 12, 13).

- Masdah garment, El-Teaf tribes (Thaqif, Hazeel and Harb), Hejaz :

It is a rectangular large garment sewn by the method of patch used in Mubaqqar garment with tall sleeves and wide waist. It is decorated at the lower part sometimes by the method of tie in the shape of small white circles that is the original color of the cloth before dying with aniline. These decorations are called Marsh*. The sample includes masdah garment with tie ornament of another garment and added by lining stitch (figure 14).

Sawn garment, Bani Malek, Hejaz :

It is a narrow tall garment of black cotton embroidered with many various manual stitches mostly in color. The chest and sleeves are marked also by white beds embroidery and patch work on the back that extended to the sleeves. To the upper chest. This patch is always red, plain or engraved surrounded by shadow stitches or beads. It is used also patch work of red fabric to cover the squared resulting from crossed embroidered lines at the sides of the garments and other places. The ends of applied work are under the embroidery (figure 15).

Its head is covered with rectangular mask of black cotton of two meters length and 60 centimeters width. It is decorated at the sides with squares of red, yellow and green applied fabric and beads embroidery above them (figure 16:19).

- garment of Balhareth tribe, Hejar :

It is similar to Bani Malek garment with difference of embroidery threads colors with mostly yellow, white and quiet onion. It is marked by three triangular of applied work at the tail.

It has also patch fabric among embroidered squares at both sides (figure 20). Head covers accompanying this dress and decorated with applied work are as follows :

- Qarqosh

It is head cover of black cotton decorated with applied work of reddish silk (onion) and embroidered around and above it with leads (figure 21).

* Marsh is the tool used in spraying perfumes

- Mask

It is a quadrangular of black cotton with two meters length and 50 centimeters width. It is decorated with applied fabric and lead beads by the same method of Qarqos (figure 22).

- Raised garment, Bani Saad, Hejaz :

This dress of black cotton with heavy embroidery at the lower part of the back and sides. The applied work is used on the sleeves only in the shape of red rectangular that extended to many places such as upper shoulder and center arms.

These applied fabrics are under the lead beads embroidery that covers most of the sleeves in the shape of triangular, quadrangular and lines under which the black ground and the red applied fabric appear in a nice form (figure 23, 24). Head covers wore with this dress that decorated with applied work are as follows :

- Qarqush :

It is in the form of rectangular funnel with head form. Its ordinary length reaches to back center. It is decorated with red applied work in its center and heavy embroidery of lead beads with the same method of sleeves.

- El-Masfaa :

It is a cotton rectangular of black color with 50centimeters width and three meters length. It is decorated by applied work of red small rectangular around one side of its both lengths alternately with the same rectangular of the background surrounded and embroidered by lead beads. It is adorns also at the lower end by quarter circle of applied fabric and beads at the apparent both corners and fringes of red silk threads (figure 25).

- El-Ridaya :

It is a black cotton rectangular of centimeters width and around one meter length. It is tied above and around the head with stripe on both sides. Its decorations consist of many applied fabric on the sap of rectangular of red colors and lead beads embroidered with geometric ornaments.

- El-Rashaida garment, Hejaz :

This garment of this tribe that moves between Egypt and Saudi across the red sea is decorated by patch work of ennabi red or several colors in the shape of triangular and rectangular on the black ground (figure 26).

- Thob Metafat, Fragmented cut garment, center region (Najd) and Eastern region (Hasaa) :

It is a big upper garment on the shape of square by which women of Najd are famous for. It is black cotton or natural silk as well a patch rectangular of light green, orange and foshia silk brought from china that called chin. This patch consists of longitudinal and horizontal lines in accurate geometrical method and certain arrangement. It is called also taftized because patch silk pieces are called Taft a while mubaddah or cut indicates the cutting of the fabric. When silk is used as a basis for this garment a certain known color of Taft a is selected for this purpose (figure 27 a).

The other two colors are used in ornament and a wide band of golden and silver metal threads are sometimes added on the garment chest. The cotton garment is of

two types : one is embroidered heavily on sleeves besides the Taft a (figure 27 b) and is decorated with embroidery; and other is used in daily life and it is without embroidery. It has at the chest and back regions a big patch of cotton fabric in yellow and red for protection. It is exchanged when necessary at it is known of this kind of dress in eastern region (figure 28, 29).

- Mtafat dress, middle and eastern regions (Najd), (hasaa) :-

it is the garment or the basic dress decorated with three patches of natural silk known as Taft with the same colors of the thob metafat of light green, orange and foshia.

These patches are sewn on the upper arm and shoulder only and that is why it is called armed or Taftized. It uses various cloth plain or engraved. When Taft with one of its colors is used it suffice to use the other two colors for decorating as a patch work as well as embroidery on the chest and sleeves with silver beads around the ends of them (figure 30,31,32).

- Muhouthal garment, North Badia tribes :

It is a woman garment in the northern region. It's made of silk or black cotton and is marked by its length that is equal to twice of the woman tall (nearly three meters) where it is raised and tied with belt around the waist. It is marked also with triangular sleeved and decoration at tail by the method of applied work of three or four blue rectangular surrounded by branch stitches of red, green and yellow threads and these rectangular are called Hatusy (figure 33).

2. various uses of patch and applied work:-

- Armpit patch (Tekhrasa) / all parts :-

This patch is widely used in most basic garments. It is a small triangular or square that is added always to the armpit where it is sewn with sleeve from the front and back as well as the side piece so as to give the sleeve a curved form that helps the freedom of movement and protection of tearing to overcome the straight lines of traditional dresses (figure 34, a b). The Tekhrasa in the upper dress under which it is worn the armed dress in middle, eastern and Northern regions and which is marked by its large volume and triangular shape that preserves the length of the dress with the tall of the body when raising the sleeves above the head so as to appear the sleeves of the armed dress from underneath. This is the known method of wearing the upper dress above the armed dress. The armpit patch may add an aesthetic value to the function value, as it is chosen with different color from the garment's and sometimes it has embroidery as well as some ornamental stitches at other times (figure 35, 36).

- The tail bent (horseshoe) / all regions :

The tail of the traditional garment is added sometimes by band for protection and exchangeability when it is damaged a well as to make girls dress much talled. It is of different color plain or decorated so as to be another dress under the garment (figure 12, 13).

- Serwal Hagal or Trousers leg, all regions :

This part is sewn to the trousers that are decorated or embroidered with many methods. It is fixed in the middle of the leg so as to be able to move it to another trousers when necessary (figure 37). It is made of black Gogh cut on the shape of

patched triangular (Zigzag) when decorating the tail of trousers in Najd and called Gogh.

3. functions and useful purposes :

The art of patch and applied work is very benefit and has great aesthetic importance.

- In applied work, it protects or extends the tail by adding apiece of cloth that is exchanged when damaged. It appears as if it is an other dress under the garment. It is known sometimes by Hethwa and is added to the upper back, shoulders or chest for protection and strengthen this part (figure 15).
- It aids also in extending the life time of the garment and renew it by moving the decorated parts and adding them to a new cloth such as moving the lower embroidered part from one trousers to another (figure 32) or cutting embroidered parts and fixing them at the same places of a new dress. applied work is used as a hidden or small pocket on the chest (figure 30, 31).
- In patch work, it enlarges the width of the cloth as cloths at that time were narrow.
- It overcome the straight lines used in traditional garments by adding patch (Tekhrasa) on the shape of triangle or quadrangle connecting front and back with sleeve and side to give easiness and facilitate motion as well as protection against tearing in different types of garments (figure 34 a, b). however, it is marked by large space on the upper part of the dress used in middle region according to the way of wearing where sleeves are raised over the head in crossed way (figure 35). The patch helps to control the length of the garment with the tail of the body.
- It gives wideness to some parts such as sleeves (figure 1, 6).
- Aesthetics of combination by patch and applied work :-

This art produces aesthetics and creativity that reaches sometimes to a high degree of excellence as it achieves the following :

- coloring the garment since colored decorated cloth is scarce and raising its value;
- giving optical deception and color suggestions as well as depth of shadow by using more than one layer above each other with various colors (figure 4, 5);
- combining more than one cloth with another material of another color and various threads, buttons, beads and shells; and
- ornamented forms used in patch and applied work are as follow :
 - rectangular or squared large areas;
 - longitudinal or horizontal stripes or both; small areas (mosaic);
 - various forms or geometrical areas such as patched triangles, broken lines (Zigzag) and straight lines; and
 - crossed lines that produce spaces under which the basic ground of the garment appears.

Methods of fixing applied fabric: -

- El-Lafq

Straight and bent lafq is used greatly in fixing applied work with very accurate stitches. The most astonishing is the narrow and thin stripes of the Bani Saleem garments with only one centimeter width before applying it. It appears on the shape of parallel thin threads of nearly 2-3 millimeters only. This stitch is used in Bani Saleem, Harb, Gahdela, Hazeel and Bani Saad tribes.

- Blanket stitch :

It is used in some pieces and sometimes with thread full of beads where each stitch has a bead in the middle as in Bani Saleem tribe.

- Crow leg stitch (separated and connected) :

These stitches are used for fixing applied fabric in Bani Saleem, Bani sufian and Bani El-Hareth tribes.

- Thin bands of applied fabric :

These thin bands sre used in Bani Saleem dresses to fix applied pieces with various geometric shapes and left free without sewing its ends on the ground of the basic cloth, that means the tails are not bent. These various layers of fabric acts as a mirage and shadow or different dimensions that enhance the beauty of this art and make it special.

- Lining stitch :

It's used in the form of thin lining to fix the applied fabric in a limited way.

- Gathers stitch :

It's used in Bani Malek tribe to fix color fabric pieces inside the broidered parts that it seems a complementary part of broidery.

- conclusion :-

Traditional fashion becomes clear where it uses the art of patch and applied work to beautify the garments and make every dress different according to its tribe and region. It's known also that this art was used in many region all over Saudi where it appears in Hejaz tribes (western region).

However, it isn't used in garments of its cities people. In Najd (Middle region) and in Ahsaa (eastern region) there was patch work only with similar method relying on various colors and armpit patch (Tekhrasa) in all garments. This art was limited in these two regions comparing to Hejaz because of the abandonment of various colored textiles and relying on embroidery in ornament especially in Northern region. It's not used at all in southern region excluding fur known as Mazar that decorates the applied leather (figure 39) but the armpit appeared some how in El-Batta region with color different from the basic fabric color as it was in other regions (figure 40). This patch work basic in traditional garments generally because of its technical importance in overcoming the straight lines of these garments and achieve the necessary curves of the natural movement of the body.

- Recommendation

- to encourage the study of Saudi Heritage and traditional crafts and techniques to produce dresses having their own Saudi character.
- To issue specialized magazine or journal for traditional heritage and arts to make people and students aware of scientific and art culture.
- To give private place in the national museum of traditional garments from all over the Saudi.
- To participate actively in International fairs for heritage with shows of the modernist Saudi products.
- To encourage the use of traditional heritage in producing modern products of Saudi character as well as the active participation in heritage International Exhibitions.

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**Characteristics of Good Language Teachers: TESOL Teachers' Divergent
Reflective Thinking**

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Characteristics of Good Language Teachers: TESOL Teachers' Divergent Reflective Thinking

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Abstract

Current literature reflects disparate characteristics of good language teachers: Harmer (2008) suggests that good language teachers should have sufficient knowledge of the language; studies from Grundy et.al. (2005) and Mullock (2003) both suggest the importance of teachers' ability to understand students' needs, while Brown (1994) discusses the importance of the desire to upgrade teaching skills. With divergent views concerning characteristics that can improve one's language teaching skills and enhancing teaching/learning effectiveness, it seems prudent for language teachers to reflect on important characteristics good language teacher should possess to benefit their students' language learning to create a more successful language learning experience.

A taxonomy of the characteristics of good language teachers drawn from the literature was developed by the researcher for analysis purposes. Chinese college TESOL teachers were asked to rank the characteristics in the taxonomy and then compared for points of agreement or divergence. Findings show that even with a limit of five categories for characteristics of good language teachers presented in the taxonomy, colleagues within the same department at a College of Foreign Languages in southern Taiwan created substantially different hierarchies. It was also revealed that the characteristics the teachers believed were important when they themselves were language learners appear to be quite different from those characteristics they currently rank as important.

This research may have important implications for how TESOL teachers engage with language learners in a discourse on their own beliefs concerning those characteristics each believe are important for good language teachers to possess. Through a stimulating dialogue a growing understanding of teachers' expectations and learners' expectations might emerge which could result in more effective learning.

Introduction

Anecdotal evidence during my own teaching experience at a college of foreign languages highlighted the idea that Chinese students studying English as a second language believe their teachers are an essential part of their language learning experience. They believe the success of their language education can be determined by which teachers in the department they have the good (or bad) fortune to have as instructors. If students believe their teachers are charged with such an influential role in language classrooms, I next wondered: What makes a language teacher good? Current literature has listed several characteristics good language teachers should possess sufficient knowledge of the language or the ability to understand the needs of students. There is no doubt that teachers assume several key roles in the language classroom: as educators transmitting knowledge, as facilitators assisting students with their learning, and as motivators inspiring students to achieve their language goals, to name a few. As any one teacher is unlikely to possess the full range of characteristics suggested in the literature, it seems prudent for language teachers to reflect on important characteristics good language teacher should possess to benefit their students' language learning to create a more successful language learning experience.

Two research questions were designed to explore beliefs college TESOL teachers have about the characteristics of good language teachers:

1. How do college TESOL teachers rank the characteristics of good language teachers?
2. What points of agreement or divergence emerge from the rankings by college TESOL teachers of the characteristics of good language teachers?

Literature Review

Defining good language teachers is a complex matter. Relevant discussions found in the literature coalesced around two types of sources: the views of authors offered in their own theoretical discussions, and the data of researchers obtained from empirical studies conducted with language teachers and/or language learners in various language learning contexts. Authors generally offered a comprehensive theoretical overview of the characteristics of good language teachers in accordance with language teaching theories. Harmer (2008, p.23) mentions that a good language teacher should have sufficient knowledge of the language and interesting things to say

in class. They also should be passionate and enthusiastic in their teaching and be able to effectively explain the use of the language, e.g. grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary to students. Brown (1994, p.428) believes good language teachers should have received “competent preparation leading to a degree in TESL” and be imbued with a “feeling of excitement about one’s work.” Brown also talks about the importance of the ability to understand and adapt to different cultures and the desire to upgrade teaching skills. Both Kral (1988) and Shulman (1987) emphasize the importance of teachers reflecting on their own teaching. In particular, Shulman considers it essential for teachers to look “back at the teaching and learning that has occurred” for it is through the processes of re-thinking, analyzing, and reconstructing teaching steps that a “professional learns from experience” (p.19).

Data derived from empirical research with language teachers and language learners revealed humanistic aspects of the teacher’s role toward students. Mainland Chinese students identified being patient as well as humorous among the top three expectations they have of a good teacher in addition to the teacher possessing deep knowledge (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996, p.187). Postgraduate TESOL students opined that the essential characteristics of a good TESOL teacher includes knowing and understanding the strengths and weaknesses, and needs of students, and treating students with courtesy and respect, while also keeping up-to-date in knowledge and skills (Mullock, 2003, p.10). A few studies have explored the views of both language students and teachers at the same time. Both high school English students and teachers in Israel considered it important for language teachers to effectively transmit teaching content in an easily understandable way, and to treat students fairly and equitably. However, their first priority was for English language teachers to have “an adequate command of the subject matter, i.e. his or her mastery of the four basic linguistics skills – reading, writing, speaking, and understanding” (Brosh, 1996, p.129). Undergraduate students and English teachers at a university in Yeman both agreed that the ability of a teacher to plan and deliver an effective lesson, as well as fluency and good communication skills in the foreign language are essential characteristics of a good EFL teacher (Kadha, 2009).

Finally, Borg (2006, p. 24) asked language teachers to identify distinctive features of good language teachers which distinguish them from teachers of other subjects: having more communication in the classroom; exhibiting creativity, flexibility, and enthusiasm; and employing more diverse teaching methodology were believed to be characteristics unique to good language teachers.

The characteristics of good language teachers mentioned above were selected from an abundance of traits offered in the literature discussed. While it seems necessary to confine within limits the number of characteristics under discussion, the characteristics presented form a representative sample of the disparity of opinions on the topic. Even from this restricted selection there is an absence of consistent, clear criteria of the most important characteristics of good language teachers. Due to the complexity of the issue this may not be surprising, yet in spite of the fact that “very different people make good teachers for very different reasons” (Prodromou, 1991, p.3) it seems valid to attempt some sort of a classification of the various characteristics of good language teachers. Synthesizing the characteristics mentioned in the literature discussed above, the following taxonomy is offered for analytical purposes:

- A. Having a Good Command of the L2 (e.g. fluent in the foreign language with good communication skills)
- B. Possess Sound Teaching Skills (e.g. employs diverse teaching methodology)
- C. Teacher Empathy toward Students (e.g. knows and understands students’ needs, and strengths and weaknesses)
- D. Personal Qualities (e.g. is patient and humorous)
- E. Reflection and Improvement (e.g. reflects on their own teaching and keeps up-to-date in knowledge and skills)

This section has reviewed relevant literature on the characteristics of good language teachers. Based on the literature, five categories of the characteristics good language teachers should possess were derived for this study. This taxonomy is not meant to be a comprehensive overview of all the important characteristics of good language teachers, rather, they are simply the most salient characteristics chosen by this researcher based on the discussions in the literature. Other researchers might offer a different interpretation as to what constitutes the most salient characteristics of good language teachers, and thus propose a different taxonomy.

Research Methods

The taxonomy mentioned in the previous section was designed as an analytical tool for the purposes of this research project. Participants in this study ranked the importance of each category and commented on these categories. The intention of this taxonomy was to be succinct to facilitate research participants making comparisons. This study was not meant to broadly obtain the research participants’ insights into

their reported perceptions of good language teachers (by example, see Borg, 1996), rather the intention was to explore agreement and divergence among TESOL teachers when forming a hierarchy of the categories of the characteristics of good language teachers within the taxonomy.

This research was conducted at a college of foreign languages in southern Taiwan. This sample pool was a convenience sample since the researcher had little difficulty accessing teachers that were teaching English to native-Chinese students at this site. Two Chinese TESOL teachers participated in semi-structured interviews in which they ranked and commented on the importance of the characteristics of good language teachers offered in the taxonomy. One teacher, Sabrina (a pseudonym), was teaching English to freshmen language learners at the time of this research; the other teacher, Irene (a pseudonym), was teaching English to sophomore language learners.

The interview started with a list of probe questions: Have you ever had a good language teacher? What qualities made that teacher good? What about a language teacher that you considered not good, what qualities were lacking in such a teacher?) Probe questions were followed by unanticipated questions in reply to interviewees' responses (Bryman, 2004). Probe questions were intended to allow interviewees to explore their own characteristics of language teachers based on personal experience. It was hoped that through sharing their personal experiences, the interviewees would become more relaxed, more willing to share their opinions. Then participants were presented with the taxonomy with 1-2 specific characteristics for each category as examples. They were then asked to rank the categories according to their importance and explain the reasons for their choices. They were also asked to comment on each category (e.g. raise some questions, or add to the examples of the category). The 30-minute interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese – the native language of the interviewees.

All the semi-structured interviews were transcribed in Mandarin Chinese first, and then translated into English. The data in the translated English transcripts were then coded and analyzed. At the end, these two sets of data from the two teacher-participants were collated in order to discover points of agreement or divergence.

Research Findings

Sabrina's Interview

From the five categories forming the taxonomy, Sabrina ranked the ability to reflect on teaching and to improve as the most important characteristic a good language teacher should possess. This was followed by possessing sound teaching. The least important characteristic a good language teacher should possess was having a good command of the L2. Sabrina expounded on the importance of teachers reflecting on their teaching and updating their teaching knowledge:

Yes, it's very important [to update your teaching styles].
It's boring if we teach the students in the same way all the time. The world is changing, and we have to change, too. You don't have to make big changes, but you do need to adjust your lesson plans and teaching style to suit the environment.

(Interview, June 18, 2009)

Sabrina criticized teachers who are hired for their ability to speak the language but do not have a sound pedagogical foundation. She explained that one's language ability is not necessarily an indicator of teaching competence:

I've seen someone who speaks a language very well, but he can't teach. Even though you speak a language well, it does not mean that your lecture makes students learn something.

(Interview, June 18, 2009)

Sabrina expressed that sufficient knowledge of the L2 is adequate for college-level language teaching. "As long as they can understand what the teacher is saying" then learning can take place because "students are already somewhat proficient in English before they study in college." She finds other characteristics in other categories more important than this one.

Another interesting issue that surfaced from this interview was how the characteristics she perceived as 'good' when she was a student differ from her current perspectives now as a language teacher. In the interview, she talked about two good English teachers she had when she was a language student, one was good due to her sound teaching skills of English pronunciation and the other was good due to his patience with students:

At that time, the teacher taught us the correct pronunciation, and I think she was good at teaching KK phonics. In this way, I learned KK phonics well. Because of that, my good pronunciation helped me a lot when I went abroad. The second one is my ESL teacher in high school when I studied in the U.S. He was a teacher with great patience.

(Interview, June 18, 2009)

Both sound teaching skills and personal qualities were not ranked by Sabrina as the most important characteristics she now holds. This indicates that the characteristics of good language teachers can be a dynamic concept that changes over time. How a student views a good language teacher could be very different from the characteristics language teachers believe are important. This could lead to a significant gap that fosters mismatched expectations between a language teacher and her students. A language learner might expect the teacher to exhibit sound teachings kills and possess favorable personal qualities (e.g. patience), while the teacher may believe reflecting on her own teaching and keeping up-to-date are more desirable characteristics to cultivate. Such a mismatch could create tension in the classrooms as the teacher strives to fulfill her own expectations which students may not appreciate.

Irene's Interview

Contrary to Sabrina's ranking, Irene selected having a good command of the L2 as the most important characteristic for a good language teacher to possess, followed by sound teaching skills and empathy toward students. Irene stated that a good command of English for a TESOL teacher was a key prerequisite for a good language teacher to have:

From a professional viewpoint, I believe a good language teacher should at least have a good command of the L2. In other words, if you are teaching a language to others, you should at least know the language well enough yourself.

(Interview, June 25, 2009)

Irene's opinion echoes Brosh (1996) whose research participants also mentioned the

teacher's command of the target language (speaking, reading, writing, and understanding) was vital. The least important category in Irene's opinion was a teacher's personal qualities. However, her opinion on the importance of this category was split. On the one hand, she feels being humorous or active in the classroom is an innate quality that "is hard to ask people to change" in order to have the necessary characteristics of a good language teacher. On the other hand, she found the quality of having patience indeed important for language teachers. Hence, while ranking a teacher's personal qualities the least important, she did single out the quality of having patience as an exception.

Reflecting Sabrina's view, Irene declared that her conception of the characteristics a good language teacher should possess is now different from when she was a student. When referring to her own past language learning experience, Irene mentioned that as a student she focused more on the pragmatic qualities of good teachers. Irene wanted good language teachers to possess sound teaching skills that enabled students to do well on comprehensive exams.

At that time, we considered a good teacher was
someone who could help us get a very high score in the
entrance exams.

(Interview, June 25, 2009)

To sum up, this section has presented interview data from Sabrina and Irene, who ranked the characteristics of good language teachers based on items in the taxonomy offered to them during the interview. The next section will discuss how these two teachers' points of views on the taxonomy of good language teachers agree or disagree.

Discussion

Points of Agreement

These two teachers both suggest that it is very hard to define good language teachers, and it should be evaluated from different points of view. For instance,

Sabrina: Whether someone is a good teacher should be
defined from various aspects.

(Interview, June 18, 2009)

Irene: It is really hard to define. It is hard to define a good language teacher.

(Interview, June 25, 2009)

This mirrors many researchers (e.g. Grundy et.al. ,2005; Mullock, 2003) in that there should not be a clear-cut answer when it comes to good language teachers since it involves many aspects and various language teachers are good for various reasons (Prodromou, 1991). Perhaps one reason that it is hard to define characteristics of a good language teacher is due to the fact that these characteristics may vary due to different age groups of learners. This is in connection with an unexpected theme that emerged from the interview data. In the interviews, both teachers seemed to indicate that their ranking of the characteristics of good language teachers may vary depending upon the age of the language learners. Irene said:

If we are talking about teaching English to children, it would be a different situation. My choices of what would be important would not be the same.

(Interview, June 25, 2009)

It is certainly possible that even students within the same age group have different needs and expectations of good language teachers. Defining good language teachers broadly within an entire cultural group (as Cortazzi & Jin, 1996, have done with Chinese students), or defining a certain age group of learners, rather than treating each individual class group uniquely could miss the specifics of a particular class group's identity. After all, each individual class group exerts their own ideas into the language learning mix (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). The ideas of any single class group may converge into different perspectives or expectations of the characteristics good language teachers should possess.

Points of Divergence

Even with a succinct taxonomy based on salient characteristics chosen from discussions in the literature, both Sabrina and Irene still seem to have very different rankings on the importance of these categories. Sabrina believes that language

teachers' ability to reflect on their teaching and improve their teaching skills is the important category while a teacher's good command of the L2 is viewed as the least important category. This is in a direct contrast to Irene who believes a teacher's good command of the L2 is the most important characteristic good language teacher should possess. These points of divergence signal how each teacher has his or her own teaching beliefs. What one teacher finds important could be very different and even contradictory to another even if both teachers are considered effective language teachers, as Prodromou (1991, p.2) declares: "there are many different and contradictory qualities that contribute to effective teaching."

Because teachers hold diverse beliefs which may result in different teaching styles, it seems incumbent on teachers to explain to their language learners their own beliefs, personal teaching style, and other relevant issues, for example, how one's teaching beliefs may affect classroom grading criteria, the teaching process, and the choice of classroom activities. This research is not meant to suggest teachers change their beliefs or styles in order to fit into the formula of a good language teacher since there very well may not be a "formula for good teaching" (Prodromou, 1991, p.3). Instead, this research is meant to raise a language teacher's awareness of the diversity of expectations as to what may constitute characteristics of good language teachers; and also to encourage language teacher to initiate communication with their students to discuss these issues. With a greater understanding through communication of the beliefs both teacher and student hold, students may be more likely to support what the teacher does in the classroom, and the teacher may experience less resistance from students. Thereby creating a more effective language teaching and learning experience. Brosh (1996, p.126) signals the importance of a harmonious classroom atmosphere:

As teaching is a two-way process, the quality of the teacher-student interaction is significant in determining whether or not the teacher has the support of his or her students.

Conclusion

This study explored TESOL teachers' own reflective thinking on the important characteristics of good language teachers. Two Chinese TESOL teachers at a College of Foreign Languages in Taiwan participated in this study through semi-structured interviews. In the interviews, the research participants were presented with taxonomy

of important characteristics of good language teachers and were asked to rank their importance accordingly. Two important findings surfaced from the interviews:

1. Teachers' rankings on the important characteristics of good language teachers can be very different. In this study, these two teachers seemed to have divergent ideas about what they believe are the most important characteristics of good language teachers. Sabrina believes a teacher's ability to reflect on teaching and improve teaching skills is the most important characteristic while Irene interprets having a good command of the L2 as the most important characteristic. This characteristic, having a good command of the L2, is actually something Sabrina finds the least important. This demonstrates that teacher beliefs of what makes a good language teacher varies, hence their approach to teaching in the classroom would likely be different from each other as well. Such differences could result in students feeling confused or even finding it difficult to adjust to a teacher's approach in the classroom. This research may have important implications for how teachers engage with students in a discourse on their beliefs and approaches to teaching: what characteristics they believe are important for good language teachers to possess, why they are important, how those characteristics may affect expectations of students, etc. Through a stimulating dialogue a growing understanding of teachers' expectations and learners' expectations might emerge which could result in more effective learning. As Penner (1992, p.16) describes, "the key to effective teaching lies in the growth and improvement of classroom communication."
2. Interview data also revealed that views of the most important characteristics of good language teachers fluctuate over time and according to circumstances. Characteristics teachers currently perceive as important for good language teachers to possess are different from what was believed when they were students. In addition, these two teachers seemed to imply that their perspectives of good language teachers could vary for different groups of learners according to age. All these findings suggest that language teachers should not be defined as a general, global phenomenon that applies to all contexts. The concept of what makes a language teacher good is individualistic and complex. As Borg (2006, p.29) concludes in his study, research of distinctive language teachers would be most "productive" and "practical" when it is conducted in "specific language teaching contexts," since the "language teacher is not a monolithic phenomenon amenable to globally meaningful definition" (p.26). This study suggests that sometimes there could even be diversity of perspectives within the same teaching contexts among college-age learners of a similar ethnic background (e.g. Chinese students).

Hence, the concept of good language teachers might be worth investigating based on each class group's perspective to better disclose and recognize each group's individuality.

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**EFFECT OF TECHNICAL TRAINING ON THE ORGANIZATION IN
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY**

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EFFECT OF TECHNICAL TRAINING ON THE ORGANIZATION IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

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ABSTRACT

Technical training of employees has become one of the major activities in modern industries in India. Rapid growth in technology and competition has given continuous learning a strategic importance. This study was conducted by administering a questionnaire in reputed automobile manufacturing companies in Chennai (formerly Madras), which is a prominent manufacturing city of India. A total of 305 responses were collected from production supervisors who were in an important position to observe the effects of training. The survey data regarding the perception of the employee about the effect of training on the organization was analyzed. The study has resulted in identifying five factors that contribute to the organization. The study throws light into the various effects of technical training, which will be beneficial for the industries spending considerable time and money in offering technical training programmes in industry.

1. INTRODUCTION

In a rapidly changing society, employee training and development is not only an activity that is desirable, but also an activity that an organization must commit resources to, if it is to maintain a valuable and knowledgeable work force. Every Organization needs to have well-trained and experienced people to perform their duties. As the job becomes more complex the importance of employee development also increases.

The review paper by Mital et al (1999) shows that there is a dire need to train workers in manufacturing organizations and thereby improve the overall effectiveness and efficiency of such organizations. Michalski and Cousins (2000) have summarized that the training evaluation practitioners have long sought to isolate benefits of training in terms of organizational effectiveness and business results. A study by Swierczek and Dhakal (2004) on the implementation of learning strategies in developing countries in manufacturing industries showed that there is improvement in performance after conducting training programmes.

Gordon and Sohal (2001) conducted a study and identified the manufacturing practices which distinguished the “most successful” plants from the “least successful” plants. Based on responses from a large number of Canadian and Australian manufacturing plants they concluded that the greater emphasis on training at the “most successful” plants indicated a desire to upgrade the skills of individual workers to achieve company objectives. They also observed that the managers at these “most successful” plants actually implemented practices which indicated a desire to maximise their employees' potential.

Costea (2005) concluded that the organizational performance is linked with the way human resources are managed, which in turn is directly related to the challenges identified. According to the analysis, it could be derived that training and development, employee relations, and efficiency and flexibility are going to be the primary challenges in the next three years at least among Southern EU countries.

Overall, training leads to acquiring new skills and/or improvements in existing skills (Carnevale and Goldstein, 1990). Bunning (1997) has reported that small groups of four to eight supervisors completed a six-month training programme during which they completed a process improvement project within their work area. The work reported the outcomes which showed high satisfaction with the training, very high attainment of National Vocational Qualifications and the contribution of at least £1.5 million to the business.

Long-term investment in training and staff development (TSD) was felt essential to produce the highly skilled and flexible employees who will be needed by the Australian manufacturing enterprises which were facing enormous pressures in terms of international competition and turbulent external environments (Kane et al 1994).

2. SUPERVISOR

Supervisors are in an important position to influence individual and collective tacit knowledge sharing in teams, and thus overall organizational performance. Often supervisors are also called line managers in literature. Supervisors are required to “productively manage the business and continuously be looking for opportunities for quality improvement” (Bunning 1996). Previously seen as a “super technician”, the supervisor now began to be required to do fewer and fewer technical tasks. Rather, he was required to become increasingly involved in more broad-based areas, such as production planning, resolving customer complaints, process improvement, cost-cutting measures and manpower development, among other areas (Bunning, 1997).

3. EFFECT ON THE ORGANIZATION

Bassi et al (1996) maintained that firms are transforming themselves into learning organizations that can operate in high performance work systems. After studying the success factors for advanced manufacturing systems, Mize (1987) indicated that between 25 percent and 40 per cent of the total cost of a project would be spent on education and training. Hyland et al (1998), in their study of Australian companies, observed that the companies, particularly in the manufacturing sector, have undergone downsizing, restructuring and reorganization in the previous ten years. Firms needed to ensure that their remaining employees are multi-skilled and able to adapt and respond to ongoing changes. Their study demonstrated the benefits not only to individuals, but to the organization, of adopting an active learning process.

Removing improvement barriers: Many manufacturing firms experience resistance whenever a new technology is introduced. Continuing education and training help to ease the resistance to AMT adoption (Beatty and Gordon 1988).

Cultural improvement: The full benefits of training will only be realized if there is an appropriate organizational culture (Hyland et al 1998).

Profitability: Profitability as the outcome of training has been established in the empirical research work by Delery and Doty (1996). Garavan et al (1995) stress that since the prime objective of any organization is to sustain long-term profitability through high levels of productivity and competitiveness, the training and development of human resources must receive due recognition and status as a critical strategic activity.

New technology: Worker re-training needs are most understood in industries where technology has changed dramatically, like the aerospace industry (Deutsch 1987). Continual and rapid improvement requires education and training (Hayes and Jaikumar 1988). With AMT, employee skills move from being behavioural and experienced based to attitudinal, cognitive, and social (Adler 1988).

Competitiveness of the organization: Gowen and Tallon (2003) determined that as the rate of environmental change increases, so does the need for the training and re-training of the workforce. Best practice firms treat training and human resource development as a strategic need, not as a discretionary budget item whose funding may be reduced in off years.

Continuous improvement: Continuous improvement is an effort that impacts on the whole enterprise and not just on production. Nevertheless, most activities under this title have focused on production and sometimes involve considerable training. Often, this training is part of the general training for teams. Training for continuous improvement is specific, where it provides insight in the workings of specific processes. It is generic, where it provides workers with tools for the analysis of problems, instills different attitudes towards the organization, and helps people to deal with, and even support, continuous change (Dankbaar 1999).

Productivity: Plants which allocate greater resources for the training of the workforce have been shown to have increased productivity (Garvin 1984, Womack et al 1990, Sakakibara et al 1993, and Flynn et al 1994). According to Beasley and Zuercher (1991), training programmes lead to productivity improvement. The impact areas of training are production process efficiency, material expenses, inventory levels, materials and work-in-process. Productivity as the outcome of training has been established in the empirical research works by Kidder and Rouiller (1997), Bishop (1994), Huselid (1995), Russell et al (1985), Barrett and O'Connell (2001), Ichniowski et al (1997), Bartel (1994) and Aragon et al (2003). The single most important source of Japanese productivity growth remains as the emphasis on learning and training (Grayson and O'Dell 1988). Training, incentives, organizational commitment and customer orientation have a direct causal impact on employee productivity (Paul and Anantharaman 2003). The fact that training enhances employee productivity is consistent with prior studies (Bartel 1994, Huselid 1995, Black and Lynch 1996).

Change management: The realities of workplace restructuring are being felt in many companies. Common results of such restructuring are role changes. This can lead to personnel being required to move from roles where they have developed substantial expertise into new roles where they are basically novices (Dreyfus 1982). Workplace restructuring implies people changing roles, leading to the deskilling of people who must learn their way back to competence

(Houldsworth et al 1997). These changes necessitate intense learning events for the personnel involved as they grow back to competence and beyond. Those managers who understand this change as a learning event seek to provide professional development and training programmes for those who have been displaced (Swieringa and Wierdsma 1992). Chang (1989) noted that an organization can never realize change by simply hiring engineers and technicians with new technical expertise from outside. A long-term educational and training program should be designed and implemented to train the employees so that reallocation of the human resource for jobs requiring advanced technical expertise can be made possible. The research by Smith and Hayton (1999) made three key observations that relate to the development of employer training in Australian enterprises at that time. First, workplace change emerged as a key driver for employer training in both the survey and the case studies. Any improvement involves change, and training plays an important part in preparing employees for the change process. Several authors argue that the process used to prepare employees for change can be as crucial as the change itself (Ferrini-Mundy et al 1990, Cocheu 1992, Sutton 1992).

Business Needs: The research by Smith et al (2003), built on the model of employer training, investigated in depth the relationship between employer training and organizational change in Australian enterprises.

Innovation: Returns on investment in training may be found in many forms (Dawe 2003). These may include higher levels of value-added activities as a result of greater levels of employee skills, reduced overhead costs to the firm (efficiency of resources or fewer workers compensation claims) and greater ability to innovate in terms of adopting new technology and introducing better work processes. Training may also provide benefits without direct financial benefits, for example, providing a safer workplace, increasing flexibility amongst employees who can perform a range of tasks, increasing staff morale and confidence, or achieving quality assurance rating.

The effect of training on the organization was studied by literature survey and interview of people from the manufacturing industry. Table 1 gives the 37 items describing the effect of training on the organization. These items were used to make the questionnaire.

4 FACTOR ANALYSIS

The survey data were first tested for sampling adequacy using Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) statistics. Sampling adequacy predicts if data are likely to factor well, based on correlation and partial correlation. Bartlett's test of sphericity was conducted to check whether the correlation matrix is an identity matrix, which indicates that the variables are unrelated. The significance level gives the result of the test. Reliability analysis was conducted on the factors and the alpha values are shown in the respective tables.

Factor analysis was performed on the responses with the objective of reducing many variables that belong together to a manageable number and having overlapping measurement characteristics. The questionnaire contained 37 questions on the effect of technical training on the organization. Reliability analysis was conducted on the factors and the alpha values were calculated. The factor analysis resulted in 5 factors on the effect on the organization.

Table 1 Effect of training on the organization

Sl. No.	Effect of training on the organization
1	Extent to which training aided in creating quality culture
2	Extent to which training aided in creating people development culture
3	Extent to which training resulted in innovative ideas
4	Extent to which training resulted in innovative products (or new products)
5	Increase in productivity as a result of training
6	Extent to which the training was helpful to meet the challenges arising due to the globalization of economy
7	Extent to which the training resulted in technical conflict reduction
8	Extent to which training reduced inventory
9	Increase in operating results
10	Increase in profitability
11	Reduction in various costs
12	Extent to which the training was helpful in maintaining a stable workforce
13	Extent to which the training was helpful in the introduction of new technology
14	Improvement in the turnover
15	Extent to which training reduced wastage
16	Extent to which training resulted in actions to support the employee needs
17	Extent to which the training was helpful in responding to external changes
18	Extent to which training supported the business needs
19	Extent to which the training was helpful to becoming a reliable and preferred supplier
20	Increase in the number of suggestions given
21	Extent to which training resulted in team building
22	Extent to which the training was helpful to understand the current societal trends that may impact the organization
23	Focus of the training on the benefits of activities
24	Extent to which training resulted in new initiatives
25	Improvement in the dissemination (spreading) of knowledge
26	Extent to which the training was helpful in change management
27	Extent to which the training was helpful in continuous improvement
28	Extent to which the training was helpful in responding to internal changes
29	Extent to which the training was helpful to solve business problems
30	Improvement in business performance as a result of training
31	Improvement in the implementation of best practices
32	Extent to which training served as a major feature of business strategy
33	Extent to which training resulted in achieving the company objectives
34	Improvement in the competitiveness of the organization
35	Extent to which the training was helpful in the creation of flexible workforce
36	Reduction of overhead costs
37	Extent to which the training was helpful in removing improvement barriers in the industry

Effect on the organization: The survey data regarding the perception of the employee about the effect of training on the organization were first tested for sampling adequacy using Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) statistics (Table 2). The result value 0.953 indicated the suitability of the data for factor analysis. Bartlett's test of sphericity was conducted and the significance value of 0.000 indicated that there are probably significant relationships among the variables. Reliability analysis was conducted on the factors and the alpha values are shown in Table 6.

Table 2 Test for sampling adequacy and relationship significance: variables of effect on the organization

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		0.953
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	5237.452
	df	406.000
	Sig.	0.000

Communalities in Table 3 show the amount of variance in a variable that is accounted for the factor or factors taken together. The communality is a useful index for assessing how much variance in a particular variable is accounted for by the factor solution. Large communalities indicate that the large amount of the variance in a variable has been extracted by the factors.

Table 4 indicates that there are 5 possible factors and their eigenvalues are given. Factor 1 is accounting for most variance (45.87%).

The Rotated Component Matrix table (Table 5) reports the factor loadings for each variable on the components or factors after rotation. Each number represents the partial correlation between the item and the rotated factor. These correlations help to formulate an interpretation of the factors or components. This is done by looking for a common thread among the variables that have large loadings for a particular factor. Table 5 shows the reliability of the factors of effect on the organization. The factors were named business improvement, cultural improvement, continuous improvement cost reduction, and initiative and knowledge dissemination.

Table 3 Communalities for variables measuring the effect on the organization

Variables	Initial	Extraction
O103PC	1	0.68
O104IN	1	0.63
O105IN	1	0.61
O109GL	1	0.55
O110IN	1	0.57
O111OP	1	0.61
O112PR	1	0.67
O115CO	1	0.57
O116WF	1	0.58
O117NT	1	0.67
O118TU	1	0.71
O119WS	1	0.70
O132EX	1	0.60
O134SU	1	0.61
O137SU	1	0.58
O138TM	1	0.59
O14INI	1	0.75
O20DIS	1	0.61
O82CHM	1	0.57
O83CON	1	0.64
O84ICH	1	0.62
O87BPR	1	0.52
O88BPE	1	0.60
O89BPR	1	0.64
O91COO	1	0.64
O92COM	1	0.59
O96RED	1	0.58
O98BAR	1	0.59
O102CU	1	0.65

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 4 Total Variance Explained for factors of the effect on the organization

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	13.30	45.87	45.87	13.30	45.87	45.87	5.21	17.96	17.96
2	1.37	4.73	50.60	1.37	4.73	50.60	4.66	16.06	34.03
3	1.14	3.94	54.54	1.14	3.94	54.54	3.23	11.12	45.15
4	1.08	3.73	58.27	1.08	3.73	58.27	2.66	9.16	54.31
5	1.00	3.46	61.73	1.00	3.46	61.73	2.15	7.42	61.73
6	0.90	3.11	64.84						
7	0.85	2.92	67.75						
8	0.76	2.63	70.39						
9	0.70	2.40	72.79						
10	0.66	2.27	75.06						
11	0.63	2.18	77.23						
12	0.61	2.11	79.35						
13	0.54	1.85	81.20						
14	0.52	1.81	83.01						
15	0.48	1.65	84.66						
16	0.46	1.60	86.26						
17	0.45	1.54	87.80						
18	0.44	1.50	89.30						
19	0.40	1.38	90.68						
20	0.37	1.28	91.96						
21	0.35	1.20	93.16						
22	0.33	1.12	94.28						
23	0.30	1.05	95.33						
24	0.29	0.99	96.32						
25	0.25	0.86	97.18						
26	0.24	0.82	97.99						
27	0.21	0.71	98.70						
28	0.20	0.70	99.40						
29	0.17	0.60	100.00						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 5 Rotated Component Matrix for factors of the effect on the organization

Variable	Components				
	1	2	3	4	5
O118TU	0.75				
O119WS	0.71				
O112PR	0.69				
O137SU	0.62				
O117NT	0.60				
O111OP	0.57				
O134SU	0.56				
O109GL	0.55				
O138TM	0.54				
O110IN	0.54				
O132EX	0.49				
O102CU		0.69			
O103PC		0.66			
O104IN		0.65			
O92COM		0.60			
O91COO		0.58			
O89BPR		0.55			
O105IN		0.55			
O88BPE			0.66		
O82CHM			0.66		
O84ICH			0.65		
O87BPR			0.61		
O83CON			0.48		
O115CO				0.67	
O96RED				0.64	
O116WF				0.55	
O98BAR				0.54	
O14INI					0.81
O20DIS					0.69

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

^a Rotation converged in 10 iterations.

^bThe numbers following the first alphabet under the column heading 'variable' in the table correspond to the question number in the survey questionnaire.

Table 6 Reliability of the factors of effect on the organization

Factor	Alpha
Business Improvement	0.93
Cultural Improvement	0.9
Continuous improvement	0.9
Cost reduction	0.76
Initiative and knowledge dissemination	0.64

5. CONCLUSIONS

This work studied the effects of technical training in the automobile manufacturing companies in Chennai, India. The study identified five organizational benefits of technical training in automobile manufacturing companies. The benefits are business improvement, cultural improvement, continuous improvement, cost reduction and initiative and knowledge dissemination. This is probably the first attempt to investigate the effects of technical training in automobile industries in India in detail. This study will help the automobile manufacturing companies, which invest heavily in giving technical training to the employees, to understand the effects of technical training in organizational improvement. Continuing training is a pre-condition and a consequence of continuous improvement. This work has identified the major factors of the effects of technical training that benefit the automobile manufacturing companies. This work will be useful for these companies in their efforts to improve their organization.

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Uncovering Hidden Needs of the Elderly through Social Computing

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Abstract

Aging society is a global issue. To provide adequate assistance, support and service to the elderly, their needs must be identified. However, much of the needs remain hidden because elderly persons do not, or are unaware or unable to articulate their needs. Particularly in the Chinese culture, elderly people tend to express content but not complaint. Nevertheless, *hidden needs* may be observed by younger people who live with the elderly. Therefore, the research aims to uncover hidden needs of the elderly from the information provided by younger people. We conducted a survey of various social networking sites that contains contents related the elderly and aging and identified Blogs, Facebook and Discussion Forum as platforms of data collection. On Facebook, we collect specific data by holding activities or tests. On Discussion Forum, we collect data by posting discussion topics to promote feedbacks. We do not actively recruit participants, instead rely on social networks of our friends. The result of a quantitative content analysis shows hidden needs are potential in issues of conversation in family, assistance by technology and trend of traveling.

1. Introduction

Aging society is a global issue. To provide adequate assistance, support and service to the elderly, their needs must be identified. In our previous studies, using questionnaire surveys and cultural probes (Gaver, Dunne & Pacenti, 1999), to understand the elderly's needs of smart technologies in the domestic environment, we found smart technologies for home safety and security, energy conservation and usage monitoring, as well as health care and maintenance, are desirable (Chien, 2008). However, each of these categories, e.g. home safety, contains a wide variety of technologies that have to be tailored for different levels of needs. When inquiring the elderly on the detail of their needs, we found that the elderly have difficulty elaborating their needs in details or, in some cases, simply express no further needs are necessary.

We believe much of the needs remain hidden because elderly persons do not, or are unaware or unable to articulate their needs. Particularly in the Chinese culture, elderly people tend to express content but not complaint. Nevertheless, hidden needs may be observed by younger people who live with the elderly. Therefore, the research aims to uncover hidden needs of the elderly from the information provided by younger people.

Given that younger people adopt new media and understand new technologies easily (Livingston & Bovill, 1999) as well as with the advances of information and communication technology, we identify web-based social networking environments as the targeted place to collect information.

These environments are supported by social computing technologies and serve as intermediaries for social relations (Schuler, 1994). Social computing refers to using information systems as platforms for social interaction, data collection and manipulation (Musser, Wedman, & Laffey, 2003). Social computing technologies enable the formation of “the wisdom of crowds” (Surowiecki, 2004).

Blogs and Wikipedia are the most visible of the social computing initiatives, as well as social networks, such as Facebook, and discussion forums (Parameswaran & Whinston, 2007). Blog is a grassroots way that provides bloggers to document their lives, opinions, and emotions (Nardi, Schiano, Gumbrecht, & Swartz, 2004). Occasionally, their family could be parts of protagonist. Discussion forums are common in text-based and non-face-to-face communications (Guzdial & Turns, 2000). Users come together for specific purposes. For example: some people need to live with their parents after married so the discussion forums have discussions about how to get along with the elderly. Facebook allows people to share and make their individual world more open and connected. By 2009 Facebook was reported to have more than 5 million registered members in Taiwan.

2. Hidden Needs

The concept of hidden needs has been discussed in many areas of study, for examples, marketing, psychology and medicine. People, in fields of business and economics, often want to know more about the markets and customers’ unmet needs (Titus, 2000). Successful and innovative companies produce products that not only meet the customers’ expressed needs but also amaze them by anticipating and fulfilling their unarticulated needs (Kärkkäinen, Piippo, Puumalainen, & Tuominen, 2001).

Freer (1987) mentioned that hidden needs of the elderly from the patient because of asymptomatic disease. These are symptoms that are unreported or undetected. The elderly person may not think the problem legitimate or remediable, or may think it is only to be expected with old age. Problems may remain hidden because of communication difficulties due to factors such as hearing or memory loss.

Hidden needs happened when people are inarticulate to the requirements rest on a subconscious level (Goffin & Lemke, 2004). Thrash, Elliot, and Schultheiss (2007) stated that the implicit needs are nonverbal. Unconsciously or unspoken at the end of an awareness dimension may happen in specific situation like meeting or at non-intimates people or surroundings (Cusinato & L’Abate, 2008). On one hand, hidden needs are hidden because people do not show them off or speak them out. On the other hand, hidden needs exist because people are unaware of or unable to articulate them.

People always complain their problems to their friends and family, so do the elderly. Old people often chat and nag with their friends and family, even gossip or complain. It is the naggings and gossips, which may contain indications of the elderly’s needs.

3. Methodology

The study is qualitative research to exploring issues and understanding phenomena based on Grounded Theory (Goulding, 1998). The finding comes out by collecting data and analysis repeatedly. Coding refers to progress of analysis data through fractured, conceptualized, and integrated (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). We use NUDIST Vivo (QSR International Pty Ltd) as

coding tool through open coding, axial coding and select coding. After conducted a survey of various social networking sites that contains contents related the elderly and aging, we identified Blogs, Facebook and Discussion Forum as platforms of data collection. We gathered the data from various platforms of social computing, and coding the data for analysis.

Data Collection and Sampling

In this study, we examined two Blog communities: Wretch (<http://www.wretch.cc/>) and Yam Blog (<http://blog.yam.com/>). Both communities are operated by Taiwan companies and taken together they occupy over three quarters of the Blog market share in Taiwan. For Discussion Forums, we selected Baby Home (<http://www.babyhome.com.tw/>), which is designed for young parents. In the discussion forums, users discuss issues related to their babies, as well as the elderly they live with or encounter. Lastly, we created a Facebook fan page (in Traditional Chinese) called “Having an elderly at home is like having a treasure” (<http://www.facebook.com/pages/jia-you-yi-lao-ru-you-yi-bao/165365468098>). We posted news related to the elderly everyday, and occasionally, held activities to invoke discussions and gather feedbacks from fans.

The study followed seven months of activities in these social computing platforms, between September 30, 2009, and April 6, 2010. The sample was drawn by searching keywords about the elderly, parents or grandparents in the blog articles and forum discussions. Blog articles and forum discussions existed before September 30, 2009, are considered as well. Our valid data consists of 144 articles from blogs, 560 discussions from discussion forums, and 33 feedbacks from Facebook.

Data Analysis

Our Facebook fan page has 68 fans of ages between 13 and 60 (Figure 1). Over one half of them are female.

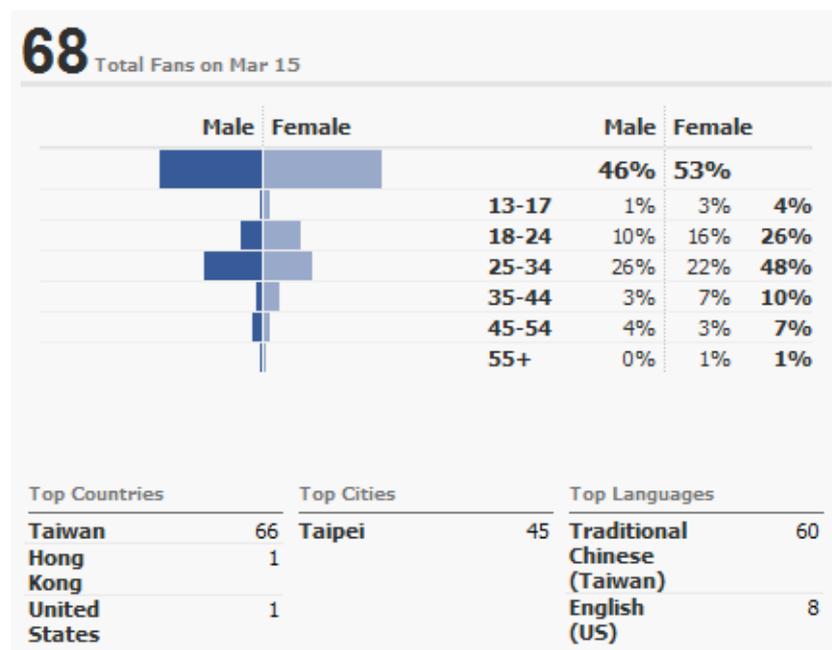


Figure 1: The statistic of fans.

We designed a quiz to explore people’s attitude towards being old and the old people. The quiz is “What things defeat you most easily?” The quiz was taken 2,224 times. The result showed that

over 50% of the participants was afraid of being homeless when they are old. The second most concern is “being sick”, while other concerns are “not having personal hobby” and “no money” in the old ages.

The first step of our analysis was open coding. We coded the free node through microscopic approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). We got free nodes from 139 Blog articles, 100 forum discussions and 55 Facebook discussions. In total, we generated 29 free nodes with issues such as parents, grandparents, life style, habits and traveling. The users on the Facebook shared their experiences about their parents and life most, and less about their grandparents. Bloggers often wrote about their parents or grandparents when specific emotions were evoked, for instance, angry and remembrance.

We organized free nodes into tree nodes. From our previous study and the literature (Chien, 2008; Nimrod, 2009), we identified 8 aspects of needs: Health, Social issues, Finances, Study, Recreation, Travel, Work, and Housing.

- Health (health caring): needs of health caring and services
- Social issues (society caring): needs of respect and caring from people and social services
- Finances (safety of economic): needs of economic stability and supports
- Study (education): needs of learning and continuing education
- Recreation (leisure activity and spending): needs of leisure activities and shopping
- Travel (transportation): needs of touring, transportation and information services
- Work (manpower): needs of working and volunteering
- Housing: needs of aging-in-place and technology in sustainable development

According to these aspects, we categorized free nodes into tree nodes in the hierarchy shown in Figure 2. However, there are free nodes that cannot be classified into the 8-aspects of needs hierarchy (Figure 3).

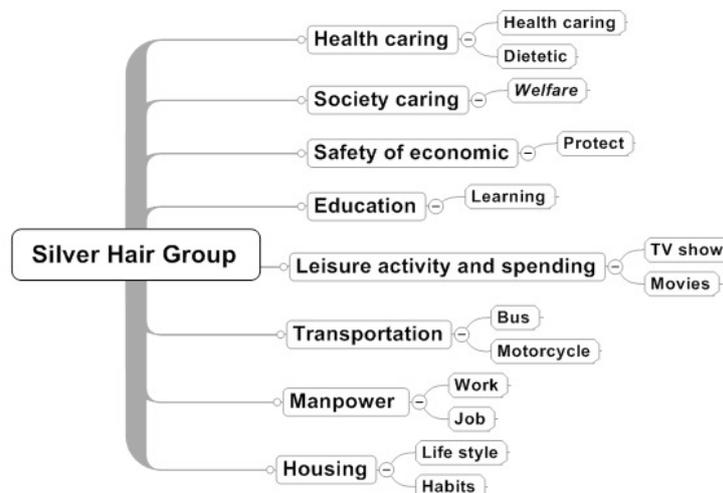


Figure 2: Tree nodes classified in 8 aspects of needs

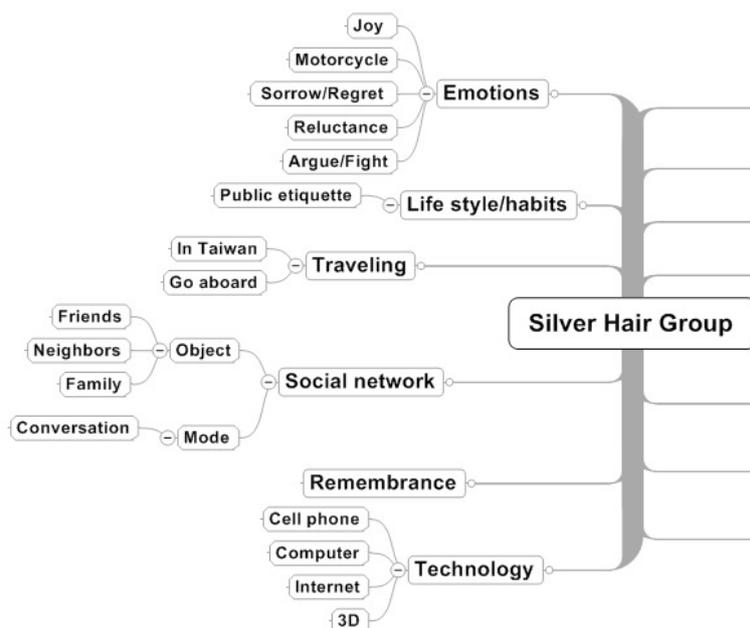


Figure 3: Free nodes that cannot be classified into the 8-aspects of needs

Results

Human relationships could be the changes of concepts and lack of interactions. The applications of technology is getting extensive that may become the chances of assisting the elderly and their family. Due to their children and grandchildren being proficient at using technological products, the acceptance of technology by the elderly may increase.

In axial coding, we focus on analyzing nodes which were not grouped into 8 issues for disclosing the hidden issues. We have identified three issues: conversation in family, assistance by technology and trend of traveling.

Conversation in family

The issues of conversation may be caused by differences in languages and life styles. In Taiwan, many elderly people speak Taiwanese (a local dialect) instead of Mandarin Chinese. However, children are often taught in Mandarin Chinese in school and have more conversations with their friends than their grandparents. Some bloggers mentioned they often have conversations in different languages with their grandparents, both of them had to guess what each other was talking. The interactions between parent-in-law and daughter-in-law are big problems. The elderly sometimes are too stubborn to listen to the suggestions from others. People cannot stand most is the elderly take advantage by relying on their seniority. The elderly sometimes would think they are senior citizens that they are deserved to have a seat, cut in the line or break the rules.

Assistance by technology

Many assistive products for the elderly have been research and designed in recent years. The trend of design is focus on cell phone, caring and medical. Users on the internet have discussed and point out how they feel after their parents used the cell phone. Some users mention the needs of the elderly and compiled a list. Nowadays, the cell phones designed for the elderly do match some features on that list, for example, the size of buttons and screen, SOS button and loud ring tone.

Trend of traveling in last two years

The senior citizens often traveling with the community they live. We found there a trend of traveling. Those senior travelers not only travel in Taiwan but go overbroad (Tseng & Chen, 2007). The elderly not just save money for their children or grandchildren, but also spend their time to enjoy traveling. The place that the elderly consider most are the place is easy for transportation and less walking. The elderly people often consider the traveling destinations from their own experiences or recommendations from their family and friends. They do not trust the information on the internet.

4. Discussions

The trend of traveling has been changing recently. Internet users get travel related information, costs and travel companions through social networking sites. Since the elderly cannot get or do not trust the information on the internet, can only rely on the information from their friends or family. In addition to friends and family, the elderly may take recommendations from community center or the senior center. From our data, we found that there are people would like to travel with the elderly but there exist no communication channels to pair them up. Product design for the elderly is a hot topic. We found many researches about product design through observing, interviewing and experimental simulation. Customers post questions on the internet before buying, as well as sharing their experiences after using a product. The opinions from users are more detailed due to the usage time are long.

Collecting data from blogs, discussion forums and Facebook may not collect in many details, but can get many issues comes out from users. And we can find general phenomena easily. How to get more details from the internet through the social computing could be the future work. Users on the net often comment in short sentences, or even just press the “Like” button. But what kind of materials those cause the users would respond these feedbacks? People may share their own experience but won’t go in depth if no one keeps asking.

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A social communication device for the strangers who live nearby of the dormitory

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Media and Communications

Abstract

Living in dormitory has always been an important part of life for students who study far from their hometown. For them, it is the first time to deal with all things in daily life on their own. Sometimes the gap between the expectation and the reality of interpersonal relationship has been generated, and sometimes students live by themselves; these reasons will make them feel lonely easily, especially at night.

Some social work researches have shown that the relationships between relatives and friends, but the relationship between strangers who live nearby is seldom discussed. The goal to this research is to measure the loneliness of the person who lives alone and how the device improves the communication with his/her neighbors. The device is placed in rooms on the same floor of the dormitory, and the users who live nearby don't know each other. The device called CONNEC+ABLE is connected to each room. It shows the information whether you sit on the chair or not. If you need someone to accompany with you, you can push the button to change your light. You can also change others' lights to express that you care about them. The purpose is to explore the behavior and the relationship or interaction between users.

Keywords: relationship between strangers, CONNEC+ABLE, interaction

1. Introduction

1.1 Feeling explore

Lack of particular interpersonal relationship, or has a gap between the reality and the expect of interpersonal relationship, and makes people has an unhappy subjective emotion, feeling, experience and reaction, we called it "Loneliness"(Fong-Wei Tsai 2006). The purpose of our device is to discover, decrease, even eliminate the feeling of being lonely or other unpleasant experiences when living alone in the dormitory.

1.2 CONNEC+ABLE

We combine "connect" and "table" to be a name of our device.

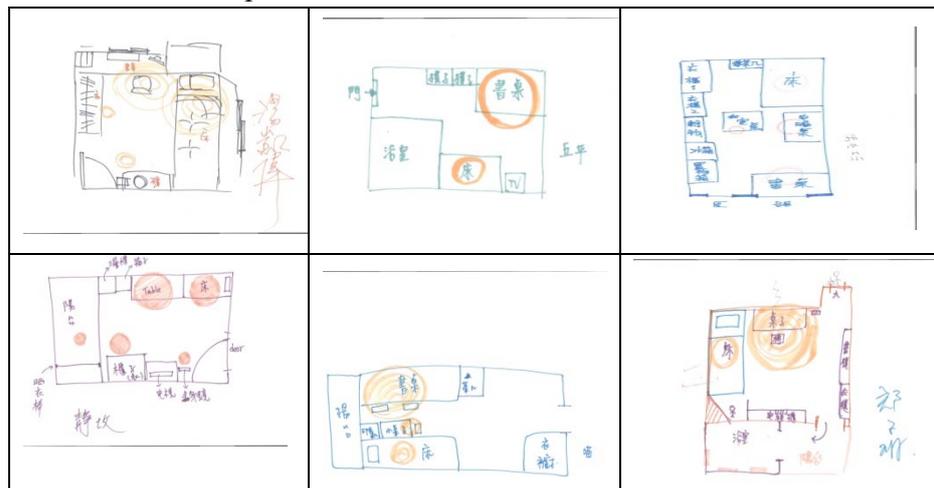
1.2.1 CONNECT

This device is used to connect the users who are strangers but live near to each other and allows the user turns on the device without intention. The reason we chose strangers as the interactive object is comparing to interact with family members or friends. Users won't has too much expectation on strangers, so the loneliness generated by the gap between reality and expectation on the interactive object will

be avoided, and if user get the concern from someone he/she is unfamiliar with, it will makes him/her feel even more touched. The reason we chose the strangers living nearby is allowing the user feel that he/she and the interactive objects are at the same group, and makes the user have the sense of belonging. To increase the interaction between users, we also want to add a function which allow user shows his/her emotion, so if other people find his/her emotion is not very well, they can show their concern to him/her. We want to know if this can decrease the user's expectation and the dependence to our device, and furthermore, eliminate his/her feeling of being lonely.

1.2.2 TABLE

We did a simple experiment for six students (3 males and 3 females).The subjects draw the interior layout plan where they live. And point out the location they stay. The time is longer, the circle is bigger. The results shows that the bed side and the table side are two places they stay longest. The bed side is mostly use for sleep, so we choose the table side that students spend their time in front of the table the most to put the device.



2. Literature review

2.1 Emotions

Loneliness is a complex set of feelings encompassing reactions to the absence of intimate and social needs. John (1999) reviewed the developmental, social, personality, clinical, and counseling psychology

literatures on loneliness with an emphasis on recent empirical findings. As a complex set of feelings and cognitions reflects the distressing and negative emotional experience emanating from the individual's perceived deficiencies in intimate and social relationships (Ernst & Cacioppo, 1999; Perlman, 1988; Rotenberg, 1999). A particularly high risk of loneliness was found during the transition to college when emerging adults are faced with the stress of living away from their family and of lacking their previous social support system. Wiseman, Maysless, and Sharabany examined the association between perceived quality of early parental bonding and loneliness of first-year university students in relation to two central personality-related conceptualizations, attachment and Blatt's primary personality predispositions. The result shows parental care and secure attachment were negatively associated with loneliness, whereas ambivalent and avoidant attachment and self-criticism were positively correlated with loneliness.

2.2 Social network: connectible

As a social network example, connectible is a concept that provides the user to exchange the gift that decorated from himself / herself. There are three kinds of connectibles, and each means different function.

- **Button connectible** : Pushing the button causes its partner to slowly light up, and then fade out.
- **Knob connectible** : The lights on a knob connectible reflect how far its partner's knob is turned. The bottom LED is used as feedback, like the button connectible.
- **Pic connectible** : It consists of a full color OLED display, with four buttons hidden under each corner. A user can press these buttons by pushing on the corner of the display. A user can send pre-set animation messages to their friend's partner connectibles using the top two buttons: the left button sends a series of flashing "Hi!" graphics, which last about five seconds. The right button sends a series of animated hearts, which also lasts about five seconds. Users can send each other picture using the Visual application. The pictures appear on the partner connectible and remain there until changed by the sender.

This research suggests the idea about why to use tangible social network than PC-based social network. It says that gift exchange is important for the user to give the service meaningful. It is a natural behavior and feels good. So the touchable devices are better than virtual

things.

The other idea in this research is that the physically of the system generated an enthusiastic response among the subjects. Tangible interfaces are often criticized for their cost: physical things cannot be easily copied and distributed, they can become worn over time, they are hard to replace. In this case, it is precisely these properties that engendered the users' positive response.

2.3 The relationship between Social Anxiety Tendency,Rumination,Loneliness

This research investigates the relationship between social anxiety tendency, rumination, loneliness and the time of using Internet for college students. It points out that people who have social anxiety tendency are actually eager to interact with other people, but they concern too much about how they perform in front of people and worried to be criticized by others, so they become unconfident about themselves, and avoid contacting with others, then generate the feeling of loneliness.

The results of the study are as follows: 1. There are significant differences in self-blame rumination among those college students of different states. 2. There are significant differences in rumination between college students with high and low social anxiety tendency. 3. There are significant correlation in social anxiety tendency, rumination and loneliness. 4. The social anxiety tendency and rumination can effectively predict loneliness. 5. The social anxiety tendency and loneliness can effectively predict the time of using Internet. 6. The loneliness has mediation effects between social anxiety tendency and the time of using Internet.

3. Materials and Methods

CONNEX+ABLE Design

There are three buttons on the CONNEX+ABLE, one of them represents user himself/herself, and other buttons represent other users. There is a switch hidden in the cushion putting on the chair, so when the user sits down, the switch will trigger the button of CONNEX+ABLE on that represents user's location. The button in others rooms' will also trigger to light up. So it can show the message that the user is in the room and the location is in the table side.

There are two colors of light in the button. The yellow one means the user is in a stable feeling, and the red light means the user feels something

different. The red light situation represents the user is in mental needed, and just like sending the message “Can somebody help or hear me?”. As for the connecting of each room, we use arduino to connect the hardware and send messages from the software. The subjects don’t need to put on their PC or laptop. Just regards it as a decorations or toys to communicate with each other. Last, there won’t be too many electric wires and we can use the software to record the time (when they change their feeling).

4. Scenario

Kent, a freshman in National Cheng Kung University, has his first middle exam this week. He returned home from library around six o’clock in the afternoon. He took a bath, checked his mail, and set in front of table to study. After a long concentration on his study, he raised his head and looked out the window. It was 23:05; the moon went behind a cloud, “It’s really a hard and lonely night.....” he thought. Kent pushed the button on the left of CONNECT+ABLE to turn the yellow light into red. The red light of CONNEC+ABLE showed he is lonely now. Kent took a look on the CONNEN+ABLE which is on the corner of his table, it includes three buttons, each of the button representing one of Kent’s neighbor in the dormitory. One of the buttons are dark, means his neighbor was not sitting on the chairs; one of them showed in yellow, means one of Kent’s neighbor sitting in front of their own table; one of the button represents himself is red(because he feels lonely);after a while, Kent saw one of the light also turned red. It means there is someone also has different feeling. Kent pushed the button with red light, the button’s color turned back to yellow, and Kent thought his neighbor has received his concern. After five minutes, his button also turned yellow. Kent felt he had been concerned because some of his neighbor pushed the button to erase his red light back to yellow.

In the midnight, Kent kept working hard on his study and had more energy to deal with tough subjects.

5. Methodology overview

5.1 System Architecture

5.1.1 Device - The CONNEC+ABLE

There are two parts of the CONNEC+ABLE, the chair cushion and the building. The building is the central operating system. We place remote wireless control system in it.

Due to the limit of the pin numbers(only 15 pins) in Arduino, we reduce our subjects for three as a group. Even the number of users had been reduced, but it can still achieve the purpose of observing the interaction relationship between more than two people.

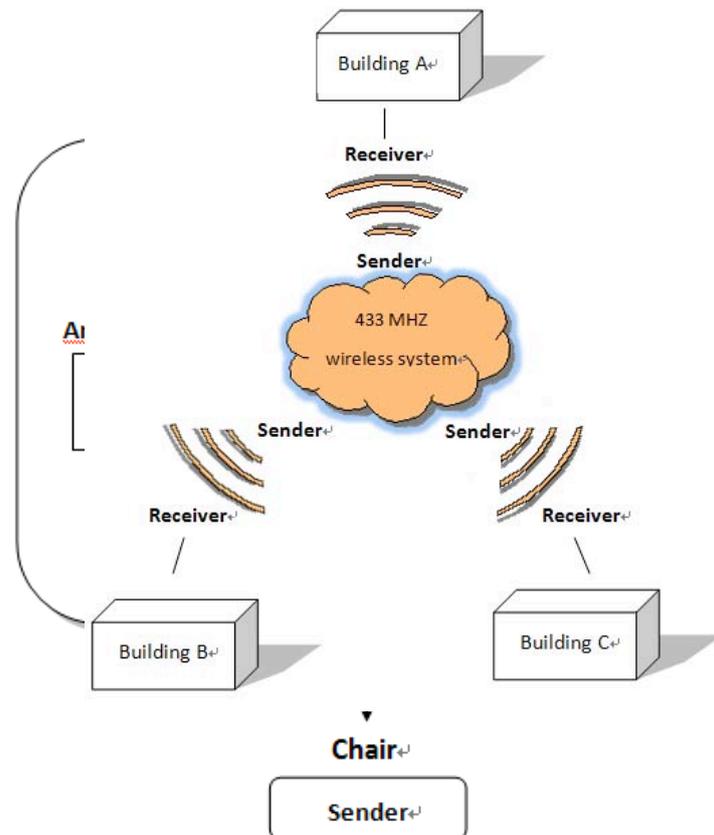
➤ Chair cushion:

We place a mini micro switch into a chair cushion, when user sit down the switch will be triggered and the sender will send the message of the user is on his/her seat or not.

➤ Building:

The outer covering is a cuboid made by acrylic, the size is 15cm * 9cm * 9cm, and there are four windows in the side of the building face to user. Three of them represent three users each. The windows are designed as buttons, placed LEDs inside, so it can show each users' state of in the table side or having some different emotions or not.

Followed are pictures shows how the CONNEC+ABLE works.



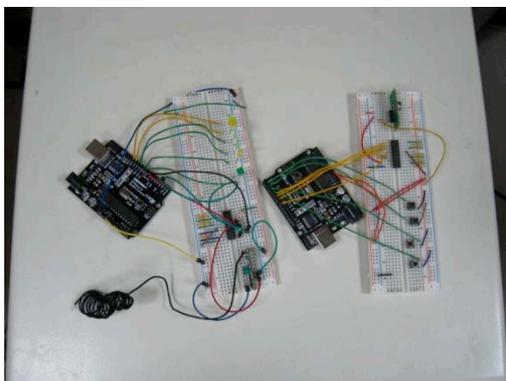
When making the building, the first problem we met was the connecting way from the sender to the receiver. If we use wires to do that, it will be a lot of mess. This kind of methods also makes

users feel inconvenient. So we use the wireless sender and receiver, but there is also a problem of unstable when the distance between sender and receiver is too far, to solve this problem, except to make the antenna of receiver longer, we also limit the distance between users' rooms not to be too far.

Further more, there is a problem when more than one sender sending message, they will interrupt each other. So we tried two methods to solve this problem, the first one is staggered the sending time. The second one is sending message only when signal changed. After testing, we use the first method to solve this problem.

We successfully wrote a code for receiver to receive the message from the sender and burned it into the IC of the Arduino. The unstable message from sender sometimes occurred. We use a filter to make our message more clear and stable. As to the problem of sending message simultaneously will make the message interrupted, we try to use the relay and the transistor to solve this problem.

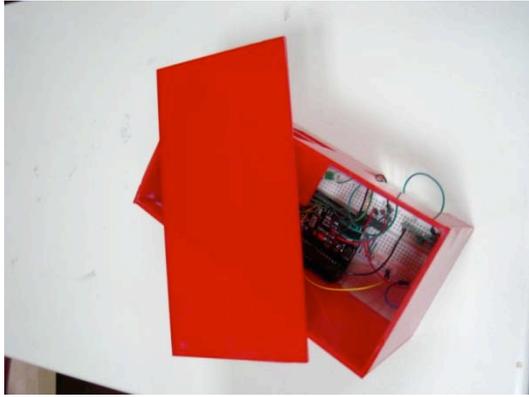
The transistor can control the low voltage (the output from the arduino pin). If there is voltage, the tunnel of the 5V to ground will be connected. It will trigger the relay and let the current pass through the RF module. Finally, the output pin message could control the 5 voltage power whether it will pass through the sender or not.



The receiver and the sender



The technical part



The building and the arduino



The building and the arduino (detail)

5.1.2 User

There are some rules to find our subjects.

1. Live alone
2. There are neighbors live nearby but not know each other
3. Students

For these limitations, we can clear our assumptions. Living alone makes the subjects won't bother from roommates and not that easily to find a way to deal with the emotions changes. The neighbors' chosen is also an important part for this research. We try to make sure any subject doesn't know each other. Therefore, it conforms the relationship between each other is stranger to stranger. And we limited the professional to students. It is because the time spend on the dormitory is more stable. The emotions will influence by the school days easily and probably have more motivations to access to each other. The most important part is that they have more time to do our experiments in detail.

6 Discussion

We hope to use this experiment and the device supplied to find out the relationship between strangers who live nearby in the dormitory. Following are some expectations and comparisons we found.

6.1 Expectations

We hope the relationships between the subjects can be built. And we will observe the interaction between each other. We hope this experiment not only erase some unpleasant emotions but also gather the users to feel that they are team members. Let the distance between each other be shorter. The awareness system also can be built to investigate whether this relationship is

reliable or not, and how to improve or maintain.

6.2 Comparison

Compare our device with other communication methods.

	Our device	MSN	Blog
Knowing the interactive objects or not	×	✓	Both
Sharing User's detail information	×	✓	✓
Show user's state immediately	✓	✓	×
Interactive immediately	✓	✓	×
Communicate immediately	×	✓	×
User's expectation /dependence degree of the device	Middle	High	Middle

7 Conclusion

From the very beginning, we focus on the students that live alone in the dormitory. There is a lot of lacking in their daily life. First we find out that students usually eat their meal alone. They feel lonely when they have the meal. So we try to solve this problem. After we did the short interview for the students, we found out that the emotion changing is filled in the daily life. They sometimes don't try to find the answer but just let it happened. If it is positive emotions, they enjoy it. The unpleasant emotions occurred will make them have bad mood or influence the study even friendship. So we design a device and a temptation to observe this problem. And try to use it in real life as a living lab experiment. There are a lot of interesting behaviors between subjects waiting for us to find out. We can use these results to do our next step work. We expect it.

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The social capital and identity perspectives in virtual communities

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The social capital and identity perspectives in virtual communities

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Abstract

Without the existence of rich knowledge bases, virtual communities are of limited value. Therefore, the significance of member-generated knowledge cannot be over-emphasized. As participation in virtual community becomes popular, it is important to know how to encourage individuals to contribute actively and assist other members share their expertise. Through the lens of social capital and identity, we explored the factors that facilitate knowledge contribution in a virtual community. In this paper, our goal is to gain insight into ways of creating an environment that facilitated contribution of knowledge. Our findings suggested that cohesiveness, reciprocity, and self-presentation are important in establishing a virtual environment within which voluntary contributions could be promoted effectively. This study has important implications for academic researchers and practitioners who seek to understand why community members share their knowledge with strangers in virtual communities.

Key words: Virtual communities, Identity, Knowledge, social capital

1. Introduction

More and more individuals participate in virtual communities for seeking knowledge to resolve problems (Hsu et al. 2007). Virtual communities are centered upon the interactions of participants to provide specific domain knowledge that enables the participants to perform common functions and to learn from, and collectively build upon that knowledge. Without rich knowledge, virtual communities are of limited value and the significance of member-generated knowledge cannot be over-emphasized (Chiu et al. 2006). However, previous research argues that giving away knowledge eventually causes the possessors to lose their unique value relative to what others know (Thibaut and Kelly 1959), and benefits all others expect contributor (Thorn and Connolly 1987). Davenport and Prusak (1998) argue that giving knowledge is often unnatural because people think their knowledge is valuable and important. It is then important to explain why individuals supply their valuable knowledge to other community members without guarantee of returns. In this paper, our goal is to examine the roles of social capital and identity in facilitating knowledge contribution. Based on a theoretical framework of social capital theory and identity theory, we shall develop and test a theoretical model, and propose and evaluate hypotheses. This is the first study evaluating and testing the underlying causal mechanism, or empirically verifying the relationships among social capital and identity, and member knowledge contributions in virtual communities. This

study has important implications for academic researchers and practitioners who seek to understand why people are willing to contribute their knowledge to others in computer-mediated communication.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Social capital theory

The social capital theory suggests that social capital, the network of relationships possessed by an individual or a social network and the set of resources embedded within it, strongly influence the extent to which interpersonal knowledge sharing occurs. Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998) presented social capital as an integrative framework for understanding the creation or sharing of knowledge. They defined social capital with three distinct dimensions: structural (the overall pattern of connections between actor), relational (the kind of personal relationships people have developed with each other through a history of interactions), and cognitive (individuals' capacity to understand and apply knowledge). Each of these forms of social capital constitutes an aspect of the social structure and facilitates the exchange of the knowledge between individuals (Wasko and Faraj 2005, Chiu et al. 2006).

Although Nahapiet and Ghosal's model focuses on group level social capital factors to explain the creation of intellectual capital within organization, social capital is widely recognized as exhibiting a duality. At the group level, it reflects the affection nature and quality of relationships, while on the individual; it reflects their access to network resources. In this study, we propose that social capital is relevant for explaining individual-level knowledge sharing in virtual communities and adapt the concept of social capital from the organizational level to the individual level. Base on Nahapiet and Ghosal(1998), we adapt structural capital to the individual level to the community influences his or her willingness to contribute knowledge to others. We also examine how an individual's cognitive capital affects his or her level of knowledge contribution to the community. Similarly, we adapt the concept of relational capital from the organizational level to the individual level, examining how an individual's relational capital influences his or her participation in the community.

2.2. Identity theory

Identity communication reflects an individual's efforts to express and present one's identity to others with the goal of achieving a shared understanding (Ma and Agarwal 2007). Identity refers to the individual's self-appraisal of variety of attributes along long the dimensions of physical and cognitive abilities, personal traits and motives, and the multiplicity of social roles including worker, family member and community citizen (Whitebourne and Connolly 1999). Individuals are fundamentally motivated to present their identities in everyday social life. The importance of identity communication is underscored in Goffman's (1967) influential self-presentation theory. Goffman (1967) argues that people desire to explain themselves to others regarding their identities before concentrating on work or other goals that may bring them together. From a relationship-building perspective, people with similar interests or attitudes are more likely to communicate and build relationships with each other (Newcomb 1961).

Identity communication can help community members find similar others with whom to build relationships (Jensen et al. 2002). Furthermore, identity communication facilitates and promotes knowledge contribution. Many studies have provided evidence

that recognition and acknowledgement from group members increases a focal person's overall participation (Hertel et al. 2003, Ma and Agarwal 2007). Research on social behavior in a virtual environment emphasized that people help other members because of altruism and future reciprocation (Ackerman 1998). Thus, presenting one's online identity provides significant motivation for knowledge contributors not only by helping them enhance their recognition, but also by amplifying the possibility of future reciprocation (Donath 1999).

Of relevance to this study are the work of Wasko and Faraj (2005) and Chiu et al. (2006). They examined how individual motivations and social capital influence knowledge contribution in electronic networks of practice. There are notable differences between the research model of this study and those of Wasko and Faraj (2005) and Chiu et al. (2006) in terms of independent variables and dependent variables.

First, Wasko and Faraj (2005) and Chiu et al. (2006) addressed individual motivations in terms of reputation and enjoy helping and expectation of benefits to the community. This study examines individual motivations in terms of identity-related motivations (i.e., self-presentation and group identification), which was ignored by Wasko and Faraj (2005) and Chiu et al. (2006). Second, Chiu et al. (2006) followed Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998)'s manifestation of each of structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions. This study followed Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998) to classify social capital into the three dimensions but did not adopt their manifestation of each of these dimensions. Third, Wasko and Faraj (2005) addressed structural and cognitive dimensions in terms of centrality and self-relation expertise and tenure. Our measure for those dimensions, however, contains items for measuring cohesiveness and affection similarity. Finally, Wasko and Faraj (2005) used the response message reviewed by one of the authors and a domain expert for measuring knowledge contribution. Chiu et al. (2006) measured the dependent variable in terms of quality and quantity. In this study, we measure knowledge contribution in terms of participation and experiences of contribution and use self-report measure.

The proposed theoretical model is shown in Figure 1. We describe each of the constructs and their relationships to knowledge contribution in the following sections.

3. Hypotheses

3.1. Cohesiveness

Social capital theory proposes that the connections between individuals, or structural links created through the social interactions between individuals in network, are important predictors of collective action (Putnam 1995). When interactions or direct ties between members are dense, collective action is relatively easy to achieve (Krackhardt 1992). Cohesiveness is relevant for explaining individual actions, such as knowledge contribution, within a collective. Research has suggested that there is more altruistic behavior in highly cohesive group (Hog 1992), and their members have a greater desire to contribute and participate in group activities (Henry et al. 1999).

Cohesiveness refers to the desire of individuals to belong to a group, because of interpersonal relationship and the attractiveness of the group task (Widmeyer et al. 1985). The degree of cohesiveness can predict whether community members consider group interests to be their own, whether they cooperate with other members or whether they assist others (Moreland and Levine 1984). Generally, virtual communities are

informal groups of voluntary participants. The lack of common background makes them treat others as strangers with no shared understanding. The impact of cohesiveness on building network ties could be strong enough to override distance and individual characteristics (Yu and Chu 2007). With increasing interaction and interdependence, the community members can build up a sense of being in-group and develop habits of cooperation such as knowledge contribution. Thus, this leads us to the following hypothesis:

H1: Individuals with higher levels of cohesiveness will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities.

3.2. Reciprocity

We examine two constructs of relational capital (reciprocity and commitment) that prior research indicates may be relevant to virtual communities. Coleman (1990) suggests that relational capital is an important asset that benefits both the community and its members. Members are willing to help other members, even strangers, simply because everyone is part of the collective and all have a collective goal orientation (Wasko and Faraj 2005). Relational capital exists when members have a strong identification with the collective (Lewicki and Bunker 1996). Reciprocity is a sense of mutual indebtedness, so that individuals usually reciprocate the benefits they receive from others, ensuring ongoing supportive exchanges.

Reciprocity relates to an aspect of social trust and expectations that an individual's collective efforts will be reciprocated (Putnam 1995). A basic norm of reciprocity is a sense of mutual indebtedness, so that individuals usually reciprocate the benefits they receive from others (Shumaker and Brownell 1984). According to Davenport and Prusak (1998), a strong sense of reciprocity facilitates the knowledge sharing. In this research, reciprocity refers to knowledge exchanges that are mutual and perceived by the parties as fair. In addition, the social exchange theory suggests that participants in virtual communities expect reciprocity that justifies their expense in terms of time and effort spend giving their knowledge. When there is a strong norm of reciprocity in virtual communities, individuals believe that their knowledge contribution efforts will be reciprocated, thereby rewarding individual efforts and ensuring ongoing contribution (Wasko and Faraj 2005). Thus, this leads us to the following hypothesis:

H2: Individuals with higher levels of reciprocity will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities.

3.3. Commitment

Commitment represents a duty or obligation to engage in future action and arises from frequent interaction (Coleman 1990). Commitment to a collective, such as virtual communities, conveys a sense of responsibility of help others within the collective on the basis of shared membership. Individuals posing valuable advice or knowledge are motivated by a sense of obligation to the organizations such as virtual communities (Wasko and Faraj 2000). Therefore, individuals participating in virtual communities who feel a strong sense of commitment to the services are more likely to consider it a duty to assist other members and transfer their own knowledge. Thus, this leads us to the following hypothesis:

H3: Individuals with higher levels of commitment will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities.

3.4. Self-presentation

In addition to structural capital and relational capital, knowledge contribution is also facilitated by cognitive capital. Cognitive capital refers to those resources that make possible shared interpretations and meanings within a collective. (Nahapiet and Ghosal 1998). Identity refers to the individual's self-appraisal of a variety of attributes along the dimensions of cognitive and physical abilities, personal traits and motives, and multiplicity of social roles including workers, family members, and community citizen (Whitbourne and Connolly 1999).

Many studies have provided evidence that cognition from group members increases a focal person's overall participation (Hertel et al. 2003; Ma and Agarwal 2007). Thus, presenting one's identity in virtual communities provides significant motivation for knowledge contributor by helping them enhance their reputation and self-esteem (Donath 1999). Thus, this leads us to the following hypothesis:

H4: Individuals with higher levels of self-presentation will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities.

3.5. Group identification

Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998) argued that identification is the process whereby individual see themselves as on with another person or group of people. In this study, group identification refers to an individual's sense of belonging and positive feeling toward a virtual community, which is similar to emotional identification proposed by Ellemers et al. (2004). Group identification fosters loyalty and is useful in explaining individual's willingness to maintain committed relationships with virtual communities. Individuals engage in more pro-social behavior (i.e., knowledge transfer) in order to benefit the group and to be perceived positively by group members (Constant et al. 1996; Ma and Agarwal 2007). In addition, given that valuable knowledge is embedded in individuals and they usually tend to hoard the knowledge, one would not contribute his or her knowledge unless another person is recognized as his or her group-mate (Chiu et al. 2006). Therefore, the perception of group identification will elevate one's activeness to share knowledge. Thus, this leads us to the following hypothesis:

H5: Individuals with higher levels of group identification will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities.

4. Method

4.1. Instrument development and data collection

A survey study was conducted to validate the research model. A survey was conducted using a two-part questionnaire. The first part solicited demographic information such as age, sex, and types of occupation. The second part presented questions pertaining to the proposed model. In order to assess the face validity of the measures, a group of business professors, doctoral students, and industry experts were asked to read and refine the questionnaires. As a result, changes were made in several

items. Furthermore, a pretest with graduate students who were virtual community members was performed to ensure that the target population understood the wording as intended by the researchers. As a result of this pretest, some questions were modified to enhance clarity. The pretest also provided reasonable assurance of the validity of the scale items.

All the measures were adopted from existing studies by the authors. Knowledge contribution was assessed with items adapted from Wasko and Faraj (2005). Self-presentation and group identification was measured with items adapted from Ma and Agarwal (2007). Reciprocity and commitment was assessed with items adapted from Wasko and Faraj (2005) and Constant et al (1996). Cohesiveness and affection similarity were measured with items adapted from Yu and Chu (2007). For all the measures, a seven-point Likert scale was adopted with anchors ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

A cross-sectional field study was conducted and the target subjects were individual members of virtual communities. Sample subjects were recruited from popular online portals in Korea which provide communities for discussion forums about various subjects (e.g., business, politics, health, etc.). Altogether, 202 community members in Naver, Daum, and Yahoo portals agreed to participate in this study. Data were collected from October to November 2008. Out of 202 responses, 10 were dropped due to incomplete or unusable answers, resulting in the final sample of 192 participants. Among those, 12 claimed to have never contributed knowledge (6.3%), 59 claimed to have contributed knowledge between one and five times (30.7%), 32 from six to 10 times (16.7%), 38 from 11 to 20 times (19.8%), 21 from 21 to 50 times (10.9%), 17 from 51 to 100 times (8.9%), and 13 over 100 times (6.8%).

4.2. Measurement model

We used Partial least squares (PLS) to assess the scales and to test the research model and hypotheses. PLS, which uses component-based estimation, maximizes the variance explained in the dependent variable, does not require multivariate normality of the data, and is less demanding on sample size (Chin 1998). Furthermore, PLS is more suitable when the objective is a causal-predictive testing, rather than testing an entire theory (Fornell and Larcker 1981; Yoo and Alavi 2001). Given that the model presented in the previous section has not been tested in its entirety and considering the sample size of 192 individuals, we chose to use PLS. All scales were assessed within the context of the structural model by assessing discriminant validity and reliability.

All scales were assessed within the context of the structural model by assessing discriminant validity and reliability. The research construct scales are assessed in terms of item loadings, discriminant validity, and internal consistency, with item loadings and internal consistencies greater than 0.70 considered acceptable (Fornell and Larcker 1981). As evidenced by the PLS factor analysis results, composite reliability scores, and cronbach alpha values, the scales meet the 0.70 guidelines for internal consistency and item loadings. All items of each construct exhibit high loadings (greater than 0.70) in their respective constructs. All constructs in the model exhibit good internal consistency as evidenced by their composite reliability scores in Table 2. To assess discriminant validity, indicators should load more strongly on their corresponding construct than on other constructs in the model (i.e., loadings should be higher than cross-loadings

shown in Table 1), and the square root of the average variance extracted (AVE) should be larger than the interconstruct correlations (i.e., the average variance shared between the construct and its indicators should be larger than the variance shared between the construct and other constructs). All indicators in the present analysis load more highly on their own construct than on other constructs. Furthermore, examination of the inter-construct correlations and square root of AVE (shared leading diagonal) reveals that all constructs share considerably more variance with their indicators than with other constructs.

<Table 1>. Factor analysis (factor loadings and cross-loadings)

Construct	Cohesiveness (Coh)	Reciprocity (Reci)	Commitment (Comm)	Self-presentation (Self)	Group Identification (Grou)	Knowledge contribution (Know)
Coh1	0.88	0.37	0.49	0.48	0.42	0.44
Coh2	0.93	0.41	0.42	0.52	0.40	0.49
Coh3	0.77	0.28	0.14	0.37	0.21	0.42
Reci1	0.38	0.94	0.56	0.56	0.46	0.70
Reci2	0.39	0.90	0.54	0.55	0.54	0.55
Comm1	0.39	0.50	0.89	0.46	0.54	0.44
Comm2	0.37	0.52	0.89	0.46	0.54	0.49
Comm3	0.33	0.55	0.86	0.61	0.54	0.49
Self1	0.46	0.52	0.44	0.84	0.50	0.49
Self2	0.44	0.45	0.45	0.88	0.39	0.46
Self3	0.53	0.59	0.57	0.87	0.49	0.66
Self4	0.35	0.45	0.49	0.81	0.35	0.45
Grou1	0.31	0.45	0.48	0.43	0.88	0.35
Grou2	0.41	0.48	0.54	0.47	0.91	0.45
Grou3	0.41	0.50	0.57	0.49	0.91	0.43
Grou4	0.38	0.46	0.62	0.50	0.80	0.40
Grou5	0.24	0.45	0.46	0.35	0.84	0.42
Know1	0.54	0.64	0.50	0.60	0.44	0.94
Know2	0.52	0.67	0.52	0.61	0.46	0.95
Know3	0.40	0.59	0.49	0.52	0.41	0.89

<Table 2> Internal Consistency, Correlation of Constructs, and Squares Root of AVE Values

Construct	Numbers of Items	Composite reliability	Cronbach alpha	Square roots of AVE					
				Coh	Reci	Comm	Self	Grou	Know
Cohesiveness	3	0.89	0.82	0.86*					
Reciprocity	2	0.92	0.83	0.42	0.92				
Commment	3	0.91	0.85	0.41	0.60	0.88			
Self-presentation	4	0.91	0.87	0.53	0.60	0.58	0.85		
Group Identification	5	0.94	0.92	0.40	0.54	0.62	0.52	0.87	
Knowledge contribution	3	0.95	0.92	0.53	0.69	0.54	0.62	0.47	0.93

* Square roots of the AVE are the bolded diagonal values.

4.3. Structural Model

The path coefficients and explained variances for the research model using a bootstrapping procedure are shown in Table 3. All constructs were modeled as reflective and included in the model using multiple indicators, rather than summated scales. In the research model, we hypothesized that Individuals

with higher levels of cohesiveness will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities (H1). The results suggest that cohesiveness significantly influences knowledge contribution and are as follows: path coefficient = 0.203, t-value= 2.419, p-value = 0.016. Thus, H1 is supported. For reciprocity and commitment, we hypothesized that Individuals with higher levels of reciprocity will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities (H2) and Individuals with higher levels of commitment will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities (H3). The results suggest that reciprocity significantly affects knowledge contribution (path coefficient = 0.429, t-value= 4.277, p-value = 0.000) and commitment does not significantly affect knowledge contribution (path coefficient = 0.075, t-value= 0.706, p-value = 0.481). Thus, H2 is supported, however H3 is not supported.

We also hypothesized that Individuals with higher levels of self-presentation will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities (H4). The results suggest that self-presentation significantly affects knowledge contribution (path coefficient = 0.211, t-value= 1.998, p-value = 0.047). Thus, H4 is supported. Finally, we hypothesized that Individuals with higher levels of group identification will contribute more knowledge to virtual communities. (H5). The results suggest that affection similarity significantly influences knowledge contribution (path coefficient = 0.005, t-value= 0.054, p-value = 0.957). Thus, H5 is not supported.

<Table 3> Hypothesis testing results

Path	Path Coefficient	t-value	Significance (p-value)
Cohesiveness → Knowledge contribution	0.203*	2.419	0.016
Reciprocity → Knowledge contribution	0.429**	4.277	0.000
Commitment → Knowledge contribution	0.075	0.706	0.481
Self-presentation → Knowledge contribution	0.211*	1.998	0.047
Group Identification → Knowledge contribution	0.005	0.054	0.957

* Denotes significance at the $p < 0.05$ level. ** Denotes significance at the $p < 0.01$ level.

5. Discussion

As a result of the PLS analysis, three hypotheses are supported and two hypotheses are not supported. The hypothesis testing results are listed in Table 3. Our empirical data strongly supported the core structure of the research model. Overall, our research results confirm the hypothesis suggested by the theories. In sum, the three factors, i.e., cohesiveness, reciprocity, and self-presentation, have positive relationships with knowledge contribution. Our study indicates that practitioners should be aware of these effects when they formally or informally establish virtual community forms. They should create an environment within which knowledge contribution is promoted effectively. By understanding the key roles of identity and social capital in virtual community communication, we suggest that and cohesiveness, reciprocity, and self-presentation will influence voluntary knowledge contribution in virtual community.

We acknowledge that this study has several limitations. Because of the cross-sectional design, no causation can be determined. The significant paths between constructs can only be interpreted as co-relational; the causal inferences are based solely on theoretical argumentation. Furthermore, although we have a sample size that is more than adequate for testing the theoretical model, respondents surveyed are mainly in their 20s and 30s. Additional investigation into communities with members outside this age range is necessary to generate findings that are more generalizable. For future research, it would also be useful to apply the framework developed in this study to research on computer-mediated knowledge creation. It would also be interesting to study the extent to which community members disclose their real identities online.

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COVER PAGE

Title:

**East VS West: With Special Reference to E. M. Forster's
"A Passage to India".**

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East VS West: With Special Reference to E.M.Forster's "A Passage to India"

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Abstract

At the heart of *A Passage to India* – and in the background - is a clash between two fundamentally different cultures, those of East and West. Conflict is the keynote of the story of *A Passage to India*. The novel depicts the clash of the culture of the East with the culture of the West, the clash of imperialists with natives, the clash of the human heart with the machinery of the government, class, and race. The main theme of the book is this collision between civilizations, between communities, between religions, between groups, and even between individuals. The object of this study lies not in an assertion of normality, but in an exploration of extremes. And this exploration is not only social and political but further issues are involved, and finally, to try to find out a potential possibilities to bridge the gulf between the East and the West.

A Passage to India portrays the life of the small English community in a city called Chandrapore, and the relations of this community with the local population. The relations between the English and the Indians are depicted on both an official and a social, personal level. The relations between the two Indian communities – Hindus and Moslems – are depicted too. The gap between the two sides in this novel is, roughly speaking, the gap between head and heart. Forster's view of the British in India may be found in the following observation which occurs in his notes on the English character: "The English go forth into a world that is not entirely composed of public-school men or even of Anglo-Saxons, but of men who are as various as the sands of the sea. They go forth into it with well-developed bodies, fairly developed minds, and undeveloped hearts. And it is this undeveloped heart that is largely responsible for the difficulties of Englishmen abroad. An undeveloped heart – not a cold one". Forster's Indians, on the other hand, make up for any failure in cold judicial reasoning by their highly developed hearts. Between the two groups there is a failure. But if the British are to be blamed for the failure, that is only because they were the group from which any initiative must necessarily have come.

Conflict is the keynote of the story of "*A Passage to India*". The novel depicts the clash of the culture of the East with the culture of the West, the clash of the imperialists with natives, the clash of the human heart with the machinery of the government, class, race, the clash of Hindus and Moslems. The main theme of the book is this collision between civilizations, between communities, between religions, between groups, and even between individuals.

The theme of separateness, of fences and barriers, runs through all Forster's novels. But in *A Passage to India* this theme is vastly expanded and everywhere dominant. The separation of race from race, sex from sex, culture from culture, even of man from himself, is what underlies every relationship. The separation of the English from the Indians is, of course, the most dramatic of the rift in this novel. But there are other rifts too. There is a gulf between Hindus and Moslems, and

there are divisions among Hindus themselves. Even personal relationships at the individual level break down and crumble. Thus a sense of separateness broods over the book. (Bradbury, 240).

The theme of the novel is stated at the very outset. A group of Moslem discuss whether it is possible for them to be friends with an Englishman, and the answer to this question is no. The English come out to India with every intention of behaving like gentlemen, but immediately on their arrival they are informed by their brethren who have already lived there that this is an impossible intention. An Englishman loses much of his refinement of manners and behavior after a two years' stay in India, while an Englishwoman takes only six months to undergo this change. The average Englishwoman is like Mrs. Turton, says Hamidullah. Granted the exceptions, are Englishwomen are haughty. Thus the Moslems collectively maintain an attitude of antagonism towards the English.

On the Individual level too, the Indians have their grievances against the ruling class. Hamidullah says that the City Magistrate insults him in the court. Aziz is fed up with his boss, the civil surgeon, who is not only arrogant but who takes pleasure in harassing him. Nor does he see any grace in the way the civil surgeon's wife behaves. The English club bars entry to Indians. Aziz does not attend the Collector's party mainly because of his ill-feeling against the English. He experiences an "unconquerable aversion" against Mrs. Callendar and Mrs. Lesley. The general view of the Moslems is that the Collector is giving a party under the instructions of the higher bosses, because they cannot believe that, left to himself, the Collector would make such a friendly gesture towards the Indians. The party itself proves a complete failure. If it was intended to be a kind of "bridge" between the two races, it does not serve its purpose at all. There is no real communication between the Indians and the English at the party.

The English officials in Chandrapore are extremely suspicious and distrustful of the Indians. The attitude of the City Magistrate, Ronny Heaslop, is a typical of the entire white bureaucracy. When Ronny's mother speaks of Aziz in a natural voice, Ronny feels annoyed because he expects member of the ruling class to indicate by the tone of their voice that they are talking about an Indian. He wants to know what Aziz was doing in the mosque at that time of the night, because it was not his prayer time. He suspects that Aziz was playing some trick in calling out to the English visitor to take off her shoes before entering the mosque. He thinks, and rightly too, that the Indians consider the white man a "brutal conqueror", and a "sun-dried bureaucrat". He holds a low opinion about Indians in general. "They used to cringe, but the younger generation believes in a show of manly independence", he says. Whether the natives speak in a boastful or humble tone, there is always some motive behind his remarks. Most of the Indians, in Ronny's opinion, are seditious at heart. He feels upset to learn that his mother and Adela have accepted Aziz's invitation to visit the caves, and he says to them in a loud, lecturing voice, "I won't have you messing about with Indians anymore! If you want to go to the Marabar Caves, you'll go under British auspices". He points out all the three types of Indians whom his mother and Adela have met have let them down and are therefore not reliable – the Bhattacharyas, Aziz, and the Nawab Bahadur. Holding such views about the Indian character, it is hardly likely that Ronny can have any warmth of feeling towards Indians or can develop any understanding with them. The English rulers, he says, are in India not with the object of behaving pleasantly, but "to do justice and keep the peace." India "has got to put up with" its rulers. Thus at every step, we are made conscious at the cleavage between the East and the West, between the imperialists and the native Indians, between the rulers and the ruled.

The central incident of the novel, mainly Adela's accusation against Aziz, and Aziz's trial, reveals even more emphatically how irreconcilable are the differences between the imperialists and the natives, and how wide apart are the two cultures of the East and the West. None of the

member of the ruling class, with the exception of Fielding and Mrs. Moore has the least doubt that Aziz is guilty. The bureaucracy has taken Adela's accusation at its face value. The Collector takes this incident as confirming the view he has always held that the English and the Indians should never try to become intimate socially: "I have had twenty-five years' experience of this country, and during those twenty-five years I have never known anything but disaster result when English people and Indians attempt to be intimate socially". McBryde, the Superintendent of police, has his own theory, namely that those who live south of latitude thirty degrees are criminal at heart. He feels perfectly certain that Aziz is guilty of the crime alleged against him. In his opinion, the records of the Mutiny, and not the Bhagavad Gita, should be a guide for Englishmen in India. The subaltern is very loud and emphatic in his criticism of the Indians at the gathering at the club. The English ladies are unanimous in their view about Aziz's guilt. Mrs. Turton is, of course, their leader. She had never made a secret of her contempt for the Indians. In her opinion the Indians "ought to crawl from here to the caves on their hands and knees whenever an Englishwoman is in sight." She believes that the English have been far too kind towards the Indians 'with their bridge-party and the rest'. She even shed tears over Adela's misery, though she had never been known to weep ever before. The Police Superintendent states the prosecution case with great vehemence and, when Adela withdraws the charge against Aziz, Major Callendar shouts that he "would stop the proceedings on medical grounds." The prejudice of the Westerners against the Indians could not have been more effectively exposed. The trial, indeed, shows the collision of the individual against the machinery of the government and against the prejudice of an alien race.

Nor do the Indians fail to retaliate. They all combine against the English in order to defend Aziz of whose innocence they feel certain. The Indian servants make no secret of their dislike for their English masters. The sweepers go on strike. The Nawab Bahadur offers to pay all the legal expenses on behalf of Aziz and "would ruin himself sooner than let an innocent Moslem perish". The Indian children throw stones at the Collector's car. Mrs. Turton tells her husband: "Really, it is ridiculous to pretend they do not hate us". The college students hold a demonstration and jeer at the City Magistrate. The Nawab Bahadur renounces his title after Aziz has been acquitted, and there is a general shouting of slogans against the English officials.

There can be no doubt that the rift between the English and the Indians is deep. This fact is highlighted when Adela's recantation is commented upon by the author after the trial. Forster tells us that Adela's behavior "rested on cold justice and honesty". She had left, while withdrawing the charge, "no passion of love for those whom she had wronged". Indians do not treat "truth as truth unless it is accompanied by kindness, and more kindness, and kindness again". Adela's sacrifice is rejected by the Indians because "though it came from her heart, it didn't include her heart. A few garlands from students were all that India ever gave her in return". In other words, a lady, who is very favorably disposed towards the Indians and who had a genuine desire to know the real India, cannot emotionally get closer to the Indian people even after she has exonerated the man against whom she had brought a serious charge. The gulf between the East and the West is emphasized by the author in various other ways too. For instance, we are told that the Indian blessing of leisure is unknown to the West (Chapter XXVII). Civilization in India says the author, is to be found "not in great works of arts or mighty deeds, but in the gestures which well-bred Indians make when they sit or lie down" (Chapter XXVII). "Victory which would have made the English sanctimonious, made them aggressive. They wanted to develop an offensive, and tried to do so by discovering new grievances and wrongs, many of which had no existence" (Chapter XXIX). Suspicion is the Oriental's demon, as the Westerner's is hypocrisy" (Chapter XXXI). "The sanctity of private correspondence has never been ratified by the East" (Chapter XXXVI). All these observations are significant.

The message of this novel is that the gulf between the English and the Indians, the gulf between two cultures, is so wide that it cannot be bridged. Each race is to the other “people whose emotions they could not share.” They offend one another. Aziz ridicules Adela’s unattractive appearance and promises to provide Fielding with “a lady with breasts like a mango”; Adela asks Aziz, meaning no harm, how many wives he has, and he thinks, “Damn the English even at their best”. When Aziz and Fielding urge, “something racial intruded – not bitterly but inevitably, like the color of their skins “. Misunderstanding interrupts their intercourse – “a pause in the wrong place, an intonation misunderstood, and a whole conversation went awry”. One reason for the gulf between the English and the Indians is that the Englishman has an “undeveloped heart” while the Indians has an “undeveloped head”. The Englishman, in other words, is somewhat cold and unemotional, while the Indian is somewhat irrational and unduly suspicious.

Nor are the relations between Hindus and Moslems very cordial. It is true that they get closer to each other as a result of their common stand against the English on the occasion of the trial of Aziz. But otherwise the two communities are poles apart. Godbole reminds Aziz of cow-dung, and the rhythm of Hindu drums is uncongenial to Aziz. Aziz thinks that Hindus in general are slack and have no idea of society or punctuality. All illness proceeds from Hindus, says Haq. Syed Mahmoud describes Hindus religious fairs with biting scorn. The annual riots between Hindus and Moslems on the occasion of Mohurram prove to Ronny “that the British were necessary to India; there would certainly have been bloodshed without them”. Godbole thinks it is necessary to have another wash if he has been touched by a Moslem at the time of religious ceremony. In short, Hindus and Moslems represent two different cultures and cannot become one. Then there are the divisions among Hindus themselves. For instance, in the Hindu state of Mau, “the cleavage was between Brahman and no-Brahman; Moslems and English were quite out of the running”. In this connection Forster says: “The fissures in the Indian soil are infinite: Hinduism, so solid from a distance, is riven into sects and clans”. In short, the native Indian scene too offers a spectacle of social conflict and lack of understanding.

Personal relationships were one of the dominant preoccupations of Forster. The supremacy of personal relationship constitutes the real plot of the novel, *Howard Ends*. “It is private life”, he writes, “that holds out the mirror to infinity. Personal intercourse and that alone, ever hints at personality beyond our daily vision”. *Howard Ends* closes with an emphasis on personal relationship. Indeed, Forster seems to believe that the salvation can come only through the personal relationships of human beings. (Macaulay,187). The principal theme of *A Passage to India* is of course the conflict of East and West, and the gulf that separates the culture of the orient from that of the Occident. But the problem of personal relationships is also a theme of this novel, and this theme, though subsidiary is quite important. Forster’s effort to explore the possibilities of personal relationships among human beings in this novel is quite obvious.

The friendship between Aziz and Fielding, though intended mainly to illustrate the impossibility of adjustment or understanding between the English and the Indians, has also to be studied at personal level. This friendship becomes fairly intimate and deep, but it does not last. Aziz and Fielding take an instant liking to each other. Aziz is drawn towards Fielding in spite of his general hostility towards the English, while Fielding quickly becomes fond of Aziz in spite of the marked racial prejudice among the members of the English community against the natives. Aziz, who had kept away from the Collector’s bridge party, makes it a point to attend Fielding’s tea-party. Fielding visits Aziz in the latter’s illness because he feels solicitous about his friend’s state of health. On this occasion Aziz shows his wife’s photograph to Fielding, thereby showing his faith in the Englishman who has won his heart. Aziz finds that Fielding is truly warm-hearted and unconventional. The new bond between the two is thus described by Forster: “But they were

friends, brothers. That part was settled, their compact had been subscribed by the photograph, they trusted one another, affection had triumphed for once in a way". Fielding stands by Aziz in hour of crisis in the latter's life. He alienates his own community, but he does not budge an inch from the position he has taken up as a champion of Aziz whom he truly thinks to be innocent. On this occasion, Fielding has to pay a heavy price in terms of the goodwill of his community which he loses by his advocacy of the Indian, but he is not at all sorry. His friendship for Aziz overcomes all differences of race, religion, and cultural outlook. Later, he is even able to dissuade Aziz from pressing his claim for compensation from Miss Quested.

And yet this friendship does not last. There are forces that pull the two men apart. Aziz, too readily believes the rumor about a secret affair having developed between Fielding and Miss Quested, and he therefore finds a selfish motive in Fielding's advice to him not to claim any compensation from the English girl. He even taunted Fielding on the latter's reported love-affairs with Miss Quested, whereupon Fielding feels somewhat annoyed and calls him a "Little rotter". Although this quarrel is soon made up, yet Aziz continues to be suspicious and thinks that Fielding intends to marry Miss Quested for the sake of her money. Aziz's suspicion of fielding, we are told, is characteristically "Oriental". The Oriental "trusts and mistrusts at the same time in a way the Westerner cannot comprehend". For a moment Aziz even imagines that it was Fielding who followed Miss Quested into the cave and molested her. Subsequently, when Fielding is reported to have got married, Aziz thinks that Fielding has married Miss Quested. And, when told that Fielding has married Stella, Aziz still does not relent because now Fielding has, in his eyes, committed the fault of having married the sister of Ronny Heaslop whom Aziz regards as his enemy. Even Fielding begins to doubt whether there can be any friendship between him and Aziz. When he visits Italy on his way to England, he realizes that no real understanding between the two civilizations, of the East and the West, is possible. When Aziz and Fielding happen to meet in the state of Mau, Aziz is emphatic and categorical in saying that he does not want any friendship with any Englishman or English woman. But Aziz's final declaration makes such greater impact on us. He says to Fielding: "Down with the English anyhow. We may hate one another, but we hate you most". A friendship between English and an Indian will be possible only when India becomes free. When Fielding asks why they cannot be friends now, it is not Aziz who supplies the answer, but the author himself: "But the horses didn't want it – they swerved apart; the earth didn't want it ...; the temples, the tank, the jail, the palace, the bird, the carrion, the guest-house: they didn't want it". Thus this friendship breaks down completely.

A friendship between Aziz and Mrs. Moore also begins to take shape as soon as the two meet in the mosque. Mrs. Moore later says that Aziz is her "true friend". When Aziz takes her and Miss Quested to the caves, he feels quite overwhelmed by the sentiment of friendship that he feels for the older lady. On this occasion he would even sacrifice his life to make her happy. Mrs. Moore, like Fielding, is certain that Aziz is not guilty of the charge that has been brought against him and says so to Miss Quested, but for some mysterious reason, she does not publically defend Aziz and promptly accept her son's suggestion that she should go back to England. Aziz still continues to cherish sweet memories of Mrs. Moore, and it is partly because of what he thinks would have been Mrs. Moore's attitude in the matter that he accepts Fielding's suggestion not to press his claim for compensation from Miss Quested. Indeed, Aziz is profoundly influenced by Mrs. Moore, but Mrs. Moore dies in the course of her voyage back home, and this relationship between her and Aziz thus proves to be more or less futile. In this case, we might say, fate has intervened to terminate a relationship which could have proved fruitful. (White, 646).

Then we have Aziz and Godbole, who one would imagine, might have become friends, and friends, they do become eventually, though this friendship has a flimsy basis. There is a basic discord between these two men. Aziz is fanatically devoted to his own religion, while Godbole is

no less devoted to his. Aziz considers Islam a glorious faith, while Godbole goes into an ecstasy in the course of the ceremonies connected with Gokul Ashtami. The sound of the Hindu drums is uncongenial to Aziz who otherwise too expresses contempt for Hindu as, for instance, when he says: "Slack Hindus – they have no idea of society". Indeed the Hindus remind him of cowardice. Godbole on his part thinks that Moslems are violent people. Towards the end of the story, we find that Aziz has got his new job through the influence of Godbole. In the state of Mau, there is no conflict between a Hindu and a Moslem because Hindus are preoccupied with differences among themselves. Aziz's relations with his fellow-Moslems are very cordial and friendly, but the basis of this friendship is religious and communal and not personal in any sense of the word. Thus, even among the Indians themselves, Forster finds no example of a deep or lasting personal relationship.

Nor are the English more fortunate in this respect. Among them, too, we find no example of a true personal relationship. The relationship between Ronny and Adela breaks down soon after Adela's arrival in India. In the first place, Adela finds that India has developed those sides of Ronny's character which she had never admired – "his self-complacency, his censoriousness, his lack of subtlety". Secondly, she finds that the attitude of the English towards the Indians is too haughty. She does not approve of the way Ronny behaves at Fielding's tea-party. Thirdly, she discovers that she does not love Ronny after all. Ronny, on his side, feels that Adela is unduly inclined towards the Indians. Adela frankly tells Ronny that she will not be able to marry him, though soon afterwards she withdraws this remark, and they become engaged. In the course of the expedition to the caves, Adela reconsiders her position *vis a vis* Ronny, and comes to the conclusion that they do not love each other. But on this occasion she does not think of breaking off her engagement with him because she thinks that love is not necessary to a successful marriage: "If love is everything, few marriages would survive the honeymoon". Ultimately, however, this relationship comes to nothing, because Adela's withdrawal of the charge against Aziz deeply offends Ronny and this time it is he who breaks off the engagement.

Another personal relationship depicted by Forster in this novel is the one between Fielding and Adela. Fielding's initial reaction to Adela is unfavorable; he thinks her to be "priggish". But when she shows her basic honesty by withdrawing the charge against Aziz, Fielding feels drawn towards her. He not only protects her from a possible attack by the Moslem crowd after the trial, but places his own quarters at her disposal when she has no place to go to. He now becomes friendly with Adela and they have intimate conversation. However, there is no sexual love involved in this relationship, as Aziz wrongly suspects. Adela promises to write to Fielding when she gets back to London, and the author says: "they spoke the same language, and held the same opinions, and the variety of age and sex did not divide them". And yet even this relationship proves abortive, as is evident from the following comments by the author: "So it petered out. Ten days later Adela went off by the same route as her dead friend".

Yet another relationship, which also fails, is the marriage of Fielding and Stella. Fielding is not quite happy about his marriage. While he loves his wife passionately, she does not love him as much, with the result that he does not wish to pester her too much. During their visit to Mau, however, the situation improves somewhat. There seem to be a link between them at last. "In the language of theology, their marriage is blessed". But the basic difference between them, we feel, will remain. There is something mystical about Stella's temperament which she inherited from her mother, while Fielding is a hard-boiled rationalist. Thus all the personal relationships in this novel seem to "peter out" (to use Forster's own expression).

The view that *A Passage to India* is essentially pessimistic and defeatist is based on the facts of the novel and is largely true. Hope is not altogether lacking, and the future is not altogether

regarded as barren or bleak, but the dominant impression that the novel produces is one of darkness and negation. The pessimism and defeatism of the novel consist, firstly, in the irreconcilability of the cultures of the East and the West (and even of the Hindu and Moslem cultures) and, secondly, in the failure of personal relationships. If there is neither the possibility of a mutual understanding between the East and the West nor any durability in personal relationships among individuals, what is there to console and comfort us in the story? Some critics have, no doubt, found hope in the principles, beliefs and convictions of Hinduism as depicted by Forster, but a close look at Forster's treatment of the theme of Hinduism in the novel shows that, if Forster's portrayal of the Hindu faith is reverential, it is also partly derisive.

As Lionel Trilling notes, "here at last the vision in which the arbitrary human barriers sink before the extinction of all things". (181). Indeed what happens in the "Temple" is reconciliation between enemies, a sort of cancellation of the effects of the Marabar Caves represented an aspect of "reality" which the major character must confront, and the Hindu festival is a final image of an all inclusive reality through which some of the characters must pass before the novel can be concluded.

As Allen puts it, Forster seems to suggest that "only through imaginative perception of beauty and through love can we understand other people and the universe in which we live". (940). The moral and imaginative effect of Mrs. Moore's odyssey in the mosque is a greater sensitiveness to the importance of love and imagination in human affairs, a greater responsiveness to the unique power of beauty and personal relations. The implication here seems to be that complete union between man and man will never be attained until the confines of time and place are finally demolished. Meanwhile, man must do everything he can to fight against and subdue these forces of disorder, if not conquer them. It is an undertaking a passage in which everything depends upon man himself to make or mar.

Finally, I can conclude this study so far as it is a study of the conflict between two civilizations, at extreme poles from each other and separated by the Mediterranean by exploring Forster's moral vision which the passage offers the only hint of a solution. Forster's originality shows itself in the freshness of his moral vision, which is a private, independent affair, owing something no doubt to previous moral systems, but not the same as any of them. To see human nature from his point of view is to see it in a new moral perspective. His point of view unites two qualities seldom found together. Forster is at once tender-hearted and unattached. He is unattached because he feels himself part of no corporate unit, and is temperamentally unresponsive to such forces as national feeling, class feeling, family feeling, comradely feeling. Sex in his stories is a curiously bloodless and un compelling affair. The only emotional relationship between human beings into which he enters fully is friendship. Here is where his tender-heartedness comes in. He believes that only in close relationship to another person can the finest part of a man's nature find fulfillment. That human being should be united with each other in love is to him the first need in life. The first fact about it, on the other hand, is that they are not so united. This contrast between what man wants in relations to his fellows and what he gets, is the outstanding feature of Forster's vision of the world.

Forster's moralism shows itself in his considering this state of affairs to be wrong. It is deplorable, he thinks, that people should be divided from each other. He is deeply concerned to discover how this wrong can be righted. In his earlier books he seeks a remedy in a sort of faith in nature. The primitive, spontaneous, natural man does not feel cut off from his kind. But artificial divisions have made him so: division of class, of convention, of nation. If man would put aside these false idols, erected by tradition and selfish worldliness, and yield himself to the worship of

god pan, god pan would save him. ("Pan" represents a state of nature and personifies the natural impulses and instincts of man).

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COVER PAGE

Title:

Classical Arabic Narration: Eastern and Western Visions

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Topic: Literature & Literary Studies

Classical Arabic Narration: Eastern and Western Visions

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The contribution of Arabs in the field of creative narrative writing have been taken for granted in classical and modern times. And now, it is not the question of existence of Arab writings in this particular genre but the focal point is, "how far they employ the elements and narrative techniques in different textual narrative patterns and forms."?

If there had been a contrast between Eastern and Western vision towards the existence of classical Arabic narration in the past (opponent and exponent) (Solyman, 37), today, the degree of differences have been changed dramatically not in terms of the existence, but in terms of forms and its concomitant such as structure and narrative techniques and also with regard to the content and its concomitant such as variety in narrative patterns.

Although most of the old opponent (Eastern and Western) to the existence of classical Arabic narration focused their perspective on the lack of style and narrative techniques in modern narrative forms in the West, today this issue is changed.

Now, We have variety of Eastern and Western academic studies about classical Arabic textual narratives, which acknowledged the existence of significant classical Arabic narration as a prose genre that makes up the basis for modern narratives whether Arabic or western, in addition to variety in forms and patterns (Al-Mowaafi, 54).

But now, there is a contradiction between the Western perspective and Eastern perspective in terms of pattern of imaginative contextual narratives. The classical Arabic narration is characterized by multitude of patterns: historical, romantic, religious, philosophical, folk, sexual, didactic, educational, anecdotal, symbolic, comic, fabulous and linguistic. Despite the critical studies of most of these patterns which take up different narratives forms such as anecdote, tale, story, autobiography, these studies in general were not balanced and based on selective yardstick in their studies which made the overall perspective towards classical Arabic narration unclear and deceptive.

The problem here arises apparently with a particular pattern which is sexual narratives pattern. The Eastern Arabic vision has eliminated this sort of pattern from the classical Arabic narration as if it did not exist at all. While the western vision looked at it as a realistic historical texts that truly represents the Islamic Arab society. This is very apparent from different Western studies concerning sexual issues in the Islamic Arab society where they tried hard to quote some imaginative Arabic literature texts, particularly the narratives which deal with sexual pattern in order to assert their perspective that lacks of objectivity and credibility (El-Rouayheb; Habib; Kugle; Murray and Wright).

Therefore, what exacerbated this biased perspective is the disinclination of many Arab researchers and critics to investigate these sexual narrative texts for certain reasons that would be clear later on. Despite the fact that it is very simple to prove it artistically within the context of imaginative literature, which ultimately may help refute the biased Western perspective due to the apparent contrast between imaginative literature and documentary, realistic, historical literature.

The sexual narrative texts in Arabic literature can not be considered as an evidence of the existence of some aberrant sexual phenomena in the Arab or Islamic society. Moreover, if this phenomenon deserves investigation, it will not give a true picture of the concerns of Arab Muslims in general and the Arab writers in particular because the creative Arabic literature writing on sexual narratives

pattern are less apparent comparing with different writing patterns such as: didactic, religious, moralistic and even philosophical and symbolic ones.

The amalgamation of all these different patterns is an evident of the significant contribution of the classical Arabic writers particularly in the field of narration, taking into consideration the multitude of dual contradiction in the classical Islamic Arabic culture and in the modern times too: disintegration – commitment, heterodoxy – blasphemy, mysticism and faith, entertainment and sumptuous, asceticism, obscenity and profligacy, piety and godliness.

Despite the evident richness of the classical Arabic narration, the classical Arabic criticism sought to underestimate and scorn it in such a way that many noteworthy genres were excluded from prose work by some authoritarian critics (Al-Roubi, 21). That attitude was primarily originated in the atrocious political, social, cultural and intellectual authoritarianism. In fact, such prejudice represents the intellectual deterioration that the Arab society suffers in both ancient and modern times.

Critics of that age related the innovative narrative works that rebelled against the constraints of the political and religious authorities with the rabble at the lowest rank of the social ladder and with the inferior non-canonical culture (Ibn Al-Jawzi, *Talbees Iblees*, 129). Accordingly, the body politic imposed its control over authors of the narrative: it appointed the "canonical and conventional" authors at mosques and expelled the creative and imaginative. Still worse, it tracked down the latter and punished them, however prominent they were all over their societies and among the peer victims of authoritarianism. Nonetheless, their works survived.

Such an imaginative narrative technique of the Arabic Muqamat as attracted men of letters (e.g., Al-Hamazani & Al-Hariri) did infuriate the authorities to the extent that they refused acknowledging its literariness (Al-Tawhidi and others; as cited in Al-Roubi, 134). Contrary to all expectations, the more they were rejected by the authorities, the more they attracted writers to innovate and reader among common people to admire. Consequently, the public awareness of the authorities' prejudice grew and the attempt of the body politic to manipulate narrative forms in its favor was disgracefully exposed.

In fact, at the top of such distinctive influential patterns of the classical Arabic narrative stood the sexual pattern that was the field of creativity for great writers (e.g., Al-A'bi, Al-Dinuri, Al-Jahiz, Al-Nafzawi, Al-Seyouti, Al-Tawhidi, Al-Tifashi, Al-Yamani, etc.) whose works varied to encompass literature, criticism, science and thematic encyclopedias. The sexual pattern was also the integral part of encyclopedic works such as *Alf Lila Wa Lila (The Arabian Nights)*, *Alhayawan*, *Nathr Addur*, and *Uyun Al-Akhbar* (Younis, 17). It was even the one and only theme of many great narrative works, including those of Al-A'bi, Al-Jahiz, Al-Seyouti, Al-Tifashi and Al-Yamani, in addition to its emergence as the foregrounded, yet sometimes implicit, sub-theme of many other works just as those of Al-Seraj and Al-Yafe'i in which the didactic element is emphasized. Nevertheless, it did not receive due critical interest.

Sexual narrative was born in a controversial arena. Classical writers and critics were divided into two groups of supporters and refuters, and their conflict was never settled. The critics of the first group (e.g., Al-Dinuri, Al-Jahiz, Al-Tawhidi, etc.) unashamedly accepted it in a defensive way, accusing those who felt ashamed of it of affectation, and writers satisfied themselves with the act of innovation. The other group, whether writers or critics, shunned the narrative genre entirely and deemed it inferior and worthless and, when writers moved to the narrative, they wrote on forms other than the sexual. That was why, in his famous book *Al-Nawader*, Ibn Al-Jawzi ignored all sexual anecdotes recurrently introduced by his predecessors.

In a similar vein, the modern Arabic critical studies have inherited that cultural neglect of sexual narration. A few studies of the pattern are even tied up by the superficial sick viewpoint that heavily and blindly relies on the moral utilitarian and the authentic realistic criteria which, in

turn, chain most creative writers. Hence, no profound critical study of the highly promoted sexual pattern (in primarily sexual narratives or in narratives with sexual sub-theme; e.g., sexual tales and anecdotes) has been emerged yet. The sexual narrative text is almost marginalized by critical reviews and is totally ignored by academic researchers in universities, in thematic critical periodicals and journals and in respective conferences and symposiums. Surprisingly enough, critical surveys of the classical Arabic narration (e.g., works of Al-Ghannam, Al-Muwafi, Al-Najjar, Al-Shura, Ibrahim, Murtad and Wadi.) and critical studies of the narrative forms (e.g., anecdote) that foreground the classical Arabic sexual text (see works of Abdul-Hamid, Al-Najjar, Al-Najm & Sharaf) mostly bypassed that narrative tradition. Besides, no critic has ever referred to the sexual stories that prevail, in a highly imaginative technical style, in the works of Al-Nafzawi, Al-Seyouti, Al-Tifashi and Al-Yamani.

Few modest studies, however, attempted to investigate the literary aspects of some of these sexual texts — but with no critical depth. They were basically driven towards proving the authorship of such texts in the classical Arabic literature and towards attacking critics and readers' attention to them. Unfortunately, the entire task is surrounded by challenges.

And this Arabic Eastern vision resulted from the challenges that faces the modern Arabic critical studies on sexual textual narratives which, in turn, has led to such cultural neglect and marginalization of the pattern are actually the same as the chains that fettered the classical innovative sexual narrative. Authoritarianism seems to be the dominant context of all creative and critical fields as well as political, social and cultural domains.

These challenges manifested themselves in the political repression that the Arab society has suffered in such a manner that has tied it down through a huge inheritance of intellectual, cultural and artistic restrictions and disappointments. It was such inheritance of repressive authoritarianism that made the body politic kill Ibn Al-Muqaf'a on charging him with heresy, the most common charge in the Abbasid era. It was that which forced Ibn Mamata Al-Misri to flee from his homeland, compelled Al-Tawhidi to burn his books and impelled Al-Jahiz to disclaim his basic rights of expression and innovation and to ascribe his own works to his predecessors for fear of clashes with the tyrannical cultural authority at that time. It was that which obliged Al-M'arri to isolate himself from that corrupt environment of repression, suppression and authoritarianism and still made him a target of charges for some official critics and writers of the regime, just like Ibn Al-Jawzi who spoke in the name of the body politic and charged him, Al-Jahiz and Al-Tawhidi of heresy (Ibn Al-Jawzi, *Almontazem*, 134).

However, the body politic has justified its authoritarian acts as being a way of conforming to the religious instructions and to the moral norms. Nevertheless, in the ancient Arab society, some politicians themselves were the first to violate the rules and to get rid of all that apparently restricted the entire society. Some of them even dared to promote adultery and sexual perversion, not feeling ashamed of earning money from running that "dirty business" (Al-Jahiz, *Al-Ras'ael, Resalat Al-Qeyan*, 175; Shukri, 63). But this is can not be considered as an evident on the spread of these congenital social diseases according to some academic researchers.(Habib, 78).

Besides, the religious authoritarianism represents one of such serious challenges. To illustrate, there is always a group of some religious pedants believing that they, and only they, have the power to understand religion, to judge the religiously permitted and/or prohibited and to judge people's belief. There is always a group of religious figures trying to direct the public opinion of the masses in every situation regarding religion, according to them. Doing so, they deprive those people from their own right to think and express their opinions. Yet, some men of thought and letters would reject that trend in a manner of believing in the power of the mind and in the freedom of expression. To name but a few of the rebellious who are numerous throughout the Arabic literature history, we have Al-Dinuri, Al-Jahiz and Al-Tawhidi in the ancient times as well as many others in the modern times.

This is why the political authority in the ancient Arab society sought to manipulate the religious authority and, eventually, the latter was confused with the social authority. Many attempts at creativity were thus disappointed by the claim that they disrespected religious instructions and social customs and traditions. In effect, these acts built an entire world of intellectual suppression, quite similar to forms of political repression in some countries.

Such aspects of authoritarianism, suppression, and repression are also recurrent in the modern society that has witnessed lots of confiscatory acts of intellectual and innovative works, including narrative texts. The respective creative authors have also experienced incommunicable detention, threats of killing, assassination attempts and judgments of heresy based only on a reading of their imaginative innovative works (Asfour, 391). That sort of misconception has reflected the deformed integration of the political and social authorities insofar as the numerous conflicts that successively befall the various domains of life in the Arab society simultaneously influence cultural attitudes and thoughts. Consequently, some official critics of the regime enjoy practicing intellectual and cultural authoritarianism vis-à-vis creative writers (Abou Zaid, 9).

Here, sex is shocking. The taboos of the Arab society are three, namely, politics, religion and sex, yet the strongest and most influential of the three is sex since politics and religion collaborate in restricting its artistic functioning. Metaphorically speaking, politics and religion are the two jaws of the millstone that crush sex and all that is related to it. "Sex talks" never begin without a political permission, even implicitly; they always yield to many censorship authorities. They never go without a religious permission; they have to be presented in a "religious style" and to depend on implication, although there is no such imaginative text that fits that style. Mostly, sexual texts are categorized as scandalous and lewd. Thus, academic research and/or science can be the authorized channel of expressing sex, away from religious and political authoritarianism, whereas imaginative creative works about sex are severely suppressed.

The main reason for the shortcomings of the respective modern Arabic critical narratives studies is that they are restricted to the academic researches in universities. This is because there is a strong connection between the educational organizations and the body politic in the Arab world. Simply, the university is seen as a political organization and most of the university staff members just follow the policy preset by the government. Still, clashes between them are innumerable.

The cultural authoritarianism and the modern Arabic critical narratives neglect of sexual narrative are also evident in the expulsion of Classical Arabic narratives from the critical scene — a flagrant bias against them, no doubt. As a result, many readers know nothing about innovative sexual works of Al-Seyouti, for example, or even Al-Nafzawi and Al-Tifashi who depended heavily for their prose and poetry on the sexual pattern and who created many narrative technical forms. This pattern is considered a failure of the Arabic literature, for being lewd, offensive and disgusting for the readers and for being disgraceful for the writers. Some others believe that it marks the moral looseness, dissipation and sexual perversion of the Arab society (Al-Baze'i, 178).

Undoubtedly, that perspective refers back to the ancient Arab society with which the modern society can be easily compared when we define the relationship between the classical critical attitude and its modern counterpart towards sexual narrative. While the former was originated in the social, cultural and political milieu of these writings, the latter emerges — with such inherited classical cultural neglect of the sexual narrative — in the modern world that suffers countless forms of tyranny and repression. Yet, noticeably most of modern Arab critics are impressed with the modern innovative narrative, so they focus on criticizing classical narrative texts in terms of modern narrative techniques although the former were restricted to such primitive forms as the anecdote and the tale. This reveals the poor critical and creative awareness of classical Arab writers vis-à-vis these techniques, which somehow appeared in their works but in a superficial

traditional form. The sexual narrative texts, on the other hand, are technically rich and tempting to study.

Recognizably, that pursuit is erroneous and illogical, for any attempt at comparing modern narrative with classical Arabic narrative can eradicate every apt feature of the narrative from the classical texts (including the sexual texts) that reveal some essential stages of the Arabic narrative development. That malicious superficial attitude deems sexual anecdotes and tales trivial and trite, despite their literary and social significance.

Here comes the challenge of the lack of objectivity. Some critics believe that the only function of the anecdote is to meet the didactic canon (Al-Najjar, 611). Even when some others acknowledge its indirect criticizing implications of the political, economic, social, moral and cultural deterioration, they never refer to sexual anecdotes as if they were not included in the classical Arabic (humorous) narrative.

Generally, concerning the artistic employment of sex in literary writings, modern Arab critics are still divided into supporters and refuters although that debate obtains only in the Arab society. Evidently, some Arab scholars investigate the various manifestations of the theme of sex in the classical Arabic culture, but only in non-Arab societies, the fact which is a blatant indication of the intellectual and cultural alienation and an obvious symptom of the cultural suppression — despite the inefficiency of the critical apparatus on dealing with the classical Arabic sexual narrative.

Remarkably, the anecdote was the favorite form of the sexual pattern (Al-Nafzawi, 10). With reference to the classical literature, the anecdote is a narrative form partially based on humor. This shows how the sexual anecdote spread, especially because they began as an oral genre belonging to the folklore or the art of common people, as some prefer to call. Then, it came to be written and to be classified among the formal literature first by Al-Jahiz and some of his contemporaries. Interesting it is to mention the minister Al-Ared when he skid Al-Tawhidi, his companion in nightly entertainment, to prepare for an entertaining night. Eventually, Al-Tawhidi sent him thirty-one sexual anecdotes, followed by justifications for writing these texts, and thus he was counted among the supporters of the anti-authoritarian trend.

Therefore, we believe that sexual narrative texts should be thoroughly and thoughtfully investigated because, like every other text, they do deserve critical interest. This is how we can reach an objective viewpoint about the classical Arabic narrative and, in turn, trace the development of some narrative forms and think of the reasons for the decline of the other forms. For instance, the humorous sexual tales of Al-Nafzawi, Al-Seyouti, Al-Tifashi and Al-Yamani mark the palpable development of sexual anecdotes and of some Muqamat.

The humorous sexual tale mixes the sense of humor and the directness of sexual anecdotes with the mature narrative form developed from Al-Muqamat and tales of *Alf Lila Wa Lila* while it gets rid of all that caused Al-Muqamat to gradually deteriorate, namely, the extremely strange language and the excessive interest in the application of the various rhetorical figures of speech in a straightforward didactic fashion. In addition, the hero in the sexual humorous tale is somewhat similar to the model of the loose character in the sexual anecdotes and to the model of the cunning character in Al-Muqamat (Ghabbour, 267).

What really led to the decline of Al-Muqamat was the confusion writers fell into when they adopted different religious and intellectual attitudes. It is also noticed that they showed a strong interest in the form, the (strange) language and the figures of speech while avoiding plots that present frauds and lies and avoiding characters of an immoral background. Al-Zamakhshari's Muqamat follow that pattern and come to be known as didactic texts.

A strong interest in the humorous content is also found in Al-Muqamat, but with a dramatic shift in their significant morphological functions from a character performing the fraud to earn

money into a character performing the fraud for sexual pleasure. Besides, the superior rhetorical capacity of the hero that qualifies him to proceed with his narrative turns into an exceptional sexual ability enabling him to perform some odd sexual actions, thus adding an element of the supernatural to the narrative (Al-Nafzawi, 10).

Accordingly, this proves that sexual texts have developed insofar as there is no such thing as the defending campaigns, which were necessary on the emergence of these narratives. At least, they are few now. By the same token, various sexual writings are also developed in all fields: we have lots of thematic books about sex, though not always restricted to that theme. Authors writing about sex and its various aspects often use quotations from poetry and/or prose to support his argument. How glorious it is; sex moves to the fore.

Most of modern writers of sex in the Arab and/or Islamic society depend for their material on many literary works. Regardless of their attitudes and objectives, their works are still significant in that they prove that the various revelations of the theme permeated classical Arabic culture. They also show that the modern Arabic critical studies of sexual texts are few or even rare (and superficial) and that, implicitly, the sexual narrative has been critically underestimated and has been deemed as non-worthy of study and as non-literary form. Hence, it is believed that sexual texts cannot represent any aspect of the Arab society, which is the basic motive behind the unjustified critical neglect that evades acknowledging them.

Most of the Western Perspectives look at these texts an authentic and true-to-life history of the Arab and/or Muslims' sexual affairs — which could be probable — but the mere attempt at transforming the imaginative literary inheritance into a reliable historical reference of some deeply-rooted religious and social phenomena can obscure the literariness and the imaginative innovation of the texts.

Hence, some critics have denied altogether the presence of sexual perversion in the Arab world and believed that their recurrent occurrence in literary writings is only for mere humor. They depend on such sayings as "Poets do not commit themselves to what they say" and "Authors are just liars" (Daef, 27). Yet, Al Gahez, the pioneer of the sexual anecdote once confessed that he narrated two types of events: the realistic and the imagined.

Hereby, sexual texts can fairly reflect features of the ancient Arab society, yet they remain imaginative artistic works nevertheless. After all, they are a landmark in the development of the classical Arabic narrative that embraces humorous and sexual aspects in addition to many ideological and social dimensions all of which contribute to forming these texts.

In the final analysis, we should affirm that we do not seek or call others to survey the history of the sexual affairs in the Arab society. Simply, this study attempts to convey that the classical Arabic sexual narrative has been marginalized and obscured by the modern Arab critics due to innumerable repressive and authoritarian challenges. Some Arab scholars assume that critical studies of that type are maliciously initiated and, thereupon, they avoid tackling sexual texts, but we believe that this should be a motive for undertaking a profound academic investigation of the objective manner. This is how we can find out the remarkable characteristics and the technical richness of the sexual texts, which can unveil the gradual development of the classical Arabic narrative.

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Title:

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Abstract

Barisan Nasional (National Front), the ruling party in Malaysia inherited the trust and tradition initiated by the Alliance Party that achieved the Malayan Independence 1957. The support received by National Front undeniably since the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council's election in 1952 and the support continued in the 1955 General Election, where they won 51 out of 52 seats contested. Nevertheless due to the May 13th 1969 incident, the Alliance has experienced a major loss. Under the new brand name of National Front (1972) the party expanded their components into a bigger coalition parties. It has become a unique political formula in Malaysian politics to reduce politicking and keeping the divided ethnicized parties together. The National Front kept their dominance in most General Elections handsomely proved that its strengths cannot be challenged easily. In the Malaysia's 2008 General Election, the supremacy however, started to deteriorate when the two-third usual majority suddenly successfully is being denied. The ability of opposition to deny its majority has put the National Front into a very difficult position. Using Gramscian concept of hegemony, this paper tries to elaborate how National Front has successfully maintained their power until suffer big loss in 2008 and at the same time the paper will discuss whether hegemony of National Front is still relevant throughout the administration of Tun Mahathir and Abdullah Ahmad Badawi leadership.

Introduction

Malaysia has managed to practice the arrangement democracy effectively until the year 1969. Nidzam (2006:69) stated that the parliament was suspended for more a year after the said event but was again practiced in the year 1970 till date. Before the 13th May 1969 event, the development of politics in Malaysia was performing well. But this does not reflect that there are no conflicts and events which involve force. Throughout the six weeks of the 1969 Election campaign, it has lead to various racial issues that almost caused the emotional state of the Malays and Non Malays to explode. Even though the campaign went on well without any untoward events, the feelings of tension became obvious as the Election Day on the 10th May 1969 approaches (Comber 1983:63).

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In the said election campaign, the leaders do not seem to have a new formula to fight and receive a strong contest from the opposition parties like PAS, DAP, Gerakan and PPP (Comber 1983:63). To the Perikatan party, they were very confident of winning. Thus, they have permitted the ongoing campaign to the maximum under the Constitution (Mahathir 1999:6). In terms of the Perikatan election manifesto, Comber (1983:63) stated that it is more of a government report. The Manifesto summarizes the success of Perikatan in power after winning, focusing on the 'economic development', 'defence and safety', 'international affairs', and 'racial integrity' (Comber 1983:63-64). This harmony does not cause anxiety on the National Front as the governing party but in fact has made it a lot stronger.

Therefore, the question that states the democracy system in practical has thus far been unable to be fully executed has arisen. Contrary to the said guarantee, many scholars define the type of leadership practiced in Malaysia as immature, no freedom, "half cook", limited, authoritative and full of control. Whether we realize it or not, the definition of democracy in Malaysia proves that the governing system in Malaysia is in fact a form of hegemony. It is obvious that the elements of hegemony like being too extreme towards a leader, loyal and faithful, obeying to orders given, complying with the leader's wishes, opposing all activities to topple the government and so on existed but in fact is hidden in the Malaysian democracy system.

The emphasis on democracy based on its practiced in Malaysia intend for the peace and political stability to be practiced (Lijphart 1997:152). This strategy has been applied to preserve the public's loyalty towards their leader who has become a 'protector' in their daily lives. This hidden practiced of hegemony causes the public to give their undying support to their leader even though they were fully controlled.

This phenomenon has lead a scholar like Syed Husin Ali (1996:95) to be of opinion that this has become a norm to the monarch or local leaders asking for the public's undying support. For example, in the traditional leadership system the concept of 'loyalty' is link to 'betrayal'. This means that the king cannot be opposed because it will be regarded as treacherous. As a result, this has lead to an inferior psychology among the subjects until they become devoted and 'servant-spirited'. The neofeudalistic people of today have a feeling of fear, humble and 'servant-spirited' towards their king or leader and this feeling has lead to them having the same feelings towards their new leaders. With this power the leaders are able to expand their wings to the economic sectors, and leaving a very narrow road which then lead to the struggle among the people. Obviously, the political power has given them the opportunity to expand themselves in the economic sectors and the control on economy has strengthened their political position. All government machinery and other government tools are also used to strengthen and protect their interest. The socialist political process plays a role in ensuring that this practice and perception is ongoing for the next coming generation when youngsters are trained to be loyal and be afraid of their leaders.

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According to Nidzam(2006:256-257), the public's acceptance and loyalty towards their leaders, the leader's power and involvement in economy has been conferred by lots of titles to recognize their contributions. This showed that the elements of feudalism still exist in democracy. These elements among others have a picture of the subjects or people still being loyal to their more powerful leader. The voices of these leaders must be complied with and not opposed. They are also lavish with titles such as Tun, Tan Sri, Datuk and Datuk Seri. However it is undeniable that the democracy was practiced together with the citizen's traditional ways like culture and a strong believe in religion which has become an important essence.

In reality, the type and practiced of the Malays political culture in this globalization era has been managed to be constructed. Not only it was constructed but it goes right to the foundation of the spirit of the Malays who are too absorb with their culture and having a strong believe in religion, therefore it needed reconstruction. Without us realizing it, the leaders have managed to gain full control until they are in their comfort zone and managed to reconstruct the people to accept their dominant position without much questioning. Obviously the political hegemony is visible in the Malay political culture especially when it is a result of unification in the Malays traditional structure. Therefore, the public became weaker politically including the NGOs, the opposition parties, media and judiciary whose words and fights on modern democracy are left unattended.

With that, all government machinery and tools including the Acts, Enactments, police departments, military, the prosecutors, courts and so forth are used to strengthen and preserve the higher positioned interests. The socialists' political process plays a role in ensuring this as an ongoing process. Besides that, the introductions of several Acts like the Incitement Act, Official Secrets Acts, Internal Security Act (ISA), Print Press and Publication Act, University and Colleges Act (AUKU) are used by the government to control the political situation in Malaysia and punish executive offenders (Mauzy 1995:117).

The democracy practiced is not an open democracy but only limited; it has an element of authoritarian and so forth. Even if a writer or a journalist writes or reports on certain issues of government secrets like (a scandal, deviation and elements of nepotism), they will be arrested and charged under the Official Secrets Act 1972. This shows that the position of the elite political government is not at stake and their influence became stronger. The fanatical hegemony towards a leader is not relevant anymore in Malaysian current democracy and should be replaced with the hegemony culture of being 'afraid' of a leader. This phenomena picture the culture of being 'afraid' is not only to threaten the public of the punishment against them by a leader but the feeling of 'afraid' to lose their interests if the orders are opposed.

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Hence, this writings discuss the elements that form hegemony in the Malays political culture which in actual fact is not a true or actual hegemony. Not only that, the hidden element of hegemony practiced in the Malays political culture are also overlapping with the Malay culture but religion also plays an important role. This proves that the hegemony of Malays political culture is very 'unique' and 'special' and different from the political culture in other countries. The Malays political culture in Malaysia is very adamant in holding to their culture and religion of Islam which has been significant in the lives of the Malays since then. However, there are several main indicators which leave an impact on Malays political culture in Malaysia.

2. The Practice of Feudalism in Malaysia

The elements of feudalism still exist till to date because the monarchs is pictures as a protector of people and are very powerful and have '*daulats*'. For example in the traditional Malay politics the phrases or words that picture a king as a powerful symbol and have a connection with God were also used like "a king is a reflection of God on earth". This phrase is a reminder to the people that the king is of higher position and possesses special relationship spiritually. These words have placed the people to be more afraid towards their king. The level of loyalty of local people at that time can be regarded as a blind-acceptance which only accepts whatever orders from their leaders. They need to instill full loyalty, respect and faithfulness towards the leadership of their king and seldom they become disloyal.

Therefore, Syed Hussein Al Attas (1972:109) agrees with the said assertion and regarded the state and federal state have spend lots of money in giving titles like '*Tun*' and '*Dato*' to the experienced political leaders and bureaucrats who act as an honest protector in this monarchical constitutional system. The amount of honors given has increased since the independence of Malaysia for 51 years.

Position, status and awards have replaced the traditional practice during the Melaka Sultanate in the era of feudal Malay politics. This situation pictures UMNO leadership as a 'hero' and 'savior' in the Malay community. Contrary to heroes like Hang Tuah, Hang Jebat, Tun Perak, Tun Biajid and many more who were discussed in earlier chapters but in this neo feudal era, UMNO is able to influence the governing country's decision. Mahathir (2007) felt that there is no difference between the people's loyalty during the feudal time and the people's loyalty towards their current leaders.

According to him, the level of loyalty given towards their leaders or government is a reward to their loyal services towards them in response to their protection. This is a main factor towards undying loyalty that has been formed a long time ago in this neo feudal era. Mahathir's thoughts has been

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seen as very interesting when he denies that loyalty given by the people is not a form of political hegemony. As long as the people love and is loyal to their king, leaders, '*penghulu*', principal and also the '*wakil rakyat*' children, it is not a big issue. They are loyal because they know and trust their leader. As long as they did not feel oppressed, pressured, abused, it means that they are comfortable with their doings.

Therefore, the system of governance in Malaysia has been formed through a social bargaining process that proves the ability of the earlier patriots forming a '*daulat*' country intelligently has been inherited by the leaders since then. The concept of nationalism is seen as a tool of firm hegemony in governing Malaysia inoculated by the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the country. The shifting of paradigm has not been excluded from the scope of discussion about the interest of Malay culture which thinks highly of their king or leaders since then.

The State has not given at all any free space for free participation. The competition is so narrow and the state was always used by the government to put pressure and this gives them extra power. Besides that, the government party has taken the opportunity to draft and amend Acts to protect the government from any threatening challenges. For example, the ISA can detain anyone without trial and was officially introduced in Article 149 of the Malaysian Constitution. This Act is also use to prevent opposition leaders or any other organization from challenging the status quo (Jesudason 1995:338).

Their position became more consolidated and hard to challenge that makes it easier for them to gain more interests in the economic sector. Further, in the current democratic governing system, there are laws to control and protect the higher class's position. However, most political Malay leaders are of the view that the enforcement of laws has permitted the taking over of individuals land for the purpose of development and this should be restricted and be more transparent to guarantee the people's rights in their comfort zone.

Results from the discussion of the political figures has not given any direct and satisfied answer to support and prove the involvement of the economic and political elites on the issues of acquiring the public's lands. Perhaps this is a sensitive question and involves certain individuals. Not only the fear culture is planted deeply in the minds and souls of the Malay community and constructed as well, the culture is also hidden in the soul of Malay political figures. With much ease the hegemony proceeds well and is obvious for there is no collision between these two relationships.

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3. The *Open* Policy of Abdullah & Democracy: Reality or Rhetoric?

The leadership culture of Abdullah's was undeniably different from the latter leadership approaches used by the previous Prime Ministers. Even though Abdullah in the office for a short term (2003-2009), his leadership can be considered as significant in creating pragmatic leadership culture that promotes openness as an indication that places on its scale. The open policy practiced by Abdullah is not an established policy or imposed according to laws. Thus, it plays a huge impact when his leadership tries to gain support and trust of the Malaysian people since the incident of 1998 national leadership crisis. Although Abdullah was not directly involved in the crisis, Malaysian sociopolitical situation were at the vague phase which brought to the decline of 1999 election. The leaders started to conflict and the masses chose to be influence by the opposition parties as their representatives.

The crisis helps Abdullah to receive a new space when he was appointed as the Deputy Prime Minister. He has been labeled as '*Mr. Nice Guy*', once he won the masses support during the 2004 General Election with a two third majority vote. The remarkable success of National Front gave him the freedom to pattern his own administration style. In one aspect, the transition moved very well enable him to focus on the agenda that shows Abdullah is very committed to endure stability and preserve effective administration and economic condition of the country.

Basically, Abdullah's open policy succeeds to pioneer an ethical practice, values and transparent culture, democratic and integrity. This is a real great challenge encountered by the national leaders and party especially the ruling party as to maintain the people's trust. Every leader obliged to give full commitment with transparency and responsibility given to them. Abdullah's open policy filled with dominant integrity value, transformation occurs including openness in the media practice, judiciary body, electoral system and many others. The open policy gave him many advantages to help him uphold good leadership and democratic political culture in Malaysia. The result of this Abdullah empowered paradigm shift in building Malaysian democratic values and at the same time denies the skeptical thoughts which label Malaysian democracy as artificial, undemocratic and premature. Abdullah's motto of his policy encourage to a better open and democratically practices.

Incapability of Abdullah invites the opposition to strategize their steps to colonialize and gain support of the masses as compared to Mahathir's legacy. The biggest implication was proven in the National Front lost their two-third majority votes to the opposition parties. They also lost five states (Kelantan, Kedah, Selangor, Pulau Pinang, Kedah and Perak) to the opposition during the Malaysia's 12th General Election in 2008. This situation was the beginning indication of Abdullah's policy did not guarantee the status quo of the ruling class. Maybe the openness promoted by Abdullah unsuccessful to maintain its momentum was the reason of Abdulla's failure to blend with its environment and current sociopolitical.

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3. Media as an Agent of Hegemony: During Mahathir's administration

The introduction of several Acts to stop the freedom of mass media from the government's aspects is actually to stabilize the country's peaceful environment. According to the Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984, Section 7(1) stated that the Ministry of Home Affairs has the authority to grant, deny and withdraw any publication permit as they wish. (Rosidah 1997: 99). As far as the public is concerned, every Malaysian citizen has the rights of freedom to obtain knowledge and the freedom to obtain various opinions and views. However, the Malaysian government lately has strictly controlled the media activities and strict in granting media license. Reason being is to block or evade groups and free organizations from publishing and broadcasting issues that portray bad images on the government. Whether direct or indirectly there are individuals with interest to preserve their status quo by using the media as their hegemony agent.

The government has played a dominant role in ensuring that sensitive issues or political issues and filter any information before it is made known to the public. These filtering by the media responsible of reporting such events and the media are subjected to several rules and regulations and Acts which barred the media from reporting the truth. The media operates as a source of information and not to persuade the public to act as such when any information is reported.

In the event the public obtained such favorable and positive news or information, their thoughts and movement will make them more optimistic. It is true that information reported by the media to public is not parallel with the context and actual meanings to be made known. According to Shaukat (2004:2), *"The capsules of information we get are often detached from their contexts and meanings and are essentially packaged for easy consumption. For instance, before we are told about the real causes of a riot, another riot plague plane crash war is upon us."* The media control is an easy and smart route which is benefited by the government as a hegemony agent to provide information that eventually will influence the public's thinking.

When the media is strictly controlled it deters the public from their rights of freedom as stated in the Malaysian Constitution. The media is prone to broadcast and promote the elite political and economic agenda while the society's autonomic interest, poverty, needing help and group outcast's rights to justification will be ceaseless. In reality, the mass media role has to be parallel with the theory of social responsibility that gives freedom to the press, for example an individual's freedom of speech and both basic freedom is seen as a moral right which cannot be disrupted by the country (Abdul Latiff 1988).

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With that, the main media will play an important role in controlling the public's mind and will not support any reports from alternative parties and will always label them as a defector, destroyer of a country's future, traitor, a pompous and etc. This sentiment further strengthens the status quo of the government for managing to gain support and trust from the public. It is undeniable that the role of schools and universities are used to further strengthen the hegemonies politics of the government among students and educators. The information about the governance system are provided without a flaw in accordance with the ready made system and executed all orders given by the government efficiently.

Therefore, the Malaysian media has suggested several motions to the government to reach transparency in media democracies; the government should abolish all controlling laws. In addition, whichever political parties cannot monopolize the media and any interconnected commercial interest. As the media has become more corporative with stricter control by the parties who has political and economic interest, the media should not take sides with any individuals, political parties, groups and others to guarantee full freedom to the media.

The mass media are regarded as an instrument that can strengthen the loyalty of local societies and enhance the development of political parties. Realizing that the mass media be it the press i.e. newspapers and magazines and also electronic media like television, radio, other visual aids that is able to give wider coverage right up to the countryside, it is definitely undeniable. The mass media is often an instrument used by certain parties to create racial tensions among our multi racial society. According to the research by Syed Arabi (1994), he stated that the mass media is able to influence strongly people's attitudes especially during election process. For example, during the 1999 election, the main mass media have been influence by the National Front to report their ideology, while the Barisan Alternative (BA) depends on the internet and tabloids like "*Harakah*" (PAS), "*The Rocket*" (DAP), "*Suara PRM*" (PRM) and "*Keadilan*" (National Justice Party or KeADILan).

Besides that, the print media has been manipulated by the political and economic elites to exclaim the solidarity of society, to smear or purposely discussing sensitive issues that risen the public's anger. As an example, Dr Mahathir has given warnings to a Chinese daily (*Nanyang Siang Pau*) because of the issues played out about *Sekolah Wawasan*. The said issue is regarded as a sensitive issue and probably will create tension among the multi racial society. Before that, in 1987 during the *Tall Grass Operation (Operasi Lalang)*, the government has taken action against the daily *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, *The Star* and *Watan* for spreading racial issues. The government is of the opinion that these dailies have been spreading news which might cause tension among people and this information should not be reported to the public.

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Magazines, learned books and novels have also been exploited by irresponsible group of people in creating racial tension, religious tension, education, economy, politics and much more. This sort of interests is able to affect the harmony of society. The efforts of print media should not be look down because the words are able to change and construct the minds of the society. For television programs, they are prone towards presenting government issues to instill public's loyalty towards the government. Most television channels presents government agendas like the national development, education, society social culture and inserting elements of government's "loyal services". These issues or agenda are controlled and complied nicely to ensure that the government always receives support from the public. The message in the special presentation is clear in fostering and highlighting the Malays fights through UMNO and thus succeeding in governing Malaysia.

Various slogans and symbols are used to portray the Malaysian people's unity towards the government. The element of hegemony is dominant thus far. It seems that the electronic media will only side certain parties and those who supported the government or the governing party. As this while, the rights of freedom of the people and opposition parties are pushed aside and their struggle and fights not shown in the electronic media like television because everything is controlled and blocked prompting them to use alternative channels which is seen to be more effective and fast through the use of internet. Even the mass media be it the print media or electronic media is able to disintegrate the races in Malaysia if it is not taken seriously by the government because the Malaysian people is still not able to leave their ethnicity whether they realize it or not.

Conclusion

Even though the politics of Malays has gone through a long evolution process since then, the discussion on hegemony will not stop as it is. The sentiments of loyalty, devotion, faithful and others have formed a stronger bond in ensuring that the leadership of Malays is not challenge by any parties. The discussion on hegemony has shown that it is not suitable and relevant anymore to be practiced. However, the hegemony practiced has its own pro and contra towards society development and smoothen the administration of a country. The most important aspects chosen by the government will determine whether the hegemony practiced is a burden or not. The Malay traditional government has placed an importance in the Malay traditional monarchy as it involves with the absorbance of Islam in the system itself. Now, on the contrary, the approach used by the Malaysian government has put an importance on the people's unity that may guarantee the well being of the country. This seems to connect closely to the religion of Islam because Islam encourages the Muslims to be united not only between Muslims but also with non-Muslims. That is the unique hegemony approach in the Malay administration that looks like Gramsci political hegemony theory but this Malay hegemony is more unique and special.

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The rights of freedom that is always a polemic and politicized by certain parties in Malaysia are the rights of the press. The parties concerned have thrown various accuses that Malaysia does not practice the rights of press freedom. They accused that Malaysia does not adhere to the principal freedom which are stated in the Declarations of Human Rights. They also publicized in intensity the freedom of the press ranking in Malaysia which was given out by various international bodies to support the accusation that Malaysia is not press-friendly and using it for their own safety. Ironically, the majority group of accusers is not of journalism background. They were also not professional in discussing the issues.

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Sustainability and Housing Needs in Malaysia

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Abstract

The concept of sustainability has become central not just in environmental preservation, but also in the consideration of the quality of development in human settlements. In the context of housing, several researchers indicated that housing policies based on sustainability criteria – meeting basic housing need - must be viewed as a necessary. The purpose of this paper is to examine how effective is the Malaysian government in meeting housing needs by reviewing national housing policies for the past 20 years. Malaysia is a multi-cultural country with 3 basic racial-religious groups. The residential patterns of the three main ethnic groups are noticeable due to their economic activities 30 years ago. In order to change these stereotypes of the ethnic groups, the government encouraged the rural dwellers migration to urban centres. However, the urban migration has caused a severe shortage in affordable housing (low-cost) in many cities. The urban poor have responded to the shortage by the formation of extensive slum and squatter settlements. Affordable housing provision, is carried out by both the public and private sectors, has become a priority of Five-Year Malaysian Housing Policies and Plans. But, housing achievement under these plans for the past 20 years has not been satisfactory, particularly for the poor. In addition, a massive over constructing of houses has created the problem of property overhang in the country. These unsold houses do not attract the target market and cater to the housing needs of the target group. In order to meet the housing needs of all, government should formulate policies aimed at reducing costs of housing and improving the efficiency of the housing delivery system. Additionally, the government should make easier for them to leap to homeownership

Keywords: Sustainability, Housing Needs, Housing Policies, Malaysia

Introduction

In recent years, the concept of sustainability has become central not just in environmental preservation, but in the consideration of the quality of development in human settlements (Choguill 2007). In the context of housing, several researchers indicated that housing policies based on sustainability criteria – meeting basic housing needs – must be viewed as a necessary. As stated by Currie (1980), housing is a human right and a basic need and must have priority. The purpose of this paper is to examine how successful is the Malaysian government in meeting the need of housing in Malaysia for the past 20 years.

Meeting housing needs for all has long been an objective of national policy in Malaysia. Housing policies and programs are developed and implemented to increase the homeownership rate in the country, particularly the low-income group. Governments often perceive housing solely as a welfare issue (Arku 2006). In fact, housing is a productivity activity that can form an important and integral part of either developed or developing countries. Researchers justified the role that housing could play in the economic development. Studies that focused on the role of housing in economic development included those of Burns and Tjioe (1967), Strassman (1985, 1987), Tu (1999), Phang (2001) and Arku (2006). These studies focus on employment and income effects, labor productivity, and growth effects of housing provision.

History of Housing Development in Malaysia

Malaysia is a multi-cultural country with 3 basic racial-religious groups. The housing industry has to take this into consideration in the housing development and planning. The residential patterns of the three main ethnic groups in Malaysia are noticeable due to their economic activities 30 years ago. For example, most of the Malays live in rural areas, most of the Chinese live in urban areas and most Indians live in rubber and oil palm estate. In order to change these stereotypes of the ethnic groups in the country, New Economic Policies (NEP) were implemented in 1970. The overriding objective of NEP is to foster national unity and nation-building through the eradication of poverty, irrespective of race, and the restructuring of society to eliminate the identification of race with economic function and geographic location (Agus 1989). The Malaysian government encouraged the Malays to migrate to urban centers as part of the NEP strategy to change the character of urban population which was dominated by the Chinese and also as part of the strategy to create a new Malay commercial community in urban area. The rapid rate of rural Malay migration to urban center in the 80s has caused the growing demand for affordable housing in many cities (Sivar and Kasim 1997). The urban migration has resulted in a severe shortage in affordable housing. The urban poor have responded to the shortage by the formation of extensive slum and squatter settlements.

In an effort to reduce slum and squatter settlements and meet basic housing need for all Malaysians particularly for the low-income groups, sustainable housing policies and programs must be formulated to ensure that all have access to adequate housing. In the

First Malaysian Plan (1966 – 1970) and the Second Malaysian Plan (1971 – 1975), a variety of programs are designed to promote the welfare of all Malaysians regardless of ethnic background by providing improved housing, community facilities, welfare and other services. In the Third Malaysian Plan (1976 – 1980), the goal of housing is to eradicate poverty and restructure the society whereas the goal of housing in the Fourth Malaysian Plan (1981 – 1985) is a continuation of the goal of the previous five-year plans. In the Fifth Malaysian Plan (1986 – 1990), housing programs are being implemented in the context of the human settlement concept. Under this concept, the provision of social facilities, such as school, clinics, and community halls, is emphasized rather than the provision of basic infrastructural facilities. In the Sixth Malaysian Plan (1991 – 1995), home owning within various income groups is emphasized. Low-medium cost house is introduced in the Seventh Malaysian Plan (1996 – 2000). Based on the Ministry of Housing and Local Government definition (Residential Property Stock Report 2000), the house price categories can be divided into low-cost housing (below RM 42, 000), low medium-cost housing (RM 42, 001 – RM 60, 000), medium cost housing (RM 60, 001 – RM 100, 000), and high-cost housing (more than RM 100, 001). In the Eight Malaysian Plan (2001 – 2005), the priority is continued to be given to the development of low- and low- medium cost houses. Under this plan, both the public and private sectors are urged to cooperate with each others in order to meet increasing demand for housing. In the Ninth Malaysian Plan (2006 – 2010), the objective of the housing is to ensure that all Malaysians, especially those in the low- and low-medium income groups, will have access to adequate, quality and affordable housing.

Housing Provision by Public and Private Sectors

The housing industry in Malaysia is highly regulated. All housing activities, except individual and group housing, are subject to approval from the relevant state and federal authorities. The approval processes include land conversion for housing, preparation of layout plans, building and structure plans, planning of infrastructure and assessment on environmental impact with involvement of many government agencies, both at federal and local levels. These include the Land and Mines Departments, the Land Offices, Local Authorities, the Survey Department, Telecom Malaysia, Tenaga Nasional, the Water Work Department and the Town and County Planning Department for planning approval and the provision of public utilities and infrastructure (Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981). In addition, all housing development projects must be in line with housing policies and requirements by state and federal authorities, such as bumiputera quota, control on price and standard built-up areas for low-cost housing, and provision of public amenities for residential housing projects (Second Malaysia Plan 1986).

In the first phase of Malaysian housing policy development, the emphasis was upon the public housing approach. The public sector holds an important social responsibility in fulfilling the housing needs by providing public housing for lower income groups. The provision of public housing, particularly low-cost housing has become a priority of the public sectors in the Five-Years National Plans. Prior to Independence in 1957, the concept of public housing was known as the institutional quarters. Under this concept, the

British administration provided housing facilities for the government officials who worked in public institutions such as hospital, schools, and district offices. After Independence, the public housing programs have implemented to provide public housing for all (Agus 1989). Additionally, public sectors are directly responsible in providing public housing in urban areas through establishment of the various government and urban development agencies. For example, the land and regional development agencies such as Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA), Federal Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (FELCRA), Johore Tenggara Development Board (KEJORA), and Central Terengganu Development Authority (KETENGAH) are to provide housing for land settlers, as well as those displaced as a result of opening up of new land schemes with the financing by the Federal Government. The target groups under this scheme are participants of land and regional development activities from the low-income groups (Third Malaysia Plan (1976)).

The public sector alone cannot meet the housing needs for all in the country. The licensed private developers are also major providers of housing to all levels of society in the country. In Malaysia, there are two distinct components within the private sector. The first comprises housing developers. Such companies can initiate projects themselves and engage in speculative building. This activity clearly distinguishes them from simple construction firms, which work only to construct. Developers generally provide the organization, entrepreneurial skills and capital required for residential development, including the purchase, conversion and subdivision of land, but generally do not construct the dwelling themselves. This is done by the second component of the industry – the construction firms who usually work based on contracts tendered by housing developers (Drakakis-Smith 1977, Yap 1991). Housing development activities by the private sector are subject to the Housing Developers Act (Control and Licensing 1988) and Housing Developers Regulations (Control and Licensing 1989). Under these Acts, private housing developers are required to obtain licenses and sales and advertising permits from the housing controller. Licenses and permits are issued after the developers have obtained planning approvals from the Land and Mines Department, District & Land Office, Town and Country Planning Department and the local authorities and utility agencies who are responsible for water, electricity, road and telecommunication supplies.

Meeting housing needs has been identified as a major objective to promote social and economic stability. In order to ensure this desirable goal is not difficult to obtain for some families in Malaysia, several housing development programs have undertaken by both public and private sectors for the last 20 years. First, Public Low Cost Housing (PLCH) is a direct government effort towards the provision for the low-income group. PLCH projects are financed by the federal government to the state governments in the form of loans. The main functions of state governments under this program are identifying and allocating suitable lands for low-cost housing, assisting in tender procedures and monitoring the work progress at the work sites. The state governments also identify eligible buyers to buy low-cost units and make the necessary arrangements to extend the end financing facilities from the federal government to the successful buyers. The selling price of each unit does not exceed RM 25, 000 (Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991). Second, the Site and Service Scheme (SSS) is to provide houses for low-income groups especially for

those who cannot afford to own a house under the PLCH program. This scheme was first introduced in the Fifth Malaysia Plan and continued in the Sixth Malaysia Plan. The SSS program is financed by the federal government and implemented by state government agencies. Housing options include a serviced plot plus a core house with a minimum land size of 2600 square feet at RM 10, 000 per unit and a vacant plot of size 2600 square feet at RM 5, 000 with basic services. Third, Housing Loan Scheme (HLS) is developed by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government for the poor who have limited access to housing credit. The objective of this scheme is to provide housing loans to land owning among low-income groups, who could not get financing facilities from other sources. Eligible borrowers can apply for an interest free loan up to a maximum of RM 7, 500 for a house not more than RM 20, 000 (Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981). Fourth, the Special Low Cost Housing Program (SLCHP) was a special program launched for the period from 1986 – 1989, involving the public and private sectors. In this program, the state and federal government became enablers in providing incentives as well as facilitators to developers participating in the program, while the private sectors undertook the actual construction work. In other words, the main role of the government in this program is to facilitate and enable the implementation of private low-cost housing development. Towards this end, facilities such as speedy land and sub-division and conversion, minimizing planning and infrastructure standards and lower land premiums are provided and extended. The low-cost houses developed under this program are subjected to a ceiling price of RM 25, 000 per unit (Seventh Malaysia Plan 1996). In addition to PLCH, SSS, HLS and SLCHP, the other significant measure undertaken by the Malaysian government to accelerate the implementation of housing programs for low-income families was the establishment of Syarikat Perumahan Negara Malaysia Berhad (SPNB) in 1997. SPNB was established with a capital of RM 2 billion to increase the supply of houses costing less than or equal to RM 150, 000 through the provision of bridging finance to housing developers (Eight Malaysia Plan 2001).

Challenges of Meeting Housing Needs in Malaysia

Despite efforts by the government, there still exist an enormous number of issues which need to be urgently addressed to ensure that housing needs of all Malaysian could be met. First, housing achievement for the poor under Five-Year Malaysian Plans has not been satisfactory. As seen in Table 1, it is noticeable that the public sector has been giving low priority to the public low-cost housing program. Total housing needs for low-cost units during the 1986 – 2005 has been estimated at 550, 700 units, but only 57% of this target are completed by public sector. The low achievement levels are due to a complicated and ambiguous relationship between federal, state and local levels. Such relationship has caused the overlapping in the distribution of work which may retard the performance of the public sector (Yahaya 1981). The most common problem of the public sectors is the delays in the processing and approval of applications for land development, conversion, subdivision, and issuance of titles (Agus, 1989). Additionally, building codes vary from one state to another. On the other hand, the public sector's involvement in the medium- and high-cost housing is high as clearly indicated in the Sixth Malaysian Plan with a total

achievement of 79% and 110% respectively. Such high involvement has diverted resources in the public sector from low-cost housing allocation (Yahaya, 1989).

In the case of private sector, the completed low-cost houses by private developers fell below the targeted level as they are not keen in building low-cost houses due to a low level of profitability. During the Fifth Malaysia Plan, the private sector only completed about 24% of its target of low-cost housing units. It is not surprising to learn that the construction of medium- and high-cost housing by private sector has exceeded targeted level with a 158.6% for medium cost and a 386.2% for high cost housing during the Sixth Malaysia Plan. The level of achievement for medium- and high- cost housing has further increased to 187.5% and 435.3% respectively for the period 1996 through 2000. In the Seventh Malaysian Plan (1996 – 2000), 737, 856 units of houses were built by the private sector in which 206, 208 units were medium-cost and 348, 250 units were high-cost units. During the Eight Malaysian Plan (2001 – 2005), the private sector, which was targeted to build 169, 000 units of medium-cost and high cost houses, completed 496, 996 units or 294 percent of the target. Once again, the achievement levels of medium- and high-costs houses by private developers were much higher than targeted units. There are various reasons to explain why private developers usually build middle- and high-cost houses, particularly in urban centers. First, they can obtain greater profits because middle- and high-cost houses in urban centers offer greater benefits and few risks in general. Second, they can access to finance facilities easily because financial institutions are likely to finance housing projects in urban centers (Johnstone, 1980).

Table 1: Housing Achievements under Five Year Malaysian Housing Plans

Public Sector	Targeted (units)	Completed (units)	Achievement (%)
5th Malaysia Plan (1986 – 1990)			
- Low cost	120,900	74,332	61.48%
- Medium cost	27,900	21,354	76.54%
- High cost	200	1,440	720%
Total	149,000	97,126	65%
6th Malaysia Plan (1991 – 1995)			
- Low cost	126,800	46,497	36.7%
- Medium cost	44,600	35,195	78.9%
- High cost	2,600	2,850	109.6%
Total	174,000	84,542	49%
7th Malaysia Plan (1996 – 2000)			
- Housing for poor	35,000	17,229	49.2%
- Low cost	60,000	60,999	101.7%
- Low medium cost	110,000	18,782	17.1%
- Medium cost	20,000	21,748	108.7%
- High cost	5,000	2,866	57.3%
Total	230,000	121,624	53%
8th Malaysia Plan (2001 - 2005)			
- Housing for poor	16,000	10,016	62.6%
- Low cost	192,000	103,219	53.8%
- Low medium cost	37,300	22,826	61.2%
- Medium cost	46,700	30,098	64.4%
- High cost	20,000	22,510	112.6%
Total	312,000	188,669	60.5%

Private Sector	Targeted (units)	Completed (units)	Achievement (%)
5th Malaysia Plan (1986 – 1990)			
- Low cost	371,100	90,064	24.27%
- Medium cost	152,300	95,428	62.66%
- High cost	26,100	18,310	70.15%
Total	549,500	203,802	37%
6th Malaysia Plan (1991 – 1995)			
- Low cost	217,000	214,889	99%
- Medium cost	155,900	247,241	158.6%
- High cost	26,100	100,788	386.2%
Total	399,000	562,918	141%
7th Malaysia Plan (1996 – 2000)			
- Low cost	140,000	129,598	92.6%
- Low medium cost	240,000	53,800	22.4%
- Medium cost	110,000	206,208	187.5%
- High cost	80,000	348,250	435.3%
Total	570,000	737,856	129%
8th Malaysia Plan (2001 - 2005)			
- Low cost	40,000	97,294	243.2%
- Low medium cost	94,000	61,084	65.0%
- Medium cost	64,000	222,023	346.9%
- High cost	105,000	274,873	261.9%
Total	303,000	655,374	216.3%

Source: 5th Malaysia Plan, 6th Malaysia Plan, 7th Malaysia Plan, 8th Malaysia Plan, & 9th Malaysia Plan

A massive over constructing of medium and high cost housing by both private and public sectors has contributed to the problem of property overhang in the country. The term property overhang means only to housing, industrial and retail shop units that have been issued with the certificate of fitness for occupation (CF) and have remained unsold for more than 9 months (Property Overhang 2006). As reported in Property Overhang (2005), the residential overhang units increased to 15, 558 units worth RM 1.82 billion in 2004 from 9, 300 units worth RM 1.34 billion in 2003. The overhang figure jumped further 25.8% to 19, 557 units valued at RM 2.65 billion at the end of 2005. Most of the overhang units (15, 410 units) had been in the market for more than 24 months. The majority of these units remain unsold for reasons beyond price factor, ranging from poor location, and to unattractive houses with lack of adequate amenities and facilities. The development of property in the wrong location is the most important factor that contributed to the overhang. These unsold houses do not attract the target market and cater to the housing needs of the target group. It is important for both public and private house builders to know the housing needs before constructing houses.

Another issue that undermines the success of meeting housing needs is the problem of abandoned housing projects. There are many housing projects, mostly low-cost housing, that have been abandoned (Property Market Report 2004). Owning a house is every person's dream. But, their dreams have turned into nightmares after the homes they bought are left uncompleted. The victims, in most cases are the low and middle income groups. They carry a large portion of the risks involved when purchasing a house. They start paying even though the houses that they have purchased are nowhere near completion. They continue paying progressive payments until such time when the houses

are completed. If the construction of the houses are disrupted or abandoned, they are the ones who bear the stress. As a result, they are no houses for them to take over to occupy and they continue to pay rents to shelter their families. In addition to abandoned housing projects, another nightmares faced by innocent house buyers who have filled themselves with problems created by errant house builders. These problems range from the irritating ones like leaking roofs, defective rectification works and uneven floorings to the serious one where private housing developers hand over houses that are of sub-standard or unaccepted quality, no connection of water and electricity despite Certificate of Fitness been issued.

Recommendations and Conclusions

In order to achieve sustainability in the housing industry, housing policies and programs must be economically viable, socially acceptable, technically feasible and environmentally compatible. Meeting housing needs for all requires affordable housing financing. Mortgage lending has to reconcile affordability to borrowers and viability to lenders. The policies and programs developed are for those attempting to cheapen the cost of public homeownership through financial assistance with down payment and mortgage interest payments. The government should also increase the availability of alternative home financing by liberalizing EPF withdrawal for down payment and mortgage payment. EPF withdrawal seems to be an important role in promoting externalities of homeownership (Tan, 2008). As such, rules and regulation of EPF withdrawal, particularly documentation needed for the submission of EPF withdrawal, need to be simplified in order to enhance the efficiency of the withdrawal system. Also, a better EPF withdrawal information system is required to integrate land office in every state and financial institutions as well as EPF department for the simplification of withdrawal system.

In addition, the government should make home financing more available and affordable by providing subsidies to meet housing needs of low-income families. Housing subsidy is a central issue in the housing policy for the poor. Since public low-cost housing is regarded as a public duty, not a commercial operation and the government's housing policy is to sell homes for the people at prices they can afford. The government should provide rental housing for householders who cannot afford to buy their own low-cost housing. For renters who can afford to buy low-cost housing, a special housing policy and program is required to make easier for them to leap to homeownership. The sales of public low-cost housing need to be expedited to ensure that those who are eligible will be provided houses for sale. In this regard, appropriate policy guidelines of the sale of public low-cost housing must be drawn to smooth the implementation of the sale of public housing to sitting tenants.

As for the efficiency of the housing delivery system, public and private sectors are required to carry out research to ascertain market needs as a lot of housing projects were started without proper plans. As indicated earlier, the majority of unsold houses are situated in poor location with no adequate amenities and facilities and less employment opportunities. Efforts needed to provide housing in the target area must be accompanied

by investment in infrastructure and employment opportunities. Instead of merely building properties, public and private housing developers should embrace the concept of building communities by envisioning the process from a community builder's viewpoint. They are also advised to provide integrated amenities in a single location because mass townships are equipped with all the elements of healthy living, learning, work and play will become more sought-after.

The government should be sensitive to the problems of thousand of house buyers caused by errant and irresponsible housing builders who had abandoned their projects. First, the government should take measures to ease buyers' problem by reviving abandoned housing projects. Managing and reviving an abandoned project is a complicated affair involving the developers, purchasers, bridging financier, landowner, and other parties interested in reviving the project as it takes time for all parties to reach an agreement. To ensure the success of reviving abandoned housing projects, an effective revival agent for abandoned project to be set up at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to monitor progress of rehabilitation. It is also advisable to request all house builders to maintain the project account with the Ministry to ensure money collected from buyers will go into the project account to build houses. They are not allowed to draw out the fund out from the project account. Second, the housing industry should change the house buying system from the progressive system to a 10-90 system. The progressive payment system is no protection from failed projects and financially unsound housing developer as house buyers are lumbered with housing loans that are partially disbursed and for which they have to continuously pay interests. In the 10-90 system, buyers sign the Sale & Purchase Agreement and pay a deposit of 10% of the selling price. They do not make any more payment until the houses are completed with Certificate of Completion and Compliance, water and electricity available for tapping and running as well as vacant possession with keys. The government should provide incentives to housing developers to adopt the new system in order to phase out the progressive payment system. The quality of houses will also improve with the 10-90 system because developers will not risk the likelihood of dispute with buyers over quality when they come to full payment time. Presently buyers having paid up 95% prior to hand over time, have little or no bargaining power over the quality of their houses. With the 10-90 concept, developers have to seriously focus on more on building better quality houses and executing greater care and responsibilities in ensuring that the houses are constructed in accordance with specification and proper workmanship manner. In addition to the 10-90 system, the government should study applicable laws to be promptly and vigorously executed to relieve the sufferings of these innocent house buyers by arresting failed and abandoned housing projects. Land ownership in Malaysia is governed by the National Land Code, 1965 (Act 56) in force since January 1966. The National Land Code empowers the land administration authorities to confiscate any land where any of the conditions of usage have been breached (Residential Property Stock Report 2004). The abandoning of any housing project is clearly in breach of the development order and other legislation. The government should need to take drastic measures, including forfeiture of such land so that the forfeited project can be revived and the completed houses delivered to rightful house buyers.

In conclusion, the government should seriously and urgently adopt to create changes to meet housing needs of all. They should be sensitive to these needs and will gather housing experts and related players to seek immediate solution and be determined to resolve such unsatisfactory state of affair. In order for the industry to be sustainable, the interests of house buyers need to be taken into serious consideration. While the house builders are privileged to walk the corridors of power, house buyers, on the other hand have only an inaudible voice in the wilderness. As such, the government should work tirelessly in various capacities towards the betterment of housing delivery system. Additionally, there should be a National Housing Policy to provide firm direction for matters related to housing in Malaysia from a wider, in-depth, comprehensive scope and in a more balanced manner. Factors such as destructions and damage to resources should be controlled. There shall be strict enforcement of laws to ensure well-being of the Malaysian and for their next generation. It is vital to ensure that infrastructure, industrial, economic and commercial development is not at the cost of the Malaysian's well being and health.

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Nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina as an urbanism issue
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Abstract

The encounter of east and west in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a very specific phenomenon. The crush between several absolutely different cultures produced one mixed, but still disintegrated, society.

Overview of the most current problems in BiH society, confirmed that nationalism is dominant way of thinking in the society.

In this paper, nationalism is perceived as a position of respect for the other.

Many members of the society, such as political, religion or art leaders, are recognized as known and their responsibility is doubtless. But there are some others who operate indirectly, and they are responsible too.

The priority is to think that everyone could take different roles.

Results of one student's research, which was performed in BiH (City of Banja Luka), show that an urban planner can create a position of respect for the other. Urban planner is also responsible. He (she) creates quality of environment in terms of housing. Respect for the other certainly depends on that quality.

Key words: nationalism, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), urban planner, responsibility, quality of housing

1. Introduction

Nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not getting any weaker even fifteen years after the war ended, and social-economic conditions in the society are being more and more weakened. After the war from the 90ies of the 20th century in BiH, the cities were left wounded in many ways, not even the period of expected advancement brought good.

BiH is a Balkan country, created after the former Yugoslavia split up. It is a federation of two entities – Republic of Srpska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The state's constitution defines three constitutive ethnic groups – Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks within different religious groups – Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Islam.

Starting with the belief that division of multiethnic society is based on differences in tradition of the religious groups dominating on BiH territory, the research deals with the issue of nationalism.

Nationalism expressed through social division makes the progressive social development in terms of quality of life impossible. The quality of life can be improved through strengthening social cohesion being the paradigmatic social goal. Thus, this paper deals with researching the possibilities for strengthening social cohesion from urbanism practices aspect.

It is suggested that the urban planners, being participants of social changes, can contribute to weakening the nationalism present in BiH, that is, contribute to social cohesion strengthening without any intention to deny anyone's ethnicity. The goal of the research is to determine the

existence of positive correlation between improvement of the quality of life, being the urbanism practice topic, and the process of personal identity development, being the basic of collective consciousness.

The methodology is based on a confirmation of theoretically given hypothesis, through featuring a case study performed in the beginning of 2008 in the central zone of Banjaluka city. Banjaluka is the capital, thus cultural and administrative center of Republic of Srpska, and the second largest city in BiH based on the number of inhabitants. The case study questions urban planners work through creating the organizational dimension of housing function, being the most common and most complex function in the center of Banjaluka, with the goal to determine to what extent and in what way the urban planners influence the forming of an individual's identity with their work.

2. Division of society and nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Territory of BiH was occupied by other nations often throughout the history, which conditioned creation of a specific culture. The encounter of eastern and western civilizations contributed to creation of a culture typical for the relationships between several ethnic groups. The “ethnic group” term is related to belonging to group based on subjective belief in common ancestors, that is, common origin (Stojkovic, 2008). In relation to this, it is considered that the ethnic differences depend on relationship between the groups and not on cultural differences (Eriksen, 2002). In case of BiH, the cultural differences between Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks are very small, and the relationships between them are really conflict.

The term close to nation¹ is nationalism, and according to Ernest Gellner, as quoted by Thomas Hylland Eriksen, this is before anything else a political principle based on which the political and national unit must correspond (Eriksen, 2002). On the other hand, identifying state and nation is solely ideological construction, largely denied by the reality in the world, so the statement by Edgar Moren and quoted by Branimir Stojkovic seems to be well based.²

The issue of emphasizing national belonging over other elements of individual identity in BiH has been present for years. What contributes to it are daily limitations which the citizens of this developing country encounter. These limitations are in the field of not being able to accomplish different development processes, among others, the ones related to housing, education and work.

Although there is no precise overview of the condition in BiH society, the fact that it is really bad is supported well enough by some social-economic standard indicators data. According to the data from Agency for Statistics of BiH, over the past two years the average monthly income has

¹ Etymologically speaking, the word “nation” comes from the Latin verb *nascere*, meaning the action of being born, that is *nation*, meaning a kind or race. Serbian noun *narod* is literal translation of this word. From the 18th century, the English word *nation* meant blood relationship, while later on, it was more and more often understood as common origin, this being supported within corresponding myths (Stojkovic, 2008).

² According to Moren, not a single state/nation corresponds with some natural region or some homogeneous unity of a nation. They were created in everyday association, heritages, annexations and wars. Within, they carry large geographic, ethnic, economy and social differences. These states/nations however, created not only governing but also matri-patriotic unity exactly because only one mythical-patriotic nature was able to strengthen such a deep and various diversity (Stojkovic, 2008).

been constantly decreased, while the monthly expenses for a family of four are increasing.³ On the other hand, political control of the collective consciousness of an ethnically divided society, with constant accent on the impossibility to reach an agreement, encourages and maintains the emphasized presence of nationalism.

The condition in BiH society as shown does not represent satisfied needs nor the wishes of its citizens. The citizens of this country are seeking healthy and successful life, the opportunity for education, work, appropriate compensation for one's work. At the current moment, when the only challenge in the world is development, for citizens of BiH, the only challenge is survival.

3. Strengthening of social cohesion and responsibility

The shown social division does not represent an exclusively political issue. Quite oppositely, the above issue of emphasized presence of nationalism can also be treated as the result of passive attitude of different social participants. Such an opinion is based on the statement by Bernhard Giesen. As per this statement, the intellectuals are responsible for emphasized presence of nationalism (Giesen, 1998).

There are many definitions of the term “intellectual”⁴, but all are indicating the presence of high level of morality and awareness of the surrounding found in intelligent individuals.

Based on this, it is supposed that intelligent urban planners, among the others, can contribute to weakening of nationalism present in BiH, that is, to strengthening of social cohesion, without any intention to deny anyone's nationality.

Social cohesion, as a paradigm, implies the main social goal aiming at individual's quality of life improvement.

In the end of the 19th century, the concept of social cohesion was introduced to the theory for the first time by Emile Durkheim. Within social cohesion, Durkheim understands the interdependence among society members, mutual loyalty and solidarity, as desired relationships among the members. After Durkheim, many theorists dealt with social cohesion concept, including sociologist Max Weber, who also emphasizes the importance of individual's role in society (Novy, Moulaert, Beinstein, 2009).

Contemporary efforts to define the concept of social cohesion⁵ include many different definitions, which is a result of disagreement in understanding it as a cause or effect of other aspects of social, economic and political life (Golubovic, 2007). Still, all definitions confirm social cohesion

³ The prices of products and services used for personal consumption in Bosnia and Herzegovina and measured by consumer price index, in January 2010 compared to December 2009, are higher for 1.4% on the average (<http://www.bhas.ba>).

⁴ According to Eisenhower (Dwight D. Eisenhower), an intellectual is a man who uses more words than needed in order to explain things he does not understand. Somewhat broader definition of this term is that the intellectual is a tolerant person with high level of creativity, broad education and social views, but before anything else, a spiritually independent person, which goes through life with head up, marked as “unspoiled goods” (Tarle, 2002).

⁵ Jenson, 1998; Woolley, 1998; Berger-Schmitt, 2000; Kearns and Forrest, 2000; Fainstein, 2001; Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Kronauer, 2002; Chiesi, 2004; Maloutas and Malouta, 2004; Kronauer, 2007 (Novy, Moulaert, Beinstein, 2009)

as multidimensional, with strong bonds and common characteristics of those dimensions that, at a particular level, can be independent one from another.

Social cohesion, seen as a paradigmatic social goal, is based on behavior, attitudes and mutual assessment of the society members, being the elements which influence the individual's quality of life.

Progressive development of social qualities, based on improvement of individual's quality of life, demands for accomplishment of at least two dimensions of social cohesion. The first dimension refers to reducing the differences, inequality and social exclusion, while the other dimension refers to strengthening the social relationships, interrelations and bonds.

On the other hand, strong bonds among a particular ethnic group can cause discrimination and social exclusion of the other groups members, which is exactly what happened in BiH. Nationalism, as the base for discrimination and social exclusion, prevents strengthening of social cohesion being the social goal oriented towards improvement of quality of life.

4. Quality of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina – case study

The issue of responsibility in terms of questioning the responsibility of urban planners for individual's identity development, implies emphasizing the need of every intellectual to accept the responsibility. An example of questioning the responsibility of urban planners is shown through a case study performed in the beginning of 2008 in the central zone of Banjaluka city.⁶

The urban planners work is examined through creating the organizational dimension of housing function, being the most common and most complex function in the center of Banjaluka⁷, with the goal to determine to what extent and in what way the urban planners influence the forming of an individual's identity with their work.

Due to many different definitions of “quality of life” concept, for the purpose of this case study, the most important relations between the most common elements shown in further text are determined.

4. 1. Culture and identity

⁶ This case study is a part of thesis by A. Spiric and S. Trivic “Improvement of quality of housing in the center of Banjaluka”, defended in 2008 in the Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering, Banjaluka University, within the subject Housing units. The collection of data was performed through questionnaires, on the sample of 300 examinees.

⁷ The function of housing is the essential element of urban. Quality of housing in the center, preserved, supported and attended, is one of the most important factors of daily city life. The case study refers to space as defined by Ruzica Bogdanovic, who believes that the urban quality, being the element of quality of life, is always related to the state in city center (Bogdanovic, 2000).

There are many definitions of culture, and for the purposes of this research, the most important of them are listed. Anthropological approach, the most adequate for the research topic, defines culture as a set of learned patterns of human behavior and thinking.

According to Boris Dudas, English culture theorist Raymond Williams understands culture as “a whole way of life”. He believes that the culture needs to be observed through different kinds of representations and practices of everyday life in the context of material conditions of their production. According to German psychologist Dorothee Röseberg, culture means general knowledge about the world and connecting that knowledge to everyday life being a level of social reality (Dudas, 2004).

Philosopher Henry Lefebvre emphasizes the importance of everyday life, that is, its critique, when defining cultural development. Everyday life is the indicator showing the level a society reached in economic, social and cultural development, while the critique of everyday life represents the critical approach to the way people live (Lefebvre, 2002).

While the culture definition is typical for groups, according to Berger and Luckmann who believe that the identity is exclusively subjective reality thus existing only within individual consciousness, identity is typical for an individual. The consciousness of a subject about continuity of self existence is included within such a relation of identity (Radenovic, 2006). Based on this opinion, but also based on anthropological definition of culture, it can be said that the personal identity includes patterns of behavior and thinking.⁸

The identity as a process is created through relationships with others. Thus both the individual and the social group live in a dynamic social and cultural environment, and constantly need to accord their relationships, an individual within a group and both categories within a society. They do so in order to know their place and their roles, as well as to know which principles are acceptable, and in accordance with which their lives will be conducted (Golubovic, 2009).

In relation with the above, it is important to establish dependency relation between cultural identity being collective identity and personal identity.⁹

By defining personality as the totality of all those aspects of behavior which give the meaning to an individual in society and differentiate it from other members in the community, Edward Sapir emphasizes the attitude towards oneself, the others and the world¹⁰ (Sapir, 1974).

⁸ According to individual and developmental psychology, personal identity represents unity of personality within a particular period of time (Radenovic, 2006). By introducing the concept of identity in personality psychology, Danish psychologist Erik Erikson claims that individual identity presumes the attitude of an individual towards other individuals (Radenovic, 2006). According to psychologist Erich From, there are five types of human needs: for relatedness, for creativity and creating, the need to be a personality, the need of man to find his place and the role in the world, and the need for having a certain view at the world (Milojevic, 2006).

⁹ Branimir Stojkovic defines cultural identity as self-consciousness of the members of one group historically created and developed depending on the criteria this group sets in relations with other social groups. The relation between cultural and individual identity is established through the opinion that different types of personalities influence the thinking and acting of the community as a whole (Stojkovic, 2007).

¹⁰ Similar opinion is given in the work by Ivan Cifric and Krunoslav Nikodem. According to them, the relations, foundations of individual's identity shaping, are represented in attitude towards oneself, the others, nature and god. This relational dimension of an identity is confronted with social identity, referring to following dimensions: cultural, socio-professional, regional, national-religious and neighboring-local (Cifric and Nikodem, 2006).

On the importance of finding and shaping a personal identity in terms of establishing identity distinction defining the character of a community, Nada Lazarevic-Bajec speaks quoting François Matarasso:

„Culture is the expression of human values. When we express ourselves we create meanings where there were none, and consequently change the way in which we and others behave. In shaping European society, and the values of nations and communities within it, culture is utmost important. It is, indeed, perhaps the only thing which can save the city.“ (Lazarevic-Bajec, Maruna, 2009, 13)

4. 2. Quality of housing and individuality

Individuality, expressed through everyday life of an individual, for the purposes of the case study is taken as the organizational indicator of quality of housing.

The relation between the level of individual and collective in housing effects the organization and quality of the house. In case the housing has many qualities of individual, its quality is improved, but at the same time its urbanity is reduced (Stoiljkovic, 2009). Individuality and privacy are being observed through the relation private-public, that is, individual-collective and imply introvert attitude towards urban surrounding.¹¹

Individuality implies autonomy, independence and a certain level of being singled out from the closest surrounding (Alexander, 2005).¹²

The given organizational criteria of individuality, in accordance with which the most important urban parameters are determined (stories in the building, the purpose of the site, density of housing units per story, the position of the building on the belonging lot, access for vehicles and pedestrians, parking, level of noise, existence of open spaces, sunlight and ventilation), conditioned the following typology of housing in the central Banjaluka zone.

Type 1 provides a very high level of individuality. It implies single-family housing within detached houses and houses on the edge of the lot¹³, with stories mostly up to G+1+L (ground floor + story + loft). These buildings are accessed from the lower level roads (residential street). The parking is provided within belonging lots. Described urban parameters provide a low level of noise, good sunlight and ventilation. One housing unit per story, existence of intimate gardens and front gardens are additionally some of the factors providing a very high level of individuality.

Type 2 provides high level of individuality. It implies single-family housing with business in the ground floor, houses on the edge of the lot, with stories up to G+2+L (ground floor + two stories + loft). These buildings are accessed from the lower level roads (residential-business street). Parking is provided within belonging lots, but only for the residential part of the building.

¹¹ According to Igor Kalcic, privacy implies high level of family life intimacy, the freedom to change interior structure, overview over assets, conformity and safety. The belonging refers to human relation towards the space and defines identifying of a personality with space, identification and feeling of belonging to a house and its surrounding, being used to the space (Kalcic, 2001).

¹² To fulfill the feeling of belonging, according to Christopher Alexander, it is necessary to provide individuality in space, that is, an intimate relationship with the surrounding. Also, he claims that the feeling of belonging as well depends on the way a human within this space behaves.

¹³ Houses located on the frontage of the lot

Described urban parameters provide medium level of noise, good sunlight and medium level of ventilation. One housing unit per story and the possibility for development of intimate gardens into depth of the lot, physically separated from the business next to the road, are an opportunity to gain privacy.

Type 3 provides the highest level of individuality. It implies single-family housing within detached houses with stories up to G+1+L (ground floor + story + loft). Although the lots of these buildings are between the roads of different levels, the access to the buildings is provided from the lower level roads (residential street). Parking is provided within belonging lots. Described urban parameters provide a low level of noise, good sunlight and ventilation. The spacious comfort of the lot, one housing unit per story, existence of intimate gardens and front gardens are additionally some of the factors providing the highest level of individuality.

Type 4 provides a medium level of individuality. It implies multi-family housing within detached houses and houses on the edge of the lot, with stories up to G+4+L (ground floor + four stories + loft). These buildings are accessed from the lower level roads (residential-business street). Parking is provided within belonging lots. Described urban parameters provide medium level of noise, good sunlight and medium level of ventilation. Up to four housing units per story, existence of common gardens which are not arranged in the shape of front gardens are additionally some of the factors providing medium level of individuality.

Type 5 provides a very low level of individuality. It implies multi-family housing with business in the ground floor, within houses on the edge of the lot, with stories up to G+6+L (ground floor + 6 stories + loft). These buildings are accessed from collector roads (residential-business street). Parking is provided within belonging lots for the residential part. Described urban parameters provide very high level of noise, medium level of sunlight and medium level of ventilation. Up to four housing units per story and no gardens are additionally some of the factors implying very low level of individuality.

Type 6 provides a low level of individuality. It implies multi-family housing, rarely with business in the ground floor, detached houses, with stories from G+5 (ground floor + 5 stories) up to G+14 (ground floor + 14 stories). These buildings are accessed from the lower level roads (residential-business street). Parking for several buildings is provided within common lot. Described urban parameters provide medium level of noise, good sunlight and good ventilation. Up to eight housing units per story, existence of half-public open spaces are additionally some of the factors implying low level of individuality.

The analyses of the above housing types show that the highest level of individuality is found in detached family house, as well as that it gets lower going towards types of multi-family housing. The conditions provided by single-family housing in the center of the city, regardless whether it is housing with or without business, are more human, provide larger comfort, that is, the level of offered quality of housing is higher.

4. 3. Case study results

The goal was to determine personal identity dependence on individuality being the organizational indicator of quality of housing. The goal set is directly connected with already determined importance of accomplishing and shaping identity while strengthening social cohesion.¹⁴

From the concept of culture, defined as pattern of behavior, and identity seen through the relation (attitude) of an individual towards other individuals, three tasks of the research emerged. They are related to examining the attitude of an individual towards self, the others and the world. Hence, the inclination is to point the importance of the way an individual summarizes its own perception about itself, that is, the way it relates to others and the world in general.

In accordance with established tasks of the research, the following indicators are defined:

- attitude towards the world – interest in events in the world, ability for objective evaluations and absence of prejudice,
- attitude towards oneself – realistic evaluation of self and acceptance of self as is, thus
- attitude towards the others – respect of someone else's personality, sensitivity to the needs of others and conduct in accordance with such norms and moral principles that can be taken as general.¹⁵

In accordance with defined goal of the research, the following hypothesis emerged.

The higher the level of individuality is, being the organizational indicator of quality of housing, the higher level of personal identity of the inhabitant of that space is.

With the goal of getting reliable research results, the main hypothesis was decomposed in several sub-hypothesis. They represent the relation between a particular parameter of the above determined typology of housing and tasks set.

Based on the number of urban parameters and tasks set, it is possible to set a large number of sub-hypothesis, but considering the importance of particular sub-hypothesis for the goal defined in this paper, the following ones are set:

- 1) The more stories a building has, the attitude of individuals towards the others is worse
- 2) Inhabitants of single-family houses have better attitude towards the world.
- 3) Inhabitants of residential buildings with business in the ground floor have worse attitude towards the world.
- 4) The more housing units per story there is, the attitude of an individual towards the others is worse.
- 5) The better the living space is arranged, the better the attitude of inhabitants towards the world is.
- 6) The more intimate space around the building is, the better the attitude of an individual towards the others is.
- 7) The more intimate the space around the building is, the better the attitude of the inhabitants towards the world is.

¹⁴ Finding identity becomes individual task. An individual must determine its place in society, it must make a compromise about its role in interaction with others (Dudas, 2004).

¹⁵ The listed indicators of attitude towards the others in literature are often defined through concepts of tolerance, responsibility, incident, problematic behavior.

For the analyses of data in this research, the method of conclusion statistics is applied. Within this method, the statistical analysis of cross-tables (chi-square test) is applied. Data analyses gave the following results.

The answers important for determining the attitude towards oneself, lead to the conclusion that the most of examinees have high opinion of themselves, which also conditions their attitude towards the others and the world.

Most of the examinees of housing units of all types consider themselves as patient persons ($p = 0.686$).

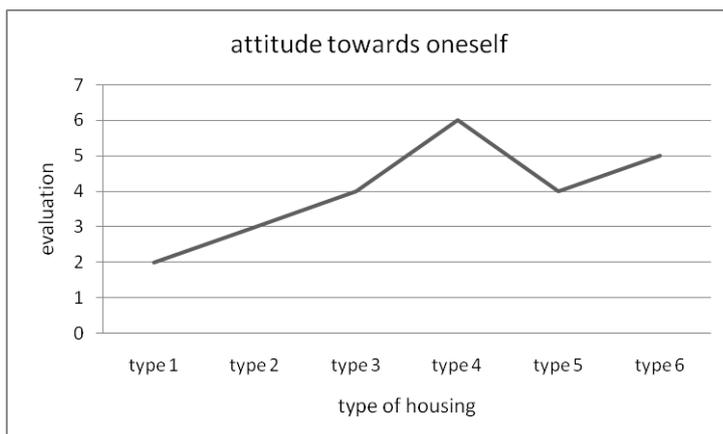
The typical question is the question of responsibility towards the others. The examinees of type 3 do not consider themselves as responsible for the others ($p = 0.728$), and would accept a job requiring responsibility ($p = 0.053$). Most of the examinees of other types would also accept a job with larger responsibility and larger incomes (except for type 2).

Except for types 1 and 3, the examinees are mostly sometimes bothered by persons disturbing their habits ($p = 0.645$).

Within all types, the examinees equally participate when having conversations with friends in most cases ($p = 0.241$). Also, most of them gladly have guests ($p = 0.253$).

Most of them are always willing to provide help ($p = 0.017$), especially type 6 (100%).

All of them mostly follow technological development ($p = 0.023$) – type 5 has the largest number of “completely” answer and least of “not at all” answer.



Graph 1. Determined attitude of the examinees towards oneself in accordance with types of housing

The answers significant for determining the attitude towards the world indicate limited of examinees at the world, that is, indicate low level of housing culture.

Most of the examinees of all types do not use musical instruments ($p = 0.130$), except for the type 3 (50%).

Most of them have a large circle of friends ($p = 0.228$), except for the type 1.

Most of them occasionally practice some sport or recreation ($p = 0.042$), except for the type 2.

Most of them do not spend a lot of time in the front of television ($p = 0.404$).

The largest number of examinees of all types most often relaxes with taking walks ($p = 0.712$) (type 3 – 50%) and watching television (type 5 – 50%) ($p = 0.258$).

The number of smokers and non-smokers is equal ($p = 0.344$).

Half of the examinees have some plan about apartment design ($p = 0.573$), except for the inhabitants of type 4.

The largest number of examinees, when designing the space, consider material ($p = 0.573$) and color ($p = 0.792$).

Balcony is most often used for drying the laundry ($p = 0.108$) and sitting (resting) ($p = 0.551$).

Balcony is most often closed in type 6 ($p = 0.070$).

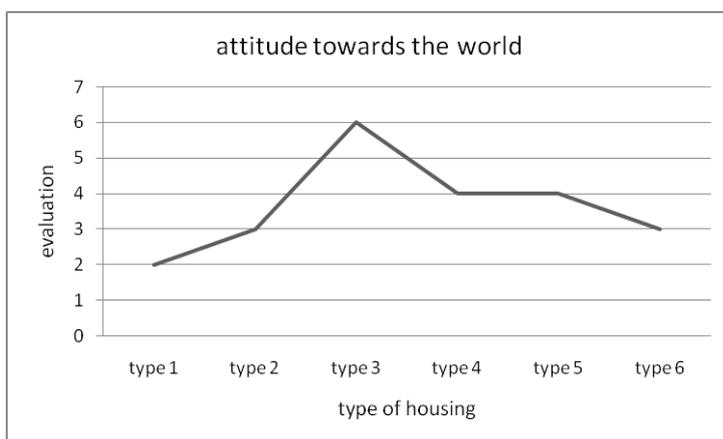
The examinees of types with single-family housing use the yard more than the examinees of multi-family housing types ($p = 0.000$).

Most of the examinees do not use the yard for some type of recreation ($p = 0.442$).

For the most of examinees not using the yard, noise is the greatest problem ($p = 0.000$).

Most of the examinees would accept professional improvement ($p = 0.017$).

Most of the examinees are not bothered with business in the ground floor of a building ($p = 0.000$).



Graph 2. Determined attitude of the examinees towards the world in accordance with types of housing

The answers significant for determining the attitude towards the others, indicate partial lack of tolerance which sometimes causes problematic behavior.

In all types, residents meetings are most often held sometimes, except in type 5 which stands out with the largest percent of regular residents meetings ($p = 0.016$).

Most of the examinees of all types regularly attend the residents meetings ($p = 0.662$) and are mostly satisfied with how it works, except for the type 4 which is not satisfied with the work of residents council (31%), ($p = 0.025$).

The noise does not bother most of the neighbors, while a large numbers is sometimes bothered ($p = 0.409$). Out of the number of examinees sometimes bothered by noise coming from the neighbors, most of them do not react at all, significant number brings it to their attention in person, and the smaller number responds in the same manner (type 4 in particular, which evaluated itself with the highest mark) ($p = 0.358$).

The examinees of multi-family housing care less about the timing for starting loud home appliances compared to the examinees of single-family housing types ($0.090 < p < 0.744$).

Most of the smokers smoke in apartments as well ($p = 0.499$).

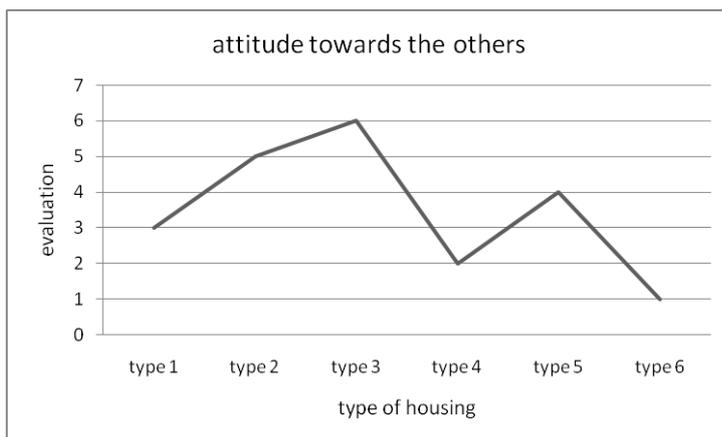
Most of the examinees use central heating during the winter, while the ones using classical system of wood combustion belong to the types of single-family housing ($p = 0.000$).

Half of the examinees use air conditioning, especially type 3 and type 6 ($p = 0.134$).

Only 2,7 % of the examinees use ionizers ($p = 0.864$).

Most of the examinees ventilate apartments several times a day ($p = 0.851$).

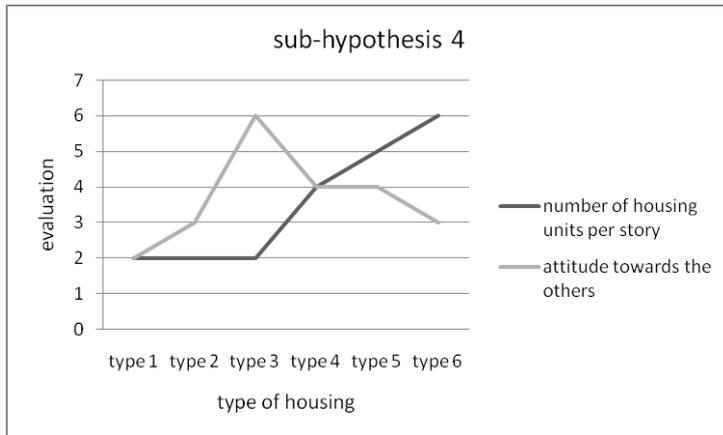
Almost all examinees pay the bills for cleaning hallways and stairs ($p = 0.005$), maintenance of the elevator ($p = 0.000$) as well as for garbage removal ($p = 0.595$).



Graph 3. Determined attitude of the examinees towards the others in accordance with types of housing

The conclusions of the research are made based on comparison of the found quality of housing and evaluated level of personal identity of its inhabitants. Based on this relation, previously defined hypothesis and sub-hypothesis are confirmed or denied. For the purposes of this paper, case study results are selectively shown, an in accordance with anticipated responsibility of urban planners.

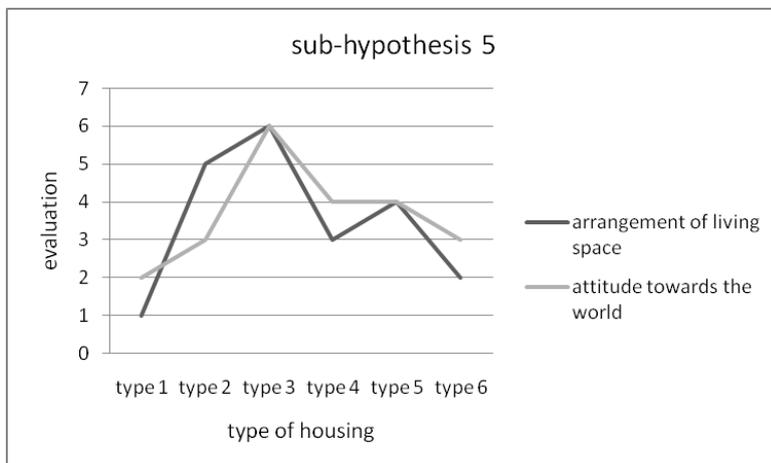
Sub-hypothesis 4, which presumes opposite dependency of the attitude of an individual towards the others on the number of housing units per story is confirmed.



Graph 4. Relation of number of housing units per story line and attitude of an individual towards the others line

On the graph showing the relation of number of housing units per story line and attitude of an individual towards the others line, it can be seen that with the growing number of housing units per story the attitude of the inhabitants towards each other is worse.

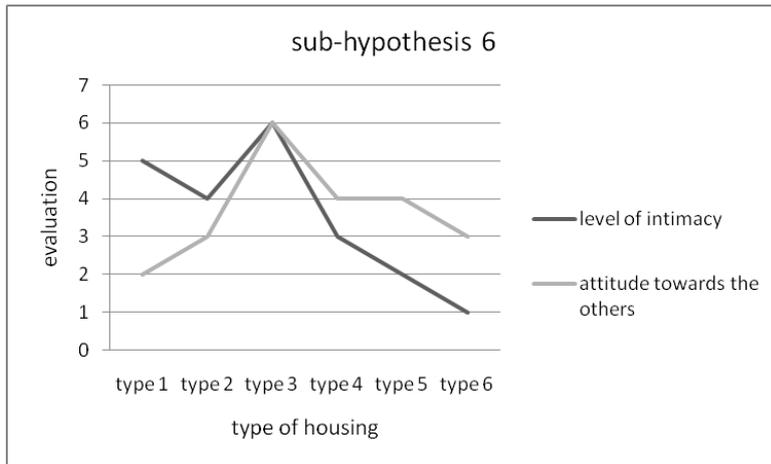
Sub-hypothesis 5, which presumes direct dependence of the attitude of an individual towards the world on the level of living space arrangement, is confirmed.



Graph 5. Relation of living space arrangement line and attitude of inhabitants towards the world line

The graph shows the relation of living space arrangement line and attitude of inhabitants towards the world line. It can be seen that with the growing level of living space arrangement for a particular housing type, also grows the level of the attitude of an individual towards the world.

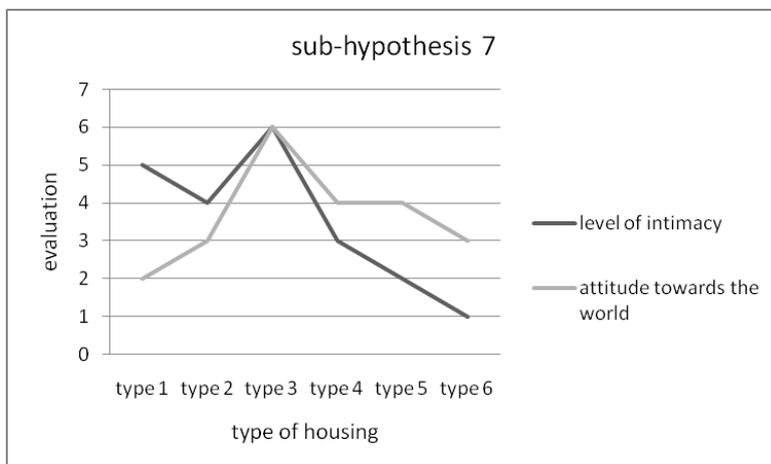
Sub-hypothesis 6, which presumes direct dependence of the attitude of an individual towards the others on the level of intimacy of the space around the building is confirmed.



Graph 6. Relation of level of intimacy of the yard line and attitude of an individual towards the others line

The graph shows the relation of level of intimacy of the yard line and attitude of the inhabitants towards each other. It can be seen that (with the exception of type 1) the higher the level of intimacy of the yard is, the better the attitude of the inhabitants towards each other is.

Sub-hypothesis 7, which presumes direct dependence of the attitude of an individual towards the world on the level of intimacy of the space around the building is confirmed.



Graph 7. Relation of the level of intimacy line and attitude of inhabitants towards the world line

Similarly to the previous graph, this one also shows (with the exception of type 1) that the higher level of intimacy of the yard conditions the better attitude of an individual towards the world.

5. Conclusion

What contributes to the long lasting presence of the issue of emphasizing nationality are daily limitations the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina encounter. These limitations are in the field of not being able to accomplish different development processes, which results in social division.

Regarding social division, the carriers of high political, religion or art functions are most often being held responsible for it.

The outlined issue of emphasized presence of nationalism can also be viewed as a consequence of passive attitude of other social participants, which is the base for the paper's thesis.

It is suggested that the urban planners, among the others, can contribute to weakening the nationalism present in BiH, that is, contribute to social cohesion strengthening without any intention to deny anyone's nationality.

The issue of responsibility in terms of questioning the responsibility of urban planners for individual's identity development, being the base of collective consciousness, implies emphasizing the need for every intellectual to accept the responsibility.

An example of questioning the responsibility of urban planners for social division is shown through a case study performed in the beginning of 2008 in the central zone of Banjaluca city. The goal of the research was to determine personal identity dependence observed through the attitudes towards self, the others and the world on individuality being the organizational indicator of quality of housing. The research showed that certain urbanism parameters, such as the number of housing units per story, level of arrangement of open spaces and intimacy around the building, influence development of personal identity.

This confirms the relative responsibility of urban planners for personal identity development, implying the existence of positive correlation between urbanism practice, and the process of personal identity development, being the base of collective consciousness. When defining the principles about responsibility of urban planners for personal identity development, it is required, besides housing being the subject of this research, to also deal with other urban functions.

The importance of this paper can be perceived through the contribution to determining the principles of responsibility being the paradigm. Complexity of determining these principles demands for questioning responsibility from the standing point of other practices as well.

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The image of park. Spain vs Japan in a study on civics and everyday values.

Keywords: park, image, ideal, city, civics.

Abstract:

The communication pretends to show and discuss the conclusions of the first studies carried out about the image of park that younger generations living in big cities have. The countries of Spain and Japan have been selected as an example of western and eastern culture that can be compared in order to make similarities and differences more easily come to surface in a study that aims to transcend local focus. Therefore, intensive and creative thinking can be developed through the analysis to point out conclusions about the interaction between globalization, national, communal and personal interests and the specific part that each on them represent in the forming of the concept of park.

Younger generations have been surveyed in a first step in order to stress and prioritize the emerging perception of next future adult inhabitants. It should be emphasized that the image they conceive is considered as highly relevant as they mirror the real assimilated approach to sustainability and therefore, the data can be very helpful to predict and adequate future responses in a nowadays critical historical time. Moreover, they being very active members of social communities, their understanding of public natural spaces becomes a relevant characteristic that influences current social habits and will shape coming behaviors in the path of a changing cultural field.

Therefore, the intention is not so much to deepen in a comparison of formal and designing affairs of parks as to emphasize the role they have in urban perception and their consequence as social links.

The image of park. Spain vs Japan in a study on civics and everyday values.

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This investigation constitutes the first step in the more general aim to study the park as a universal concept and to research about the different implications it reveals in several countries and groups of ages. Being aware that the understanding of an abstract concept like the park, is always strongly influenced by the culture surrounding us and the personal background, we decided it was important to find an homogenous group of population, both in Spain and in Japan, in order to make more easily flourish the differences, nuances and similarities related to the idea of park in each of the countries.

The group to analyze is then consciously reduced to young adults of an age between 18 and 29 years who are studying careers related to Arts or Humanities at the University. The Faculty of Architecture chosen in Spain gathers people from three main cities, Madrid, Alcalá de Henares and Guadalajara. The Faculty of Contemporary Life Science in Japan, gives education to citizens of Osaka, Nara and Kyoto. Therefore, they all have the experience of living in a medium size and big city. The study focuses on the relationships between the social and cultural environment and the use of urban parks in both countries. We will investigate the parallels and dissimilarities between the conceived image of a park and the description of the personal ideal one. The linkages between the urban environment and valued qualities will deserve special attention as well as the consequences that age and intellectual level represent in the complex and multicultural society of cities.

The survey was made physically in the classrooms at each of the Faculties. Several different groups were asked to fill a questionnaire and in all the cases, they were sat close one to another and they were allowed to talk and watch their colleagues' answers and drawings. This investigation will focus on the analysis of mainly only two parts of the questionnaire: the subject of the image of park and the description of one's ideal park. It will try to throw some light in the parallels and disconnections that both concepts have inside the same culture and in comparison with the foreigner one.

BASIC ELEMENTS IN IDENTIFYING A PARK

The investigation suggests that despite the many different kinds of parks and the blurring limits between parks, squares, waterfronts, school playing fields, community gardens, etc that are becoming more and more usual today, the park is still identified mainly with a green space. This fact had been already the conclusion of seminal studies as the UK Park Life report (Worpole 1995). This study shows, however, that the equipment and the facilities available in parks are gaining a relevant importance in the meaning and use of these open public spaces.

T.1. MAIN ELEMENTS DEFINING THE IMAGE OF A PARK

		SPAIN		JAPAN	
	Typical responses	f	%	f	%
PHYSICAL SUPPORT	Green, trees, plants, flowers, grass, meadows, lawn, fountain, lake, pond	129	127,72%	74	64,91%
ARTIFICIAL ATTRIBUTES	benches, garbage bin, athletic equipment, children playground,, covered areas, resting areas, sports courts, cycleways, bathrooms, restaurants, coffee-shops, sculptures, monuments, classic statues	98	97,03%	103	90,35%
PURSUIT OF ACTIVITIES	walk, walk with dog, run, play, bath, picnic, eat-drink, bicycle, rolling-skate, jog, camp, feel nature, hear birds singing, watch plants, feel attachment, smell, rest, relax, think, read, lay down, sit, watch, performances, open-air theatre, events	45	44,55%	37	32,46%
SOCIAL	meeting place, communication, social place, make friends, people gather, chat, people, all ages, children	7	6,93%	34	29,82%
PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS	lively, bright, happy, enjoy, quiet, oasis in city, isolated, not confusing, inactive, nothing, low pollution, heal, feel better, safe	35	34,65%	11	9,65%
QUALITIES	beautiful, cared for, organic, classical, harmonious, scenery, sun, shade, cool, fresh, comfortable, interesting, pleasant	54	53,47%	9	7,89%
N° questionnaires			101		114

Japanese seem to recall smaller spaces and tend to notice objects and equipment, specifically the playing one, as characteristic elements of the park (swings, slides, benches, garbage litter, little fountains, etc) while the Spanish young people tend to perceive areas, sport courts and bigger spaces (avenues, aerial views, lakes, etc). In latter cases, it is also remarkable that the natural support is represented more specifically, paying attention to orography and topography, and the green element and water resources are remarked in almost any of the images.

The human being is one of the basic elements that signify a seminal difference between the two countries. In the Japanese picture of a park, the students of the oriental country have drawn persons and stressed them in written words in more than four times the percentage that the Spanish ones. In the sketches, humans play a key role and this fact stresses the aspect of social interaction and body proximity perceived in Japanese common parks.



Fig. 1. Typical Japanese and Spanish sketch

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE IDEAL PARK

When the students were asked to describe their ideal parks, we found that there was a shift in the most appreciated elements in the comparison with the ones that refer the usual image of parks. This was not disconcerting as there are many theorists that have recorded the relationships that link the use of places to the attachment of feelings and memories the users develop (Moore in Chawla 1992). There are differences between the frequent used places and the preferred ones, and therefore, they confirm the distinction between a functional realm of actual use and the conceived realm of values. In our study, the question of image pretends to act as a condenser of the everyday values that citizens find and assimilate from the real park settings they have access to. The question of the ideal park, will reflect, on the contrary, the equilibrium between memory and desire, between importance and meaning.

T.2. MAIN ELEMENTS DEFINING THE IDEAL PARK

	Typical responses	SPAIN		JAPAN	
		f	%	f	%
PHYSICAL SUPPORT	Green, trees, plants, flowers, grass, meadows, lawn, fountain, lake, pond	123	121, 78%	29	25, 44%
ARTIFICIAL ATTRIBUTES	benches, garbage bin, athletic equipment, children playground,, covered areas, resting areas, sports courts, cycleways, bathrooms, restaurants, coffee-shops, sculptures, monuments, classic statues	65	64, 36%	23	20, 18%
PURSUIT OF ACTIVITIES	walk, walk with dog, run, play, bath, picnic, eat-drink, bicycle, rolling-skate, jog, camp, feel nature, hear birds singing, watch plants, feel attachment, smell, rest, relax, think, read, lay down, sit, watch, performances, open-air theatre, events	48	47, 52%	46	40, 35%
SOCIAL	meeting place, communication, social place, make friends, people gather, chat, people, all ages, children	15	14, 85%	38	33, 33%
PSYCHOLOGICAL	lively, bright, happy, enjoy, quiet, oasis	35	34, 65%	39	34, 21%

EFFECTS	in city, isolated, not confusing, inactive, nothing, low pollution, heal, feel better, safe				
QUALITIES	beautiful, cared for, organic, classical, harmonious, scenery, sun, shade, cool, fresh, comfortable, interesting, pleasant	62	61,39%	51	44,74%
	N° questionnaires		101		114

Assuming these basic schemes, the analysis of the results shows that the attention paid to the physical support that constitutes the very materiality of the park, whether natural or artificial, diminished in favor of more intangible attributes when we think about the ideal park. There is a slightly increase on the pursuit to be able to do different activities, but the main differences concentrate in a raise of the interest in social factors, psychological effects and very specific qualities. The qualities mentioned by the students are mainly referred to formal, functional and physical aspects and are frequently in close relationship with desires of complex mental effects. For example, the organic patterns and beautiful and cared environments are followed by adjectives as pleasant or harmonious. The demand to have not residual spaces but well projected parks, with many routes or facilities, are focused to the achievement of a long-time interesting environment.

THE PARK AS A SOCIAL PLACE OF UNCONCIOUS CIVIC LEARNING

We will analyze more precisely the general grow of social matters and mental benefits that take place in the definition of the ideal park.

Surprisingly for our expectations, we did not find a feeling of social exclusion towards the usual groups that are most commonly discriminated in cities such as immigrants, gypsies or tramps. No racial, religious disagreements, nor cultural contrasts were neither referred by those polled when they were asked to define their ideal park. In Spain, nothing was mentioned about any kind of rejection of a certain group of population. Less than 3% of the Japanese students expressed clearly the preference to filter the kind of persons to be allowed to enter a park. 1% mentioned that in the ideal park there would not be homeless, meanwhile the other 2% claimed to avoid children in the aim to find a park with only adults.

T.3. SOCIAL MATTERS IN THE IDEAL OF PARK

		% SPAIN	% JAPAN	
SOCIAL	FREEDOM do not allowed things	6,93 %	7,02%	Do anything, free to play, lay on grass, play ball, every purpose
	EXCLUSIONS	0,00 %	2,63%	No homeless, no children
	MEETING	0,99 %	5,26%	Meeting place, communication, social place, make friends, people gather
	PEOPLE	4,95 %	9,65%	All people, people, all ages
1,98 %		2,63%	children	
0,00 %		6,14%	Adults, young people	
	N° questionnaires	101	114	

The park remains as one of the last urban sites that is conceived to be a democratic public space. The percentage of young adults that remark that popular finality when thinking about an ideal is sensitively superior to that one that results from remembering the image of park.

There is a strong identification of the Japanese park with the children collective (16,67 %), versus other social groups as it shows the confronted amount of only a 2,63% of adults and young people and 2,63% of all ages references in general. In the case of the desired park, the tendency is inverted and the children reach the lower rate, meanwhile the interest in youth grows to the 6,14% and the goal to imagine a place for every kind of people raises to a 9,65 %. In Spain, the sensitivity with this democratic feeling is also an obvious gain in the terms of the concept of the ideal park, where it grows from a 0,99 % of the allusions in the question of image to a 4,95 % in the preferred park.

Another shade of meaning about the park as an archetype of public open space is reflected in the level of consciousness of its civic benefits and rights. Although there is a similar amount of the time spent in parks in pursue of chatting, 54,39 % in Japan and 59% in Spain, the specific definition of the ideal park as a meeting place, as a site where you can gather and make friends in 5,26% of the cases of the Japanese students versus a 0,99 % of the Spanish students, shows that there is stronger conscience of this social role of the park in the Asian culture.

Nevertheless, there is a question related to civic coexistence that can result in the coming years in serious conflicts and in insurmountable obstacles in the regular use of parks. It is based on the generalized allusions to the matter of safeness that proved to play a key role in the answers. This undoubtedly request a singular approach in the future of parks as 6,93 % of the Spanish students recalled a safe place when imagining the ideal park, but the double amount, 12,28% of the Japanese, were worried about this fact. Indeed, the condition of a safe environment is the second most common feature demanded in the Japanese ideal park, being divided equally towards the general safeness of people and the focused secure settings for children.

The arising of this subject in both cultures, suggests that the phenomenon of insecurity is globalized and transcends local pattern of behaviors. It seems to be perceived as a real pressing problem for the Japanese youth. At least, the inexistence of specific references to aggressive gangs, drug addicts or poor people shows that it seems to be induced by a latent generalized fear that it is not directly associated with any social group.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE URBAN CONTEXT

Ward Thompson in her studies of the American parks (1998) remarks that the “the symbolism of the park as a refuge or paradise is deeply embedded in our psyche, a kind of cultural memory”. This statement shows to be especially clear in the case of urban parks in big cities.

We can affirm that, especially in the Japanese case, the concern with children security is highly emphasized in comparison with Spain (T.3.), and the urban public space is felt as a potential danger for children. It should be interesting to explore the causes for this specific problem, analyzing the urban form, the traffic rates in residential areas, etc .

On the other hand, Spain gathers the double amount of persons than Japan that consider the park as an entity that has to be isolated from the city, whereas in distance, its limits and enclosure and its climate and ambient atmospheres. This could be a sign of a more inhospitable living environment or disliked model of urban pattern in this country.

T.4. PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS IN THE IDEAL OF PARK

		% SPAIN	% JAPAN	
PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS	POSITIVE	2,97 %	10,53%	Lively, bright, happy, enjoy
	OPPOSED TO CITY	24,75 %	12,28%	Quiet, far from city, oasis in city, isolated, not confusing, inactive, low pollution, heals, no traffic
	SECURITY	0,0 %	6,14%	Safe for children
		6,93 %	6,14%	Safe, good illumination
	N° questionnaires	101	114	

QUESTION OF REAL PUBLICNESS

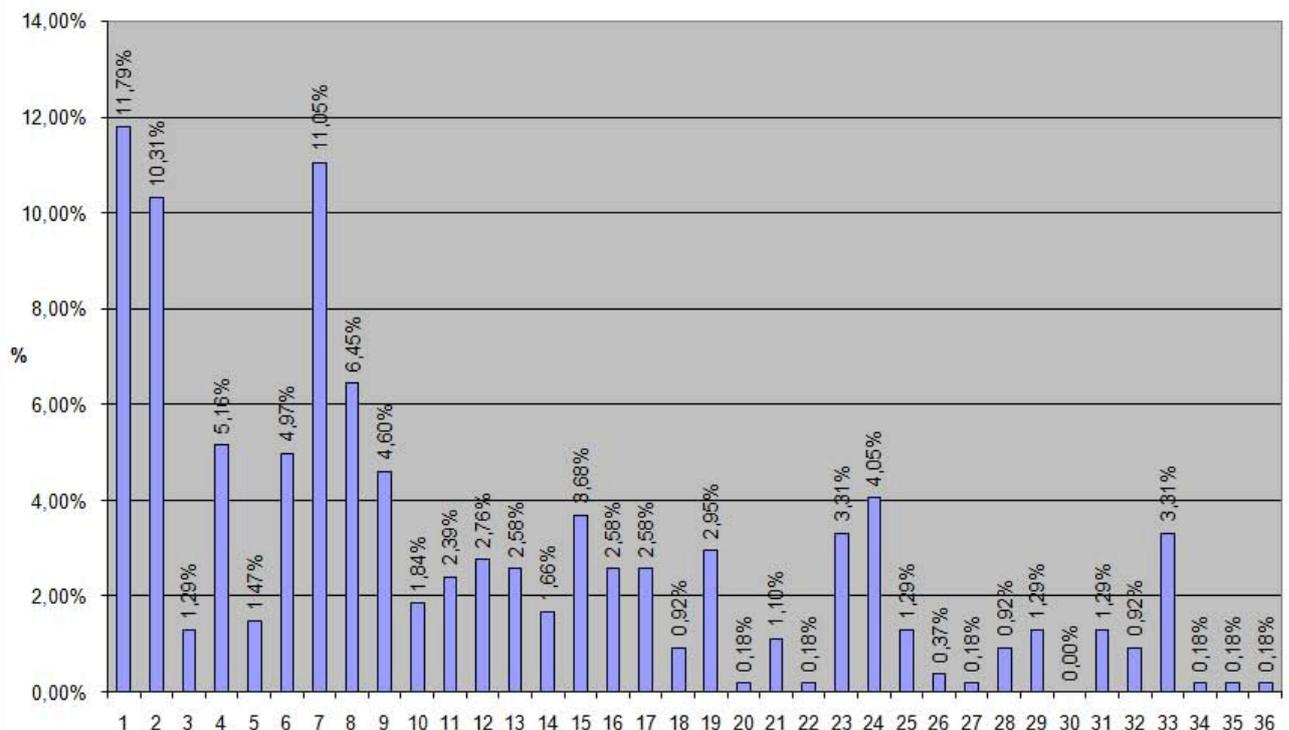
In many cities, building fabric and government or city authoritative policies seek to undertake activities that have not been purposely designed or planned in those public spaces. Helen Wolley has given evidence of this reality for several distinct groups, such as minorities, disabled people, old people and her studies specially points out about the case of children and young people. We can find cameras that record our movements, our faces and our behaviors. Business interests join forces with residential population in the demand of leisure activities to take place outside open air areas inside the cities. Public space is often highly controlled and therefore, many groups find exclusion by regulation. The streets and the squares were traditionally during ages the natural places for people to spontaneous socialization. The environmental and social current conditions that characterize most big cities have shifted the preference towards parks. This is mostly true in the case of teenagers and young people who have made of many parks around the world a place for reunion and leisure activities. A programme of fifteen years of research has been carried out in America to investigate how young people inhabit their local environments, identified a range of outdoor spaces which teenagers value and shows that they were mainly “natural landscapes” rather than urban spaces (Owen 1985 cited by Wolley).

The survey proves that proves that parks are valued by young adults as gathering sites but even more as spaces for freedom projection. In both countries, there is a significant percentage of persons that resume the social factors of their ideal park in the question of avoiding regulation and behavioral laws. The park desired is a place with no apparent restrictions, where “you can do anything”, follow “every purpose”, “you are free to play”, and where teenagers can specially break the social or maintenance rules and develop activities usually not allowed as “lay or play on grass”. In Spain there is the same number of answers (6,93%) that enhance this potential quality of liberation than recall people as the main social objective of the ideal park . Japanese students maintain a much higher percentage of general social consideration towards people as global users (18,42 %) but it is interesting that the feeling of park as a place for non normalized behavior is more intense (7,22 %) that the one about communication and social meeting (5,26%) (T3). Young adults seem to visualize the park as a space where they can more or less define their own laws and individual or collective ways to interact between them and with the natural qualities of the space itself.

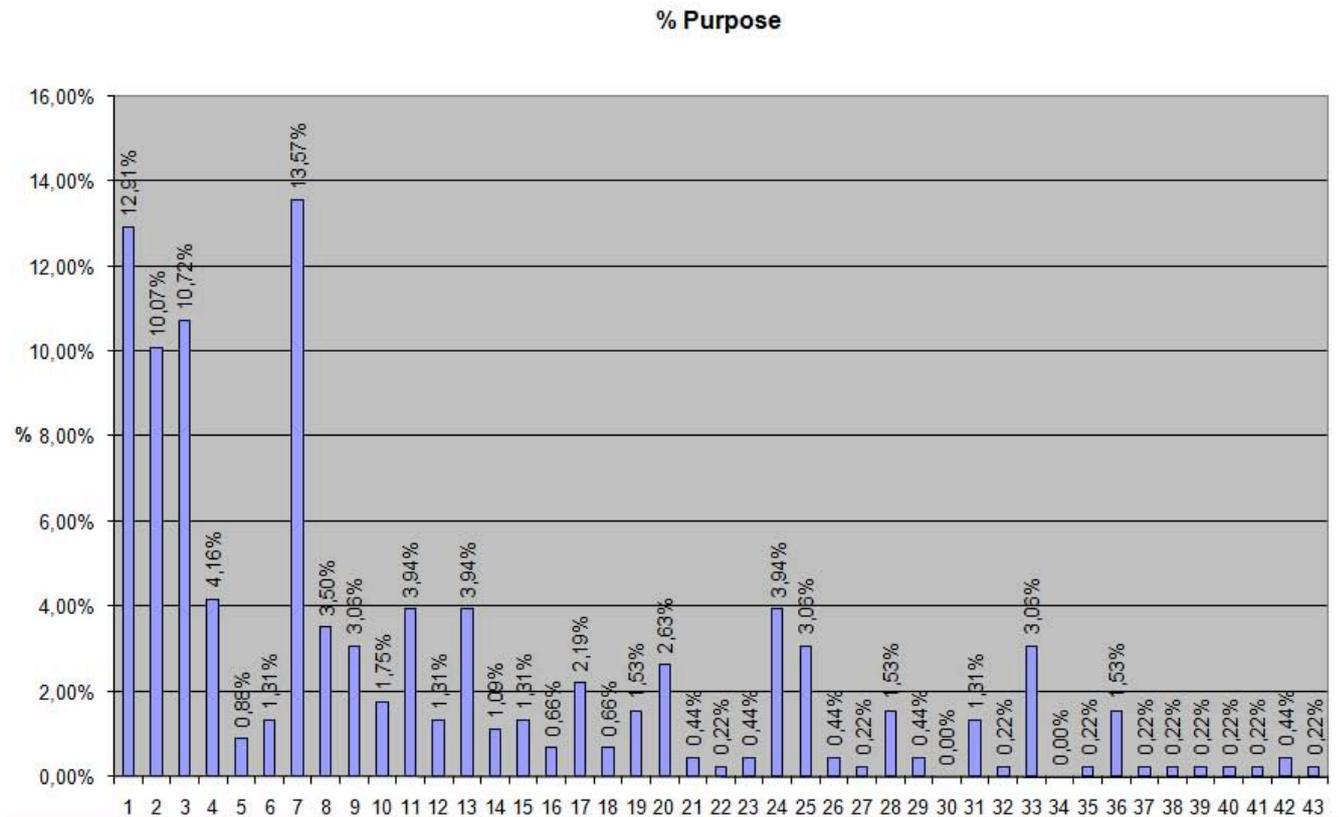
As a result, this conclusion leads to the crucial affair of civic education as a necessary and efficient mechanism to make different global, cultural, communal and individual interests and levels of freedom come reasonably to terms. “The tension between determination by managers to restrict what is seen as inappropriate behavior in a park and the desires of many users for more varied recreational opportunities has remained a constant form the 19th century to today”. (Ward Thompson 2005: 104). The author explains how in Olmsted’s time, horse-racing in Central Park was controversial. Today we find thousand of different cases in which the setting of a varied range of activities in the same park, leads to some kind of conflict. The confrontation sometimes remains only as a psychological upset or disgusting disagreement, but in other occasions the clash can have medium or long term consequences forcing people to misuse a park, to reject the idea of visiting some specific areas or even, in the worst cases, getting involved in a physical aggression.

The increasing availability of activities in parks may be seen as a further complication, but the survey shows that sometimes, as in the case of Spain, variety is an important quality that defines the ideal park. For the Spanish students the concept of multiplicity extends to the natural environment in a 24,75% of the answers but is also precisely described in the field of activities in a 10,89 % percentage. There is no relevant number of answers enhancing this aspect in the activity’s interests in the Japanese side nor even in the natural support characterization, where it reaches 6,14%, below qualities such as cleanness (8,77%) or children equipment (9,65%). It should be noted that this fact contrasts with the slightly most open spectrum of activities developed by Japanese in parks. (T.5) . On the contrary, the results confirm a minor increase in the number of activities carried out by the same person in a park in Spain, where less than 10% of the students practice only one or two activities when they are spending time in a park and 69,31% of them follow from three to six purposes. In Japan 36,04% of the young people stated to fulfill 1 or 2 purposes when using a park, and only 9,91% asserted to do more than six activities.

% Purpose



T5. Spanish range of activities in a park



T5. Japanese range of activities in a park

THE PARK AS A MULTIACTIVITY SETTING VS A HEALING ENVIRONMENT LIVELY

The idea that the park is felt as an access to some kind of nature to maintain a healthy and well-balanced life in cities, is also supported by the results of this study. Nevertheless, the nuances between the two countries studied, reveals interesting differences in the ways used to reach this goal and the before mentioned question of variability of use place an important role.

The double analysis between the patterns of use of parks by the Spanish students and the elements signed as meaningful in the concept of the image and ideal of park, shows that in the Spanish culture, there is relationship between use and valued location. The multivalent character described by the Spanish students to the ideal park is confirmed by the similar number of mentions about quiet activities (13,86%) and varied activities (10,89%) . There is also an interest in the existence of particularly defined areas (19,80%) and specific equipment (13,86%) which can be understood as a conscious natural disposition to organize the space for the civic goal to avoid mutual incompatibilities.

The ideal park remains as an abstract concept in Japan, as a reality that is not so clearly defined physically and that lies, on the contrary, in psychological effects. Despite the youth of the persons polled and the assumed vitality they presumed, the study shows that for 21,05 % the park is mostly thought as a special place inside the city where one can develop quiet activities as simply watch, sit or rest, aimed basically to reach a relaxed state of mind.

The park is also conceived as an optimum channel to feel nature (11,40 %), to interact in a pleasant way with natural elements such as plants, birds or water, and it is remarkable, that

the Japanese students mentioned in several occasions specifically, the search for a healing consequence. The park as restorative element has been largely studied by Kaplan and Kaplan (1989: 182) giving extensive evidence of its mental benefits. It is an idea that also links with the modern concept of the functional city of the twenties, where the implementation of open green spaces was a priority in the patterns of new town-planning. The park as natural space was firstly opposed to the urban fabric and was at the same time a clear setting to do exercise (almost obliged for a physical healthy life) and to rest from mental fatigue. Olmsted with Central Park, or Le Corbusier with his continuous ground plan, created parks, architectures and cities with this conception of park in mind; as a social facility with curative qualities in chaotic, over-constructed and confusing urban sites.

PARKS AS AN OPPORTUNITY AND A NECESSITY

This paper principally addresses the condition of public parks, and their social, psychological and civic environmental values for citizens in big urban areas. The survey reveals that there is a generalized symbolism on the green quality of parks that attaches them with the anthropological concept of nature. They are very special places in cities that are profoundly valued by people when perceived as more pleasant and kind environments that serve the rushing society that lives mainly in polluted and noisy cities. Based on the results of the questionnaires, we can pose that the demand of the younger adults of our societies on parks seems to be much more simple than many designers or politicians would think. There is no expectation for the new technologies to take part in parks, no manifestation in favor of responsive or intelligent landscapes (Ward Thompson 2005, 115). The desired features of parks seem to be, on the contrary, intrinsically related to the deficiencies detected during the current use that citizens make of them as exemplary democratic sites that should, at the same time, be capable to permit an intimate contact with some kind of nature.

The requested qualities of these ideal green open spaces vary depending on the country and their cultural and civic traditions. Ken Worpole in the revision of his UK Park Life report of 1995 enhanced that “many people said that they visited the public park for privacy now often unavailable in the media-dominated home” (Worpole 2000,20). In our study, we found no evidence of special rejection to new technologies and virtual interconnection, but there is a focalization in atmospheric aspects and psychological effects of parks. It becomes remarkable that the Japanese youth expressed a preference for peaceful environments to develop quiet activities and general relax (20,18%), some of them demanding a specific inactive place, with nothing inside of it. There is also a sharp desire to feel nature (11,4%) versus the students that recalled making sports and physical activities (7,89%). None of the surveyed of this country showed an interest on any kind of artificial small buildings, artistic elements nor cultural events. In Spain the park is clearly associated with more tangible natural elements such as lakes or fountains, green areas and trees. The variety is one of the most important features in the ideal of park, specially of plants (24,75%), but also of atmospheres and enclosures. The preference for quiet activities is more similar to that of dynamic or physical ones (13,86%, 9,90%) and this multiple range of activities is confirmed by the percentage of people that express precisely the will to carry out a variety of possible activities in parks (10,89%).

The urban environment of big cities seem to be highly influential in a globalized way, affecting in the same manner, transcending nationalities; placing the park as opposed to the city in such a way, that many of its most valued characteristics as a meaningful setting are

based not on intrinsic qualities but in a clear contrast and isolation from the surroundings. The study also suggests that the range of possible activities have a direct effect on the image of park, and that the conceptualization of the ideal is far from a utopia but mainly shaped by the shortcomings and faults of the most used parks.

We think urban parks are seminal places for the demonstration and continuity of civic and pluralist values. We tried to summarize some of the key findings of these reports, and make some comments on the situation as we see it today. The challenge is to think carefully how parks can be designed, managed and adapted in future to add a new quality to urban life and to guarantee a space of freedom in a deep regulated consumer society. The park probably has to keep as a place to be oneself in coexistence with the others and with nature. Consequently, an effort can be made to improve the development of parks in the aim to widen the range of opportunities to reach those healing properties, so emphasized in this study, and make them compatible with more dynamic and personal approaches. Moreover than allowing the receptive position that citizens usually have towards the urban environments, the generation of young adults seem to demand the possibility to find in parks the right amount of facilities, equipment and design, but also a safe and tidy space to be oneself, implying a scenery where the user projects itself, through activities, or even quite unconscious manner, wandering, letting oneself to walk in a psychogeographical way, not even expecting to do, see or act in a certain manner, which probably leads to a satisfactory, surprising and creative living result.

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Acquisition of Soft Skills

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Acquisition of Soft Skills

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Abstract

This paper looks into the incorporation of soft skills in a University College's programme of study, in Foundation. The study is about project approach (PA), and its place in the curriculum and how soft skills are incorporated therein. The study reveals that though soft skills feature in the programme of study, PA is not fully implemented, negatively affecting acquisition of soft skills. Recommendations on how PA could enhance acquisition of soft skills are presented.

Defining soft skills

Perhaps it is appropriate to first establish the general understanding of soft skills. Pollick (2009) refers to the axiom most common among business circles which suggests that hard skills will get a person an interview, but soft skills will land that person a job. That means, years of education enhances ones experience in the field, but soft skills give one the ability to function and perform well in the job. So, what are soft skills?

According to Parsons (2009) soft skills are attributes that enhance an individual's interaction on job performance and career prospects. Parson's further asserts that soft skills are differentiated from hard skills that tend to be specific to a certain task or activity in that they are broadly applicable and are sometimes broken down into personal attributes viz. optimism, common sense, responsibility, a sense of humour, integrity, time management, motivation; and interpersonal abilities, such as empathy, leadership, communication, good manners, sociability, and the ability to teach.

Pollick (2009) and Parsons (2009) approach soft skills from a business or industry point of view. Waggoner (2006) on the other hand regards soft skills as encompassing a range of interpersonal skills such as courtesy, respect for others, work ethic, teamwork, self discipline, self confidence, conformity to norms, language proficiency, behavior, and communication skills. Her (ibid: 4) perspective is from the academic standpoint. For her, soft skills comprise a cluster of personality traits, social graces, facility with language personal habits, friendliness and optimism which individuals acquire as they grow and mature. Depending on the perspective on which soft skills are viewed it is evident that they consist of a number of traits. However, the question is whether soft skills are simple personal or interpersonal traits that are innate in different individuals or are abilities that could be attained in an academic or training environment, which brings us to our next discussion.

Acquisition of soft skills

It has been presented that soft skills embody a range of personal and interpersonal traits that may be influenced by personality types. For instance, it might be naturally difficult for an introvert to make friends as compared to an extrovert. However, the fact that soft skills are increasingly

becoming a determining factor of success in the employment sector, it behooves higher institutions of learning to prepare students for the job market with soft skills; i.e. bringing soft skills into a classroom environment.

The concern about acquisition of soft skills has grown with different writers and researchers tackling the topic; for instance Waggoner (op cit) conducted a study where she presented strategies for teaching soft skills. She (ibid: 3) argues that there is a need to employ effective strategies that facilitate learning, which is essential in teaching the whole person and that leaves professors with a responsibility of teaching soft skills explicitly. Nevertheless, she (ibid: 4) acknowledges that such a responsibility should be driven by professors' perceptions of deficient soft skills among individuals in their classrooms. However, she rightly points out that soft skills are not to be exalted above hard skills; instead there should be recognition that teaching soft skills with the hard skills is analogous to teaching the whole person.

Furthermore, Hertlein (2008: iii), having noted the shortage of soft skills among Canadian workers, argues that although soft skills have been considered a part of 'hidden' curriculum in children education, outcomes from primary and secondary education curriculum appear not to be meeting the soft skill requirements essential for today's job market, which prompted her to conduct a study on the acquisition of soft skills in online distance learning context. Her research is ground-breaking as she acknowledges that soft skills are generally learned informally through socialization, i.e. the interaction with people and the viewing of the models in one's life, which is facilitated through face-to-face contact; but such contact is notably non-existent in distance education, which has become a convenient choice of earning degrees. The profound question she (ibid: 3) raises pertains to formal training or testing to measure soft skill outcome from an educational standpoint. There is undoubtedly an onus resting upon educational systems, which, as Hertlein (ibid: 41) assesses, currently operates on the notion of 'teaching to an exam', suggesting that soft skills are not presently being effectively taught in schools. In fact, the findings in her study show lack of seriousness of acquiring soft skills by the student body who viewed such as irrelevant, which made Hertlein (ibid: 44) conclude that the acquisition of soft skills had lost its value because there was no attached mark to enforce it.

Similarly, Pulko (2003) asserts that there has been an increase in emphasis on 'soft skills' in Higher Education engineering programmes, but reports that modules on soft skills seemed unpopular with students or with engineering staff; with students reluctant to attend and claiming that the subject is irrelevant. Nevertheless, he suggests a modified teaching approach which should be more dynamic in order to stimulate students in place of traditional lecturing styles based essentially on one-way communication. Thus, he proposes techniques that can be used flexibly to transform any 'standard' lecture into a more dynamic one, summarized as: an emphatic and captivating introduction; use of relevant examples and 'story telling'; group exercises; brainstorming / simulations; opinion polls; and the mind break. Of significance to this study, Pulko argues that soft skills should be embedded in the overall degree structure rather than taught in semi-isolation. Nonetheless, she admits that soft skills are relatively new to engineering degree courses, and perhaps the soft skill culture is not yet mature enough for effective embedding. Notably, embedding would address one of the difficulties of poor attendance of the sessions that explicitly teach soft skills as students, observed by Pulko, attached less importance to it as compared to engineering modules. Similarly, Waggoner (ibid: 24) correctly asserts that embedding would improve students' soft skills.

The University College where this study was conducted follows the practice of explicitly teaching soft skills through ‘Project Component’ (hereafter Project). The discussion that follows presents an overview of the Project.

Project overview

Project came into being after feedback from Industrial Interaction Group (IIG) highlighted that workplace performance of new graduates from the institution lacked demonstrable soft skills (QAP 2009: 70). It should be noted that the institution in question is an engineering institution, which might explain the paradox of introducing Project in Foundation programme. That is, we have pointed out that the embedding of soft skills in engineering modules is very much on its infancy and in fact is yet to be realized in the University College where the study was conducted. Nevertheless, according to Foundation 1 Module Descriptor (2009: 3), by the end of Project delivery, students are expected to have achieved a list of learning outcomes, mainly consisting of soft.

In fact, Blake (2009) says that the teaching and learning strategy adopted is teamwork, where students appoint team leaders and allocate tasks to team members. He further recognizes four benefits of Project namely: independence, teamwork, planning, and implementation of six steps. Project consists of three projects viz. (i) Staff portrait gallery where students interview members of staff and prepare a poster presenting collected information; (ii) Pamphlet where students conduct a survey and prepare a pamphlet to be distributed in the college; and (iii) Class magazine where students study how magazines are organized and then, after conducting at least one survey and one interview, produce a class magazine. The most important premise that underpins Project is the six steps approach that Blake considers as key to students achieving learner independence, in the light of which we shall turn to what this approach entails.

The six steps approach

This approach as applied in Project is also known as Blank Page Method (BPM) (Blake 2009; Walker 2009) and literally consists of six steps (think, research, plan, write, edit, and present) that students go through as they carry out their projects. We shall consider each step and discuss the rationale behind each. Thus the terms ‘six-step approach’ and ‘BPM’ shall be used interchangeably in this discussion.

Think

Thinking or brainstorming, rests on the notion that students need to utilize their thinking capabilities by recording ideas pertaining the topic using a spider diagram. Walker (2009a: 4-6) emphasizes that it is more effective and practical for students to use a spider diagram during a brainstorming session because it allows them to record ideas without having to, say list them in order of importance, which, she asserts, limits the flow of ideas. She (ibid: 18-19) argues that students are able to add as many ‘legs’ to the spider as the flow of ideas, which she considers not possible in a list format as there’s little or no space between items. It should be pointed out that, like all other steps, as we shall see, this one emphasizes thinking together, i.e. in a team rather than individually.

Research

In this step students find information elsewhere through various means such as interviews, surveys, library, internet, etc. Since initial ideas may be vast and touch numerous aspects of the topic, researching narrows down the scope of information. Similarly, this step is carried out in teams as each group is expected to assign duties to each member of the team; suffice to say that each team has a formally elected or appointed leader whose duty is to ascertain that the remit is accomplished. For instance, in the event that students need to gather information through interviews, all group members must contribute interview questions, after which the leader must secure an appointment with the interviewee. However, only two members of the team are sent to carry out the interview.

Plan

In this step students need to plan what they will do or how they will organize the information. During planning stage they, for example, plan which information will be part of introduction, body, or conclusion; if, say, they are required to write a poster, they decide the theme, the layout and how they will make connections on the information they have - they decide just about everything including where they will put their names as contributors to the project (e.g. poster). In fact, it is envisaged that the information generated during brainstorming would be helpful in planning the outlook of the project. Notably, the scope of information during planning stage is further narrowed as students decide on the crucial information they feel should be included in the project.

Write

During the writing stage students put together all the information according to the agreed plan. Although all the steps are executed in teams, during the writing stage, each individual is expected to write a portion, say introduction, one paragraph in the body, or conclusion – after which all the portions are put together into a coherent whole. This is meant to discourage strong members of the team from doing all the writing solo.

Edit

Once students have knitted their writing together, they need to review what they have written; correcting grammar, spelling, punctuation mistakes and errors. Most importantly, they should check whether they have not left out important information like sources, graphs, diagrams, etc; and whether they have accurately responded to the remit. Students should first edit own work, give it to the other member of the team (preferably the strong one) before handing it to the teacher for further editing.

Present

The last step is about the outlook of the finished product. Walker (2009b: 10) points out that students should pay attention to the presentation of a project they have worked on. She (ibid: 12) emphasizes that ‘if beauty is in the eye of the beholder we better make sure that we capture the attention of that eye.’ It is at this step that the work students have done gets its expression; even though it is not meant to be regarded as the most important step, failure to present unfortunately nullifies all the other steps.

We have so far described Project, and because of noticeable similarities with Project approach (hereafter PA), we shall briefly consider PA and draw some parallels between the two.

Project approach

In order to understand PA we shall consider two learning theories that underpin methods of teaching and learning. Cook (2006: 3) argues that current curricula are typically based on behaviourist theories where teachers view their roles as transmitting information to children to be remembered and thus are preoccupied with instructing through sequencing content, drilling, correcting, and testing. Similarly, Buck Institute for Education (BIE) (2010: 3) admits that cognitive and behavioral models of learning support traditional direct instruction. On the other hand, Piaget's social-constructivist theory suggests shift of the teacher's preoccupation from that of 'instruction' to the child's 'construction' (DeVries et al 1990: 374).

Thus, Branscombe et al (2003) regard constructivist teachers as providers of creative opportunities for children to experience ideas related to content, which guides a child to consider the content and clarify thinking. Therefore, learners are no longer regarded as passive participants; and teachers are active constructors through scaffolding the learner's learning process, creating a partnership between the child and the teacher, and functioning as provocateurs that can support and help children in building their own knowledge (Cook 2006: 4). In fact, research, according to BIE (2010: 3) shows that learners not only respond by feeding back information, but they also use what they know to explore, negotiate, interpret, and create, i.e. they construct solutions, thus shifting the emphasis towards the process of learning.

In the light of this exposition, it is apparent that PA has its roots on constructivism. Proponents of this approach (Katz 1994; Follari 2007) define it as an in-depth investigation of a topic by a group of students; the whole class or an individual. Katz (1994) clarifies that project work is not a separate subject like Mathematics, but provides a context for applying concepts and skills, and therefore should not be regarded as integral to all other work included in the curriculum. Alongside PA is Project Based Learning (PBL) which BIE (2010) defines as a systematic method that engages students in learning knowledge and skills through an extended inquiry process structured around complex, authentic questions and carefully designed products and tasks. Advocates of PBL, according to Katz (op cit), do not suggest that project work should constitute the whole curriculum; rather that it should be best seen as complementary to the more formal, systematic parts of the curriculum, which notion parallels BIE's (op cit) argument that PBL should not be thought of as taking time away from the regular curriculum – instead it should be considered as a central method of teaching and learning that replaces conventional instruction for a portion of a course. BIE (ibid: 4) goes beyond defining PBL and articulate what they consider to be attributes of effective projects as distinguished from other activities in the classroom. Among other things, BIE (ibid: 4) argue that project work is central rather than peripheral to the curriculum, and that it encourages collaboration in some form, either through small groups, student-led presentations, or whole-class evaluations of project results.

Alongside PBL attributes are PA characteristics propounded by Follari (2007). She argues that PA seeks to engage children in a deeper, inner process and outer expression through discussion, research, sharing experience – prior and new; fieldwork investigations, and creating many representations of data and knowledge. Furthermore, Katz (1994) asserts that project work includes activities such as drawing, writing, reading, recording observations, and interviewing

experts. Follari (op cit), moreover highlights that project teaching emphasizes teachers acting as consultants; guiding children's investigations; parent and community interaction; applicability of skills that children can use today; child directed or initiated; learners being active – investigating and creating; and children being intrinsically motivated – being interested because topics emerge from their lives.

Katz (1994) and Follari (2007) further present the structure in the form of three phases of PA discussed below.

Phase 1

This phase mainly consists of discussions between the children and teacher relating to the topic of investigation. Since it is the initial stage, it is characterized by brainstorming which is usually done through a web or spider diagram. Children have the opportunity to raise questions about what they want to know whilst they recall past experiences related to the topic.

Phase 2

The second phase is dominated by fieldwork where children collect data, explore their questions and hypotheses and review webs created in phase 1. This phase is regarded as the core of the project because the actual investigation; observations; construction of models; recording of findings; discussions and dramatizations of new understandings take place.

Phase 3

The last phase represents the culmination of the project where debriefing events; preparation of report in the form of findings and artifacts; talks; dramatic presentations, or guided tours of children's constructions, etc occur. That is, the project is wrapped up as children showcase their achievement or demonstrate what they have learnt.

It is vital at this point to draw parallels between PA and Project whilst simultaneously considering the soft skills embedded therein.

PA, Project and soft skills

There are notable structural similarities between PA and Project, albeit PA realizes three phases whilst Project is grounded on six steps. Notwithstanding, the thinking stage of the Project is similar to phase 1 of PA in a sense that both deal with brainstorming using a web diagram. Both recognize the importance of children recording their past experiences relating to the topic. During the thinking stage in Project, teamwork as a soft skill is pronounced. In fact, Walker (2009a: 3) rightly emphasizes that students working as individuals cannot know all the answers, but need the input of others. The other soft skill realized in brainstorming stage is critical thinking as students think about all aspects relating to the topic including how tasks would be allocated; who would be leading the team and so forth. Timetabling is another common feature in Project, where students need to allocate time according to six steps, i.e. how much time they will spend on, say, thinking, researching, planning, etc. These soft skills also form the core of PBL as BIE (2010) states that rigorous and in-depth PBL requires critical thinking, problem solving, collaboration and various forms of communication.

Similarly, phase 2 in PA has elements of Project's research step. As mentioned, students are expected to collect or find information during this stage either through surveys, interviews or library, depending on the topic. When students do research, they do so in teams – allocating specific duties to different individuals. For instance, if they are researching through interviews, the leader ought to choose one person who would do the interviewing and the other to do the recording. In this way, students further learn teamwork, but also have individual contribution that arguably boosts their motivation and self-worth. They also acquire soft skills of listening, verbal skills and politeness.

The planning step of Project is embedded in phase 2 of PA. In this step students, having collected information, organize it. Questions like how they are going to present information such as clip art, photographs, graphs, etc should be addressed. They further need to plan how they are going to organize information in terms of headings, introduction, body, conclusion, etc. In addition, since the whole project is done in teams, they will have to decide which members of the team will write which parts of the project. Also, students do statistical analysis for their surveys and summaries of interviews or information gathered from print media; planning whether to present their writing in point or paragraph form. The soft skill apparent in this step is again teamwork and critical thinking. They also acquire decision-making skills.

Phase 2 in PA is the actual execution of the project and is similar to the writing step in Project. During the writing step students write the plan they formulated in the previous step. In phase 2 of PA, students make representations or constructions of data or knowledge. When they write their first draft they need to take into account recipients of their work (Walker 2009a: 16). This helps them develop the soft skill of communication.

The fifth step in Project is 'edit', where students revisit their first draft so they can address errors, mistakes and omissions. This step coincides with PA's phase 2 where students review their webs. During this step, students need to ascertain that all their work is well-referenced. This enforces the soft skill of integrity. In addition, they need to make sure that all survey results are accurately interpreted.

The last step in Project is 'present', and is similar to PA's phase 3 where students wrap up their work. During this step students design the final version for presentation. Walker (2009c: 10, 12) contends that you cannot spend the whole day preparing a delicious meal only to serve it on a dirty plate. Hence, students are expected to design their project work in a manner that befits the audience. Most importantly, students should ascertain that their project is completed and presented within the stipulated deadline, failing which the whole project gets a zero. This rather harsh measure is meant to foster the soft skill of time-management. In PA students plan or implement a culminating experience; this could be parent visit, open house, movie, book, or community showcase (Follari 2007).

Discussion

It is evident that structural features of Project resemble PA, and that soft skills such as critical thinking, listening, oral or verbal skills, time-management, and most notably teamwork are promoted. That is, students apply a logical step-by-step approach in completing their projects.

However, the topics that students pursue in their projects are not really self-initiated as Trepainier-Street (1993) asserts that since PA is child-centred, projects may either be initiated by an individual child or by a group of children. In fact, at other times, while the teacher may initiate the project, the children's involvement may take the project in a whole different direction (Trepainier-Street: 1993). For example, Cook (2006: 7), following 'Regio Emilia' philosophy, observed six five-year old kindergarten boys, moving around particular objects from within their classroom to recreate cars moving fast; and from that observation 'The Race Car Project' was initiated. In other words, the teacher acts as a guide and facilitator whilst students drive the project into whatever direction that suits their learning experience. This, of course, is not the case with Project because students are given a specific remit with preconceived outcomes that specify the final product which by default determine their project's success. For instance, in their first project they are supposed to interview four members of staff, with justification of their choice; i.e. they should find connections and meanings among the four interviewees (Walker 2009b: 23). In their second project they are given four topics which Walker (ibid: 23) suggests that they brainstorm each so that they would eventually find the most suitable or interesting as opposed to the easiest or least active. She believes that this would give them a skill they would need later in life. On the whole, it is clear that students must only choose from one of the topics offered by the teacher.

In addition, concerning the place of project work in the curriculum, Katz (1994) argues that project work is not a separate subject like Mathematics; rather it provides a context for applying say, mathematical skills and concepts. This means, Project should be treated as an approach through which students apply the knowledge they have acquired. In fact, Katz (1994) contrasts systematic instruction with project work where, on the one hand, the former helps students acquire skills; addresses deficiencies in their learning, stresses extrinsic motivation, and allows teachers to direct their work; the later, on the other hand, provides students with opportunities to apply skills, addresses their proficiencies, stresses intrinsic motivation, and encourages them to determine what to work on.

On the contrary, Project is a subject on its own, despite that BPM, which underpins it, is thought to be transferable to other subjects (Walker 2009b: 24). In fact, Murphy (2009: 6) reports that even though students understood BPM, most teachers felt that it was not directly transferable to other subjects without being explicitly highlighted. We should reiterate that Project came into being as a reaction from IIG feedback, which as mentioned, highlighted lack of soft skills among new graduates. Therefore, Project, among other aims, is principally meant to facilitate the acquisition of soft skills. Conversely, Pulko (2003) argues that soft skills should be embedded in the overall degree structure rather than taught in semi-isolation. That is, soft skills should be spread evenly throughout courses so that students would not confuse them with mere requirements only applicable to one particular course.

Reflection questions are notably central in PA especially in judging the effectiveness and the benefit of the project (Follari 2007). Moreover, Treinier-Street (1993) states that upon completion of an activity, children and teacher collaboratively evaluate what they did and why; what they will do next and how; and together they decide when they are finished studying the topic and what they have learnt from their study. However, in Project, the culminating step is 'presenting' after which the teacher evaluates or assesses the completed project according to the

extent at which BPM has been implemented. Unlike PA, students don't have an opportunity to evaluate what they gained from the project, but must rely on teacher's assessment.

Undoubtedly, there are tremendous benefits of Project as demonstrated by 75% students who found it enjoyable; and 85% who liked the fact that it allowed them to work in groups (Murphy 2009: 3). Murphy seemingly envisages Project as a BPM powerhouse on which other subjects need plugging in for transference of the skills. Suffice to say, these skills are embodied in BPM and must be realized in other subjects. However, as argued, PA works best when it is incorporated within each subject and not a subject on its own because it should be treated as a means by which students apply the skills and not the end.

Conclusion and recommendations

The importance of soft skills is evidenced by the drive for tertiary institutions to incorporate them in study programmes. In this study, such drive is realized in Project that undoubtedly facilitates the acquisition of such skills as teamwork, time-management, critical thinking, etc. Nonetheless, the acquisition of soft skills in this study seems to be limited to Project and thus raises doubts about long-term benefits. This is said in the light of the fact that PA that has parallels with Project needs to be incorporated to other subjects as a teaching and learning approach and not as a subject *per se*. That is, subjects would need to be offered through PA so that the soft skills embodied, in this case, in BPM would have immediate relevance and application to students, rather than being expected to be automatically cut and pasted onto any subject. The other shortfall in the long-term benefits of the acquisition of soft skills through Project is that it is offered at Foundation level which does not address the lack of soft skills at exit point. It may as well be argued that by the time students graduate, they will have forgotten what they learnt in Project.

In the light of this the following recommendations are made:

- Soft skills should be incorporated in subjects offered at tertiary level;
- PA should be implemented as an approach rather than as a sole subject;
- Emphasis on the acquisition of soft skills should be concentrated on graduate courses rather than on pre-degree subjects so that there would be immediate application after graduation.

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Title: English Language and the Impact of Globalization in India

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Title: English Language and the Impact of Globalization in India

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English today is spoken by three billion people all over the globe. It functions as a mother tongue, as a medium of instruction, as a link language, as a language of communication in establishing its role as powerful identity marker. English today represents scientific knowledge modernity and development.

In India from the nineteenth century onwards English education has been operational and this language has been associated with western knowledge, power, prestige and social status, English in India is a diglossically high language. The reason for this lies in the colonial times when power was attributed to English, the language of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a prominent Indian reformer and spoke person for English felt that English provided Indians with the key to all the knowledge (Bailey 199:136). The developing countries have accepted the dominant position and status of English in science and technological education. Its purpose was to instill the right "English value" in colonized subjects and to project a vision of all was finest and most admirable in English culture. Thomas Babington Macaulay presented in his famous "Minutes on education".

That one of the most efficient ways for colonial authority to legitimize its cultural ideology was to perpetuate the myth of English high culture through the valorization of specific kinds of literary texts. Through this education as theory, the language and there by the culture of the colonies origin was filtered down to percolate in the minds of the colonized subjects thus establishing a hierarchy. The early 19th Century politics also promoted the founding of a Standard English. Language was used as an emblem of a bond that brought together otherwise disunited cultural factions Macaulay's recommendation in 1835 made English education act, made English, the government, education and advancement (Krishna Swamy 19831, in 1947).

The Language-Literature conflict in India seems to be a post-independence Phenomenon. Thanks primarily to foreign returned experts from UK, the conflict was staged under the benign eyes of the British Council in the classrooms and corridors of the CIEFL (now EFLU). A whole generation of experts comprising Kachru, Varma, Nihalani and Nadkarni debated the merits of Indian English vs. British/International English. The conflict seems to have ended in an uneasy truce. Language and Literature were allowed to operate in somewhat separate spheres, while the college teachers learned to teach English language through anthologies of literary and non-literary texts, usually prepared by University Professors.

When India became independent Hindi was chosen as the national language in the constitution and English as the associate official language.

By the twentieth century English language was associated with power and prestige in India. Bhatia (1940:104) argues that "the study of English deserves the place of honour in our curricular not because of its practical usefulness as means of livelihood but also because it had been and still is

to a very considerable extent the only lingua franca for the educated class.”

In India, English serves as a linguistic tool for the administrative unity of the country and serves as a link language for wider communication where people from different languages communicate in this language. For many educated Indians, English is the first language.

The present era is said to be an age of globalization. English as a universal language has become a key tool of globalization. English has lasting impact on the educational system which has undergone drastic changes. Education is an important investment in building human capital that is a driver for technological innovation and economic growth. Since the service sector is based on imparting skills to the students, the education sector is the most sought after. Education as a service industry is part of globalization. The teaching of English has evolved and today students use internet effectively. Students are required to submit their assignments on line. Every state in India is competing to introduce English. The effect of globalization on Indian society is felt in the VIIIth five year plan.

Nearly all states in India are compelled to introduce English in schools. The Maharashtra state government in an ambitious plan to bring tribal children into mainstream decided to open English medium schools in the tribal districts in the state from the next academic year. So the English language has engulfed into the lives of rural dwellers, towns and cities in India. In the wake of globalization process ,the planners are bound to revise the strategies in the education sector and ensure that vital importance of qualitative education permeate down to the lowest income groups across the country. In view of globalization corporate universities, both foreign and Indian are encroaching upon government institutions. The globalization of the Indian economy in the 90's seemed to signal the

need for globalized work force. Foreign companies needed English speaking men and women. The rapid proliferation of globalization and liberalization has revolutionized global business. Regional markets, boundaries have been erased compelling them to open market for global trade and business. India with the wealth of English speaking skilled talented unemployed youth became the most sought for BPO and Call center. From technical customer support to bill handling to medical transcription services to banking backend operations and insurance services, BPO put India on world map. India saw the emergence of knowledge process outsourcing in 2005. Knowledge process outsourcing is the outsource of specialized services that warrant the expertise of highly skilled persons from professional courses like engineering, medical, consulting services, market research and banking with the growth of KPO industry in India, there were greater employment opportunities for the educated mass of the country.

The BPO travel and tourism and entertainment sectors clamored for communicative English. Demand for communicative skill courses rose in universities/colleges. In an article ‘Speaking to the global village: towards globally usable accents of English’ published in C I E F L bulletin 1996, Prof Shirish Chawdhary maintains that global communicative English is the need of the hour. Students aspire not only for job assignments abroad or take up jobs at the corporate level but also for globalized work force in India.

English is advertised as a product and English is everywhere in politics and business. New English speakers are shaping the language like Hinglish, a mixture of English and Hindi language. For example a mobile service provider called ‘Idea’ advertises very humorously mixing both the languages to promote his service as “What an Idea Sirjee?”

English is a dominant international language in communication. Globalization has been achieved in the 90's through the invasion of Information Technology. Internet is a boon in the global era. English language has impact on the global evolution of the language with nearly 80% of the digital information of the world stored in English. The Internet makes the information accessible to whoever is connected. English is the default language of the internet. One uses English in a different way. The spread of English language has been ascribed to the process of globalization. Business executive leaders recognize the challenges and opportunity of developing business English competence. For many companies e-learning, online training is an ideal solution.

English is the language of cyberspace. Indian BPO companies have provided efficient business solutions using state of art technology. Skilled manpower competition is attracting investment in IT. As a result of technological advances there has been tremendous growth in the service industries. Salaries of senior managers, public relations, personnel working for MNCs have risen. This is a boon for the upper middle class. Numbers of Indian Professionals are employed by national and international companies who provide customized services to US and Europe. This was possible because of globalization; the world has become a global village through the use of English language. About 45 million people speak English in India and it is this segment of population that controls professional and social prestige.

Newspapers are published in more than hundred languages and dialects in India. Languages have undergone drastic transformation. 'Code-mixing' takes place. English words are freely used in Indian languages. English Language newspapers are published in all states. English serves as the connector between people speaking different mother tongues. The demand for learning and use of English is on the rise. The number of English

newspapers, journals is on the increase. According to BrajKachru, there are at present 3,582 Indian newspapers. With India's emerging economic and political power in recent years a new generation of writers like Salman Rusdie, Amitav Ghosh, and Arundhati Roy are making impact internationally. These writers have depicted the impact of globalization and capitalism on Indian society and the status of women through their writings.

Television is the dominant gateway of globalization affecting India. The satellite TV arrived in 1991 bringing Indian versions of MTV. Television globalizes in helping NRI'S (non resident Indians) in contact with their country and culture and stay connected viewing regional languages in their houses. With globalization's economy and communication revolutions abroad felt closer to India. Globalization has its impact on the media. Mass media courses, English news channels are some of the examples cited. Mass media has become a global means to convey ideologies and discourses that demand critical analysis. Globalization brought in new technology. Designer wear, cosmetic invasion are new entries in the market. Same is the case of manufactures of consumer and non-durable goods.

Globalization in India has been advantages for many companies. With minimum investments and providing services too many consumers, many companies are now players in the globalization through international expansion, goods and services of international standards are available to common people. Due to globalization the social network of people is widening through such internet sites like "Orkut," "face book" etc. People are able to communicate, understand each other in better way. Enabling to communicate with people from one nation to another is the biggest achievement in terms of globalization.

The success of global economy is Business English proficiency. Successful leaders are using technology to break down the language barrier. Business is global and companies are sourcing highly skilled workers from every nation. English has been adopted as the common language of business. Non native speakers rely on English to speak with one another. [English as a second language] speakers “own” the English Language

It is estimated roughly that by 2016, 33% of the world population will learn English. Soft skills and communication skills in English are essential for global business. Presentation, negotiation, problem solving all depends on language and cultural proficiency. Global corporates will definitely benefit from investments in English language training. The impact of globalization has ushered in the changes not only in Indian culture, society, economy but also in education system. The pen, paper, text book, handouts have changed to keyboard, screen, pot and e-text. The traditional concept of education system rote memory has moved to one of exploration and research. Teaching and learning is a two way process. Blogs, discussions, emails are used by the present generation. We have flexible classrooms, virtual classroom teaching, on line courses, texts and assignments.

The status of a language in a society is education. English has achieved this status. English as a universal language has become a key tool of globalization. The importance of English for international business depends on the number of people who speak and use the language.

The study of English constitutes more than grammar, and spelling. Students are prepared to sharpen their reading and written skills. In India earlier emphasis was given to two skills mainly reading and writing, but in the globalized era, emphasis is on the spoken English. Indian English has

emerged as a variety of its own. Although many acknowledge RP (Received Pronunciation), BBC English as the best model. It is felt that Indian English was more suitable. English has become more notarized in the Indian soil.

English in India should be learning for its values in the changing scenario of globalization. This change in attitude will help us to understand and acquire the skills of the language for ensuing success. India cannot be successful in the globalized competence world if it does not produce qualitative and profitable knowledge, since globalization English has become the lingua Franca of the global village. Even though English has become an epicenter of power and knowledge in the world, it cannot survive without transforming itself. Hence today the impact of globalization on English language has resulted in to the variety of 'English's.' We have to remember this aspect while planning language policy in India especially in relation to English.

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Teaching English, Teaching Architecture, Teaching Identity

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Abstract

As it appears that the de facto language for the global dissemination of architectural thought has become English, it is critical for architecture students to be conversant in this language. Because of this necessitated conversance in architectural English, Western ideas now significantly influence the design vocabularies of non-Western cultures. This influence, especially in early design education, appears to have detrimental effects upon the development of a vocabulary that is suited to the particularities of local cultures and places. It appears that regional identity, and its critical engagement by those particular to that region, is overlooked in favor of a set of formal vocabularies that are derivative of Western influences unintentionally introduced as by-products of the globalization of Western architectural thought.

For three semesters, beginning in May 2004, I taught beginning design as a Special Foreign Lecturer of the Faculty of Architecture of Chiang Mai University. This program provided English-speaking professors, with Western design backgrounds, to teach architecture studios to Thai students. On the surface, this seemed to be a straightforward task; providing instruction in an “architectural English.” Through this experience, and based upon further introspection, I have come to realize the importance of the role of professors who facilitate interactions between Eastern and Western architectural ways of knowing. This paper explores my experience as it relates to notions of particular identity, critical engagement with place, and the globalization of architectural thought and education. This exploration allows for reflection upon methodologies that enable the teaching of architectural English, while reinforcing the necessity of maintaining one’s own particular identity.

Teaching English, Teaching Architecture, Teaching Identity

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Introduction

Yi-Fu Tuan begins his seminal text, *Space and Place*, with a seemingly effortless differentiation between place and space; he states that “Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other. There is no place like home” (Tuan 2002, p. 3). When establishing this differentiation—one where “home” informs the role of place as that construct which offers security, compels attachment, and implicitly, provides familiarity—one is obligated to explore the idea of attachment to familiar place and the security that is offered by that familiarity. Tuan implies that the security offered by particular place is an ontologically informed security when he suggests that “space and place are basic components of the lived world” (Tuan, p.3). Tuan’s lived world is a world of experience, experience being broadly defined as “the various modes through which a person knows and constructs a reality” (Tuan, p. 8). “Stated in simple terms, ontological security is a security of being, a sense of confidence and trust that the world is what it appears to be” (Kinnevall 2004, p.746). Karsten Harries further reinforces this ontological relationship with place when he describes the ethical function of architecture as being a means of articulating “the way human beings exist in the world; their way of dwelling” (Harries 1997, p.4). This ontologically informed conception of security as a form of knowing, as being, problematizes the defining of “who we are” for those people with attachments to, and familiarity with, particular place.

This problematization requires an exploration of what is meant when a particular “we” seeks to define “who ‘we’ are” in relation to any particular place. The question “who are we?” is a question of identity, an identity both personal and cultural that moves far beyond Tuan’s effortless differentiation above. As Christian Norberg-Schulz stated, “place is the concrete manifestation of man’s dwelling, and his identity depends on his belonging to places” (Norberg-Schulz 1984, p. 6). It is this ontological question—“who are we” in relation to particular place?—that allows me a means toward understanding a situational incongruency that my particular experiences have brought to light. This incongruency centers on the seemingly inevitable need for a globally coherent language of architectural discourse, that conflicts with the inherent necessity to maintain and critically engage particular personal, regional, and cultural identities.

Beginning in May 2004, I taught three semesters of beginning design as a Special Foreign Lecturer of the Faculty of Architecture at Chiang Mai University. This program provided English-speaking professors, with Western design backgrounds, to teach architecture studio courses to Thai students. From the outset, this seemed to be a straightforward task; providing instruction in an “architectural English.” In hindsight, this straightforward task now provides the impetus for exploring the incongruency of globalization and its effect on particular identity as raised in relation to Tuan’s ontological prioritization of place. This paper explores my particular experiences as they relate to notions of personal, regional, and cultural identity, critical engagement with particular place, and the globalization of architectural education. This exploration serves to suggest potential pedagogical methodologies appropriate to an increasingly global architectural culture. These methodologies should enable the teaching of an English-language architectural discourse, while simultaneously providing students with the skills necessary to critically engage their own particular identities as

means of generating meaningful places that offer security, compel attachment, and provide familiarity.

Framing Experiences

In order to propose—and eventually evaluate—teaching methodologies that allow for the globalization of architectural discourse, while also providing students with the methodological skills required to create meaningful places, it is necessary to position my particular experiences and assess their effect on the perceived disconnect problematized by my interpretations and assessments of those same experiences. Further, in problematizing this incongruity, I am obligated to attempt an understanding of the implication of that disconnect in regard to the ontological structure of identity exegetically associated with Tuan. Initially, before I can begin to articulate the incongruity noted, I must establish a means of situating, and then evaluating, my particular experiences. If it is our constructed realities that inform—and are informed by—“who we are,” then all of our lived experiences can be conceived of as providing and framing this information. To fully flesh out all of my formative experiences is a task beyond the purview of the question at hand, but a brief synopsis of my lived experiences will aid in positioning my exploration of the incongruities of globalization and the maintenance of identity, and the relationship of these notions to the education of architects. At its foundation, my identity—that defining character which frames my critique—is tied to experiences afforded me by my family, my education, and my career.

I was born into a middle-class family in suburban southwest Georgia; a family—on both sides—one generation removed from the farm. I grew up among quilters, seamstresses, gardeners, mechanics, repairmen, and carpenters; my entire family brought the self-sufficiency, “can-do” attitudes, and moral obligations instilled in them on the farm to careers more suited to their new suburban environments. In most cases, I never knew that there were others, “professionals,” who might repair the leaking faucet, change the oil in the truck, patch my torn jeans, or even build our house. Those acts, the domestic acts of our particular middle-class, were all grounded in family; they were enacted by my parents or some other member of our extended family or the friends that were ever-present in our lives. My most vivid formative experiences are all related to the idea of domestic self-sufficiency; to the idea that when things needed to be done, we would be the ones to do them. I paid attention and I learned from my family, because I was convinced that I would be expected to do all of the things that they could do and then pass that knowledge down to the next generation. I lived, and learned, a lifestyle grounded in the authentic experience of working toward actual solutions informed by genuine needs and tangible materials.

My early formal educational experiences seemed to have had no coherent relation to my lived experiences; school was the place we learned categorical facts, procedural modes of thinking, and the expected forms of civic responsibility. For the most part, school was not grounded in tangible experience and seemed to lack the immediacy of life. I was certainly not provided with the skills necessary to articulate the differences between my experienced life and the emptiness of procedural forms of knowing. My perception that school could never be related to the world of my experiences began to change when I entered Auburn University, a public institution located less than two hours drive from the familiar environment of home. After years of a simplified and positivist system, the university offered me a place that was secure, compelling, and familiar. I performed rather poorly in subjects that continued to be procedural; however, I began to excel in areas that allowed for individuality, that encouraged the questioning of my identity, and that stimulated engagement with

an experiential world; I was challenged in ways that had not been possible in high school. Thus, after brief stints in engineering and the fine arts, I found my way to an architectural education.

As an architecture student, I was introduced to the forms and means necessary to unite the disparate structures of education and my lived experience. At Auburn, in the mid-1980's, there was a strong and legible form of phenomenological discourse that seamlessly integrated experiential and ontological ways of knowing with equally robust critical engagements with both place and materiality. The confluence of phenomenological discourse and critical engagement sanctioned, for me, an architecture that was theoretically grounded in the immediate and tangible world of considered and constructed place. My particular experiences were encouraged as valid means of expressing my environment; the life I knew—one familiar and secure—shaped place-making that was qualifiably meaningful. The theoretical stance that architecture can, and should, be meaningful was most readily informed by Norberg-Schulz's assertion that one of the basic needs of people is to experience life-situations as meaningful and that architecture exists as one means of "keeping" and transmitting this meaning (Norberg-Schulz, p. 5). At the same time that my particular experiences were being validated as meaningful, I was also taught by the faculty and my peers at Auburn to be rigorously critical of those very experiences and my interpretations of them. It was not enough simply to accept things as they appeared; a methodological process of analysis, evaluation, and synthesis was crucial to ensuring that architecture did not devolve into sentimentality or deliberate form making. These critical and theoretical approaches to architecture subsequently informed my professional and academic careers.

Upon graduation with bachelor's degrees in architecture and construction science, I spent the beginning of my professional career as an assistant project manager in a small commercial construction company. This choice of career was the result of a deep recession in the architectural marketplace; however, fortuitously, it allowed for further exploration of the tangible materiality of our built environment. I experienced first-hand the reality of building the designs conceptualized and documented by practicing architects. This education—in the metaphorical and literal "trenches"—allowed for the further intermingling of my lived experience with my educational background. I know that it eventually made me a more informed architect; I learned from having to critically mitigate the oversights of other architects. When the economy began to improve, three years later, the construction company that I worked for was absorbed by a mid-sized architecture firm. As I had a degree in architecture, I slowly transitioned from construction management duties into the design environment of an architectural studio. It was in the studio that I began to meld the knowledge I had gained in construction with the critical and theoretical approaches to architecture afforded by my undergraduate education.

Reframing Beliefs

After eleven years of practice, predominantly in public housing, entertainment venues, and aviation design, I found that the critical and theoretical approaches to architecture that I had learned as an undergraduate were still not fully informed by a coherently robust theoretical position. Simultaneously, I realized that the things I did know—the tangible realities and experiences of architectural practice—could be passed down to a new generation of designers; a realization that cohered to my childhood notions of how families transmit practical and ethical knowledge from one generation to the next. The convergence of these two realizations led me to graduate studies in philosophy, both to further my interests in ontological and phenomenological discourse and as a means of obtaining the credentials necessary to teach at the university level. The rigor of

philosophical discourse with an emphasis in architectural phenomenology and ontological forms of knowing both implied a pedagogical methodology of architectural education and reframed my personal world-view. Both of these repositionings reinforced a synthetic understanding of lived experience, enlightened by an informed awareness of contemporary critique. By adopting this synthetic world-view, personal issues related to my lived experience significantly altered the course of life-events that I had previously envisioned. It was during the completion of my coursework in philosophy that my wife and I decided that our daughter should be exposed to the myriad realities of the developing world as opposed to the absolutist mythologies of American wealth, privilege, and excess.

Our decision to engage the realities of the world—a decision predicated on a more critical awareness of our life as a family—led me to the Faculty of Architecture at Chiang Mai University (CMU). Thailand, a place we had both visited, seemed a model location to engage the tangible world and be rigorously aware of that engagement. Thailand was, for us, the ideal place; a place indifferent to my western sensibilities and removed from the particulars of my wife's Chinese/Indonesian heritage. Thailand provided no tangible links that might influence our expectations and observations; it was truly foreign to both of us. Thailand, conceptually, became the place that tested my understanding of the ways that I might engage and construct my particular world as an educator in the field of architecture. As noted previously, my position as a Special Foreign Lecturer, tasked with teaching an “architectural English,” seemed to be a straightforward assignment. My actual day-to-day interactions with Thai students, interactions both pedagogical and personal, exposed me to the ostensible incongruity of globalization and its effect on particular identity.

While at CMU, I had the opportunity to interact with faculty and students through participation in both curricular and extra-curricular activities. As an integral member of the faculty—and in conjunction with my teaching appointment—I was encouraged to participate in the intellectual and cultural life of the Faculty of Architecture and the city of Chiang Mai. I participated in faculty and committee meetings and assisted in the development of course syllabi, instructional strategies, and design projects conceived to provide students with the skills required of practicing architects. I worked with various faculty members on academic and professional projects that were ancillary to, but interwoven with, my teaching responsibilities. I observed, and to some lesser extent participated in, traditional Buddhist ceremonies related to the dissemination and acquisition of architectural knowledge. I joined faculty and students in the myriad cultural celebrations associated with Lanna identity—banquets, dances, processions, parades, and the larger national/regional celebrations of Loi Kratong and Songkran. I also spent countless meals, coffee breaks, evenings, weekends, and holidays with both my students and my colleagues; all of these activities populated with discussions of our differing ways of viewing our worlds. These exchanges served to introduce me to, and involve me in, the activities of a particular group of people with attachments to and familiarity with a particular place.

As a lecturer my primary duties involved teaching beginning design to second-year students who had had previous exposure to both technical and expressive means of visual representation. These students were quite well versed in drafting and sketching but had no structured exposure to design elements and principles, the foundational components of any design vocabulary. As a matter of curriculum, the faculty of CMU thought it beneficial for these second-year students to be exposed to the elements and principles of design from a Western viewpoint. I spent at least half of each workday actively involved in teaching the elements of point-line-plane-volume and the mechanics

of ordering systems articulated through the principles of hierarchy, rhythm, symmetry, and repetition. While it appeared to be a reasonable pedagogical method—introducing a Western architectural design vocabulary in conjunction with introducing the basic components of a visual design vocabulary—the second-year design studio problematized the point of intersection between the globalization of architectural discourse and particular Thai engagement in the world. The studio became the place of incongruency, the place where globalization came into conflict with particular identity.

Interpreting Conditions

My straightforward task became anything but straightforward in the second-year studio. My students were certainly interested in the words, the English words, that might establish a globally informed design vocabulary; however, they were much more interested in the forms represented by the images of Western architecture that bombarded them on a daily basis. These were not images that I brought to Thailand; they were the images already there—the images available in the library, on the internet, and especially available in the journals and trade publications of the architectural press. My student's consumption and co-opting of images representing a Western architectural formal vocabulary can be seen as analogous to the consumption of market commodities in the field of advertising. According to Gillian Dyer:

Advertising helps us to make sense of things... by associating goods with personal and social meanings and those aspirations and needs which are not fulfilled in real life. We come to think that consuming commodities will give us our identities" (Dyer 1982, p. 185).

The consumption of Western architectural form appeared to be the principle means of identity construction for my students; their projects—littered with the formal vocabulary of Western architectural practice—became the image-matic representations of their constructed identities. These co-opted, commodified, and imagematic forms of Western architectural practice that were consumed and venerated by my students appeared, to me, to be inconsistent. They did not cohere with the formal and material vocabularies present in traditional Thai architecture, with the inescapable climate of Thailand, and with the cultural identity that I had observed. Seemingly, the globalization of architectural English was bringing with it a significant problem, the dilution of particular identity by a globalized Western formalism. Particular place could no longer be held as particular.

The impression that place was no longer particular, because students seemed to establish identity through uninformed image consumption rather than through the critical engagement of the familiar, was reinforced by additional observations. The vast majority of my students expressed interest in progressive; i.e. Western, forms of architectural expression rather than in the traditional forms prevalent in the architectural artifacts integral to the urban and cultural fabric of Chiang Mai. They were not just co-opting Western form, but were actively prioritizing it over the traditional forms of Thai architecture. This prioritization of the progressive over the traditional can be perceived of as a manifestation of modernism, where modernism is equated with the abandonment of tradition, history, and particular identity in favor of the promise of progress, an increased reliance on rationality, and a dynamic and evolving social order. Concomitant to the consumption of Western form and the valuation of the progressive, my students prioritized image over content; a prioritization that can be construed as a direct influence of architectural postmodernism. This form of imagematic postmodernism cannot necessarily be seen as a reaction to modernism that resituates

architecture in the local and familiar. Rather, it acts to re-adopt traditional forms without the attachment of the original culturally engendered meaning inherent in those forms. Even more paradoxical, in this case, is that the images prioritized are contemporary Western architectural images, images that have never had particular cultural significance to a traditional Thai architectural vocabulary. Finally, and most contributory to the perceived incongruency between globalism and place, was the observation that my students had no methodological framework for evaluating the appropriateness of design solutions. Solutions that might produce secure, compelling, and familiar place could not proceed beyond a co-opted and imagematic formalism lacking exposure to methodological rigor. Without a methodological framework, students had no established mechanisms for the self-evaluation and self-assessment necessary to respond to particular place and identity.

Reflective Analysis

Some time has passed since those remarkable days we spent engaged in observation of, and participation in, the particular cultural life of Chiang Mai and the CMU Faculty of Architecture. My family returned to the United States, I completed an MFA in Furniture Design at the Savannah College of Art and Design, and then accepted a tenure-track Assistant Professorship in the College of Architecture at the University of Oklahoma (OU). I currently teach beginning design to incoming first-year students and this has given me both the time and impetus for reflection. My interactions with beginning design students here have elicited reflective comparison to my interaction with beginning design students at CMU. This reflection has led me to question my initial conclusions concerning the incongruency problematized by the need for a globally coherent language of architectural discourse conflicting with the necessity of maintaining and critically engaging particular identities. The problems that I saw in Chiang Mai as indicative of this incongruency are the same problems that I now encounter in the beginning design studio at OU. Here too students are consumers of form, they value the progressive over the traditional, they prioritize image over content, and they possess no methodological basis for evaluation and assessment. It appears that my belief that the globalization of Western architectural discourse was the primary component of the perceived inability to critically engaging particular identity is not necessarily valid. Upon reflection, it is perhaps that this inability is particular to all beginning design students. Irrespective of their particular cultural backgrounds, beginning students do not have a methodological framework for the self-evaluation and self-assessment necessary to produce design solutions that prioritize attachment to, familiarity with, and the security offered by particular place.

The realization that globalization cannot be held as the primary contributing factor in eroding the creation of meaningful place, compels me to revisit my suggestion that appropriate pedagogical methodologies should be proposed in response to the increasing globalization of architectural education. This realization also calls into question my notion that professors have an obligation to facilitate interactions between Eastern and Western architectural ways of knowing. Explicitly, I stated that new pedagogical methodologies should be envisioned to enable the teaching of architectural English, while simultaneously providing students with the skills necessary to critically engage their own particular identities as means of generating meaningful places that offer security, compel attachment, and provide familiarity. Implicitly, I established a conflict between Eastern and Western architectural ways of knowing that may not be so diametrically opposed. I believe that a re-visioning of pedagogical methodologies is fundamentally sound; however, I now hold that the scope of that re-visioning can be simplified. It is the teaching of critical engagement, not the difference implied by Eastern and Western knowledge construction, which must be prioritized in order to

ensure that students have the necessary skills to engage the profession of architecture. In prioritizing critical engagement, I return to Tuan and my interpretation of his differentiation between place and space. It is the question of particular identity—“who are we” in relation to particular place?—that is foundational in constructing a pedagogy of critical engagement.

Critical pedagogy acts as a means of enabling students to ask the question “who are we?” which allows for the prioritization of identity in architectural education. Critical pedagogy is defined as a methodology that introduces students to:

Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse (Shor 1992, p. 129).

An architectural pedagogy that is prefaced on relating these meanings, causes, contexts, and consequences, through critically engaged frameworks, leads students to question their previously held notions of the validity of knowledge. Having been routinely taught that the only valid forms of knowledge are scientific and procedural, students dismiss ontological contemplation of identity as sentimental, invalid, and insubstantial. Particular identity, as a means of knowing, has no practical value in comparison to students’ procedural understandings of their worlds.

Scientific and procedural means of knowing and reality construction have constrained students abilities to critically engage their particular experiences and evaluate these experiences in relation to their particular identities and their particular environments. This diminished engagement allows for the co-opting of formal vocabularies that do not inform, and are not informed by, the particular environments that are inherently reciprocal to personal, regional, and cultural identity. In not knowing to ask the question of identity—“who are we” in relation to particular place?—students have lost the ability to articulate more than a simplified understanding of the necessary relation between place and identity construction. Identity construction is relegated to procedural modes of knowledge, and as such, is viewed as a static construct grounded in the realm of tradition; this form of identity has no influence on the purely formal vocabularies of constructed space. In this simplified system, there is no reciprocal relationship between place and identity; one cannot inform the other in any meaningful, symbol-laden way. Procedural approaches to knowledge, approaches that reinforce the dominate forms of knowing, further reinforce this conceptual difficulty. Students, irrespective of their particular cultural forms of knowing, are at a theoretical disadvantage when presented with questions intended to elicit synthetic understanding of the engaged relation between place and identity.

Synthetic Outcomes

The prioritization of a theoretical discourse that reinforces the relationship between place and identity is necessary in developing the methodological skills students need to critically engage an architecture fully grounded in particular place and responsive to particular identity. In order to insure this interaction and engagement, it is useful to construct a methodological framework informed by a critical pedagogy that employs synthetic approaches to knowledge construction. This framework encourages the individual formation of relationships that address the conflict between beginning design students’ procedural approaches to knowledge and the necessary formation of

critical responses to identity and place. These critical responses act to mediate the co-opted and uninformed image consumption currently associated with architectural form. The employment of a synthetic approach to knowledge and reality construction encourages student work that represents each student's unique way of interpreting the world he or she engages. These interpreted worlds are the intricate and synthetic assemblages of events, experiences, associations, and reflections that do not necessarily conform to categorical frameworks or to the procedural structures resultant of their previous educational backgrounds. The synthetic intricacies of identity do not have to cohere to procedural ways of knowing, but, rather, are more appropriately understood as the impure products of personal experiences, life-narratives, and muddled reflections.

Having only begun to construct and evaluate methodological frameworks informed by critical pedagogy, I have had no time to reflect upon the formal outcomes of student work. I am not yet willing to make any definitive statements about the potential of these frameworks to produce design solutions that actually prioritize attachment to, familiarity with, and the security offered by particular place. That said, I am willing to offer—based upon observations and interactions—that my current students are making progress toward critical engagement. Most of these observations involve students' actually engaging in critical dialog, as compared to their lack of engagement prior to implementation of critically informed methodologies. Students now appear prepared to actively and critically explore, engage, and reflect upon the complexities of their identities in relation to the evolving particularities of place. In constructing methodological frameworks, rather than relying upon procedural frameworks, there appears to be a reduction in initiatives aimed at categorical explanations of synthetic experiences. Unmitigated, these categorical initiatives prevent reflection upon particular identities that might allow for the creation of meaningful places.

As beginning design students develop their individual methodological approaches, it is imperative that critical pedagogical methodologies moderate prioritization of procedural methodologies that allow for uninformed form making. Critical engagement with particular identity and particular place emphasizes the necessity of hybrid and synthetic approaches to knowing, constructing, and participating in the world. Synthetic interpretation of experience and particular place, coupled with awareness of the intricate complexities of identity, begins to mitigate the incongruencies associated with students' simplified procedural backgrounds. These simple backgrounds, both educational and cultural, encourage paradoxical attempts to create procedural ordering systems in response to the confusing complexity of existence. When employed as methodologies of design, these ordering systems are ineffective in communicating the complexities of experience—robust complexities that are antithetical to categorization—that constitute our particular identities and allow us to both construct and find meaning in particular place.

In response to categorically mandated exclusions of the robust existential complexities of identity and place, the incorporation of a critical pedagogy into beginning design education encourages students to question the priority given procedurally focused and ontologically uninformed approaches to knowledge. The methodological frameworks provided by critical pedagogy endow students with the skills needed to both participate in a globalized architectural discourse and recognize the inherent necessity in maintaining and critically engaging particular personal, regional, and cultural identities. In accepting critical methodologies, students can simultaneously explore an ontologically grounded knowledge framework while becoming fully conversant in a global architectural discourse. Critical pedagogy allows students to both experience the freedom afforded by globalized space and be secure in knowing the particular places they call home. This synthesis of the global and the particular allows for fully considered responses that prioritize architectural

solutions that are capable of generating meaningful places that offer security, compel attachment, and provide familiarity.

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The Use of Webblog Enhancing English Literacy in Globalization Society

“New Direction for Study English as a Foreign Language (EFL)”

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Abstract

The experimental group for this research was 52 first year students majoring in English of Nakhon Ratchasima Rajabhat University. The research instruments were webblog, questionnaires and open-ended response questions. The data was analyzed by Percentage, Average, Standard Deviation, and Rating Scale. The results showed that the experimental group's English literacy was widely enhanced. The experimental group was very satisfied using webblog as an outside class activity. This activity helped experimental group to gain more literacy on English vocabulary, conversation, slang, idiom, reading and writing. Besides, descriptive data analysis showed that 52 percent of students were satisfied to develop English literacy by themselves using webblog, 59 percent got more knowledge on international cultures from bloggers, 68 percent wanted to learn third languages like Japanese, French, and German.

Keywords- *webblog and English literacy*

Introduction

At a university level in Thailand, writing a course syllabus for English subject is similar to other countries where English is taught as a Foreign Language (EFL) . As a result, the main purpose of the course syllabus is to help students to be fluent in English language so that they can use it for their future career effectively. At the end, students are expected to be better in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in English. For communicative skill, they are expected to use the language in speaking, communicating, dealing, and contacting with foreigners efficiently. However, many EFL researches

show that Thai students at a university level are not fluent in using English language as well as they are not confident in communicating with foreigners. These EFL researches have revealed that the important cause of these problems is that the students are not satisfied on teaching materials as well as this makes them feel bored in study English language both inside and outside class.

According to the above reason, it can be said that teaching material is essential for study English. Without it, students are not motivated and not satisfied to study this language as well as this causes them do not have English literacy. To enhance students' English literacy, it is essential that students to be interested in finding, reading, or searching for updated English contents by their own. This learning behavior helps students to wider their English knowledge and skills till they are adults. This is like a concept of “Life Long Learning Education”. The view point shows that students' English literacy will be more developed if they study it as outside class activities. This study style is called “self-access learning”

The concept of self-access learning is that it is better to push students to have motivation for studying English than just to let them be “passive students”. A teacher is a key person who will encourage students to be “active students” who are eager to search for new English knowledge after class. For this reason, we have to accept that studying English is the practical learning process. The students should not be allowed to sit, listen, and write on the book only. In a classroom, a teacher is like a monitor who provides the contents and prepares teaching materials for developing students' English skills. Besides, the teacher may provide interesting English sources for searching for more information outside class. Whenever students do not understand any English contents, the teacher is the advisor who will give them clearer explanation and encourage them to

continue their learning. Because of the importance of interesting learning material, the researcher selects “webblog” which is one type of online social network to be the research instrument.



Illustration 1 : Webblog

Webblog is to relate “online social network” that is the world trendy activity. People from different countries can get in touch and communicate with each other from this network. They can write and post their ideas on their webblog. They can read, share ideas, comment, and up-load video clip on other webblog also. At the same time, they can chat with online bloggers who have never met before. There are a lot of websites created by webblog systems such as www.friendster.com (75 million members), www.myspace.com (72 million members), www.hi5.com (80 million members), www.linkedin.com (5 million members) and www.facebook.com (90 million members).

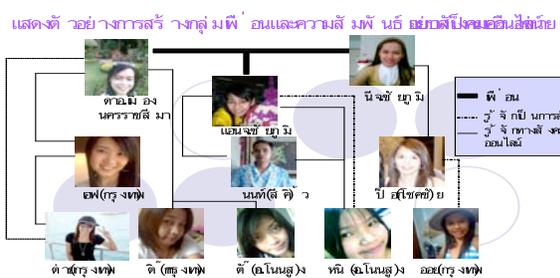


Illustration 2: Online Social Network Education

In Thailand, the use of webblog has been popular for the last five years. Like people all over the world, Thai students surf on this network everyday

and it becomes one of their daily activities. The students use this cyber site to create their own webblog group. To build the groups, they can create or join any groups which they are interested in the same topics like music, food, entertainment, sports, culture as well as foreign languages. In each group, the students can see and know foreign online friends. Some students said that they are excited to join and to chat with foreigners who are in the same webblog network. They are satisfied to share their idea with their foreign online friends. Interestingly, the students try to mail, post, comment, and communicate with foreign online friends although they are not fluent in English and they are weak at English language.

According to this interesting online system, the researcher selected webblog system to be the research instrument for enhancing students’ English literacy.

Research methodology

The experimental group for this research was 52 first year students majoring in English of Nakhon Ratchasima Rajabhat University. They studied in semester 1 of educational year 2008. The research instruments were webblog, questionnaires and open-ended response questions. The data was analyzed by Percentage, Average, Standard Deviation, and Rating Scale.

Results

The results showed that the experimental group’s English literacy was widely enhanced. The experimental group was very satisfied using webblog as an outside class activity. This activity helped experimental group to gain more knowledge on English vocabulary, conversation, slang, and idiom. Students gained more comprehension in English reading and writing. Besides, descriptive data analysis showed that 52 percent of students were satisfied to develop English literacy by themselves using webblog, 59 percent got more knowledge on international cultures from online friends, and 68 percent wanted to learn third languages.

Discussion

This research found that EFL teachers are able to develop students’ English abilities by using the things that the students are interested in as a teaching

aid. Definitely, the teachers may promote students' English literacy by encouraging them to take part in the social trendy activities. Like other researches, this research found that Thai students always pay high attention in reading, writing, posting, chatting and connecting themselves with online bloggers. They have spent much time in writing for webblog network like www.seeyou.com, www.letlink.com, www.highway.com www.hi5.com, www.myspace.com, www.twistter.com, www.wideclub.com, and www.blogger.com. To apply this theory, the teacher should take online social network to be used as a research instrument. It can be said that the students will be able to enhance their literacy by using world fashionable activities.

In addition, the results showed that the teacher should not wait to see what students' learning problem is and then solve it. On the other hand, it will be better if the teacher focuses on activities or materials which students are interested in or happy to involve with. Then, the teacher brings those activities or materials to be used as research instruments to solve students' English problems. To sum up, this is called doing the research on "students' satisfaction based learning".

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Nursing Students' Interpretation on Excellent Paramedics

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Abstract

People go to the hospitals or clinics with the expectation to be aided by excellent paramedics. What are the nursing majoring students' interpretations on the idea of being an excellent paramedic? This research approaches the question by means of investigating the statement of the sophomore students in the five-year nursing schools, analyzing their opinions of being an excellent nurse and discussing the trend of the viewpoints of the students. The requirements of nursing majoring students are mostly related to individual characters, the profession and humanistic background. Among them, most students rate "the profession" the highest one, then the "individual characters" while only very few emphasizes "humanistic background." According to the result of the study, this paper suggests that there should be more humanistic background related courses or activities introduced into the training process of the paramedics so the students can be a nurse with profession and humanistic care. The research result can also be a reference for the nursing courses' plan or professional development.

Keyword: Individual characters, Profession, Humanistic background

Introduction

With the development of society, economics and culture, nursing care has been changing its past emphasis on diseases, into a current emphasis on disease prevention and health promotion. But no matter how it has been changing, it is always intimately related to people. In a nursing care that is mainly based on person, patients and their families are deeply affected by whatever behaved by any nurse, including their professional and non-professional conducts such as their attitudes, appearances or nursing skills. Various hardware and software of a hospital, such as its environment, the expertise of its nurses and its attitude on medical services are also taken into account by patients as how valuable it is for any medical consumption in that hospital. Thus, the public seems to demand higher standard on medical personnel and so nurses that are in numbers are definitely included.

In nursing profession, any nurse should bring their own social function into full play so that any patient being cared will stay in the best condition under treatment. To achieve that, a nurse has to establish good interpersonal relationships with any patient through his/her conducts, manners and professional skills. It is often heard that a nurse is like an angel, which indicates that a nurse is supposed to be a sweet and tender carer. However, this is only one facet from which a nurse is regarded by the public. All these conclude that outward appearance and inward nature are complementary and indispensable for any all-round nurse.

The purpose of this study is to find out how do nursing students of a junior college think about “a good nurse”. A suggestion regarding curriculum planning and learning is then proposed based on their opinions, for a future review on nursing curriculum planning of a junior college.

Research Methodology

The purpose of the study was to find out nursing students’ thoughts and initial concepts about “a good nurse” through the perspectives of grade 11 nursing students in a five-year vocational school. Qualitative research methods were adopted. The results of the study can serve as reference materials for nursing curriculum planning in five-year vocational schools as well as for nursing profession development.

Research Subjects

Convenience sampling was used in the study, and the subjects consisted of 49 nursing students in the 11th grade from a five-year vocational school. Over the past year they had taken basic courses in anatomy, physiology, biology and chemistry, as well as the *Introduction to Nursing*. The *Introduction to Nursing* (2 credits/2 hours) was one of the core nursing courses. The other basic courses they had taken included

Human Spirit, Chinese, English, Modern History, Geography and Mathematics. The 4-credit *Human Spirit* was one of the core courses of the school and was offered in the first term of the 10th and 11th grade.

Data Collection

Fundamental Nursing and Experiment (5 credits/7 hours) was one of the core nursing courses and was offered in both terms of the 11th grade. In the first class of the course, the researcher informed the grade 11 students of the aim and content of the study and requested their consent. After obtaining their consent, the researcher asked the participants to answer an open-ended question: “Based on either your personal experience of seeing a doctor or accompanying someone to see a doctor, or your understanding of the courses you have taken, what do you think makes a good nurse?” The question was answered anonymously and voluntarily. There was not a limited time span for answering the question, nor was there a limited length of the answer.

Data Analysis

Qualitative research produces large amounts of complicated data. It is necessary for the researcher to apply full attention to the data, and to read the words carefully and repeatedly so as to not miss any information. A total of 49 questionnaires were returned. The data was analyzed by the researcher’s reading the answers repeatedly. After the researcher understood all the information provided, the answers were coded and similar opinions were marked, in which significant statements were identified. Statements with similar meanings were gathered to form subtopics, to each of which a clear definition was given. Comparative analysis of the raw data was then performed. The results were organized to form topics and construct a conceptual framework of a good nurse. Nvivo 7.0, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software package, was used in the process of data analysis to help clarify the correlations of the concepts and record the process of analysis and thinking.

The Rigor of the Study

In order to maintain the credibility, auditability and confirmability of the study, the research data was collected solely from the written answers of the informants. The rich raw data was coded and preserved. The researcher transferred the original textual data faithfully to the computer and later to Nvivo 7.0 for analysis and induction. No subjective opinions of the researcher or the analyst were added. With nine years of nursing clinical experience, the researcher has taught nursing for years, seven of which are spent teaching nursing students; and the researcher maintains close, trusting relationships with the nursing students. After the preliminary analysis, the researcher

discussed and revised the analysis results with the co-researcher, who held a doctorate degree. Moreover, a nursing expert with rich experience in qualitative research was invited to compare the analyses to ensure the credibility and reliability of the data analysis.

Results

A content analysis of the data gathered in the study revealed that the 11th grade nursing students' thoughts and concepts about a good nurse could be categorized into three thematic groups. Each group contained 18 subthemes. The themes and subthemes are explained below with examples.

Personality Traits (72)

Personality traits were mentioned 72 times in total in the students' responses. Personality traits are distinguishing qualities with which a person is born, and they may not be changed or may be changed only slightly. Some examples include characteristics, physical and mental conditions, and appearances. The personality traits mentioned in the students' responses are:

1. Gentle and considerate: For example, such qualities as "gentle," "considerate," "understanding," "gentle, polite and considerate," and "soft-spoken" were mentioned in many students' answers. A total of 17 students (35%) thought a good nurse should have a gentle and considerate personality. (No. 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 27, 29, 35, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49)
2. Good-tempered: 6 students (12%) mentioned that a good nurse should be good-tempered. (No. 2, 3, 8, 19, 24, 36)
3. Patient and caring: 20 students (41%) mentioned a good nurse should be caring, patient and kind. More specifically, some wrote that a good nurse should be patient towards patients and their family, and not lose her patience because a patient asks too many questions. The other expressions used include "loving and kind," "(she) doesn't lose her patience because a patient asks too many questions," "(she) strives to do acts of kindness to others," "(she) should always be willing to explain to and educate patients and their family without feeling bothered," and "(she) shows great patience and endurance." (No. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 30, 34, 36, 40, 41, 46)
4. Healthy physical and mental conditions: 9 students (18%) mentioned that a nurse should be mature and in good physical and mental conditions. The expressions used include "self-motivated and energetic," "vibrant," "spirited," "in high spirits," "healthy, with a good immune system, not easily infected with a cold or flu virus, not easily tired because of short sleep," and "mature and stable." (No. 4,

5, 9, 10, 12, 19, 22, 27, 42)

5. Meticulous: 15 students (31%) mentioned that a good nurse should be meticulous with her jobs. The expressions used include “careful,” “careful and responsible,” “(she) gives meticulous attention to details all the time,” and “thorough.” (No. 2, 13, 14, 15, 21, 24, 29, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44)
6. Appearance: A few (5) students (1%) mentioned that a good nurse should be good-looking. The words used are “cute and kind,” “better look pretty,” “better be good-looking,” “I don’t think a good nurse should be pretty,” and “looking good, knowing how to dress up and use makeup.” (No. 13, 14, 26, 40, 46)

Professionalism (178)

With the progress of medical technology, the nursing job has become more complicated. Nursing education should continue to be reformed. Nursing students should be trained to possess professional skills so that they can handle clinical nursing work after they graduate, and that the quality of nursing profession can be maintained. Based on the analysis results, a good nurse should possess the following characteristics.

1. Smiling: Many (25) students (51%) mentioned that a good nurse should wear a smile when serving patients. The expressions used include “(she) should wear a smile when facing patients and their family,” “a sweet smile,” “(she) should smile instead of keeping a straight face,” “(she) should smile even when she is tired,” and “It’s most important to smile, so that people won’t feel worse because of seeing a serious nurse.” (No. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, 32, 33, 35, 37, 42, 45, 47, 49)
2. Polite: 13 students (27%) mentioned that a good nurse should treat other people with courtesy. The expressions used include “with good manners and a good attitude,” “gentle and polite,” “polite to patients and their family,” “ (No. 2, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27)
3. Friendly and approachable: 21 students mentioned that a good nurse should possess friendly qualities, including “not pulling her face straight, looking kind and approachable,” “projecting a friendly image,” “looking easy-going,” “treating people friendly,” and “not treating patients in a nasty way.” (No. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 26, 31, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49)
4. Talk nicely and communicate well: The students also mentioned that a good nurse should be elegant in speaking, such as “(she) should not talk loudly and rudely,” “(she) should not chatter,” “(she) can communicate well with patients and experiences no language barriers,” “(she) chats to patients often,” (she) knows how to deal with people,” “(she) asks patients how they feel,” and “(she)

- speaks softly.” A total of 17 students (34%) thought a good nurse should possess this quality. (No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 14, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35, 40, 42, 47)
5. Good attitude of service: While good service quality is much emphasized nowadays, an attitude of service in clinical care has become more and more important. The nursing students interviewed provided many thoughts on the issue. According to them, the attitudes a good nurse should have include “works with a professional attitude,” “holds a friendly attitude and projects a kind, responsible, cheerful attitude when receiving an emergency call from the patient,” “being earnest and responsible at work,” “works earnestly and tirelessly,” “treats patients with a good attitude so as to earn patients’ trust besides helping them get well.” (13 students, 27%) (No. 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 24, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45)
 6. A neat and clean-cut appearance: A majority of (32) students (65%) thought a good nurse should keep her appearance neat and tidy. The expressions used include “Clean and neat- she should look clean, instead of being unkempt,” “a comfortable and clean feeling,” “clean, tidy and eye-pleasing,” “clean and well kept,” “dressed clean and neatly,” “clean,” “looks clean from top to toe,” “dressed neatly and in uniform shoes,” neatly dressed and clean,” “a neat, clean appearance,” “with good hygiene,” “pays attention to bodily cleanliness and orderly appearance,” “dressed neatly and clean,” “neatly dressed,” “keeps herself clean,” “well-groomed and clean,” “neat, clean-cut appearance,” “not necessarily pretty, but looks clean and neat,” “nicely dressed,” “looks clean and tidy,” “has fair and clear complexion,” “looks clean overall,” “neat and clean appearance,” “look well kept,” “keeps herself clean and the patient’s environment clean,” “looks clean, has good grooming and hygiene,” “pays attention to bodily cleanliness,” “hygienic and clean-cut.” (No. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49)
 7. Adequate professional knowledge: The subjects had not learned clinical nursing practices yet; however, they not only wrote their thoughts about appearances, but also expected a good nurse to be equipped with professional knowledge and skills. 15 students (30%) talked about this aspect. Their thoughts include: “she should be skillful and knowledgeable,” “she should have a certain level of professionalism,” “she must be able to answer questions and careful with medication and everything else,” “she must have a good knowledge,” “observant and knowledgeable,” “with a cool head, a feeling of expertise and opinions,” “has professional nursing knowledge,” “enriches her knowledge anytime, anywhere,” “most important is to have the professional knowledge required,” “has professional nursing knowledge and is scrupulous,” “professional

- knowledge,” “has professional knowledge and is brave enough to bring up any question,” and “pays meticulous attention to patients’ conditions and strengthens her nursing knowledge anytime.” (No. 1, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 24, 31, 27, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 48)
8. Good professional skills: In the aspect of professional skills, the students mentioned “good skills and a good knowledge,” “must have a gentle touch instead of being rough,” “professional and not rough,” “has good nursing skills,” “skillful,” “skillful and not rough,” “has good skills,” “with good speed and efficiency, intermediate-to-high-level skills,” “with quick and accurate movements, is observant and knowledgeable,” “skilled,” “is adept, works extra hours, checks out patients frequently,” “showing great dexterity,” “masters basic skills,” “must master basic skills,” “must be quick and accurate when performing tasks, be able to make decisions calmly, not hesitant when giving a shot,” “pays attention to procedures and other details, as well as the sanitation and cleanliness of the surroundings,” “skilled and responsive,” “is skillful and strengthens her knowledge anytime, anywhere,” and “masters professional skills.” (18 students, 37%) (No. 1, 3, 8, 11, 16, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 37, 39, 42)
9. Cares about professional responsibility and ethics: Part of the (24) subjects (49%) thought a good nurse should be responsible and conscientious. The expressions used are “conscientious, responsible, easy-going,” “not lazy, with good hygiene,” “earnest and responsible, with a sense of justice like the Powerpuff Girls,” “earnest and not slothful,” “does not show her emotions in front of patients no matter how tired she is, does not make other people nervous,” “must not talk about coworkers’ private matters in front of patients, find faults with others or be unfair,” “must be able to deal with patients’ demands quickly,” “thinks a lot for patients beforehand,” “must interact well with patients,” “is tireless and does not vent her emotions on patients,” “is able to separate work from personal life and does not bring her emotions to work,” “must be brave to admit her mistakes, know herself and where she stands, be dutiful but not an interfering busybody,” “willing to sacrifice, helpful, honest,” “punctual,” “is responsible, does not bring her negative emotions to patients,” “respects patients’ privacy and does not gossip about patients’ private matters,” “protects patients’ privacy,” “does not bring emotions to work,” “must have enthusiasm for nursing care,” “makes hospitalized patients feel comfortable,” “reads new information anytime,” “with a proper attitude and a sense of responsibility,” “tireless and kind-hearted,” and “must not vent anger on other people when feeling upset, does not reveal patients’ private matters, must not hold a grudge, and must be decent.” (No. 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33,

39, 42, 44, 45, 46)

Human Spirit

1. Has people-centered concepts: Part of the (14) subjects (28%) thought a good nurse should pay attention to patients' physical and mental responses, and think for patients. The expressions used include "patient-centered," "must serve patients attentively and make patients the focus," "puts patients first," "thinks for patients," "has a helpful nature," "takes heed of patients' mental state and offers proper consolation and encouragement," "instead of viewing doctors as gods, she should make patients the center - an indispensable part of nursing expertise," "puts patients' comfort and privacy the first priority," "must make patients' safety and comfort the first priority and allow them to recover at peace," and "must make patients' comfort and privacy the first priority whatever she does." (No. 4, 15, 16, 18, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 38, 40, 43)
2. Feels much concern for patients: 6 subjects (12%) expressed that a good nurse should show much concern for patients, and listen to their opinions, such as "consoling patients from time to time, listening to their opinions or cheering them up," "cares much about patients and builds good rapport with them," "feels much concern for patients," "takes patients seriously and cares about them," "feels concern for patients all the time," and "cares for patients and asks them how they do." (No. 18, 38, 43, 44, 45, 48)
3. Shows empathy: Part of the subjects also mentioned that a good nurse should be able to stand in patients' shoes and think for them, such as "sympathizing with patients' and their family's feelings," "showing empathy and thinking for patients from their perspectives," "thinks for patients," "treats patients as her own family," "stands in patients' shoes," "treats patients like her parents," "thinks a lot about patients' needs from their standpoints," and "is kind-hearted and sympathetic." (No. 4, 18, 21, 22, 26, 32, 35, 43, 44)

Conclusions

A nursing director ever mentioned that good nurses should possess medical skills and embody virtues which included mercy, perseverance, agility, teamwork spirit as well as excellent skills (Zhang, 2006). These ideas were just as the same as most of the personal characteristics brought up by this group of students. For example, they mentioned the idea to be gentle and considerate which conformed to the opinion brought up by the graduate school that the nursing staff should possess mercy and sympathy to help patients timely. Perseverance and durance were similar to patience mentioned by students. These showed that students and clinical nursing supervisors shared the same viewpoints. As for the appearance and health conditions, these

belonged to individual features which could not be changed. A research targeting on medical students showed that female medical students concerned the health issue more than male students did (Hong, Chen, 2004). Most of the nursing staff as well as participants of this research were female, and this showed female would care the health issue more when being engaged in medical field. Nursing students involving in this research mentioned that nurses should possess gentleness, thoughtfulness, mercy, patience and good temper. These characteristics might be or might not be changed. Per F. Drucker (2001) said that manpower was one of important assets in the organization, and each employee owned his (her) unique personality which would result in different behavior and performance. In consequence, another research proposed to put emphasis on employees' personality and recruitment screening from the angle of HR management in order to enhance the labor quality (Huang, Xue, 1998).

In addition to expertise and skills, this research also categorized several dimensions into "Professional Quality", including smiles, politeness, good speech and conversation, and appearance because they could be changed through training. Students who participated in this research also figured out most of the personal features that the nursing staff should possess, and these almost belonged to "Professional Quality". It was perceived that students had certain cognition regarding the expertise of nursing staff. Moreover, almost a half of students mentioned that excellent nursing staff should put emphasis on professional liability and ethics, as well as to be responsible for the nursing work. It clearly showed that a half of students already agreed to have the sense of responsibility to the nursing work before they studied in the college. This was also one of the important findings in this research.

Education should start from the awareness of human nature instead of merely vocational trainings. Therefore, the mission of education should be reemphasized together with conferring knowledge and skill training (Huang, 2008). The nursing education is such a profession very closely related to human beings, and therefore should concern the humanity more. The working attitude with humanity becomes more and more important to many professions. As one of the jobs to contact patients the most frequently, nursing staff's service attitude with humanity has been more and more emphasized. Most of the nursing students thought that good nursing staff should possess expertise and medical skills, but only 10~15 students mentioned to take patients as the principle thing, to care patients more, and to possess compassion. A research investigating the current status of humanity education in vocational colleges indicated that besides assigning a specific department to arrange courses, the colleges should actively tie in with activities of student unions, the teaching of each subject and relevant measures to enforce humanity education and to elaborate the spirit of

humanity (Lin, Chen, 2004). Therefore, it is very important in the nursing course planning to enhance students' attention toward human beings and to possess compassion when taking care of patients.

Regarding the development of talents in the nursing education, people usually focus on the expertise and professional skills but neglect the cultivation of humanity spirit. Only through the equal emphasis on humanity spirit and other expertise and skills, should it be the very appropriate mode of talent cultivation in the modern higher education of nursing, as well as to tally with the education philosophy which stresses people orientation and comprehensive development. As a result, the traditional concepts in higher education of nursing should be changed, and talent cultivation should emphasize the development and enhancement of students' quality. Hopefully the research result can be references to the nursing education and course planning in the future.

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Evaluating the Possibility of Improving Conservation of the Genius Loci of Cultural Heritage in Taiwan by Educational Program from the Experience of U.S. National Park Service*

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Education program on conservation of genius loci of the spatial cultural heritage is very important for heritage conservation, which was disregarded regularly in Taiwan. The genius loci of the spatial cultural heritage is defined as the tangible space and the intangible elements (memories, oral narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values, odors). Some advancing countries regard education plans on conservation of genius loci of the spatial cultural heritage as significant foundation for heritage conservation. Successful education plans can aware people the importance of heritage conservation.

Therefore, this research, which includes the collection and generalization of the references and real cases, will reveal the education plans from National Park Service in America on conservation of genius loci of the spatial cultural heritage, which include the systems of education plans of National Park Service and the executing methods from cultural heritage managed by National Park Service. Then, this paper will discuss how to evaluating the possibility of improving conservation of the Genius Loci of cultural heritage in Taiwan by educational program from the experience of U.S. National Park Service.

Keywords: cultural heritage, historic place, conservation

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Rethinking of cultural heritage education: the genius loci of the spatial cultural heritage is defined as the tangible space and the intangible elements

In Roman mythology, a genius loci was the protective spirit of a place. It was often depicted as a snake. In contemporary usage, a genius loci usually refers to a location's distinctive atmosphere, or a "spirit of place", rather than necessarily a guardian spirit¹.

In 16th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium of ICOMOS in 2008, Quebec City Declaration: On the Preservation of the Spirit of Place was made to announce that a genius loci was discussed as an important mission of conservation of cultural heritage in the future. It was written that the spirit of place is defined as the tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and the intangible elements (memories, oral narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values, odors), the physical and the spiritual elements, that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place. Rather than set apart spirit from place, the intangible from the tangible, and consider them as opposed to each other, we have investigated the many ways in which the two interact and mutually construct one another. The spirit of place is constructed by various social actors, its architects and managers as well as its users, who all contribute actively and concurrently to giving it meaning².

The spirit of place offers a fuller understanding of the living and, at the same time, permanent character of monuments, sites and cultural landscapes. It provides a richer, more dynamic, and inclusive vision of cultural heritage. The spirit of place exists, in one form or another, in practically all the cultures of the world, and is constructed by human beings in response to their social needs. The communities that inhabit place, especially when they are traditional societies, should be intimately associated to the safeguarding of its memory, vitality, continuity and spirituality³.

Real historic places generate excitement and curiosity about the people who lived there and the events that occurred there. From ancient ruins, homes of presidents and poets, and battlefields that comprise national parks, to the main streets, factories, and temples listed in the Cultural Heritage for the nation because they make a state or community special, places grab our attention. They offer experiences and information that help make the past real for anyone who visits or studies them. If a historic place can be taught by education, the spirit of cultural heritage can be felt by the tourists properly. Therefore, education is an important way to protect the spirit of cultural heritage.

Educational program for cultural heritage managed by National Park Service, USA

The National Park Service (NPS) is the U.S. federal agency that manages all national parks, many national monuments, and other conservation and historical properties with various title designations. It was created on August 25, 1916, by Congress through the National Park

¹ In the context of modern architectural theory, genius loci has profound implications for place-making, falling within the philosophical branch of 'phenomenology'. This field of architectural discourse is explored most notably by the theorist Christian Norberg-Schulz in his book, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*.

² "QUEBEC CITY DECLARATION ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE SPIRIT OF PLACE", adopted at Quebec City, Canada, October 4th 2008, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf.

³ "QUEBEC CITY DECLARATION ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE SPIRIT OF PLACE", adopted at Quebec City, Canada, October 4th 2008, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf.

Service Organic Act. It is an agency of the United States Department of the Interior.

National Park Service archeologists, architects, curators, historians, and other cultural resource professionals work in America's nearly 400 national parks to preserve, protect, and share the history of this land and its people. Beyond the parks, the National Park Service is part of a national preservation partnership working with American Indian Tribes, states, local governments, nonprofit organizations, historic property owners, and others who believe in the importance of our shared heritage – and its preservation. One of the NPS's Programs is "Heritage Education Services Program" which is managed by one of the partners of the NPS: Heritage Education Services (Figure 1).

The Heritage Education Services Program has three responsibilities. The first responsibility is to carry out a program to enable the NPS to be fully engaged in using cultural resources and historic preservation programs to educate people of all ages, promoting public knowledge and support for cultural resources in parks and communities nationwide and the role the NPS plays in their identification, preservation, and interpretation. The second responsibility is to administer the Teaching with Historic Places program with its series of on-line lesson plan series and the Discover Our Shared Heritage travel itineraries. The third responsibility is to work with NPS cultural resources programs and other organizations and partners inside and outside of the NPS to develop, better coordinate, and extend the reach of education, training, and public awareness activities relating to cultural resources and the programs of the National Park Service⁴.

Teaching with Historic Places (TwHP) is a program of the National Park Service's Heritage Education Services office (Figure 2). Over the years TwHP has developed a variety of products and services. These include a series of lesson plans; guidance on using places to teach; information encouraging educators, historians, preservationists, site interpreters, and others to work together effectively; and professional development publications and training courses.



Figure 1 webpage of National Park Service (adopted from <http://www.nps.gov/index.htm>, March 15, 2010)

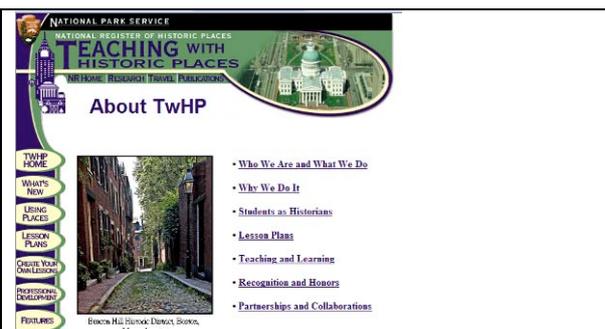


Figure 2 webpage of Teaching with Historic Places (adopted from <http://www.nps.gov/history/hes.htm>, March 15, 2010)

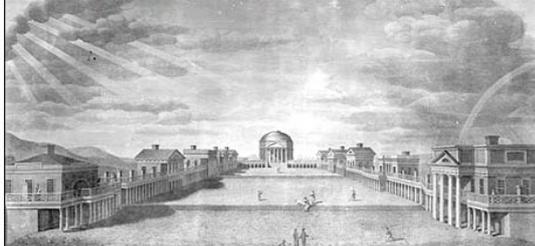
A decade ago, amidst widespread interest in the quality of education in America, the National Register of Historic Places began seeking ways to make teachers and others more aware of the educational value of historic places and documentation about them. Formally organized in 1991, Teaching with Historic Places (TwHP) set out to demonstrate how historic places—as both tangible links to the past and also sources of evidence—can help teach academic subjects, raise awareness of available information about places, and foster an appreciation for the value of cultural resources⁵.

⁴ <http://www.nps.gov/history/hes.htm> (March 15, 2010).

⁵ History in the Hands of Tomorrow's Citizens (Carol D. Shull; Beth M. Boland, 2000), Creative Teaching with Historic Places: Volume 23, no. 8, 2000, Cultural Resource Management on line edited by NPR.

Educational program of NPS: Thomas Jefferson's Plan for the University of Virginia

Thomas Jefferson's Plan for the University of Virginia: Lessons from the Lawn is one of lesson of TwHP. The contents of this lesson include six parts: about this lesson, getting started: inquiry question, locating the site: maps, determining the facts: readings, visual evidence: images, putting it all together: activities, and supplementary resources. In the part of locating the site, two maps are shown in the webpage, map of Virginia and Washington, D.C., and map of Charlottesville are in 1877. After simple introduction of maps, there are some questions for readers. In the part of determining the facts: readings, there are three readings: about education as the deystone to the new democracy, building the academical village and Jefferson's philosophy of education for readers. Several questions follow the readings. In the part of visual evidence: images, the topics of pictures which include College of New Jersey, Princeton in 1764, the University of Virginia in 1826 (Figure 3), plan of the University of Virginia in 1825, study for anatomical theatre in 1825, students on the lawn in 19th century and aerial view of the lawn in 1997 are shown in the webpage. In the part of putting it all together: activities, the topics of activities which include village for learning, local schools and education through the generations are shown in the webpage. There are some questions about these two parts for readers (Figure 4)⁶.

<p>Drawing 2: The University of Virginia, 1826.</p>  <p><i>(The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, The Albert & Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia Library)</i></p>	<p>Questions for Drawings 1 & 2</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Compare Drawings 1 and 2. What differences do you observe in the design of these two universities? 2. In Drawing 2, how can you tell the difference between the professors' residences and the student dormitories? What features do they have in common? 3. Do the pavilions in Drawing 2 look identical, or not? Why do you think they were designed this way? 4. What elements of the architectural design of the pavilions made them "models of good taste and architecture" in Jefferson's mind?
<p>Figure 3 drawing of Thomas Jefferson's Plan for the University of Virginia: Lessons from the Lawn (adopted from http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/92uva/92uva.htm, April 10, 2010)</p>	<p>Figure 4 questions of Thomas Jefferson's Plan for the University of Virginia: Lessons from the Lawn (adopted from http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/92uva/92uva.htm, April 10, 2010)</p>

Educational program of NPS: Independence Hall

Independence Hall: International Symbol of Freedom is another lesson of TwHP. The contents of this lesson also include six parts: about this lesson, getting started: inquiry question, locating the site: maps, determining the facts: readings, visual evidence: images, putting it all together: activities, and supplementary resources. In the part of locating the site, two maps are shown in the webpage, map of The Thirteen Colonies, and map of Plan of the city and environs of Philadelphia, 1777. After simple introduction of maps, there are some questions for readers. In the part of determining the facts: readings, there are five readings: American Democracy Takes Shape, The Declaration of Independence (with partial transcript), The United States Constitution (with partial transcript), From State House to World Heritage Site, The World Heritage Convention. Several questions follow the readings. In the part of visual evidence: images, the topics of pictures which include Independence Hall (north façade), Independence Hall (south façade), Assembly Room, Independence Hall, The

⁶ <http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/92uva/92uva.htm> (April 10, 2010).

Declaration of Independence in 4 July 1776 (Figure 5) are shown in the webpage. In the part of putting it all together: activities, the topics of activities which include The Signers, Legacy of Freedom, World Heritage Sites, Local Government Buildings are shown in the webpage. There are some questions about these two parts for readers (Figure 6)⁷.

	<p>Questions for Painting 1</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How many years after the event did Trumbull start his painting? What do you think were some of the challenges he faced in creating this work? 2. Why do you think Trumbull thought it was important to capture the portraits of these men? Why do you think it took so many years to complete this painting? 3. Based on what you learned in Reading 1, who are the five men standing at the center of the painting? Who do you think is seated in the chair at the right? Why might Trumbull have chosen to portray this scene? 4. Study the painting carefully. What feelings does it evoke for you?
<p>Figure 5 drawing of Independence Hall: International Symbol of Freedom (adopted from http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/132independence/132independence.htm, April 10, 2010)</p>	<p>Figure 6 questions of Independence Hall: International Symbol of Freedom (adopted from http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/132independence/132independence.htm, April 10, 2010)</p>

Independence Park Institute, cooperative organization of NPS, and its educational program⁸

Beside the official educational service provided by National Park Service, some private organizations make efforts to education of cultural heritage. For example, the Independence Park Institute (IPI) offers education programs for Independence Hall that connect participants of all ages to the resources and stories of Independence National Historical Park (Figure 7).

The educational goals of the Independence Park Institute include: providing hands-on, interactive school programs for learners of all ages, providing trip planning resources for teachers and group leaders, conducting professional development workshops for teachers, creating standards-based education materials that teachers can use to make their students experience more relevant and meaningful while at the park.

The IPI Education Center at the Independence Living History Center is located on 3rd Street between Walnut and Chestnut Streets at Philadelphia. Its three learning labs will give students the opportunity to experience hands-on, interactive programs about archeology, 18th century life, and Benjamin Franklin. They can role play as delegates to the Continental Congress, explore symbols of freedom, or learn about Philadelphia connections and significant contributions to anti-slavery efforts in the 18th and 19th centuries Over 20,000 school children per year will be able to participate in the education programs at this facility when it is fully operational (Figure 8).

In order to become fiscally self-sustaining, the Independence Park Institute will charge program fees for pre-booked education programs at the IPI Education Centers. When both facilities are renovated and operational, over 50,000 students per year will be able to take advantage of exciting, hands-on history experiences in the IPI learning labs. All funds generated through program fees will be used to directly support ongoing education program needs. The park also plans to utilize volunteers and student interns to support IPI program

⁷ <http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/132independence/132independence.htm> (April 10, 2010).

⁸ <http://www.independenceparkinstitute.com/> (April 10, 2010).

goals.

Independence Park Institute (IPI) was supported by Eastern National, the William Penn Foundation, which will provide an ongoing source of financial support for IPI education programming and staffing. Independence Park Institute (IPI) hope that the principal core of this endowment will grow through the continued financial support of our partners in education.

 <p>The logo features a yellow school bus, a green tree, and a white building with a steeple. Below the logo are three green buttons: 'Trip Planning: Teacher Tips and Resources', 'School Programs and Teacher Guides', and 'About the Independence Park Institute'.</p>	 <p>The webpage header includes 'Independence National Historical Park Pennsylvania' and 'National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior'. The main title is 'Education Programs Fall 2007-Spring 2008'. It lists 'Distance Learning' and 'Professional Development for Teachers'. A section for 'Electronic Field Trip' mentions 'Freedom in America: Some Assembly Required' and 'Upcoming Topics' for 2007 (The Liberty Bell) and 2008 (Archaeology).</p>
<p>Figure 7 webpage of Independence Park Institute (adopted from http://www.independencenationalhistoricalpark.gov, April 10, 2010)</p>	<p>Figure 8 education programs of Independence Park Institute (adopted from http://www.independencenationalhistoricalpark.gov/2007-2008ProgramMenu.pdf, April 10, 2010)</p>

The visitor’s educational experience of travel to Independence Hall

When you visit the site of Independence Hall, there is interpreter of National Park Service guides you to see the rooms where history was made and learn the story of conflicts and compromises which led to the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution (Figure 9). In the Independence Hall, some educational panel were set to teach the history about the building (Figure 10). Besides, you can get a visitor’s guide which was provide by National Park Service to show how to visit this historic site (Figure 11). You can know all of the important building in this site, special days and events about this site and other affiliated sites from this guide. This guide also provides the program descriptions and times that you can learn from these programs (Figure 12).

 <p>A close-up of an educational display board with a blue background and white text. The title is 'Signing the CONSTITUTION of the UNITED STATES' and the date is 'SEPTEMBER 17, 1787'. A woman is partially visible on the left, looking at the board.</p>	 <p>A wide-angle shot of the interior of Independence Hall. The room has high ceilings, large arched windows, and a wooden floor. Several people are gathered in the room, and an interpreter is visible in the center.</p>
<p>Figure 9 educational board at Independence Hall</p>	<p>Figure 10 interpreter at Independence Hall</p>

<p>BUILDING HOURS</p> <p>National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior Independence National Historical Park Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</p> <p>A Visitor's Guide to Independence</p> <p><i>Liberty in Motion</i></p> <p>Fall 2003</p>	<p>Program Descriptions and Times</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Program</th> <th>Time</th> <th>Duration</th> <th>Meeting Place</th> <th>Description</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Independence Hall Tour</td> <td>9:00-5:00</td> <td>30 mins.</td> <td>East Wing of Independence Hall</td> <td>See the rooms where history was made and learn the story of conflicts and compromises which led to the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Liberty Bell Talk</td> <td>9:00-5:00</td> <td>10 mins.</td> <td>Liberty Bell Pavilion 8/25-10/8 Liberty Bell Center 10/9</td> <td>The power of the Liberty Bell lies in its symbolism. Named by abolitionists, it is a tangible reminder of crusades for liberty worldwide.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Todd & Bishop White Houses Tours</td> <td>Various times, inquire at the Independence Visitor Center</td> <td>1 hour</td> <td>Free tickets available at the Independence Visitor Center</td> <td>See the furnished homes of a middle class Quaker lawyer and a wealthy Episcopal Bishop; learn about the people who lived in these households.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Jefferson in Philadelphia</td> <td>10:30</td> <td>15 mins.</td> <td>Declaration House</td> <td>Hear what life was like for Thomas Jefferson while he rented rooms at this house during the summer of 1776.</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Program	Time	Duration	Meeting Place	Description	Independence Hall Tour	9:00-5:00	30 mins.	East Wing of Independence Hall	See the rooms where history was made and learn the story of conflicts and compromises which led to the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.	Liberty Bell Talk	9:00-5:00	10 mins.	Liberty Bell Pavilion 8/25-10/8 Liberty Bell Center 10/9	The power of the Liberty Bell lies in its symbolism. Named by abolitionists, it is a tangible reminder of crusades for liberty worldwide.	Todd & Bishop White Houses Tours	Various times, inquire at the Independence Visitor Center	1 hour	Free tickets available at the Independence Visitor Center	See the furnished homes of a middle class Quaker lawyer and a wealthy Episcopal Bishop; learn about the people who lived in these households.	Jefferson in Philadelphia	10:30	15 mins.	Declaration House	Hear what life was like for Thomas Jefferson while he rented rooms at this house during the summer of 1776.
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Governmental organization in charge of cultural heritage conservation in Taiwan

Headquarters Administration of Cultural Heritage Council for Cultural Affairs (文化資產總管理處籌備處) The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, which was revised and took effect in 2005, designated CCA as the authority in charge of all cultural heritage except cultural landscapes. CCA created HACH, in charge of affairs related to cultural heritage. HACH has added administrative, technical and research personnel to form a comprehensive network for protection of cultural heritage, and create environments suitable for the development of cultural heritage by working closely with local governments, colleges and universities, and civil and community organizations.

HACH produced a webpage for children to learn about cultural heritage (Figure 13). The working resource in this webpage included three parts "To know what cultural heritage is", "Review of the cases of cultural heritage", "The game about the learning of cultural heritage"⁹. In the part of "To know what cultural heritage is", there are some articles to introduce the meaning of cultural heritage (Figure 14). In the part of "Review of the cases of cultural heritage", the webpage introduces the information of cultural heritages in every city in Taiwan. In the part of "The game about the learning of cultural heritage", there are three interactive games for children to learn cultural heritage from play (Figure 15).

However, the content of this webpage did not attract children to browser (Figure 16). The effect of the function cultural heritage education seems limited.

<p>認識文化資產</p> <p>你有沒有想過：如果把時間倒轉回一百年前，你現在坐的地方，可能也有個小朋友正在搖滾晃盪的聽書呢？我們現在生活的空間，也保存著過去祖先</p>	<p>台北孔廟</p> <p>孔子廟</p>
<p>Figure 13 webpage for children of HACH (adopted from http://www.hach.gov.tw/hach/frontsite/kids/, March 9, 2010)</p>	<p>Figure 14 the cultural heritage introduction on webpage for children of HACH (adopted from http://www.hach.gov.tw/hach/frontsite/kids/, March 9, 2010)</p>

⁹ <http://www.hach.gov.tw/hach/frontsite/kids/> (March 9, 2010).



Figure 15 the game on the webpage for children of HACH (adopted from <http://www.hach.gov.tw/hach/frontsite/kids/>, March 9, 2010)



Figure 16 the story about cultural heritage on the webpage for children of HACH (adopted from <http://www.hach.gov.tw/hach/frontsite/kids/>, March 9, 2010)

Educational program of cultural heritage in British Consulate Residence at Dagou in Taiwan

British Consulate Residence at Dagou (22222222) was built in the Ching Dynasty in 1879. Now it is very important public cultural heritage at Kaohsiung City in southern Taiwan, and it also popular with not only domestic tourists but international tourists (Figure 17). In 2004, this building was reused for local cultural museum, and some exhibitions and cultural shows would display in this building. Meanwhile, this building also managed by private company. One coffee shop and bookstore were set in this cultural heritage. Recently, the exhibitions includes History of the Former British Consulate Residence at Dagou, The Beatles Music Gallery, Revitalising the old town: Liverpool & Kaohsiung, A new urban landscape: Liverpool & Kaohsiung, Arts and Culture: Liverpool & Kaohsiung, The Cavern Club were held in this old building. Most topics of these exhibitions are relationship with British.

Tourist can learn history from the exhibition “History of the Former British Consulate Residence at Dagou” which was displayed in one room of the building. The items of this exhibition include waxen statues which introduce the history of consulate affairs in the Ching Dynasty, and some old pictures and posters show the history of British Consulate Residence (Figure 18 and Figure 19). Posters and cultural goods are sold in the shop (Figure 20). However, books about the history of British Consulate Residence had not been displayed in this shop.

Free handbills about this cultural heritage are provided to tourists. However, most of the contents are advertisements of coffee shop instead of the history of British Consulate Residence (Figure 21). The other way tourist can acknowledge the history of this building is from a educational board standing in front of main entry (Figure 22).



Figure 17 British Consulate Residence at Dagou



Figure 18 waxen statues exhibition in the British Consulate Residence at Dagou



Figure 19 old pictures and posters exhibition in the British Consulate Residence at Dagou



Figure 20 the shop in the British Consulate Residence at Dagou

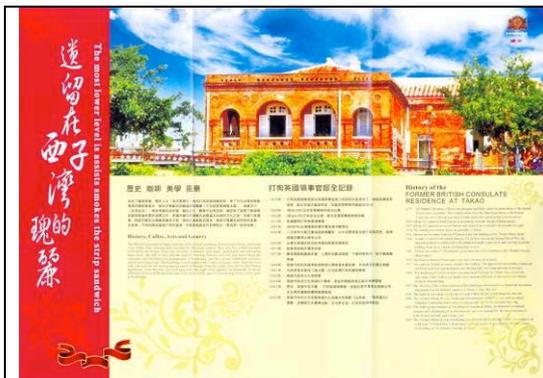


Figure 21 free handbills about British Consulate Residence at Dagou



Figure 22 Board introducing British Consulate Residence at Dagou

Educational program of cultural heritage for elementary school students in Taiwan

Indigenous education was valued and practiced in elementary school since 1994 in Taiwan. Indigenous education includes five parts: indigenous language, indigenous history, indigenous geography, indigenous art and indigenous nature¹⁰. Cultural heritage in Community is one part of indigenous history that the children have study. This curriculum is practicing. Some curriculum is notable.

British Consulate Residence at Dagou which is discussed in this study is one of educational topic in the website of Indigenous education of Kaohsiung City (Figure 23). This website is managed by Center of Indigenous Educational Resource of Juguang elementary school at Kaohsiung City (高雄市莒光國小鄉土資源中心). There are two goals of this center. One is to promote the understanding of the culture and nature of Kaohsiung City for the elementary school students. The other is to develop school-based curriculum which combines the community resource¹¹. Cultural heritage is an important community resource, and become one of the educational topics in this website. Ten cultural heritages at Kaohsiung City are introduced in this website which includes British Consulate Residence at Dagou. History about buildings and some old pictures are showed on the webpage (Figure 24). One game is design for the children to test if they understand the content of the webpage¹².

¹⁰ Ministry of Education(1994) Standard of Indigenous Education Curriculum for Elementary School, Taipei: Ministry of Education edited.

¹¹ <http://kstown.chukps.kh.edu.tw/index1.aspx> (March 12, 2010).

¹² <http://kstown.chukps.kh.edu.tw/index1.aspx> (March 12, 2010).

<p>Figure 23 webpage of Indigenous education of Kaohsiung City (adopted from http://kstown.chukps.kh.edu.tw/index1.aspx, March 12, 2010)</p>	<p>Figure 24 education of cultural heritage on the webpage of Indigenous education of Kaohsiung City (adopted from http://kstown.chukps.kh.edu.tw/index1.aspx, March 12, 2010)</p>

Beside indigenous education, some cultural heritage education are promoted by elementary schools. For example, Xinjie elementary school (新街國小) at Zhongli City was reward by Ministry of Education in 2010 for practicing “Education of cultural heritage protection” (文化資產守護教育). This school was established since 1930s during Japanese colonial period so there were some Japanese official residences in the campus for the Japanese teachers. One of them was preserved and registered to historic building of city. For reusing this historic building, curriculum committee of school decided the school should develop some curriculums to educating cultural heritage protection. Therefore, the curriculum titled as “Love Xinjie and toward sunrise: protect the historic building and create the new campus” (戀戀新街／迎向朝陽：守護歷史建築物/開創校園新風華) was created. This curriculum teaches the children to know not only the Japanese official residences but the other historic buildings in the community around the campus. This curriculum also became the model for elementary school education in Taiwan (Figure 25 and Figure 26)¹³.

<p>Figure 25 interpretation about historic building for children</p>	<p>Figure 26 interpretation about historic building for children</p>

Conclusion

“Heritage Education Services Program” of U.S. National Park Service is responsible for education of cultural heritage. This program focuses on using cultural resources and historic preservation programs to educate people of all ages. For example, “Thomas Jefferson’s Plan for the University of Virginia: Lessons from the Lawn and program of Independence Hall: International Symbol of Freedom”, this program works with other organizations and partners of the NPS, like Independence Park Institute, to develop more activities relating to cultural resources of the National Park Service.

In Taiwan, governmental organization, school and public cultural heritage all have cultural heritage educational program. However, these programs are not well organized, and have few cooperative partners. As result, the content and types of educational programs are

¹³ <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/10/3/2/n2833217.htm> (March 12, 2010).

monotonous. The programs provided by U.S. National Park Service are diversified, and the content of program can express more meanings of intangible elements of cultural heritage. The spirit of place is defined as the tangible and the intangible elements, the physical and the spiritual elements, that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place. In the educational program of NPS, we can see all the material related to cultural heritage that can make people feel more the spirit of place. The cultural heritage should be the place where exists many meaningful story to the visitors, and educational program is the important way to show these story. Furthermore, the content of educational program should be the historic information about the cultural heritage, historic building knowledge just can be one part rather than main part of the content of educational program. Therefore, educational program of cultural heritage in Taiwan need more resource support to develop to make the effective conservation of the genius loci of cultural heritage.

Network Embeddedness and Relationship Learning on New Product Development Performance

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1. Introduction

In today's fast-changing business environment, enterprises have found innovation to be an indispensable element of survival. However, innovation exists in many forms, including product, process, service, and business model innovation, among others. Therefore, the measurement and key influencing factors of innovation are important research issues.

In the early 1980s, various international corporations began working with each other, which resulted in the competitive phenomenon of business network. These firms used complementary enterprise resources to develop cooperative business network to proactively innovate, overcome entry barriers, reach economies of scale and scope, and replace leadership positions in traditionally advantageous enterprises (Moore, 1993). Currently, because of the overall environment and such factors as the maturity and lower costs of information technology, there is greater interaction and cooperation among corporations. These phenomena show that the interaction among business network helps to enhance corporate competitiveness.

The learning theory plays an important role in the new theory of competitive advantage (Baker and Sinkula, 1999). The learning orientation of an organization has been conceptualized along with the cultural dimension including a shared vision of learning, commitment to learning, and an open mind (Baker and Sinkula, 1999). Learning is not only an organizational phenomenon, but also an inter-organizational phenomenon. Selnes and Sallis (2003) have studied the relationship between suppliers and customers, and discussed the learning behavior among organizations from the procedure perspective. They call this concept of organizational learning "relationship learning."

Rapidly changing competitive environment has forced companies to seek creative and flexible ways to counter the competitive situation, therefore, many companies have responded to the environmental challenges by establishing relationship with customers

and suppliers (Dertouzos, Lester & Solow., 1989). This kind of cooperation relationship relies on the exchange relationship with high degree of trust¹ (Morgan and Hunt, 1994). Due to the characteristic of high degree of trust, the two sides of the exchange relationship will focus on the long term interests (Ganesan, 1994) such that in the end they can enhance their competitiveness and reduce the cost of transaction (Noordewier, John & Nevin., 1999). From above analysis we can see that relationship learning is a kind of learning behavior among organizations, which will also affect their innovation performances. Logically speaking, first there is relationship network embeddedness, then the phenomenon of relationship learning will take place.

In this study we think that the network embeddedness among enterprise organizations is a very important key factor affecting innovation performance. But is there any intermediate factor between these two factors that lead to different influence from network embeddedness on the performance of new product development? This study mainly discusses the effect of inter-organizational network embeddedness between suppliers and customers on the performance of new product development. The researchers select the learning model developed from organizational learning which examines the special organizations between suppliers and customers---the relationship learning model - to be the intermediate variable for further inspection on the relationships among the network embeddedness, the relationship learning, and the performance of new product development. Then we develop the hypothesis and questionnaire for sampling survey with respect to Taiwan medical equipment industry in order to verify the research structure and hypothesis for this study. The research purposes of this study are: 1. To discuss the influence of network embeddedness on relationship learning. 2. To discuss the influences of different network embeddedness on relationship learning. 3. To discuss the influence of relationship learning on new product development performance. 4. To discuss the influences of different relationship learning models on new product development performance. 5. To discuss the effect of the relationship learning mode as an intermediate factor between network embeddedness and the new product development performance.

2. Literature Review And Hypotheses

2.1 Network Embeddedness

Gulati (1998) argues that the more connections a business has, the greater will be the amount of valuable information it receives from partners. Rowley et al. (2000) use network density, which refers to the number of connections to the outside from the center of an organization, to measure the structural embeddedness of organizations.

Direct ties among enterprises provide opportunities for organizations with indirect ties to the former to establish cooperative relationships (Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti, 1997). This third organization acts as a bridge between two unconnected organizations (Burt, 1992), which creates new opportunities for cooperation between the latter.

The structural position of an organization within its industry influences its opportunities for expansion and establishment of relationships. Hence, the relationship structure formed by organizations within networks directly influences the cooperative

inclination among firms (Granovetter, 1992). Structural embeddedness mechanisms enable organizations to directly come into contact with other enterprises and form cooperative relationships with them through the intermediation of other enterprises, which increases the interaction among organizations within an industry.

2.1.1 Relational embeddedness

In the initial stages of the development of enterprise relationships, the subjects of cooperation tend to be those among which there has already been cooperation or which have been selected based on recommendations (Uzzi, 1997; Gulati & Gargiulo, 1999). This is relational embeddedness, which involves primarily the direct or indirect ties formed by organizations in the cooperation process and various interpersonal relationships among organization members. Relational embeddedness can influence the selection of cooperation subjects, establishment of cooperative relationships, and development of business networks.

Relational embeddedness is characterized by strong connections among people (Gulati, 1998). Participants utilize powerful social relationships to enhance the common understanding of benefits, which in turn influences behavior; hence, relational embeddedness emphasizes social ties, the strength of which influences the extent of knowledge sharing.

2.1.2 Structural embeddedness

Transactions occur in the context of complex social relationships, and these relationships influence the transaction subjects with which people come into contact and the kinds of opportunity incurred, which affects the amount of human and social capital that can be obtained. This is structural embeddedness. Gulati (1998) argues that the more connections a business has, the greater will be the amount of valuable information it receives from partners. Rowley et al. (2000) use network density, which refers to the number of connections to the outside from the center of an organization, to measure the structural embeddedness of organizations.

Direct ties among enterprises provide opportunities for organizations with indirect ties to the former to establish cooperative relationships. That is, even if two organizations do not have direct ties, they can be connected through another organization, which is called a third-party relationship (Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti, 1997). This third organization acts as a bridge between two unconnected organizations (Burt, 1992), which creates new opportunities for cooperation between the latter.

2.2 Relationship learning

Relationship learning, the unique form of organization learning, belongs to the learning between organizations. It is a kind of common activity emphasizing the willingness of both parties to involve in the sharing and understanding of market information, and to integrate the information with shared memory (Selnes and Sallis, 2003).

Inter-organizational learning mechanism refers to that by utilizing the relationship with their partners during the collaboration process of R&D, enterprises try to obtain complementary resources and capabilities to enhance the organization learning and the technology acquisition performance through some certain institutional agreements and

leverage (Lorenzoni & Lipparini, 1999). For obtaining effective inter-organizational learning, there must be nice inter-organizational relationship such that through inter-organizational collaboration the knowledge from both sides can be obtained and utilized to speed up the development of organizational capability and to contribute to the inter-organizational knowledge creation and transfer. This inter-organizational collaboration is one of the important channels for mutual access to external knowledge (Lane and Lubatkin, 1998).

2.2.1 Information sharing

Selnes and Sallis (2003) think that the information sharing of customer-supplier is a starting point and necessary factor for relationship learning. The result of study on customer-supplier relationship has shown that information sharing is the major factor affecting behavior (Sinkula 1994; Slater 1995). Anderson and Narus (1990), and Cannon and Perreault (1999) have discussed how both organizations exchange their information in order to coordinate and plan the working relationship for improvement of operating efficiency. Biong and Selnes (1996) also study the relationship between information exchange and the job duty of sales personnel.

2.2.2 Joint sense making

Dialogues in the relationship constitute the elements of the explanation or understanding of the shared relationship-specific characteristics. Organizational learning can help to explain whether or not the organization has the key capability of understanding marketing information, and it involves the understanding of a wide range of organizational phenomena such as organizational culture and regulation. At the same time it includes the relationship and mutual dependence between individuals and groups, and the ordination of usage of intangible resources (Bell et al., 2002).

The result of the interview of Selnes and Salliss (2003) shows that, the best interactions between suppliers and customers are related to solving certain operational issues with many examples of face-to-face meetings. Individuals in each field with different expertise obtain information through communication (Walsh, 1995).

2.2.3 Development of shared relationship memories

Learning is a process of the integration of the knowledge acquisition, and the diffusion, interpretation and memory of information (Nevis et al. 1995). The core element for all kinds of learning is to integrate them to the existing memory, to develop the memory of specific relationship, i.e. memory integration (Selnes and Salliss, 2003). At the level of organization, memories such as the beliefs of organization, behavior practices, and physical artifacts are scattered all over the places inside of organization (Lukas et al., 1996; Moorman and Miner, 1997). The development of shared relationship memory is to integrate the obtained information to the shared memory of specific relationship during the continuous joint activities between customers and suppliers, and these memories might affect behaviors (Sinkula 1994; Slater 1995). Therefore, each partner in the customer-supplier relationship should develop common beliefs in reference, norm (Macneil, 1980), symbol or other objects (Walsh and Ungson 1991).

2.3 New product development performance

Kleinschmidt and Cooper (1991) introduce the three dimensions of financial performance, window of opportunity, and market impact, and develop ten indicators to evaluate new product performance.

Song and Parry (1997) introduce the three dimensions of financial performance, operational performance, and organizational effectiveness.

Swink (2000) discovers three dimensions of financial performance, quality of design, and the timing performance from the result of research focused on manufacturing industry.

Gomes et al.(2003) introduce the three dimensions of cost, product quality, and the time duration of products entering the market.

Summarizing the above descriptions we can say that the new product development performance is evaluated from the financial, procedure, and market perspective. Therefore in this study we use these three dimensions to evaluate new product development performance.

2.4 Network embeddedness and relationship learning

Powell et al. (1996) develop organizational learning with the concept of business network. After empirical analysis it is found that the speed of organizational learning can be enhanced by the number of alliance in the business network, the degree of network centralization, and the network experience.

Dyer and Nobeoka (2000) use Toyota as a case study to explain what the manager should do to create and management knowledge sharing network, and advocate that the establishment of network can enhance the dynamic learning capability and improve the organizational competitive edge.

Based on the above studies and inference, this study proposes the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: The greater the network embeddedness of an enterprise, the better is its relationship learning.

Regarding types of business network embeddedness, this study proposes the following sub-hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: The greater the relational embeddedness of an enterprise, the better is its relationship learning.

Hypothesis 1b: The greater the structural embeddedness of an enterprise, the better is its relationship learning.

2.5 Relationship learning and new product development performance

Facing the rapidly changing environment, an organization with special advantages on information and knowledge must renew its knowledge through learning mechanism in order to enhance the capability of original knowledge and improve the organizational competitiveness (Sanchez & Heene, 1997). For the transferer and recipient of knowledge to have same knowledge and similar acknowledgement, regardless of the

type of knowledge transfer, during the “teach and learn” dynamic knowledge transfer process (Verkasalo & Lappalainen,1998) the organization must go through socialization, education and learning procedures and appropriately deliver knowledge to the members in need. And with the complete absorption of the knowledge, the organizational capability, performance and value can be improved (Joanne, 2000).

Innovation comes from all members within the organization, not just from several R&D personnel. One of the key of organizational learning is to ensure all members have a broader range of “common knowledge” based on which innovation or new knowledge can be quickly spread out, and the dispersed knowledge can be easily integrated (Brown & Duguid, 1991). With the knowledge circulation mechanism (Housel & Bell,2001) established by the integration of accelerated organizational learning, the culture of knowledge sharing, and the systematic intelligence information, both sides of the knowledge providers and recipients will be able to duplicate, transfer, accumulate and innovate knowledge through interaction, participation in communication, mutual commitment and adjustment such that they can increase the business profit, improve the organizational capability and strengthen the organizational competitiveness (Hickins,1999).

Based on the above studies and inference, this study proposes the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 2: The greater the relationship learning of an enterprise, the better is its new product development performance.

Regarding factor of relationship learning, this study proposes the following sub-hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2a: The greater the information sharing of an enterprise, the better is its new product development performance.

Hypothesis 2b: The greater the joint sense making of an enterprise, the better is its new product development performance.

Hypothesis 2c: The greater the development of shared relationship memories of an enterprise, the better is its new product development performance.

2.6 Network embeddedness and new product development performance

Moran (2005) points out in the research on social capital and management performance that, the stronger the network embeddedness among enterprises, the higher the efficiency of resource transfer. This will also facilitate the transfer and exchange of implicit and complicated knowledge, and possibly encourage mutual innovation activities to improve the innovation performance.

Adner (2006) thinks once the innovation ecological system begins to operate successfully, companies will be able to create enormous value. However, this cannot be achieved on one company independently. Whether the innovation market can be formed? When can it be formed? These will be determined not only by the performances of companies, but also by the performance of their partners. The so-called innovation ecological system is in accordance with the business network embeddedness in this study. The so-called partners include upstream suppliers, downstream customers, and the parallel academic research institutes.

Based on the above studies and inference, this study proposes the following

hypotheses.

Hypothesis 3: The greater the network embeddedness of an enterprise, the better is its new product development performance.

Regarding types of business network embeddedness, this study proposes the following sub-hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3a: The greater the relational embeddedness of an enterprise, the better is its new product development performance.

Hypothesis 3b: The greater the structural embeddedness of an enterprise, the better is its new product development performance.

2.7 Network embeddedness, relationship learning and new product development performance

Finally, based on above literatures, in this study we will utilize regression analysis to verify the intermediate effect of relationship learning between the network embeddedness and new product development performance. Therefore the following hypothesis is introduced in this study:

Hypothesis 4: relationship learning will show intermediate effect on the relationship between the network embeddedness relationship among companies and partners, and the new product development performance.

3. METHOD

3.1 Research framework

The operating structure of this study is shown in Figure 1.

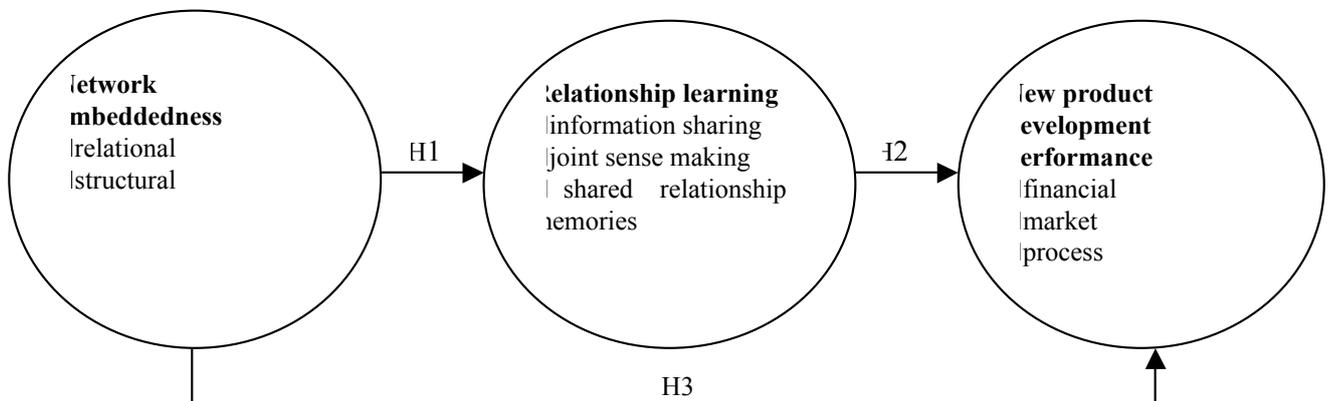


Figure 1. Research framework of the operating structure.

3.2 Sample and data collection

After the research structure is developed in this study, six experts/scholars confirmed the feasibility of the research structure before developing the questionnaire. Then we conduct full-scale questionnaire survey with respect to all the 220 business members of

Taiwan Medical and Biotech Industry Association. In the end the recovery rate of valid questionnaire is 59.1%.

3.3 Variable definitions and measurement

We developed a seven-point Likert scale for each of the constructs, tapping core conceptual tributes developed in prior research. Respondents were asked to indicate the degree of their agreement (1 = “strongly disagree”; 7 = “strongly agree”) with statements about their enterprise’s network embeddedness.

Statistical tools, including reliability analysis, validity analysis, correlation analysis, t-testing, structural equation modeling (SEM), and regression analysis, were used to analyze the questionnaire results to verify our hypotheses.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Reliability analysis

The evaluation criteria of reliability analysis are: (1) the α value of Cronbach’s reliability must be larger than 0.5; (2) the coefficient of item to total correlation must be larger than 0.5. From the result of reliability examination we can see that the Cronbach’s α of the dimensions in this study are all larger than 0.8, and the item to total correlation value is also larger than 0.5, indicating a certain level of reliability.

4.2 Validity analysis

The evaluation criteria of validity analysis are: (1) composite reliability (CR) must be larger than 0.7; (2) the average variance extracted (AVE) of latent variable must be larger than 0.5. From the result of validity examination we can see that the CR values of the dimensions in this study are all larger than 0.7, and the AVE values are also larger than 0.5, indicating that the evaluation model of this study has good convergent validity.

4.3 Correlation analysis

In this study we use Pearson’s approach of correlation analysis to conduct the correlation verification on the relationships among various dimensions. The result of the verification shows that, there are high and ultra-high correlation between the dimensions of network embeddedness and relationship learning. There are also high and ultra-high correlation between the dimensions of relationship learning and new product development performance. Between the dimensions of network embeddedness and new product development performance, most of them show high and ultra-high correlation while a small number of them are showing moderate correlation.

4.4 Regression analysis

In this study we use regression analysis to verify the effects generated between network embeddedness and relationship learning, between relationship learning and new product development performance, between network embeddedness and new product development performance, and among network embeddedness and relationship learning and new product development performance. The results are shown in Table 1, 2, 3 and 4.

From Table 1 we know that the H1a and H1b introduced by this study are supported, meaning that H1 is supported.

From Table 2 we know that the H2a and H2c introduced by this study are supported, meaning that H2 is partially supported.

From Table 3 we know that the H3a, H3b introduced by this study are supported, meaning that H3 is supported.

From Table 4 we know that due to the effect of network embeddedness on new product development performance is weaker than the effect of relationship learning on new product development performance, that H4 is supported and the relationship learning is the partial intermediate variable between network embeddedness and new product development performance.

Table 1. Results of regression analysis: network embeddedness and relationship learning

Dependent variable	Independent variables	β	SE	t	p-value
	(Constant)				
relationship learning	Relational embeddedness	0.542	0.094	5.766	0.0001**
	Structural embeddedness	0.290	0.093	3.104	0.002**
F=185.000, Sig.=0.000, R ² =0.744, adj R ² =0.740					
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01					

Table 2. Results of regression analysis: relationship learning and new product development performance

Dependent variable	Independent variables	β	SE	t	p-value
	(Constant)				
New product development performance	information share	0.232	0.083	2.846	0.005**
	joint sense making	0.118	0.101	1.196	0.234
	shared relationship memories	0.589	0.090	6.914	0.000**
F=177.993, Sig.=0.000, R ² =0.809, adj R ² =0.805					
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01					

Table 3. Results of regression analysis: network embeddedness and new product development performance

Dependent variable	Independent variables	β	SE	t	p-value
	(Constant)				
New product development performance	relational embeddedness	0.510	0.119	4.269	0.0001**
	structural embeddedness	0.331	0.119	2.790	0.006**

$F=116.873, \text{ Sig.}=0.000, R^2=0.648, \text{ adj } R^2=0.642$

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01

Table 4. Results of regression analysis: network embeddedness , relationship learning and new product development performance

Dependent variable	Independent variables	β	SE	t	p-value
new product development performance	(Constant)				
	network embeddedness	0.164	0.830	1.980	0.05*
	relationship learning	0.813	0.086	9.481	0.0001**
$F=243.107, \text{ Sig.}=0.000, R^2=0.793, \text{ adj } R^2=0.790$					

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Conclusions

5.1.1 network embeddedness and relationship learning

Research results show there is significant position correlation between them. Therefore we think for improving the effectiveness of relationship learning, it is necessary for enterprises to establish all kinds of close connections with partners in order to deliver better performances in this environment with intensive competition.

5.1.2 relationship learning and new product development performance

Research results show that there is significant position correlation between them. Therefore, we think enterprises must work with external partners to establish a good relationship system including knowledge sharing and interaction pattern in order to improve the new product development performance.

5.1.3 network embeddedness and new product development performance

Research results show there is significant position correlation between them. Therefore, we think for improving the new product development performance, it is necessary for enterprises to establish all kinds of close connections with partners in order to deliver better performances in this environment with intensive competition.

5.1.4 network embeddedness, relationship learning and new product development performance

The result of empirical analysis in this study shows that relationship learning has generated intermediate effect between the network embeddedness and new product development performance. Therefore we conclude that during the process of new product development, relationship learning is a very important key factor, and enterprises must work with external partners to establish a good relationship system including knowledge sharing and interaction pattern in order to improve the new product development performance.

In summary, that enterprises must develop tighter network embeddedness with all kinds of business partners to get better effectiveness from relationship learning, and with more effective relationship learning they can achieve the goal of improving new product

development performance.

5.1 Limitations and future research directions

(1) This study only targets the medical and biotech equipment industry in Taiwan, therefore the follow-up studies can focus on different kind of industry with the research structure introduced in this study to develop different questionnaire for similar studies. Then they can compare the result with that of this study as a reference.

(2) the study was conducted under time and funding constraints. Hence, it used cross-sectional data as the basis for verification, which might have affected the research results. Future studies could use longitudinal data to further explore the relationship between network embeddedness and service innovation performance, as this would better reveal the causal relationship between them.

(3) In this study the choice of research indicator is limited such that we only use new product development performance to represent the performance evaluation. However, the innovation of the enterprise is not limited to the development of new products. Proceeding researchers can consider other innovative models such as open innovation, process innovation, business model innovation, strategic innovation, and service innovation as the targets for analysis. Or they can divided the innovations based on their natures into the incremental innovation and revolutionary innovation, and explore the effects and differences of business network embeddedness on these two innovations. Due to the lack of sufficient research on relationship learning, we hope in the future we can further explore the correlation among business network embeddedness, relationship learning, and performance.

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**The Influence of Sino-Culture on the Meanings of University Diplomas in
Taiwan : The Cultural Gap between the West and Taiwan**

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Abstract

Western societies have extended their hegemony from the political field to educational research, as witnessed by the phenomenon that most Taiwanese researchers have long employed western theories/thoughts to conduct educational studies. Such an approach is unable to gain precise findings because it largely neglects the unique characteristics of Sino-Culture. This essay attempts to argue that for Chinese people, university diplomas have different meanings than for their Western counterparts. Besides their function as indicators of labour market value, university diplomas also project honor and excellence, and thus create a strong sense of social symbolism penetrating in Sino-societies. Therefore, acquiring a university diploma is not only an individual's personal concern, but also a key matter for his/her parents and family.

Keywords: university diploma, cultural meaning, Sino-culture, Taiwan

1. Introduction

The global economic system significantly benefits western advanced countries, granting them the status of hegemony that allows them to export their thoughts and values to other countries. Therefore, western theories are generally viewed as unproblematic in educational research. However, it is almost impossible for this

approach to obtain complete and solid findings due to its neglect of the cultural gap. Individual countries tend to develop their own cultures with unique characteristics and meanings that are able to shape people's minds and behaviors. Sino-culture, for example, has different characteristics from western culture. Agriculture, which was the main industry in ancient China, required organized manpower, so it gradually brewed big-scale families that functioned as a vital core of life by providing shelter and adequate food. When people needed to be reliant upon family, family-oriented culture gradually developed and eventually become part of Sino-culture. In such a context, people were concerned with sustaining and enhancing their own family status and reputation rather than their own individual concerns. This collective approach substantially constrained the scope of individual ideas. It also further created a special form of culture – face-oriented culture. This was because a big scale family in ancient China required a harmonious relationship among its numerous members so that emotional solidarity was fostered. A key way to mediate the numerous and unpredictable conflicts among a large number of family members was to maintain their face. In other words, saving face served to maintain a strong sense of emotional solidarity, which was vital for running a big scale family.

These unique elements of Sino-culture function to condition Chinese minds and behaviors. This linkage suggests that Chinese people should have different viewpoints about the meanings of university diplomas from their western counterparts. This essay sets out to argue that beside their function as indicators of labour market value, university diplomas should embody the meanings of excellence and glory in Taiwanese society. Acquiring a university diploma is not only the concern of an individual, but also an important matter for his/her parents and family.

2. Globalization and Western Hegemony

The evolution of a powerful trading system in the world has gradually changed the nature of economic activities, as witnessed by the shift from an international form to a global one. In the stage when trading took an international form, individual companies attempted to enlarge their own size in order to dominate the market by establishing more branches in overseas countries. Internationalization, thus, became a core value in running a company. However, it was almost impossible for international companies to achieve such a goal. This was simply because every internationalized company had its competitors. Small companies were able to threaten big companies as well by producing better quality commodities. Those factors appeared to end the competitive dogma in the market and breed a new form of belief – cooperation – pushing international companies to produce commodities together. This new era reallocates the positions of individual companies and the meanings of manufacture.

Individual companies are no longer the only company in charge of manufacturing and selling certain items or commodities. The need to achieve profit gives those big companies no choice but to cooperate together in order to survive in the market. Furthermore, incomes are able to change the market nature. As Storey (1999) argues, consumers cannot produce texts. However, this doesn't mean that texts are able to impose themselves on consumers. Higher incomes bestow power upon consumers, allowing them to 'select' the text that they want. When the consumers get richer, preferences may act as the key factor in the choice of commodities, rather than prices. The above factors have gradually pushed the market away from an internationalized form and moved it into a system of global economy.

The global economic system establishes cooperation as the central value, penetrating not only into the economic sector but also into the political field. In order to enlarge the market size, trading barriers need to be eliminated as much as possible. Therefore, capitalists have devoted themselves to creating relevant organizations successively, such as GATS, WTO, and the IMF, both in local regions and the world, in order to move away trading barriers and facilitate the gain of larger capitalist profits than before:

One of the defining characteristics of globalization is the enormously accelerated expansion of capital --- especially of financial capital. However, even in these circumstances, and even in the case of financial capital, points of fixity are essential. This is because (1) capital cannot guarantee the conditions of its own existence and (2) it always has to be institutionally embedded. In other words, capitalists social relations must be set in a configuration of social institutions that is supportive of, or at least not obstructive to, its continuing expansion. (Robertson, Bonal, and Dale, 2006: 229)

Alongside the development of those regional and global institutions, individual territories are fused into regions and, thus, blur the boundaries between countries (Giddens, 1990). Furthermore, massive economic profits give most free countries no choice but to accept the system of economic globalization (Dale, 2003). As a result, the authority of nation-states is gradually eroded, as witnessed by the giving up of rights on importing commodity tax policy under the constitution of the WTO (Dale, 2003; Robertson, Bonal and Dale, 2006; Schriewer, 2003). As far as we know, those advanced countries that tend to belong to western bodies are eager to propagandize the importance of economic globalization via their agents, such as the regional and global institutions mentioned above. When those western advanced countries are the main impetus of economic globalization, western thoughts will intrude into those of importing countries. Dale (2003) argues that this cultural intrusion will generate a

profound impact on local cultures of importing countries and, thus jeopardize their national identities. In order to sustain or protect national identity, those importing countries will employ a policy of localization. For Green (2006), education serves as a key means to achieve such an intention. In order to sustain national identity, the nation-state may address the importance of citizenship education.

However, these arguments tend to separate material and psychic aspects and, thus, neglect the interactive linkage that may further create the phenomenon of modeling. Marxists have long condemned the negative influence of material needs on the human spirit. Terms such as alienation (Marx, 1961), reification (Lukacs, 1971), one dimensional man (Marcuse, 1964), or hedonism (Bell, 1976), have been created to depict the phenomenon that human beings are subject to material needs. Nevertheless, such perspectives, which are deeply rooted in Marx's two un-exchangeable concepts, use-value and exchange-value (referring to real needs in life and symbolic meanings in social activities respectively (Marx, 1961)), tends to divide human life into two separated segments – material and spiritual. In contrast, Veblen (1994) tends to see an interchangeable nature in material and spiritual aspects:

Gradually, as industrial activity further displaces predatory activity in the community's everyday life and in men's habits of thought, accumulated property more and more replaces trophies of predatory exploit as the conventional exponent of prepotence and success. With the growth of settled industry, therefore, the possession of wealth gains in relative importance and effectiveness as a customary basis of repute and esteem... The possession of wealth, which was at the outset valued simply as an evidence of efficiency, becomes in popular apprehension, itself a meritorious act. Wealth is now itself intrinsically honourable and confers honour on its possessor. (Veblen, 1994: 18-9)

Veblen's argument reveals that the meanings of property cannot be viewed only as a simple form of material possession, but also embody a social value. Therefore, pecuniary emulation becomes a key way of demonstrating one's superior financial condition to others and, in turn, enables one to gain social honor and functions as an excellent social symbol. This social value further suggests that wealth tends to bestow superior status with the meaning of excellence upon those people or countries that are wealthy or advanced. As we know, the industrial revolution commenced in Western Europe and created a considerable degree of wealth in countries in that region, thus conferring on them the title of "advanced" countries. This title becomes the target of modeling for other countries. The phenomenon of modeling penetrates almost all parts of the world. The new right, for example, initially emerged in the UK and USA at the outset (Chiang, 2008a, 2009a), but since then has become popular in many

countries like New Zealand (Codd, J. Gordon and Harker, 1997) and Taiwan (Chiang, 2003, 2009b). Due to its powerful function in economic and political fields, English language, another archetypical case, has acquired a new social value, based on the assumption that the acquisition of English is able to let its learners possess global vision and competitiveness. This powerful value drives many parents to devote a considerable time and effort to letting their children learn English (Lai and Byram, 2006).

The above analysis indicates that people are subject to the allure of materials. If wealth enables its possessors obtain a superior position and dignity, people will tend to worship wealthy/advanced countries. However, Said (2006) reminds us that such an inclination serves not only to appreciate the value of Western cultures but also to devalue the cultures of importing countries. This phenomenon derives from the situation that when the elites of Muslim countries return to their countries from American universities, they tend to use Western thoughts to interpret the meanings of their home country cultures. Therefore, Muslim cultures are devalued, resulting in a post-colonial phenomenon in which importing countries voluntarily support Western hegemony.

3. The Unique Meanings of Individual Cultures

Although the system of global economy allows Western advanced countries to export their thoughts, the unique meanings of individual cultures cannot be ignored. Schutz (1972), for example, argues that individual cultures develop within a specific context with unique meanings that are created by people's interactions. All members of a given society participate in constructing their own cultures. Without such participation, it is very hard for others, termed as cultural strangers, to understand the deep meaning of a given culture. Schriewer (2003) also argues that globalization has created homogeneity in many regions and let Western countries obtain a position of hegemony. However, it doesn't mean that individual societies develop a similar or even the same culture. It is also wrong to use the same criteria to evaluate all cultures. This is simply because the process of cultural development is dynamic rather than static. A lot of unexpected factors are able to affect this process and, then, infuse special meaning elements into a given culture. Luhmann's theory (1995) also provides a similar account. According to Luhmann, there are ceaseless interactions between systems/subsystems and their environments. However, such interactions tend to enlarge the differentiations between them rather than to generate similarity. This is because individual system/subsystems need to sustain their own unique social functions in order to gain autonomy. Otherwise, they will lose their independent operation and be merged into others. Therefore, every system needs to observe the

changes in its outside environment and to undergo functional innovation – a process which can be conceptualized as self-reference:

Self-reference produces recursive, circular closure, but closure does not serve as an end in itself, not even as the sole mechanism of preservation or a principle of security. Instead, it is the condition of possibility for openness. All openness is based on closure, and this is possible because self-referential operations do not absorb the full meaning, do not totalize but merely accompany; because they do not conclude, do not lead to an end, do not fulfill a telos, but rather open out.

... The “self” or self-reference is never the totality of a closed system, and it is never the referring itself. It is always merely an aspect of the constitutive nexus of open system that carries its autopoiesis: elements, processes and the system itself. (Luhmann, 1995: 447)

Therefore, the conditions of an environment not only act as constraints to inhibit the operational scope of a system but also provide the base for reconstructing its functions. Self-reference allows a system to choose the best way to achieve its functional complexity and difference that further sustain its autonomous operation. Therefore, a system will continue to maintain its own differentiation from its environment and other systems. This phenomenon also indicates that it is almost impossible to have similarities or resemblances among cultures. Archer’s (2003) morphogenetic approach also highlights the notion of cultural difference rather than similarity. She argues that human beings need to be viewed as reflexive agents with the ability to surmount obstacles of their contexts. Social structure may constrain one’s actions. However, the actor is able to evaluate his/her abilities and develop action projects via internal conversion. Creative actions lead to reshaping social structure. A new structure becomes a new form of structural constraint. Therefore, social development follows a solid model with three steps: concerns → projects → practices:

... our mental powers of reflexive deliberation firstly secure our unique personal identities through our singular constellation of concerns, meaning that we are radically heterogeneous as people, rather than having common ends. Secondly, our subjectivity is dynamic rather than static because we modify our own goals in terms of their contextual feasibility, as we see it. Finally, by virtue of our internal dialogues, we are active rather than passive because we adjust and adapt our projects to those practices that we consider have a better chance of realization. (Archer, 2003: 134)

The above arguments show that individual cultures have their own unique meanings. It is unwise to use the same criteria or concepts to view all cultures.

Unfortunately, Western advanced countries have extended their hegemony from the economic and political fields to culture. Their thoughts and theories have been viewed as a sacred dogma for conducting research in other countries. Obviously, this approach neglects cultural differentiations, and results in the generation of poor or incomplete findings and theories.

4. The Characteristics of Sino-Culture

As noted previously, when wealth is linked with prestige and social honor, Western countries are able to gain the status of hegemony. The global economical system further assists Western countries to export their values and thoughts. Therefore, Western thoughts have penetrated almost all parts of Taiwanese society, including political, economical and cultural fields. The education system, for example, has been converted to follow a similar track to the western style. Generally speaking, Taiwanese educational researchers have long absorbed western thoughts to conduct research. In terms of methodological approach, although a positivist approach allows researchers to find relationships between dependent and independent variables, this linear linkage cannot help people to understand the deep meanings of a given social culture. It cannot let us understand the complex accounts behind the generalized rules of positivism.

As Weber (1949, 1962) argues, people tend to have different tastes and styles, shaped by different experiences. What they are concerned about differs from individual to individual. Therefore, in terms of deep meaning, it is very hard to have the same rule. Such different concerns and experiences tend to make people initiate subjective behaviors, heading to achieve specific targets that individual people prefer. This argument describes why the positivist approach cannot reveal the unique meaning of a given social culture. Such a weakness may also appear in qualitative studies. If researchers employ western thoughts to do research, the findings that they get cannot be complete and solid. What they touch will be restricted to the surface level rather than attaining a significant scope. This is simply because they neglect the unique meanings of a given social culture that shape people's minds and behaviors significantly.

The actions of organized teachers can be used as a typical case for illustrating such a phenomenon. Generally speaking, western primary teachers are much more militant, as witnessed by their conducting of long-term and large scale industrial actions against their employers in order to improve their material rewards (Barber, 1992; Ozga and Lawn, 1981; Tropp, 1957). However, Chiang (2008b) gained a contrary picture in which Taiwanese primary teachers displayed a lukewarm attitude towards collective action due to a strong sense of professional commitment. This was

because Chinese culture bestowed on primary teachers a great degree of teaching autonomy and social status. In ancient Chinese society, there was a close relationship between the Emperor and the teacher. As a national leader, the Emperor had to behave as a model for his people, to whom he was also a teacher. This symbolic meaning gradually extended to both senior officials and teachers and their relationships. A very high level of social status thus adhered to teachers who were defined as one of the five superior-social-status groups (God, the Earth, the Emperor, the Family and the Teacher). They had an important symbolic position to sustain as guardians of social morality. They had to possess a high level of academic knowledge, as well as sound social attributes, in order to influence other people. Furthermore, the outstanding achievement of Confucius has further ensured teachers function as a key element in protecting social morality and social solidarity (Tsurumi, 1977). This has influenced their rewards in Taiwanese society, resulting in them being viewed as professionals and given high levels of social status, prestige and salary (Chiang, 1996). The interplay of these factors has led to the construction of a very protected context for teachers, and deeply formed their professional ideology.

If we admit the fact that individual cultures have their own meanings and, thus, generate a profound influence on the formation of people's thoughts and actions, Western theories and thoughts should be viewed as problematic rather than unchallengeable. As we know, Western cultures can be characterized as individualist, referring to the phenomenon that individual people devote themselves to actualizing their own personal goals rather than others' concerns. Social changes are able to reinforce this individualism. Castells (1999), for example, argues that the operation of the computer network is mainly reliant upon individual persons. By providing a personal platform, this network is able to cultivate the culture of individualism as seen by the situation in which individual persons are able to satisfy their own desires or needs in the networked world. The global economic system also favors the culture of individualism. Blackmore (2006), for example, believes that the concept of international competitiveness has replaced the idea of social welfare in the arena of the global economical system. This is mainly because the economic system appreciates personal achievements rather than collective concerns. Furthermore, pursuing more capitalist profits will change the national state's policies, shifting to the economic aspect rather than social welfare.

Some scholars argue that the characteristics of Sino-culture are different from those of Western culture. Yang and his associate (Yang, 2002; Yang and Ye, 2005) argue that Sino-culture has long addressed the importance of family values. This is because the size of Chinese families used to be big, normally having over three or even four generations. A big-sized family was able to form organized manpower that

perfectly fitted in with ancient Chinese society, in which the main industry was agriculture. In this stage, land and water supply were key ingredients for survival. A big family was able to hold a big piece of land and to construct an irrigation system for supplying its members with adequate food and to accumulate a fortune. Furthermore, such families not only provided their members with good shelter but also protected them from enemy attacks. The family had gradually become a vital core of life. This situation eventually formed a family-oriented culture, making its members sustain and enhance the reputation of their family. Although industrialization has lasted for about fifty years in Taiwan, this family-oriented culture is still preserved. As noted previously, wealth is viewed as a symbol of social prestige, so this family-oriented culture will force family members to protect and enhance their family's honor and reputation with their achievements. As a result, what he or she pursues may not be his/her will but the expectations of his/her family.

Hwang (1987, 2005) argues that such an effort functions as a symbol of family/parental face. This is because this family-oriented culture will further incubate a face-oriented culture. A big family tends to have a considerable number of members and, thus, numerous and unpredictable conflicts occur between them easily. In ancient Chinese society, this situation required the family master to maintain the harmonious relationship among his family members. If he failed to complete this mission, the big family would start to fall apart. This mediatory role further bestowed a considerable degree of authority upon him. The combination of authority and family concordance tended to create a special way of resource allocation. Regarding this issue, what came to his mind was not an equal principle, an iron dogma as in Western culture, but an emotional coherence. This harmonious principle expanded its influence to society and eventually became part of Chinese culture. Therefore, the right of resource distribution was normally given to an important person. However, the harmonious principle was always mixed with an emotional account that was initially brewed within the family, as mentioned previously. The distributor of resource allocation normally needed to consider personal and social linkages, with the blood relationship as the top priority, friendship next and the equality principle finally. This method of determination embodied a strong sense of emotional concordance and generated a face-oriented culture. Because this culture lasted for thousands of years in ancient Chinese society, it is able to survive now under the impact of industrialization. The face-oriented culture now becomes a matter of courtesy for interacting with others. Due to its original birth context, face-oriented culture is also fused with family-oriented culture. Therefore, someone's outstanding achievement is not only a matter of family reputation but also an issue of parental face.

5. The Meanings of University Diplomas in Taiwan

Obviously, industrialization has generated a profound influence on the division of labor, as witnessed by the expanding size of the professional and middle class population (Dahrendorf, 1959; Durkheim, 1933; Tocqueville, 1945). This change ensures the importance of meritocracy, so that social mobility is no longer based upon someone's family background but his/her professional training (Young, 1961). This mechanism of selection, argued by Parsons (1961), allows working class children to achieve upward social mobility via excellent educational achievements. When people recognize the importance of schooling, the development of education becomes an issue of institutionalization (Myer, 1977). Therefore, almost all democratic countries devote a considerable amount of resources to expanding the size of higher education in order to achieve two parallel purposes – social civilization and social mobility (Dale, 2001). However, when higher education is in over supply, the university diploma cannot maintain its original value as the professional club passport for its possessors (Chiang, 2000, 2009b). Furthermore, the theory of cultural reproduction also highlights the pessimistic fate of working class children due to a limited volume of cultural capital invested by their families (Bernstein, 1996; Bourdieu, 1993). As argued by Archer (2003) and Giddens (1979, 1984), the rational mind is an inborn gift of the human being, so that under such a situation, most working class parents would stop engaging in educational investment for their underachieving children.

Currently, Taiwanese society is facing an increasingly serious problem of university over supply. The buyers' market for higher education institutes offers over 100% chance of university entrance. This over supply suggests that the value of university diplomas in the labor market has decreased significantly (Brown, 1997) so that working class parents may be reluctant to send their underachieving children to university. In contrast, the rate of children who study in university demonstrates an increasing trend – 87.52 % in 2008. Obviously, this picture goes against the western theories mentioned above. This gap indicates that the meanings of university diplomas are not confined within the scope of the labor market. Wang (2002) argues that Chinese society has long valued university diplomas significantly. This is because in ancient times officials were ranked as social elite with dignity and wealth. Passing imperial examinations not only let the successful candidates enter into officialdom, but also brought significant glory to their parents and families. Although the imperial examination has been abolished for decades, a new form of examination, the national examination, operates with a strictly selective mechanism that endows successful candidates with the social symbol of excellence and glory. Therefore, selection has an added meaning: excellence. When higher education institutes only had a limited capacity, the entrance examination was very strict, so that university diplomas

embodied the same social symbolism as the above. A university diploma normally ensured its holders to occupy white collar posts that would bring glory to their parents and families. Therefore, studying in university was not only the precursor to a bright future, but also indicated the status associated with mental excellence.

Although the over supply of universities has decreased the value of university diplomas in the labor market significantly, the symbol of university training, the *literati*, generally remains. Veblen (1994) argues that possessing precious commodities is a key means of proving one's superior wealth to others and, thus, of winning social honor. Therefore, the divide between 'have' and 'have not' refers to a division between excellence and poverty respectively. This derived social value, as argued by Marcuse (1964) and Bell (1976), creates a strong desire for people to purchase precious commodities in order to promote their social standing. This linkage suggests that if university diplomas can be viewed as rare commodities, people will be eager to earn them in order to prove their ability. When university capacity is over enlarged, the rarity value of university diplomas is diminished, and, thus, people's desire to have them is reduced. However, 'have not' carries the symbol of poverty, so that the oversupply of university diplomas may create another form of social value, a basic requirement, indicating the yardstick for a minimal level of ability. Therefore, if someone doesn't acquire a university diploma that is prevalent, he/she would be viewed as intellectually deficient. This possibility is much more likely to occur within Chinese society. As spotlighted in previous sections, two unique characteristics of Sino-culture, family-oriented culture and face-oriented culture, function as key factors to drive Chinese behavior. Therefore, not acquiring a university diploma is not only someone's concern but also a matter of parents/family. Under the influence of face-oriented and family-oriented cultures, Chinese parents are likely to push their children to chase university diplomas because it is a real matter of face, and a matter of family glory as well. Therefore, although working class parents generally have economic difficulty, they are likely to be motivated culturally to invest capital in their children's education. Chinese students would feel that it is important for them to meet parental expectations or complete family missions. This inside drive and outside expectation correspond to construct a coherent structure, creating a certain scope of action for people. This possible linkage indicates that for Chinese parents, the meanings of university diplomas are not confined within economic and scholastic scopes. Acquiring university diplomas is involved with matters of parental face and family glory.

6. Conclusion

Advanced technology has allowed western countries to gain the power of

hegemony. The global economic system further benefits them to export their thoughts and values. Under such a situation, western thoughts and theories become unproblematic for doing educational research. However, it is almost impossible for such researchers to obtain complete and solid findings due to their neglect of the fact that individual cultures have their own unique meanings, functioning to condition people's behaviors significantly. Chinese society, for example, tends to display two unique characteristics – face-oriented and family-oriented cultures. These two elements generate a profound influence on shaping the meanings of university diplomas. When university students were strictly selected, the acquisition of a university diploma was a symbol of excellence and glory. Therefore, Chinese parents were eager to push their students to study hard in order to enter university. Now that an oversupply of university places has arisen, the decreasing value of university diplomas in the labor market should have lessened such motive. In contrast, Chinese people still appreciate the symbolic value of university diplomas. A reasonable explanation would be that when university training becomes a basic requirement, not acquiring a university diploma may indicate the un-possessor's deficient intelligence, and humiliate his/her parents and family. Therefore, even working class parents would be willing to encourage their underachieving children to acquire university diplomas. This picture suggests that the unique characteristics of Sino-culture function to profoundly influence the molding of the meanings of university diplomas, in ways that are different from Western countries.

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Relationships among Self-directed Learning Readiness, English Learning Motivation, and Learning Satisfaction of University Students in Taiwan

ABSTRACT

The arrival of the global village epoch has made interpersonal exchanges among different countries more frequent. Information interchanges rapidly; language is a bridge for people to communicate with each other. From an educational point of view, at the university stage, English is an important basic course, which fortifies the nation's competitiveness. The English language exists in every communication activity in today's world—global economy and trade, mass culture, international diplomacy, scientific and technological research, sports exchange, higher education, etc. English is the indispensable basic common language. This research adopts the questionnaire investigation method and carries on the sample investigation to students at Grade 1 in Day School, 2009, of National Cheng Kung University. The effective sample is 607. Methods of descriptive statistical analysis, correlation analysis, and multiple regression analysis have been adopted mainly for processing the data.

Keywords: University student; self-directed learning readiness; English study motivation; study satisfaction

Introduction

After Taiwan joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, the ability to use English and having a cosmopolitan worldview become more important. To improve English language ability of the whole people, the government planned to classify English as the quasi-official language in 2003 and has made a great effort to promote English study. The Education Ministry plans to start English courses at Grade 3 in primary schools and reduce the gap between cities and countryside. Foreign teachers have been employed; a bilingual environment is being developed; and TOEFL, TOEIC, IELTS, and GEPT remediation and overseas study are popular. English requirements for university graduates; English weighted grading system for recommendation-and-selection entrance; and supporting measures such as full English teaching in universities, etc., have been implemented. Taiwan is trying hard to build an excellent environment for English study, which has become an activity for all. The society devotes a great deal of money, time, and energy, and an atmosphere of "every one studies English" pervades.

In "Investigation of the Most Cherished Graduates and Talent Tactics of Taiwan's 1000 Big Enterprises," *Cheers Magazine* (2008) found that enterprises' view of the abilities of

freshman that most need to be strengthened consider a cosmopolitan worldview and foreign language ability as third most important (34.3 percent). Foreign language ability is indispensable in this competitive era.

Teaching English Skill — the special edition of *Common Wealth Magazine* (2007) reveals five important data that illuminate the English language's significance in the current world: (1) In 2000, there were 1 billion people study English all over the world. (2) In 2010, there will be 2 billion people study English all over the world (one-third of the world population). (3) In 2010, half of the world population will communicate in English. (4) David Crystal (linguist) said that since the dawn of human civilization, English has become the language spoken by various countries. (5) Countries regard English as a springboard to study new knowledge and "citizens' ability" of the twenty-first century.

"Globalization" is the path that Taiwan will follow. Therefore, the main principle of the Ministry of Education's four-year administration already has classified undergraduates passing an English test as its administrative goal. The question of improving students' English ability becomes the development emphasis of colleges. *Cheers Magazine* (2008) had adopted eight indicators to appraise enterprises on graduates. National Taiwan University continues to hold first place this year, while National Cheng Kung University ranks second. Regarding the indicator of "cosmopolitan worldview and foreign language ability," National Cheng Kung University ranks fourth. National Taiwan University succeeds as enterprises pay great attention to students' "cosmopolitan worldview and foreign language ability." Indicators show that National Cheng Kung University still need to improve.

Based on these data, this research regards students at Grade 1 in Day School, Year 96, of National Cheng Kung University as research object. The research probes relations of English learning motivation, self-directed learning inclination, and learning satisfaction. We hope to reach the following purposes, and offer suggestions for the reference of student, teacher, school, and future researcher.

1. Understanding the relevant conditions of university students' self-directed learning readiness and English study satisfaction
2. Probing the relevant conditions of university students' English learning motivation and study satisfaction
3. Probing the relevant conditions of university students' self-directed learning readiness and English learning motivation
4. Finding the influence of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation on study satisfaction

Literature review and hypotheses development

Definition and theory of self-directed learning inclination

Ting (1996) pointed out that Guglielmino (1977) offered self-directed learning readiness theory in his doctoral dissertation, *Self-directed Learning Readiness Scale (SDLRS)*. SDLRS is applied mainly to evaluate the examinee's skill and attitude of self-directed learning readiness. However, Guglielmino had not defined the phrase "self-directed learning readiness" clearly. He only explained that self-directed learning refers to "individual studies voluntarily, continuously without external drive. The individual has plans of learning procedure, further development and completion, and time schedule." Brockett & Hirmstra (1991) said self-directed learning is a kind of characteristic existing in the individual studying process. It should be considered a continuous variable that is neither utterly deficient utterly nor completely replete. The only difference is in the degree. Hsiao (1998) called self-directed learning readiness a learner's consciousness to one's own learning motivation and ability. An individual has efficient points of self-directed learning readiness. Theories are as follows:

1. Theory of Brookfield

Brookfield (1986) pointed out that self-directed learning readiness fits adult learners. He said critical thinking ranks importantly in adult education. He regards adult students as consumers of higher education, and proposes four research methods.

Structure: Making a series of study focuses for students with different demands, making students enjoy the experience of self-directed learning.

Climate: Building a climate of active learning with emphasis is on study satisfaction. Study should be an initiative activity. Cooperation is important.

Learn engagement: The course centers on the learner. A certification program system is set up to examine the effect of study.

Learn competency: Guide and learner wish to utilize surplus time for a self-development schedule. Introspection ability is requisite. Successful self-directed learning takes place in the social train. Information, personnel, skill, and advice in the surrounding environment are important for study and should not be ignored.

2. G. O. Grow's "staged self-directed learning model"

In 1991, from the view of teaching, Grow proposed the SSDL theory based on self-directed learning readiness—"the staged self-directed learning model." SSDL evolved from the theoretical foundation of Hetsey & Blanchard's "climate lead manner" (1988). The staged self-directed learning model supposes that learners self-develop from periodical progress. A teacher can promote or hinder this kind of development. Good teaching can act in concert with the learner's self-directed learning stage and promote the learner's self-directed learning readiness.

Definition and theory of study motivation

Stipek (1995) pointed out study motivation is a kind of achievement motive for study. It is a psychological need to pursue success, and a main influence on schoolwork achievement. McCombs (2000) found that strong study motivation and true interest obviously would raise study efficiency. If students have expectations that are more correct and higher motives, better learning will be achieved.

Motive promotes people to take action and keep going. The motives of adults who participate in further education receive even more concern. Without motive, study behavior will not happen. Inducements and interest can stimulate motive. Inducement is an external factor, such as remuneration, which raises study motivation. Interest is an individual's feeling caused by reading the curriculum or observing the study environment. Interest can elicit efficiency and is important to the learning process. Liao (1999) pointed out that during the learning process, the key to fondness and initiative is study motivation. It is a strong impetus for pursuing one's study goal. McCombs (2000) expressed that intense study motivation and interest elevate study efficiency and that high study motivation increases study effect. Theories of study motivation are as follows:

1. Weiner's self-attribution theory

Weiner (1985) brought forward the "self-attribution theory" based on Heider's (1958) causal attribution theory and Rotter's (1971) locus control concept. He proposed that people with different motives explain success or failure differently. His three-dimensional attribution theory aims at verifying three assumptions: (1) An individual has intent to understand one's own behaviors in certain situations. (2) When different individuals explain behavior results, their attributions are diverse and complex. (3) Intensity of similar motivation appearing thereafter depends on the attribution the individual made for previous behavior results. Grounded on these three assumptions, Weiner found that common people always sum up six factors causing success or failure in work. These are ability, diligence, difficulty of work, luck, physical and psychological state, etc. Weiner integrated and generalized them in three dimensions: internal and external factor, stability, and dirigibility.

2. McClelland's achievement motivation theory

McClelland (1953) said that achievement motivation is achievement need, meaning that the individual expects to do things well. This expectation influences working attitude. Therefore, achievement need is a significant factor for achievement motivation. A man provided with achievement need tends to make a greater effort, so he is provided with behaviors embodying achievement motivation. Besides, students' achievement motivation level relates to parents' cultivation type. Children with higher achievement motivation often receive encouragement,

praise, stimulation, and reward from parents.

Definition and theory of study satisfaction

Tough (1979) said satisfaction means feeling or attitude of study activity. Pleasure or positive attitude represents “satisfactory.” Displeasure or negative attitude represents “unsatisfactory.” Knowles’s (1970) research pointed out that study satisfaction is a learner's happy feeling and attitude toward learning activity. Li (2002) said study satisfaction refers to a learner's study experience and contentment in the whole learning process. The feeling depends on whether the learner enjoys the learning process, and whether study achievement meets the learner's demands. Tien (1995) defined study satisfaction as the trainee’s perception of or response to study activity, e.g., during the studying process, the degree of consciousness of one’s own wishes or need. Theories of study satisfaction are as follows:

1. Need–hierarchy theory

Maslow (1970) pointed out that needs induce behaviors. Human needs have different levels. He classifies them into five levels (from low to high): physiological needs, security needs, belonging and love needs, esteem needs, self-actualization needs. After the lower ones are satisfied, people will focus on higher needs. Therefore, adult study motivation differs according to different needs. Later, Maslow revised his need–hierarchy theory, and put forward the sixth-level need—the highest need “spiritual need of self-transcendence.” It means one can surmount the personal need and help others to reach self-realization. The goal of life that one should pursue is altruism and self-transcendence.

2. Input–output theory

From the angle of the economics of education, he proposed the “education input–output elements interaction chart.” He used the production function to represent the relationship between the input and output factors in the education process. The major role of the production function is to research various factors influencing study and study achievement. He thought that input factors, which influence school production process, could be summarized into three kinds: school environment—including teaching environment, teaching equipment, teachers' quality, etc; family environment and background—including parents' educational status, job, and income, etc; and student factor—including students’ study motivation, learning ability, etc.

Research of variables and relevant examples

1. Relevant research on self-directed learning readiness and English study satisfaction

Guglielmino (1977) found that students provided with high self-directed learning readiness always make more study achievements than those with low readiness. Partridge (1979) considered that people with high self-directed learning readiness are able to make

choices freely, react reasonably, and possess strong aspirations. Their academic credits often are good. Garver (1996) and Sandsbury (1997) discovered that higher self-directed learning readiness leads to better work behavior. The two cases have a common characteristic. Li Limei's (2002) findings showed that the student with more self-directed learning readiness always feels more content about study. As the relation between background variables changes, self-directed learning readiness diversifies, and the degree of study satisfaction varies. Self-directed learning readiness has positive correlation to study satisfaction.

Integrating the above-mentioned opinions, we conclude that self-directed learning readiness influences study effect and satisfaction. Adult with more self-directed learning readiness will feel more satisfied about study. Herewith an assumption is proposed:

H1: Self-directed learning readiness has positive correlation to English study satisfaction.

2. Relevant research on study motivation and learning satisfaction

Wang (2003) found a correlation of study type, motive, and satisfaction of adults. It shows that study motivation has significant correlation to satisfaction. Intense motivation will produce high study satisfaction. Yan (2004) investigated students of former habitants of a mountainous area in Chiayi County. He discovered that students with higher study motivation have higher satisfaction. Sheffield (1964) found during the study activity that if a student's expectations come true, s/he feels content. Lam & Wong (1974) said that if learning content tallies with students' interest and need, study satisfaction would increase. According to these researches, study motivation and satisfaction are related. Herewith an assumption is proposed:

H2: English study motivation has positive correlation to English study satisfaction.

3. Relevant research on self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation

Knowles (1975) pointed out that self-directed learners have higher study motivation and clear purpose. They are able to engage in study activity for longer periods and achieve better consequences. Tasi's (2003) research showed that self-directed learning readiness has a positive correlation to English study motivation. That is to say, higher self-directed learning readiness induces higher study motivation. Liang (2001) investigated students of the Affiliated College of Continuing Education and students of Junior 2 years In-service Training Division of Continuing Education. He found that students with higher self-directed learning readiness possess higher study motivation.

Colligating these opinions, we can observe that high self-directed learning readiness influences study motivation and satisfaction. Accordingly, we suppose that after self-directed learning readiness regulates study motivation, satisfaction degree changes. Herewith an assumption is proposed:

H3: self-directed learning readiness has positive correlation to English study motivation.

4. Research on self-directed learning readiness, study motivation, and study satisfaction

Chu (2007) discovered that public servants who participate in English study generally have high study motivation. Nevertheless, their motivations diverge because of various backgrounds. These participants acquire study satisfaction universally. The higher the scores, the higher satisfaction they will attain. Study motivation will become stronger. Correspondingly, there is better appraisal for degree of satisfaction.

Colligating these views, we are aware that correlation exists among self-directed learning readiness, study motivation, and study satisfaction. We suppose that self-directed learning readiness influences English study motivation and satisfaction. Herewith an assumption is proposed:

H4: self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have positive correlation to English study satisfaction.

Methods

Questionnaire distribution is done in this way: First, we visit English teachers, asking them to distribute and collect the questionnaires in class. The researcher distributed and collected most of the questionnaires himself, but the teacher did some. The sample selection adopts the convenience sampling method. Formal questionnaires were distributed at the beginning of March 1997 and the collection finished at the end of the month. There were 670 samples distributed and 636 collected a recovery rate of 95 percent. After deleting incomplete and invalid ones, there were 607 effective questionnaires, 91 percent of all those sent out.

First, we collect relevant documents developed by scholars. Then, we revise the collected questionnaires to formulate ours. The revised questionnaire mainly includes four parts: 1. Self-directed learning readiness measuring scale; 2. English study motivation measuring scale; 3. English study satisfaction measuring scale; 4. Basic Information for personal background. The questionnaire adopts the Likert-type Five Point Scale: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, OK, Agree, and Strongly Agree. From one to five points will be given to each choice separately.

1. Self-directed learning readiness measuring scale

We classify five aspects of self-directed learning readiness: study motivation, continuous study, self-understanding, and independent study, and active learning— 30 questions in all.

2. English study motivation-measuring scale

The English study motivation scale of this research refers to relevant documents, and quotes self-directed learning readiness measuring scales of Huang Youjun (2003) and Gardner (1985). The measuring scale includes four dimensions: internal motivation, language communication skill, motivation dimension and external motivation—16 questions in all.

Huang (2003) has permitted the quotation.

3. English study satisfaction-measuring scale

The English study satisfaction measuring scale of this research quotes the form of measuring scale of Chen (2005) and refers to the forms of relevant measuring scales of Liu (2000), in order to formulate our measuring scale. The content of measuring scale includes four dimensions: course design, teacher's teaching, study achievement, study environment, etc.—29 questions in all.

4. Basic personal information

This questionnaire includes the answerer's basic personal information, such as gender, college, previous study period of English, institute, growth place, father's education level, mother's education level, and family's monthly gross income.

Results

Reliability analysis of sample information

Reliability means the measuring scale content is provided with consistency or stability. This research adopts Cronbach's α coefficient to analyze the reliability. The purpose of this statistical method is to measure the reliability. Via reliability coefficient, inherent consistency, and relation will be verified. Cronbach's α coefficient value of self-directed learning readiness measuring scale amounts to 0.940. Cronbach's α coefficient value of English study motivation measuring scale amounts to 0.817. Cronbach's α coefficient value of English study satisfaction measuring scale amounts to 0.937. Each measuring scale shows a good or better result.

Analysis for the sample Information

A brief introduction to effective questionnaire samples: males comprise the major part of the effective sample (63.9 percent), as do technical colleges (63.9 percent). Most people first study English at primary schools (65.6 percent). Fathers' education levels mainly are college, university, and military institute (39.9 percent). Mothers' education levels are mostly senior middle school, vocational college, and sergeant school (44.5 percent). Most families' monthly gross income ranges from 40000 to 60000 Yuan (23.9 percent).

Relevant analysis

1. Self-directed learning readiness and English study satisfaction

Self-directed learning readiness has a positive correlation to English study satisfaction ($p < 0.01$). Overall, self-directed learning readiness has the highest positive correlation to English study satisfaction. Upon each dimension, study satisfaction has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. Continuous study has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. Self-understanding has the highest positive correlation to teacher's

teaching. Independent study has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. Active learning has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. Research results show that university students with higher self-directed learning readiness will get higher English study satisfaction, and vice versa.

So assumption H1: “Self-directed learning readiness has positive correlation to study satisfaction” is validated.

2. English study motivation and English study satisfaction

English study motivation has positive correlation to English study satisfaction ($p < 0.01$). Overall, English study motivation has the highest positive correlation to the dimension “study achievement” of English study satisfaction. Upon each dimension, internal motivation has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. Language communication skill has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. Motivation dimension has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. External motivation has the highest positive correlation to study achievement. Research results show that university students with higher study motivation will get higher English study satisfaction, and vice versa.

So assumption H2: “Study motivation has positive correlation to study satisfaction” is validated.

3. Self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation

Self-directed learning readiness has positive correlation to English study motivation ($p < 0.01$). Overall, self-directed learning readiness has the highest positive correlation to the dimension “motivation dimension” of English study motivation. Upon each dimension, study motivation has the highest positive correlation to motivation dimension. Continuous study has the highest positive correlation to motivation dimension. Self-understanding has the highest positive correlation to motivation dimension. Independent study has the highest positive correlation to motivation dimension. Active learning has the highest positive correlation to motivation dimension. Research results show that university students with higher self-directed learning readiness will get higher English study motivation, and vice versa.

So assumption H3: “Self-directed learning readiness has positive correlation to study motivation” is validated.

Regression analyses

Self-directed learning readiness, English study motivation, and English study satisfaction have significant positive correlation to each other. Multiple regression analysis is implemented for further research to prove self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have prediction effect to English study satisfaction.

1. Overall prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study

motivation to English study satisfaction

We make a regression analysis of prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to English study satisfaction. As illustrated in Form 4, the F value of self-directed learning readiness is 26.295 ($p < 0.001$) and reaches a significant level. This means that five factors of self-directed learning readiness influence overall satisfaction. The β values of standardized regression coefficients such as “study motivation,” “independent study,” and “active learning” reach a significant level. These three coefficients have positive correlation to study satisfaction. The other two coefficients have not reached a significant level. Overall influence accounts for 17.3 percent; i.e., the prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness to overall satisfaction of English study is 17.3 percent. The result of Manner 2 reveals that the F value of English study motivation is 32.386 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches a significant level, and indicates that the whole manner has relevance and adequacy. Internal motivation, language communication skill, motivation dimension, and external motivation reach a significant level. The overall influence is 17.2 percent; i.e., the prediction effect by English study motivation to overall satisfaction of English study is 17.2 percent.

In Manner 3, we make a regression analysis of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation. The F value is 20.313 ($p < 0.001$) and reaches a significant level. Self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have prediction effect to English study satisfaction. The β values of standardized regression coefficients such as “study motivation,” “independent study,” “active learning,” “internal motivation,” “motivation dimension,” and “external motivation” reach a significant level. These coefficients have positive correlation to overall satisfaction. Other coefficients have not reached a significant level and overall influence is 22.3 percent.

2. Prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to the “course design” dimension of English study satisfaction

We make a regression analysis of prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to the “course design” dimension of English study satisfaction. As illustrated in Form 5, the F value of self-directed learning readiness is 6.509 ($p < 0.001$) and reaches a significant level. This means that five factors of self-directed learning readiness influences course design. The β values of standardized regression coefficients such as “study motivation” and “self-understanding” reach a significant level and have positive correlation to course design. The other three coefficients have not reached a significant level. “Study motivation” has a positive influence, while “self-understanding” has a negative influence. The whole influence accounts for 4.3 percent. Manner 2 reveals that the F value of English study motivation is 6.671 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches a significant level, and indicates that the whole

manner has relevance and adequacy. The β value of motivation dimension amounts to 0.125 ($p < 0.05$). It has positive correlation to course design. The whole influence is 3.6 percent; i.e., the prediction effect by English study motivation to course design is 3.6 percent.

Manner 3 shows the results of regression analysis of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation. F value is 4.637 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches a significant level, i.e., self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have prediction effect to English study satisfaction. The β value of standardized regression coefficient “self-understanding” reaches a significant level. This coefficient has a positive correlation to course design. Other coefficients have not reached a significant level. The regression coefficient is negative: $\beta = -0.113$ ($p < 0.05$); i.e. this variable has a negative influence on course design. The overall influence is 5.1 percent, meaning that explanation power is 5.1 percent by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to course design.

Prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to the “teacher’s teaching” dimension of English study satisfaction

After regression analysis, the prediction effect of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation on teacher's teaching is observed. For details, please refer to Form 6. ($n = 607$)

Manner 1 shows that the F value of self-directed learning readiness is 21.535 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches the significant level. Five factors of self-directed learning readiness influence teacher’s teaching. The β value of standardized regression coefficient “learning motivation” amounts to 0.274 ($p < 0.001$). The β value of “self-understanding” amounts to 0.109 ($p < 0.05$). Both reach significant level. Both coefficients have positive correlation to teacher’s teaching. The other three coefficients have not reached significant level. The whole influence reaches 14.5 percent; i.e., explanation power is 14.5 percent by self-directed learning readiness to teacher’s teaching.

Manner 2 shows that the F value of English study motivation is 22.465 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches the significant level, and indicates the whole manner has relevance and adequacy. The β value of “language communication skill” amounts to 0.185 ($p < 0.001$). The β value of “motivation dimension” amounts to 0.221. ($p < 0.05$) Both reach the significant level. Both coefficients have positive correlation to teacher’s teaching. The whole influence reaches 12.4 percent; i.e., the explanation effect by English study motivation to teacher’s teaching is 12.4 percent.

After regression analysis of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation, Manner 3 shows that the F value is 15.123 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches the significant level. Self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have prediction effect to

“teacher’s teaching.” The β value of standardized regression coefficient “learning motivation” amounts to 0.212 ($p < 0.01$). The β value of “self-understanding” amounts to 0.100. ($p < 0.05$) The β value of “language communication skill” amounts to 0.120 ($p < 0.05$). The β value of “motivation dimension” amounts to 0.143. ($p < 0.01$) All reach significant levels. All have coefficients of positive correlation to teacher’s teaching. The other coefficients have not reached significant level. The whole influence is 17.3 percent; i.e., the explanation effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to “teacher’s teaching” is 17.3 percent.

2. Prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to the dimension “study achievement” of English study satisfaction

Via regression analysis, the prediction effect of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation upon study achievement is observed. For details, please refer to Table 7.

Manner 1 shows that the F value of self-directed learning readiness is 29.567 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches significant level. Five factors of self-directed learning readiness influence study achievement. The β value of standardized regression coefficient “self-understanding” does not reach significant level. The other four coefficients reach significant level and have positive correlation to study achievement. The whole influence is 19.1 percent; i.e., the explanation effect of self-directed learning readiness to study achievement is 19.1 percent.

Manner 2 shows that the F value of English study motivation is 81.038 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches significant level, and indicates the whole manner has relevance and adequacy. The β value of “internal motivation” amounts to 0.401. ($p < 0.001$) The β value of “language communication skill” amounts to 0.087. ($p < 0.05$) The β value of “motivation dimension” amounts to 0.163 ($p < 0.001$). The β value of “external motivation” amounts to 0.086 ($p < 0.05$). All reach significant level and have positive correlation to teacher’s teaching. The whole influence reaches 34.6 percent; i.e., the explanation effect by English study motivation to “study achievement” is 34.6 percent.

After regression analysis of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation, the F value turns out to be 41.779 ($p < 0.001$) in Manner 3. It reaches significant level. Self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have prediction effect to “study achievement.” The β value of standardized regression coefficient “independent study” amounts to 0.145 ($p < 0.01$). The β value of “internal motivation” amounts to 0.383 ($p < 0.001$). The β value of “external motivation” amounts to 0.082 ($p < 0.05$). All reach a significant level and have positive correlation to study achievement. Other coefficients have not reached significant level. The whole influence is 37.7 percent; i.e., the explanation effect by

self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to “study achievement” is 37.7 percent.

3. Prediction effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to “study environment” dimension of study satisfaction

Via regression analysis, the prediction effect of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation upon study environment is observed. For details, please refer to Table 8.

Manner 1 displays that the F value of self-directed learning readiness is 15.736. ($p < 0.001$) It reaches significant level. Five factors of self-directed learning readiness influence study environment. The β value of standardized regression coefficient “study motivation” amounts to 0.186 ($p < 0.01$). The β value of “independent study” amounts to 0.227 ($p < 0.001$). The β value of “active learning” amounts to 0.132 ($p < 0.05$). All reach significant level and have positive correlation to study environment. The other two coefficients do not reach significant level. The whole influence reaches 10.8 percent; i.e., the explanation effect by self-directed learning readiness to “study environment” is 10.8 percent.

Manner 2 shows that the F value of English study motivation is 8.622 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches significant level and indicates the whole manner has relevance and adequacy. The β value of “motivation dimension” amounts to 0.154. ($p < 0.01$) The β value of “external motivation” amounts to 0.083 ($p < 0.05$). Both reach significant level and have positive correlation to study environment. The whole influence reaches 4.8 percent; i.e., the explanation effect by English study motivation to “study environment” is 4.8 percent.

After regression analysis of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation, Manner 3 shows the F value to be 9.596 ($p < 0.001$). It reaches significant level. Self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have prediction effect to “study environment”. The β value of standardized regression coefficient “study motivation” amounts to 0.164 ($p < 0.05$). The β value of “continuous study” amounts to -0.123 ($p < 0.05$). The β value of “independent study” amounts to 0.212 ($p < 0.001$). The β value of “active learning” amounts to 0.121 ($p < 0.05$). All reach significant level and have positive correlation to study environment. Other coefficients have not reached significant level. The whole influence reaches 11.3 percent; i.e., the explanation effect by self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to “study environment” is 11.3 percent. Based on these results, self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have prediction effect and positive correlation to English study satisfaction.

Self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation reach significant level. They have positive correlation to overall English study satisfaction ($F = 20.313$, $p < 0.001$) and

the four dimensions of English study satisfaction. Four dimensions are course design ($F=4.637$, $p<0.001$), teacher's teaching ($F=15.123$, $p<0.001$), study achievement ($F=41.779$, $p<0.001$), and study environment ($F=9.596$, $p<0.001$).

Assumption H4: "Self-directed learning readiness and study motivation have positive correlation to study satisfaction" is validated.

Discussion and implications

Conclusion

This research studies freshmen of National Cheng Kung University. As shown in variables of personal background, males comprise the major part of effective samples (63.9 percent). Technical colleges occupy the majority (35.1 percent). Most people first study English at primary schools (65.6 percent). Growth places are mostly in the north (39 percent). Fathers' education levels are mainly college, university, and military institute (39.9 percent), and mothers' education levels are mostly senior middle school, vocational college, and sergeant school (44.5 percent). Most families' monthly gross income ranges from 40000 to 60000 Yuan (23.9 percent).

In connection with the research topic, a conclusion is drawn about correlations of self-directed learning readiness, English study motivation and English study satisfaction. Students provided with high self-directed learning readiness and good motivation for English study has comparatively high English study satisfaction. Self-directed learning readiness, English study motivation, and English study satisfaction have significant positive correlation to each other. A learner provided with high self-directed learning readiness and high English study motivation will produce good study results and high satisfaction. University students' self-directed learning readiness, English study motivation, and English study satisfaction are closely related to each other.

In addition, as the research result shows, the dimension "study motivation" of self-directed learning readiness has the highest correlation to overall satisfaction of English study. When a student has stronger motivation, stronger study impetus is produced. Accordingly, satisfaction to English study will increase. University students with high self-directed learning readiness and excellent English study motivation will acquire high English study satisfaction. Internal motivation has the highest correlation to overall satisfaction of English study. When students want to study to their hearts' content, English study satisfaction will be enhanced.

The dimension "study motivation" of self-directed learning readiness has the highest correlation to overall satisfaction of English study. We can see that motivation and study are related. This research is one of the few that chose university students as the investigation

object. It probes the relations of self-directed learning readiness, English study motivation, and English study satisfaction. This research finds the following significant relationship: Self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation have positive correlation to English study satisfaction. There are five dimensions of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation on overall satisfaction of English study. They are “internal motivation,” “motivation dimension,” “external motivation,” “study motivation,” and “independent study.” All of them have prediction effect of university students’ English study satisfaction.

“Study motivation” has the strongest prediction effect of university students’ study satisfaction. Better study satisfaction is predicted if the researcher observes that the student has higher study motivation. If an individual can continue a certain activity that motivates study, and can keep studying, he will acquire higher satisfaction in the study process. In accordance with the dimensions of self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation, the course is designed to realize study satisfaction. “Self-understanding” can predict university students’ satisfaction of the course design most exactly. If one can know his own study need specifically, one will have higher satisfaction toward the course design and arrangement.

Among all dimensions that influence teacher’s teaching, “study motivation” can predict most exactly students’ satisfaction to teacher's teaching. If the individual can continue a certain activity that bestirs study, and can keep studying, he will feel more content with the teacher’s teaching. Among all dimensions that influence study achievement, “internal motivation” can predict most exactly predict students’ satisfaction with study achievement. If students enjoy studying English to their hearts’ content, they will be comparatively more content about study achievement. Among all dimensions that influence study environment, “independent study” can predict most exactly students’ satisfaction with their study environment. If students have the ability for independent study that enables them to study English well by themselves, they will become comparatively more content about study environment.

The purposes of education should lie in promoting students’ spontaneity and persistency in study activity. Adults mostly are adopted as investigation object in domestic self-directed learning readiness research. This research picks college freshmen as objects. We observe that high study motivation can help a person understand his/her own needs. Choices then are made according to needs. “Active learning” is the characteristic of self-directed learners. Self-directed learning readiness can help students study actively, independently, and with less dependence on teachers.

Students with high self-directed learning readiness always are provided with high study motivation and satisfaction. During the studying process, highly self-directed learners are more active, responsible, and conscious of their needs. They utilize curriculum more independently.

Suggestions

1. Suggestions for schools

In this pluralistic society, universities and colleges should adopt the most proper way, based on their specialties and characteristics, to reach their educational goals. Language ability is the foundation of academic research, knowledge acquirement, and wisdom inspiration. The emphasis of studying English not only lies in training listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Learning English has macroscopic meaning. When we discuss how to promote students' learning motivation, we should be aware that individuals' study motivation is on different levels. This research reveals the intensity of study motivation of university students. It also reveals the amount of their study satisfaction. College teachers should teach according to students' ability. Whether learners can acquire satisfaction from the studying process will influence their ulterior study. High satisfaction solicits high study motivation, and vice versa. Colleges should employ teachers with the ability of listening, speaking, reading, writing, translating, and interpreting English. Together with vivid, innovative, "multiple interactions" teaching methods, the teaching content and teacher's image will make an impression on students' mind. Students' study motivation will be strengthened. Nowadays, many university students do not fully understand the difference between educational categories of university and high school. If a mentor's guide is devoid, high school-type University and university-type research institutes will appear. Instructors should think about teaching methods, curricular arrangement, and course design, to help learners obtain satisfaction from their study and enhance study motivation. Instructors should work out strategies to awaken learners' study motivation, and build a favorable English study environment.

2. Suggestions for students

"Study motivation" is one dimension of self-directed learning readiness. It has the most exact prediction effect on the study satisfaction of university students. A student more content with his/her study motivation will be more content with study. If one has self-motivation, and participates in certain study activities in accordance with his/her own needs and interests, study motivation and satisfaction will grow. "Motivation dimension" is one dimension of study motivation. It has the most exact prediction effect on satisfaction of university students. A student who has more satisfaction about motivation dimension will be more content with

study. When learning English, a student should not only learn the curriculum content of class, but also learn from life. This will boost internal needs and elevate study motivation. English study should not be confined to the campus. Students can regard the living environment as an English study environment, and study in many ways. When confronting problems, a student should consult teachers or classmates for correct answers and learning methods. This will cultivate a positive study attitude and increase study satisfaction.

3. Suggestions for follow-up researchers

This research adopts the students at Grade 1 in Day School, Year 96, of National Cheng Kung University as research object. We suggest that future researchers adopt students of other grades or schools, for comparison and for increasing validity of research result. This research relies mainly on a statistical questionnaire to analyze English study motivation, self-directed learning readiness, and study satisfaction of university freshmen. Future research can add qualitative research such as interviews. University students' English study motivation, self-directed learning readiness, and study satisfaction will be better understood. Qualitative and quantitative approaches will make research results more representative and convincing.

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Table 1. Relevant analysis abstract of self-directed learning readiness and English study

satisfaction (n =607)

	Course design	Teacher's teaching	Study achievement	Study environment	Overall satisfaction
Study motivation	0.199**	0.370**	0.376**	0.239 **	0.379**
Continuous study	0.174**	0.304**	0.358 **	0.161 **	0.321**
Self-understanding	0.060	0.271**	0.246 **	0.183 **	0.238**
Independent study	0.123**	0.211**	0.325 **	0.283 **	0.294**
Active learning	0.167**	0.269*	0.353 **	0.267 **	0.337**
Overall self-directed learning readiness	0.191**	0.374**	0.430 **	0.278 **	0.405**

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01 *p<0.05, **p<0.01

Table 2. Relevant analysis abstract of study motivation and English study satisfaction (n = 607)

	Course design	Teacher's teaching	Study achievement	Study environment	Overall satisfaction
Internal motivation	0.113**	0.221**	0.555**	0.167**	0.328**
Language communication skill	0.161**	0.304**	0.400**	0.135**	0.322**
Motivation dimension	0.179**	0.322**	0.461**	0.211**	0.373**
External motivation	0.110**	0.122**	0.202**	0.129**	0.180**
Overall self-directed learning readiness	0.174**	0.336**	0.553**	0.186**	0.395**

Note: **P<0.01

Table 3. Relevant analysis abstract of self-directed learning readiness and English study

motivation (n = 607)

	Language				
	Internal motivation	communication skill	Motivation dimension	External motivation	Overall satisfaction
Study motivation	0.363*	0.443**	0.456**	0.143**	0.477**
Continuous study	0.379**	0.394**	0.438**	0.074	0.465**
Self-understanding	0.268**	0.260**	0.308**	0.119**	0.320**
Independent study	0.269**	0.200**	0.317**	0.126**	0.290**
Active learning	0.288**	0.315**	0.453**	0.090*	0.386**
Overall self-directed learning readiness	0.411**	0.442**	0.513**	0.142**	0.516**

Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01

Table 4. Analysis of regression from self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to overall satisfaction of English study. (n= 607)

Variables	Overall satisfaction of English study		
	Manner 1	Manner 2	Manner 3
Study motivation	0.252***		0.179**
Continuous study	0.027		-0.013
Self-understanding	-0.036		-0.050
Independent study	0.164**		0.138**
Active learning	0.105*		0.077
English study motivation		0.124*	0.101*
		0.127**	0.080
		0.214***	0.115*
		0.087*	0.079*

R square	0.179	0.177	0.234
Adjusted R square	0.173	0.172	0.223
F	26.295***	32.386***	20.313***

Note: *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 5. Analysis of regression from self-directed learning readiness and English study motivation to course design. (n= 607)

β=-0.113 (p<0.05)		Course design		
		Manner 1	Manner 2	Manner 3
Self-directed learning readiness	Study motivation	0.150*		0.110
	Study continuously	0.041		0.035
	Self-understanding	-0.107*		-0.113*
	Independent study	0.091		0.084
	Active learning	0.057		0.042
Learning motivation of English	Internal motivation		-0.018	-0.029
	Language communication skill		0.091	0.063
	Motivation dimension		0.125*	0.071
	External motivation		0.066	0.067
R square	0.051	0.042	0.065	
Adjusted R square	0.043	0.036	0.051	
F	6.509***	6.671***	4.637***	

Note: *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 6. Analysis of regression from self-directed learning readiness and English study

motivation to teacher's teaching. (n= 607)

Variables		Teacher's teaching		
		Manner 1	Manner 2	Manner 3
	Study motivation	0.274 ***		0.212 **
Self-directed learning readiness	Continuous study	0.032		0.006
	Self-understanding	0.109*		0.100*
	Independent study	0.021		0.012
	Active learning	0.025		-0.009
	Internal motivation		-0.010	-0.036
English study motivation	Language communication skill		0.185***	0.120*
	Motivation dimension		0.221***	0.143**
	External motivation		0.038	0.029
R square		0.152	0.130	0.186
Adjusted R square		0.145	0.124	0.173
F		21.535 ***	22.465 ***	15.123 ***

Note: *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 7. Analysis of regression from self-directed learning readiness and English study

motivation to study achievement (n=607)

Variables		Study achievement		
		Manner 1	Manner 2	Manner 3
Self-directed learning readiness	Study motivation	0.178**		0.074
	Continuous study	0.111*		0.020
	Self-understanding	-0.054		-0.079
	Independent study	0.198 ***		0.145 **
	Active learning	0.112*		0.087
English study motivation	Internal motivation		0.401 ***	0.383 ***
	Language communication skill		0.087*	0.063
	Motivation dimension		0.163 ***	0.083
	External motivation		0.086*	0.082*
R square		0.197	0.350	0.386
Adjusted R square		0.191	0.346	0.377
F		29.567 ***	81.038 ***	41.779 ***

Note: *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 8. Analysis of regression from self-directed learning readiness and English study

motivation to study environment (n=607)

Variables		Study environment		
		Manner 1	Manner 2	Manner 3
Self-directed learning readiness	Study motivation	0.186**		0.164*
	Continuous study	-0.115		-0.123*
	Self-understanding	-0.051		-0.055
	Independent study	0.227***		0.212***
	Active learning	0.132*		0.121*
English study motivation	Internal motivation		0.062	0.045
	Language communication skill		0.005	-0.022
	Motivation dimension		0.154**	0.056
	External motivation		0.083*	0.068
R square		0.116	0.054	0.126
Adjusted R square		0.108	0.048	0.113
F		15.736***	8.622***	9.596***

Note: *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

The fusion of culture between East and West and how it has defined the roles of elementary school teachers in Taiwan between 1919 and 1994

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Abstract

One of the functions of a formal Education system is to shape the consciousness of the people going through its systems. Education systems have been a tool of government's through-out human history, and the same goes with Taiwanese history. Teachers play a key role in deciding what material can be taught in class, and what criteria must be met to pass certain classes. These and other factors effect how teachers conduct a class and it also depends a large part how the teachers' personality is.

In order to explore the changes of the teachers' role in Taiwan history there are three main periods of Taiwanese Teacher Education to look at. Teachers Education can be cut into three different time period's between-1919-1994.

"The Mandate of Taiwan Education" launched in 1919 under Japanese Colonial Rule established the initial system of Taiwanese Teacher Education. Within this system Taiwanese teachers were attached to the Japanese government and helped the Japanese carry out its colonial political policies to weaken and immerse Taiwanese awareness via Japanese education and culture.

After the KMT government took over Taiwan in 1949, the Teacher Education system founded by Japan was dropped along with its administrative orders and there weren't any new laws pass about Teacher Training until the "Normal Education Act." This law was passed in 1978; with this law the KMT government characterized teachers as the spirit force of national defense.

Since the early 1990's, the government has been more open to public debate and new ideas from different parties. Instead of forcing an Education system based on political view points, society has adapted a western standpoint. Based on the way of the western society views school teachers, Taiwan has adapted the same viewpoint that regards teaching as an independent occupation. Teachers should teach general knowledge instead of guarding the country hegemony. The translation of the society's situation to school teachers gave the indigenous regime which set up in 1988 to renew the teacher training program. When the new indigenous regime came into office, they grab the social atmosphere as reason to set up the 'Teacher Education Act'. In this act deregulate the Sinicize ideologies in teachers training program.

Key words: history of teacher education, teachers' role, Taiwan

Introduction

The role of the teachers' relative position in society refers to the occupation hierarchy which depends on culture. In the construction-function agenda theory, the more contributions an occupation makes in society, the higher status in society that occupation has. In comparison, Eastern culture widely believes that the teacher has an extra symbolic meaning more than any other ordinary occupation. Teachers are not just communicating knowledge to next generation. They are also playing the role of the virtue model. This is the object everyone is learning about. That is the reason why teachers can embrace high respect from people of the East.

The high society status teachers have attained, has let them be more useful citizens when it involves the mechanism of governing. The rulers can make teachers the agency to help them transfer their ideologies to people of their country. For a long time in Taiwan, teachers have been the agent of the ruler.

Due to this unique development of politics in Taiwan, there have been many regimes that have ruled Taiwan. The teachers' role always seems to correspond with the era of government. Historically, there have been many immigrants who migrated to Taiwan from Southern China. During the Zheng Chenggong period and Qing Dynasty, in spite of them both having different political positions, they both embraced the traditional culture of China giving teachers' high social status. This is the same status teachers received when teaching in Taiwan. Teachers symbolized the intellectual community and earned respect from all folks. According to the studies of Treiman(1977) and Lin(1992), it indicated that teachers in Taiwan are indeed receiving more respect than their international colleagues. Treiman's study also shows the teachers status in the international community. If the teacher taught in secondary school they were ranked fifth out of twenty-six occupations. If the teacher taught in the primary level they were ranked seventh out of the twenty- six occupations. According to Lin's study, the secondary school teacher was ranked ninth and the primary school teacher was ranked eleventh out of twenty-six positions.

But after 1895 when the Japan took over Taiwan, the contexts of the teachers' role were mixed with different culture and political goals. In order to clarify the change of the teachers' role in Taiwan at different times, there are three time periods to look at which are the Japan colonial era (1919-1945), Chiang's KMT government (1945-1993) and Lee's KMT government (1994-). These time periods will be discussed in the following sections.

1. Teacher education in Japanese Colonial Rule 1895-1945

In 1895, Taiwan became part of Japan's colony as compensation. This compensation was the result of the Qing Dynasties loss in the "Sino-Japanese War." Finally in 1945, Taiwan was restored to Chinese. In this fifty year period, the Japanese established the first systemic Teacher Education system and it had an important impact on the way the public viewed teachers.

The Japanese, accepted the cultural heritage from ancient China that viewed the teacher as one of five most important ethnic kinds, 'God, Land, Empire, Parents and Teacher.' This showed that the Japanese had high respect for teachers. Teachers were viewed as intellectuals and not just as another occupation. The relationship between teacher-student was beyond an occupation and was always placed on the same level as parent-son. One old Chinese saying expresses this phenomenon: "One must treat teacher as father all the life even if the teacher-student relationship exists just for a day."

There was also another measure to ensure Japanese teachers have great esteem in

society. In Japanese society teachers have been treated as government officials. They were recognized as army soldiers. In order to express the teachers' special status, their uniform was equipped with a ceremonial sword (Wu, 1983).

In the initial times of the Taiwan takeover, almost all teachers came from Japan, in spite of the given cultural prestige. The members of the dominant group gave Japanese teachers' authority over the Taiwanese teachers. Although in 1896, the Japanese established a public school. But it was not until 1902 when just the very few bright and loyal Taiwanese could be admitted into the Japanese public schools. But there were two separately different systems adapted to Japanese and Taiwanese in curricula during the years at school. The former students studied the history of civilization, history and geography of Taiwan in two years. The later students studied Japanese, mathematics and science in three years. The Taiwanese teachers were located in a lower stratum of society (Hsu, 1996)

As many colonial rulers will face, the rulers of Japan needed to figure out how to embody the identification of Japanese to Taiwanese. If not done properly, it can cause gigantic problems for the any kind of government. According to Gramsci's(1981) concept of culture hegemony, education is one of the ideological state apparatuses that could help the rulers group gain the consensus of the people. So during the times of Japanese governed Taiwan, the government of Japan actively established an elementary system to teach Taiwanese children were taught how to become people of the Japanese Empire. The first Compulsory Education system was implemented in 1943. All children in Taiwan including Taiwanese and Japanese must attend elementary school for at least six years.

In the end of the colonial period, the rate of children attending elementary schools in Taiwan had reached beyond 90% (Hsu, 1996).

In short, in the Japanese colonial era, teachers, almost as Japanese, combined both functions of oppressions and ideologies to submit Taiwanese to Japanese.

2. Monopolizing teacher education by a Nationalist Regime : 1945-1993

After World War II, and after undergoing fifty years' of Japanese rule, Taiwan was restored to China in 1945. After four years from being restored the KMT government withdrew to Taiwan in 1949. Taiwan became the fortress to counterattacking China's communist regime.

How to enhance the defense of Taiwan had been the main priority of all society, after being threatened from communist China. Teacher education was no exception.

Due to the resulting failure of the inner battle with communist party in mainland China, this result came from the failure of not educating the young. The KMT government immediately put education on top of the agenda among tactics for fighting the communist party in Taiwan.

The military training was implemented in 1949 in eight teacher trained institutions to enhance the loyalty of the pre-service teacher (Lee, 1976) . Then teachers were included in the military system to foster the next generation of "mental defense".

In this political endeavor there were two main missions that teachers must work on: to eradicate the Japanese influence from the last fifty years of colonial rule and to strengthen political socialization to earn the agreement on what to do for military actions towards mainland China. Teachers took the responsibility to educate the docile bodies in school for government.

Based on teachers' important missions to instill the anti-communist consciousness of people, the Taiwanese government launched the 'Normal Education Law' in 1978 that intended to establish a uniform teacher education policy to control the ideologies

of teachers.

In 'Normal Education Law,' the state was the only sponsor for the teacher training programs and this excluded the participation of private schools. There was a national standard for curriculum and assessment. The teacher training programs were designed like the military programs. Pre-service teachers must live on campuses together without exception and every teacher must affiliate with the KMT party.

For the sake of recruiting talented students to be teachers, the tuition of all students was burdened by public expense. These fees included the fees of the board, books and clothing. In addition to the free fees, when students graduated from the teaching program, the government had an obligation to assign the students to public elementary or junior high schools nationwide.

These measures mentioned above were put in place to attract young talented people from working class families to go into the teaching field. There was also another strategy to avoid these young teachers from leaving their positions.

According to the stipulation in the 'Normal Education Law,' when pre-teachers graduated from school, they were required by the government to teach for a minimum of five years when they enrolled into a primary teacher training program. Four years when the teacher enrolled into junior or senior high school teacher training program. If these pre-teachers failed to fulfill their obligation, the teacher must return the public expense for their tuition during the pre-service education as compensates. Also the government provided better working conditions for teachers than other occupations. Teachers' salaries were higher than other officers as well as other occupations that had the same diploma. They also got two months of summer vacation and one month of winter vacation with full pay. When teachers retired they could enjoy the best pension system in Taiwan. This pension system gave them a pension equal to 75% to 95% of the salaries when they were teaching.

In order to promote the best students; all primary teacher training were reshuffled from a junior college to four year college in 1987. The recruitment had also shifted from junior high school students to senior high school students.

Under the protection provided by Taiwan, Taiwanese teachers became the best agency for the KMT government. They didn't question the curriculum filled with political ideologies, which they ought to have. The autonomy to develop curriculum and the critical ability to teach students, was deskilled (Apple, 1987).

3. Teacher Education Reform 1994-the present

In the two periods mentioned above, Japanese Colonial Era and the Nationalist Regime, the ruler governed people by controlling what teachers taught in the classroom. The difference between both regimes was ethnic, Japanese or Chinese. The goals of education were the same to ruin the consciousness of the Taiwanese.

When President Chiang Ching-Kuo suddenly died in 1988, Lee Teng-Hui became the first Taiwanese President. He started to construct a regime of indigenous position. This position put the indigenous people's advantage in the priority position.

The most important thing that the Indigenous Regime initially wanted to do was raise the consciousness of the Taiwanese people, in doing so; they could earn more votes in the election campaigning on "the identity of Taiwanese."

In order to reach the goals of raising Taiwanese awareness, the government ruled by Lee decided to change the curriculum of education that was inclined towards China. To avoid struggles among political factions, it was a good approach to adapt multiculturalism as a motivation of educational reform to cover the real identity of the country. Along with ending the martial law in 1987, multiculturalism was conveyed to

Taiwan society from the west. First, multiculturalism was accepted in political fields and it admitted that people had the right to participate in political affairs such as to setting up a political party and to publish newspapers freely.

In educational fields President Lee used the concept of localization to resist Sinicization. The apparent action added the new subject “Learning more about our native land” into the Elementary School Curriculum Standard” in 1993.

“Learning more about our native lands” was the first subject focused on in the history element of school. In this element of school, there were many materials about Taiwan history that was supplied to classes by the government. These materials were related to Taiwan geography, the local productions of every place in Taiwan, the famous historical figures and events about Taiwan. In the past, these subjects were rarely mentioned.

Henceforward the Indigenous Regime had opportunities to construct the “superstructure” by resettling the curricula to arouse the Taiwanese Consciousness of people. These new forms of educational knowledge still needed teachers’ agreement and interpretation. If not the goal of the new subject could not come true.

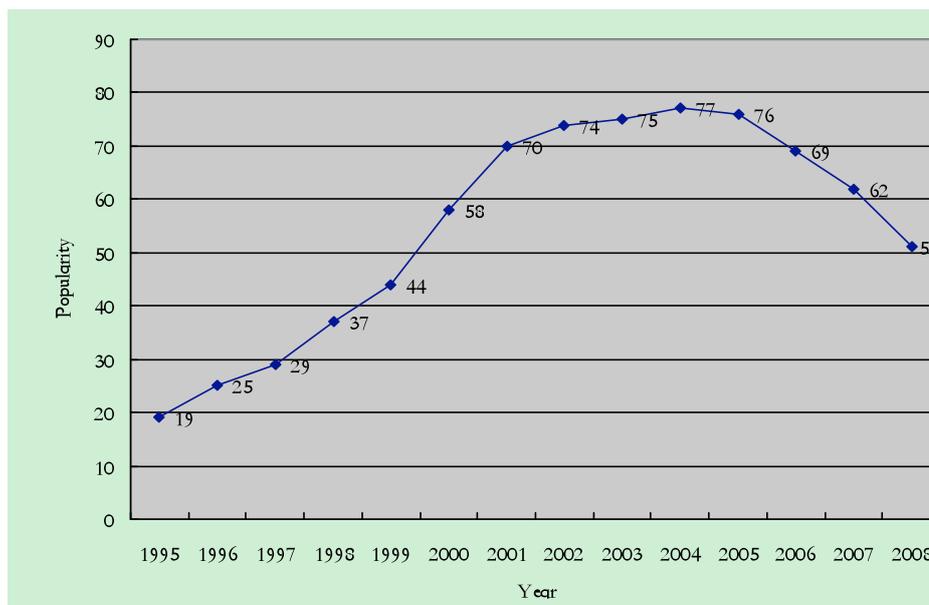


Chart □. The popularity of teacher training programs on a Year by year basis

It seemed to the Indigenous Regime, that reconstructing teacher education was necessary to assure that teachers have the will and ability to teach the curriculum about Taiwanese. On the account of deregulating the teacher education it inclined to Sinicize. The new Teacher Education Act was launched in 1994. According to the new stipulate, teacher training programs were available at all regular universities. Every university could apply to set up a “Center of Teacher Education” which are programs that train pre-service teachers. Each school needed permission from the Ministry of Education before they could admit students. It was believed that adding competition between programs can improve the quality of teachers.

In this new model of teacher education systems, many universities have striven to set up teacher training programs regardless of being a public or private school. The number of teacher training programs rose drastically. It rose from nineteen programs in 1995 to seventy-seven programs in 2004. This was the highest number ever(see Table □). In fact there haven’t been enough positions to arrange for the enormous

amount of pre-service teachers. The large numbers of Jobless Teachers have become a large social problem in Taiwan.

The teaching occupation is no longer a high status job. Teachers have become people who are just the winner in the very competitive job search and not people of moral character.

The overload of jobless-teachers caused the administration to diminish the popularity of teacher training programs by evaluating the performance of the program in 2005. There were many training programs closed by the Ministry of Education based on the evaluation done by the Ministry of Education on each school. This diminishing strategy is going on now.

Conclusion

Influenced by the traditional culture, teachers gained high social status in both Japanese and Taiwanese society. The role of teachers goes beyond instructing student knowledge and moral. Teachers have the prestige to be the leader of the community and people will listen to their opinion because of this prestige.

Realizing teachers play a key role in the process to produce ideology; teachers have become the suitable people to be the tools to instill the government spirit into the recognition of students.

How to utilize the teacher to benefit the government in governing people is the ruler's main consider about making teacher education policy.

In the Japanese colonial era the role of teachers is to instill to the Japanese identification to Taiwanese. In the Nationalist Regime the role of the teacher was to cut down the Japanese identify and substitute it with Chinese to Taiwanese. Lastly, in the Indigenous Regime, they used multiculturalism as motivation of education reform to deregulate the teacher education monopolization of Chinese ideologies.

In sum, the political climate is always the main factors to decide the role of Taiwanese teachers.

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Exploring the Similarities and the Differences of Culture Patterns Between the West and the East— examples for Ohio and Taiwan

Ya-Hui Hsueh, William-Wayne Wilen

Abstract

If the meaning of culture could be defined as the Wikipedia definition of “The set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterizes an institution, organization or group”, then there would be several similarities and differences between culture patterns in obvious or obscure forms.

This research aims to investigate the similarities and the differences, and culture clashes of culture patterns from the encountering of an Easterner and a Westerner. The Easterner is a Taiwanese and the Westerner is an American from Ohio.

There are some major culture clashes to distinguish between the West and the East. Obviously, the broad pattern is individualism versus collectivism, and the sub-pattern is independence versus interdependence.

Based on the results, the cultural similarities and differences, and culture clashes between the East and the West are as follow:

- 1. Seating strangers at dining table— Individualism or Collectivist practice**
- 2. “Mother” Ya-hui— Independence or Interdependence**
- 3. Sendimen elementary school— Loss of privacy or Collectivism on observing**
- 4. 禪— A way of life in Taiwan culture**
- 5. Kinmen western style building— Meaning of decoration**
- 6. Wind Chicken God— folk custom**

Key Words : culture pattern 、 globalization 、 Westernization 、 Easternization

Part I – The relationship of culture pattern and culture clash

The Westerner, William-Wayne Wilen is the Professor Emeritus of Education in the Department of Teaching, Leadership & Curriculum Studies of Kent State University in Ohio. He has visited many countries in the world to give lectures or teach classes, so for him being a visiting professor to Taiwan is just another one of many life experiences to foreign country.

The Easterner, Ya-Hui Hsueh was Chairman of Department of Social Studies Education of National Taichung University in Taiwan. Dr. Wilen and Dr. Hsueh became acquainted with each other from 2008 September, while he taught a graduate course in her department. Over the four months, they communicated with each other on their different perceptions about Taiwanese and American cultures. Some of these cultural perceptions could be called “culture clashes” because they were so conflicting.

During the period while Dr. Wilen visited Taiwan, he noticed many cultural patterns that Americans shared with Taiwanese: hard working, concern for family, and importance of education. Meanwhile, he made some behavioral adjustments to fit into Taiwanese culture to try to be less individual and more collective.

Dr. Wilen has visited many countries in the world, but he also learned about culture differences when exposed to Taiwan. Further, some culture practices for him to respond to even are culture clashes. Dr. Wilen said: To me a “culture clash” is when culture practices are very different from what one expects when living in a new and different culture. While for Dr. Hsueh, she still lived in her own culture to be a host for providing assistance to and connecting with her guest-Dr. Wilen, so there doesn't seem to be culture clashes happened for her. By getting along with Dr. Wilen, she only can make comparison of the similarities and differences of culture patterns between the West and the East.

Here we clarify the connections between the culture pattern and culture clash. The relationship of culture patterns between two different places can be showed with three possibilities -similar to, different from and very different from as resulting to conflicts. When some one exposed to a culture pattern, which was perceived different from his living experiences, he doesn't need to make adjustments. Furthermore, when some one is fitted to a complete new, very different from the situation of his culture pattern, he will meet with culture conflict to adjust to and the intensity of his culture clash is strong (Fig1) .

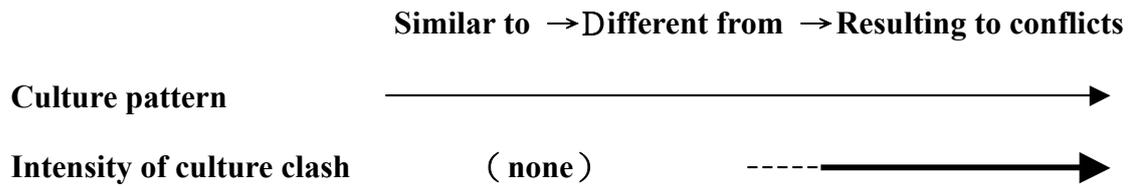


Figure1 The relationship of culture pattern and culture clash

Part II – The series of culture clashes for the Westerner

During the period of Dr. Wilen's stay in Taiwan, Dr. Hsueh took him and his wife to visit many places to further understand Taiwan culture. All of these places, including parts of northern Taiwan, central Taiwan, southern Taiwan, and off-shore Kinmen islands (composed of Big Kinmen Island and Small Kinmen Island), the Kinmen islands impressed Dr. Wilen most deeply. The experience of visiting Kinmen islands evoked several culture clashes between them from dieting habits to religious beliefs. By recalling memories of Kinmen islands and other visited places, their differing cultural perspectives are illustrated as the following discussions.

1. Seating strangers at dining table – Individualism or Collectivism

Dr. Wilen was surprised to find out that strangers are seated at one's breakfast table. This incident occurred at an inn in Kinmen where they were staying. Dr. Hsueh thought we are all Taiwanese, and no one seemed to be stranger. So, she explained to him: It's okay because we are just making conversation, and as long as you are not telling stranger your name, address, you still hold your privacy. By the way, Dr. Hsueh told Dr. Wilen: Maybe, the strangers will give you gifts a few days later. Yes ! This expectation came true. A man who they all met at the Kinmen B&B really sent Nantou County champion tea (the most famous tea of Taiwan) to Dr. Wilen as a gift. What a surprise to him !

The experience of seating strangers at a dining table apparently exposed a difference in culture patterns as experienced by the Westerner Dr. Wilen and the Easterner Dr. Hsueh. This difference centered on the Westerner's loss of individual choices and the Easterner's maintenance of group harmony.

Easterners are more aware of the feelings and attitudes of others than are Westerners (Nisbett, 2003, p.59). For an Easterner, there is a concern for the feeling of others and building social relationship is important in order to maintain the group harmony.

This difference of culture patterns became evident during the Kinmen experience of dining together at a beef restaurant. At the famous beef noodle restaurant in Kinman, because of a large number of customers, the manager of the restaurant asked Dr. Hsueh if he could seat some other customers dining together at their table. Dr. Hsueh responded

quickly saying “yes” without noticing Dr. Wilen’s reaction.

At that moment, Dr. Wilen turned to Dr. Hsueh, saying he have never seen this happened in U.S. Strangers are not seated at restaurant tables because a meal is a personal experience not shared with strangers. It might be perceived as a violation of privacy, which is a characteristic of an individualistic culture.

Dr. Hsueh explained that her intention of helping the boss handle more customers, and the behavior of sharing the table with strangers is a part of Taiwan culture pattern. It is a way of maintaining group harmony and constructing a social network of group interdependence. These are characteristics of collectivism.

So, Dr. Wilen said:

Since being exposed to collectivist cultural practices in Taiwan, I have found them slightly frustrating but generally quite positive experiences. I wonder if the problem is my individualism which includes rights of having a choice in the decisions made and privacy when seating strangers at your table, or my lack of acculturation and not readily adjusting to the group-oriented culture. Individualists want more control in situations and are not as willing to go along with the expectation and wishes of group no matter how well-intentioned.

It is probably due to privacy – perhaps we are more private and not as accepting of strangers. Taiwanese do not see the people as strangers because the vast majority of Taiwanese are primarily of one ethnicity. (Dr. Wilen, 2009/01/22)

2. “Mother” Ya-hui – Independence or Interdependence

Nisbett stated that Easterners are constantly being primed with interdependence cues and Westerners with independence cues. As a result the cues that surround them would make people living in interdependent societies behave in generally interdependent ways and those living in independent societies behave in generally independent ways (Nisbett, 2003, P.68).

During the period of Dr. Wilen’s stay in Taiwan, Dr. Hsueh helped him settle into the culture. At one point Dr. Wilen said he thought that Ya-hui was acting like his kind and concerned mother. He said in a letter to Dr. Hsueh:

I got started thinking about the whole collectivist concept again and realized you were continuing your role as our host. You didn't need to accompany us to the airport but I think you considered it a continuation of your concern and care for us. (Dr. Wilen, 2009/01/22)

In his journal Dr. Wilen wrote: **I wonder if being overly concerned and protective is part of the group mentality – a way to take care of and help each other in the group.**

I have noticed this when Ya-hui showed great concern for us, especially if we have to venture out on our own. (Dr.Wilen, 2009/01/22)

Dr.Wilen noticed that Dr.Hsueh showed great concern for him and his wife, especially if they had to venture out on their own. But, Dr.Hsueh assumed that if they took a trip on their own to an unfamiliar environment, they could meet with many troubles and therefore might be faced with danger and problems that needed to be solved. The intention of Dr.Hsueh in accompanying them was to offer service and assist them have a pleasant journey.

So, there are really differences of culture patterns between the West and the East. The Westerners practice individualism with an emphasis on self-independence and doing things on their own, and making their own choices. Easterners, on the other hand, practice collectivism with an emphasis on group interdependence and consideration for each other.

3.Sendimen Elementary School— Lose of privacy or Collectivism on observing

When Dr.Wilen and Dr.Hsueh visited an elementary school of Sendimen to give an intern student teaching feedback, Dr.Wilen found the teacher observation and follow-up conference session very different from how they are practiced in the US. In Taiwan, many teachers can observe the teaching performance and give the intern student feedback during the follow-up conference. But in US, only the supervisor or principal does the observing and evaluating because it is a way to respect the teacher's privacy. So Dr.Wilen said:

What was interesting and I think a very professional collectivist characteristic was that the principal and most of the teachers were invited to observe and critique the lesson. This large group consisted of about 10 professionals including the 4 of us. I can't imagine the pressure on the intern but she maintained poise and had what I thought was a successful Chinese language lesson.

In this professional collectivist culture the teachers observe each other and conference with each other as a group. Ya-hui gave her critique and then I was asked for my perspective. Even though the lesson was completely in Chinese, I said she was impressive especially in terms of the wide variety of active teaching techniques and methods she used in one class period. As a result the students were focused, on task, and very cooperative in achieving the learning objectives. I didn't need language translation to observe this. The evaluation form was completed based on the collective comments of everyone. Ya-hui said that they all had compliments and there were no suggestions for improvement. In the US professional education culture, privacy is important with only the supervisor or principal doing the observing and evaluating.(Dr.Wilen, 2009/01/22)

Part III – Culture similarities and differences between the West and the East

1. Wind Chicken God – Folk custom

What is the difference between superstition and folk custom? The Wikipedia definition is that superstition is a credulous belief or notion, not based on reason, knowledge, or experience, while folk custom is a tradition handed over, and passed from generation to generation.

Dr. Hsueh told Dr. Wilen that there are so many superstitions in Taiwanese culture patterns, especially in the fishing villages of Taiwan. Dr. Hsueh's grandfather was a fisherman, so she heard of many superstitions in the fishing villages of Taiwan. She recalled her grandfather said -when fishermen eat fish, they can't turn the fish over. If they turn the fish over, that means their own fishing boat will be turned over in the sea. Now the old fishermen of Taiwan still believe in this superstition. So, the way of eating fish in fishing villages of Taiwan is eating the surface part of fish first, and then taking away the long, central fishbone with chopsticks and finally, eating the bottom part of fish.

Dr. Hsueh found it interesting that some customs and superstitions in western cultures are similar to the eastern ones but for different reasons. They explored the superstitions as listed below:

1.) The western umbrella superstition – You should not open an umbrella indoors because it will bring you bad luck. The reason according to ancient custom is that it might insult and anger the sun gods.

The eastern umbrella superstition – You should not open an umbrella at home because the ghost hiding inside the umbrella will come upon your opening it. If you open the umbrella, especially a black one in the home, the ghost will jump from the umbrella and stay in your home scaring and bothering your family.

2.) The western mirror breaking superstition – Breaking a mirror could bring you seven years of bad luck. It was thought that the image in the mirror is a reflection of your soul and if you shatter your soul you could not protect the body from misfortune. The Romans believed in life renewing itself every seven years.

The eastern mirror breaking superstition – Old Chinese people thought that breaking a bowl or plate during the Chinese New Year holidays is a sign of something terrible would happen in future.

3.) The western black cat superstition – A black cat crossing your path is bad luck. Black cats have been associated with witchcraft, which is likely the source of this superstition. During the Middle Ages, it was believed that black cats could put a curse on you.

The eastern black cat superstition – Black cats have been associated with ghosts in Chinese culture. If dead people's body was crossed by black cats, the dead people

would become zombie who was possessed by ghost's souls.

During the period while Dr. Wilen was staying at Taiwan, he learned of different life styles and he wondered why there were so many superstitions and folk customs practiced in Taiwan. Some of the questions he had were— why are there so many different Gods in Taiwan ? What is a Pig God ? Why do people burn spirit money in their furnaces ? Why do people believe in Wind Chicken God ? Are these superstitions or folk customs ?

Dr. Hsueh explained some of these superstitions and customs to Dr. Wilen. He found out that these are ways to meet the psychological needs of the people. It is believed that spirit money is burned because the ancestors in heaven need a lot of money to live a better life. Wind Chicken God (photo 1) can “eat” strong east northern wind and so on. After understanding the reason why Taiwanese worship, Dr. Wilen thought that these seem more like folk custom and religious customs rather than superstitions. He said some superstitions in western culture are funny because there are no scientific research studies to support them. But, some people take them quite seriously probably because the superstitions came from "the old country" and became traditions.

Photo1 Wind Chicken God of Kinmen

2. Kinmen western style building— Meaning of decoration

In Kinmen islands, there are examples of western-style buildings, estimated about 130 buildings, most of them dating from the 1920s and 30s. They were constructed by local wealthy merchants seeking their fortune in South East Asia. The western style buildings often feature outer hallways and Western style gables, typically with two storey and luxurious gable decorations.

From the luxurious gable decorations, with the sculptures of carved fruits, animals and clock in photo 2, we can find a lot of meanings given by the western style building owner. The sculptures of carved grape, peach, peacock, butterfly, lion and dragon symbolizes happiness and long life, and the time pointed to pm12:40 on the clock means not taking a rest until pm12:40 in order to work hard than others. After realizing the meaning given by decoration, Dr. Wilen said everything is meaningful, the same situation as the West !

Photo2 One luxurious gable decoration of western style building in Kinmen

3. 禪— A way of life in Taiwan culture

There are certainly indications that the West finds many attractions in the East. While the rest of the world drinks Cokes and wears jeans, Westerners are rapidly fusing their

cuisines with Eastern ones (Nisbett, 2003, P.225). Yes, Nisbett's viewpoint is right.

To Dr. Wilen, visiting Taiwan was a cultural adventure; so everything was new, exciting and meaningful for him. He was sensitive to the surrounding environment, especially as he explored the deep cultural meaning of visual arts and shapes of architectures. During his travel he saw a big Chinese character—禪 hanging on the wall in a kendo club. He has been wondering about the meaning of 禪.

Dr. Hsueh thought about how to tell him the meaning of 禪. One day an interpretation came to her. She told him—禪 is meditation, reflection on oneself, and a way of life in Taiwan culture. In the garden, drinking tea and listening to music by a performer playing a Chinese traditional instrument is one way to keep a serene mood in traditional Chinese culture. Keeping a serene mood is the deep meaning of this Chinese character—禪. Here in Taiwan the garden means a beautiful place made complex with plenty of plants, rocks and river (natural or artificial).

Dr. Wilen thought that since it snows so much during the winters in Ohio, one way not to be upset with the weather and try to be serene about the situation is to drink tea and listen to traditional Chinese music while watching the snow flakes fall. Therefore it can also be supposed that the people get the essence of 禪.

Besides learning of 禪, Dr. Wilen and his wife began to prefer a diet consisting of sticky rice, Taiwanese local dishes and Taiwan Mountain tea. This attitude developed as they found the restaurant food so tasty! During the period of his stay in Taiwan, his wife learned about how to cook rice and stir-fry dishes from Dr. Hsueh. This means they began appreciating and practicing the Taiwanese way of life and approaching Eastern culture pattern.

Part IV — Conclusion

The definition of culture clash, as Fagan defined the term, was based on the changing attitudes of Westerners toward non-Western societies. This happened when voyaging Europeans searched for paradise on earth during the long centuries of Western discovery. Culture clash was perceived as a progressive confrontation between an expanding, sophisticated civilization with radically alien beliefs, and dozens of societies whose people lived in careful balance with natural resources of their environments (Fagan, 1998, p23).

According to the Wikipedia—the free Encyclopedia, globalization can be defined as an ongoing process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a globe-spanning network of communication and trade. And this term can also refer to the transnational circulation of ideas, languages, or popular culture through acculturation. So, the exchange of culture patterns is part of the globalization

process.

Dr. Wilen experienced many cultural similarities and differences and some major cultural clashes over the four-month period he visited Taiwan. Dr. Hsueh was instrumental in assisting him to adjust academically, socially and geographically; answering his many inquiries, and guiding his learning of new cultural practices and patterns. During this period of many conversations and visits to cultural sites, no evaluative comments were made about these cultural differences. They were all perceived as valuable learning experiences.

Dr. Hsueh's research of the literature led to the conclusion that there are three major different perceptions of a world view. First, Fukuyama's view is westernization is taking over the world - people in every country wear jeans, T-shirts and Nike shoes and drink Cokes and listen to American music (Fukuyama, 1992) . Second, Huntington's view is of continued divergence- the world will be on the brink of fault line wars due to clash of civilizations, differences in values and worldviews, and the influence of the West will be in decline (Huntington, 1996) . Third, Nisbett's view is convergence- the world will converge rather than diverge and that this convergence will not be based purely on Westernization but also on Easternization (Nisbett, 2003) .

The discussion of cultural similarities and differences, and culture clashes, between Dr. Wilen and Dr.Hsueh resulted in an agreement that the process of globalization is approaching the third worldview. This is a blending of Westernization and Easternization which will integrate culture patterns between the West and the East. Through the experiences of exchanging culture patterns, Dr. Wilen and Dr.Hsueh learned more about each other's cultures and are better able to adjust to differing cultural situations. This realization is absolutely essential in order to live as a global citizen in a modern converging world. Dr. Wilen and his wife felt they became better global citizens as a result of living and learning in Taiwan especially with Dr. Hsueh's concern, care and assistance.

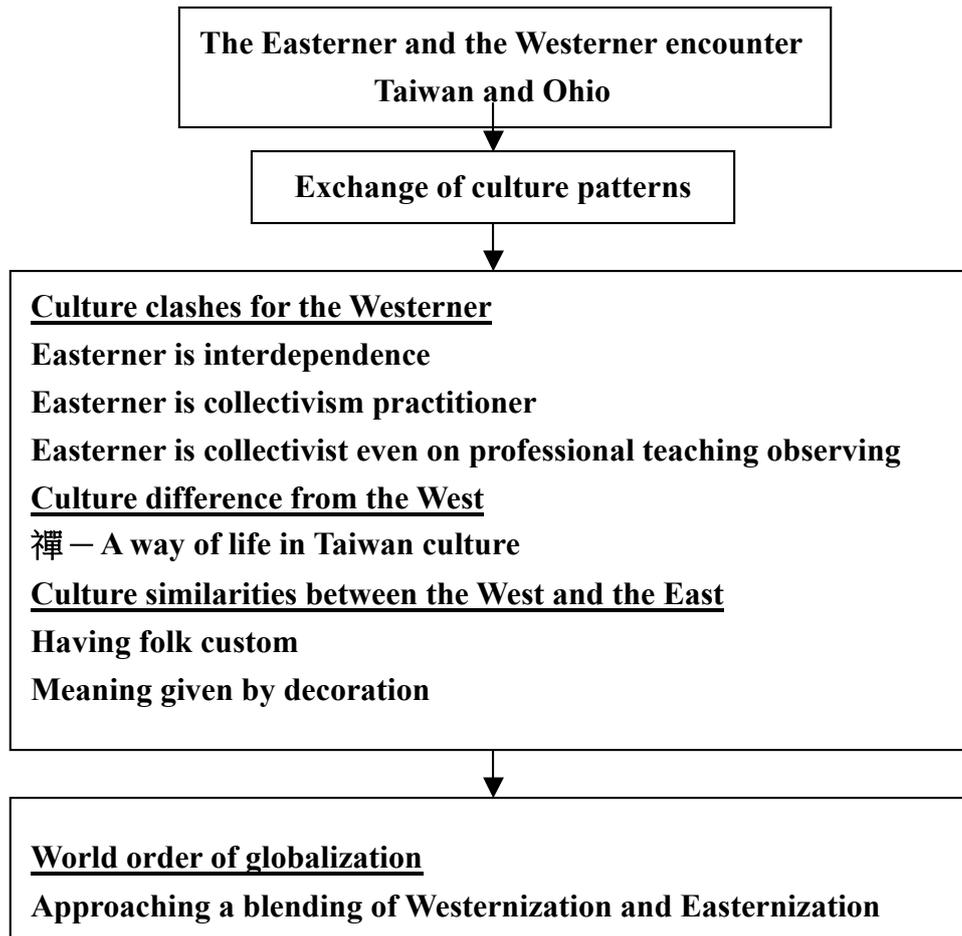


Figure2 The exchange of culture patterns between the West and the East

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A Comparison Study of Marketing Strategies and Advertising Strategies in Adult Education Between Taiwan and U.S.A.

Guang-Han Chung / I-Fang Wang

Abstract

The birthrate declined, but the number of the universities increased. Many schools faced the decrease of students, and teachers had the difficulties to find jobs. Recruiting students became the big challenge for schools. Therefore, in order to compete effectively, ascertaining how to successfully attract and recruit students to the program has become an important part of successfully maintaining adult education programs.

The purposes of this research were to determine what advertising strategies were effective, what marketing strategies were effective when promoting its adult education program and to compare the different marketing strategies which were used in Taiwan and U.S.A.. Moreover, this research will assist institutions in developing practical strategies for effectively recruiting adult learners to choose the respective program offered by the respective institution.

Various advertising and marketing strategies were analyzed and compared in this study. The random sampling technique was used to achieve more reliable results. The Education Marketing (Kuo, 2004) was the instrument used in this research. The t-test, the Mann-Whitney U test, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance and the Pearson Correlation Coefficients were used to analyze the data (Frankel & Wallen, 2006).

The results of the study indicated:

- (1) The most popular and effective advertising strategy in Taiwan was media advertising, followed by oral advertising, then advertising recognition. In U.S.A., media advertising was the most popular advertising strategy, followed by advertising recognition, then oral advertising.
- (2) Most participants considered the orientation consultant before they joined adult education programs in Taiwan. In U.S.A., most participants considered price consideration first, and then followed by professional skills.
- (3) There was only one demographic characteristic of the participants that affected their opinions about the advertising strategies used, namely marital status. But the difference of gender, age, and occupation also affected the advertising recognition of the participants.

Before the schools create the plan, they should do a sound analysis of all variables and the target groups in order to make a successful strategy to recruit students. Hence, the finding of the study could provide useful and practical information to help Taiwanese and American education to design better and more effective strategies to help the schools to recruit more students.

Keywords: Marketing Strategies, Advertising Strategies, Adult Education, Recruiting Adult Learners

Research Problem Description

In recent years, the population structure of Taiwan has experienced some big changes. The birthrate declined from 412,779 newborn babies in 1981 to approximately 200,000. This phenomenon challenged the operation of the Taiwanese education system. For example, many local governments tried to close small schools over economic and profit concerns. However, this action affected the rights of children who lived in remote areas. Moreover, challenges were also manifesting in the higher education system. The birthrate decreased, but the number of the universities and colleges increased. Currently, there are over 150 universities and colleges in Taiwan, and the numbers of students will soon reach 250,000. Because of the declining birthrate and the number of universities increasing, the acceptance rate of entering universities has increased. In 2007, the university acceptance rate was over 95%. From a positive point of view, people could see the phenomenon as a popularization of university education and an increase of professional skills. However, there were still many potential problems behind the popularization, such as the commercialization of education, an excess of talented professionals, and too many idle spaces in higher education institutions. Taiwanese education and higher education institutions should face these problems and find solutions before the issues get worse (Jiang, 2003).

The 1990's to the present became the period of a knowledge-based economy and the trend of life-long learning thrived in many countries (Chen, 2004). The average age of the population was also getting older and the demand for life-long learning opportunities for adult learners was increasing (Lin, 1999). Therefore, life-long education had become the trend for many countries (Chen, 2004; Lin, 2003).

In response to demographic trends and in support of the government's focus, many schools started to build and promote adult education programs. In order to effectively increase revenues and compete with the numerous other institutions in Taiwan, the advertising and marketing strategies became a primary focus for schools to recruit students and increase the revenues. In response, many universities and colleges started to pay closer attention to effective strategies for advertising the schools differentiation, strengths and methods for attracting and successfully recruiting adult learners to go back to school (www.edu.tw, Retrieved December. 23, 2009).

Hence, the purpose of this study was to find out what advertising and marketing strategies were effective in recruiting adult students in Taiwanese universities and colleges specifically from the adult learners' perspective. In addition, the study helped to identify possible correlations to the relationship between advertising and marketing strategies and the demographic backgrounds of adult learners. Although the results were not generalizable, the information is now available to use as a basis for helping schools plan practical strategies and useful programs to attract adult learners. In addition, the findings of the study can help universities and colleges save time and therefore money in recruiting students because they have a foundation with which to start, specific to education program.

Research Question

1. What is the most effective advertising strategy for education programs used by colleges and universities in adult education?
2. How do people feel about the marketing strategies for education program currently used by colleges and universities in adult education?
3. Is there a relationship between the demographic backgrounds of the participants, the advertising strategies, and the marketing strategies for education program in adult education?

Review of the Literature

Adult Education

Adult education programs are part of the Taiwanese education system, but they developed much later than other education programs and did not become part of Taiwanese schools' curriculum until the 1990's, long after the field for adult education had begun (Lin, 2003). In 1920, E. Thorndike started a science experiment for adult learning, which was the beginning of documented research studies specific to adult learning (Huang, 1997). Adult education research in Taiwan began in about the same timeframe. In 1922, Chang published an article called "adult education theory" in an education magazine, and since then, the magazine started to publish articles to introduce adult education (Cai, 1997). However, the field drew minimal interest until after 1960 when the number of research studies conducted for adult education was increasing, and the studies of adult education started to develop (Huang, 1997).

The development of adult education was very helpful in developing adult education programs for educational institutions and would become even more important for Taiwan as the demographic trends in Taiwan shifted to a higher average age. In Taiwan, the average age of people increased, and the social structure was increasingly moving toward an older average age (Chen, 2004). In order to maintain or enhance productivity and competent ability, it was important to improve the knowledge and skills of adults (Lin, 1999). Governments, realizing the benefits to citizens and the country overall, took the necessary steps to support adult education programs.

Adult education

In 1976, the education department of the United Nations defined adult education as the educational process designed for continuing education of working adults within an organization. The term adult education applied whether the continuing education was formal or informal, an extension of schools or a substitution for schools. The purpose of adult education was to provide opportunities for adults to develop their potential, to gain new knowledge, to improve skills, and to increase their professional knowledge. By maximizing adult education potential, these people could benefit from new development, or have some positive change in their attitudes or behavior (Husen, & Postlethnaite, 1985). Huang (1997) indicated that adult education programs provided the necessary educational activities for adults to improve skills for their future development. The field included formal and informal education activities. The purpose was to help people gain knowledge, skills, and promote change of attitude about learning in order to increase problem solving capability, and improve the development for individuals within a society (Lin, 1999).

Continuing education

Hsia (2000) defined continuing education as the education activities engaged in after compulsory education. After 1980, extension education of American universities described continuing education as the process of continued learning for organized education activities for adults (Kuo, 2004). Huang (1997) thought that continuing education was the continuing education activities for adults after finishing their mandatory education.

Advanced education

Lin (2003) defined advanced education as the education activities for adults who had jobs while taking courses. Typically, this kind of education occurred in the work place. These adult learners had the basic knowledge of their work, and the continuing education curriculum was for the purpose of learning more about their chosen field or gaining information specific to their jobs.

Recurrent education

Recurrent education was a way of alternating between education, jobs, and leisure, and practicing full-time or part-time education activities (Hsia, 2000; Lin, 2003; Kuo, 2004). In the beginning, recurring education referred to adults who went back to school to obtain a formal education, but the definition was expanded to include formal or informal education (Lin, 2003). By attending education courses, people who had jobs could continue learning and use this knowledge in their jobs or lives.

Lifelong education

Lifelong education was the overall name for education activities and processes that people experienced throughout their lives (Lin, 1999). According to Yang (1996), lifelong education studies originated from educator's individual opinions of students, and focused on continuous learning behaviors. These learning behaviors became the personal model. Cross (1986) indicated that lifelong learning was the growth of self-directed learning. The purpose of lifelong learning was to gain self awareness, and to be understood in the world. Continued learning was for the purpose of gaining new skills and abilities, and it was one kind of self-investment.

Extension education

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Cambridge University of the United Kingdom acknowledged this term. The term was popularly used by American universities. However, after 1970, people used the terms adult education or continuing education instead of extension education (Malcolm, 1994). In Taiwan, people still used the term extension education to represent all continuing education activities which were provided by universities (Hsia, 2000). Yang (1996) indicated that extension education is the full time or part time education that was provided for adult learners. Extension education was the overall name for many kinds of adult education or continuing education.

The History Development of Adult Education in Taiwan

According to Lin (1999), there were six stages of research in the history of adult education development in Taiwan. The first stage occurred in 1900. In this stage, adult education was called reading education, farmer education, worker education, commoner education and society education. In 1922, Chang published an article called "adult education theory" in an education magazine, and since then, the

magazine started to publish articles to introduce adult education (Cai, 1997). In 1959, Chu published an article titled *The Characteristics of Adult Education* in *Education and Culture* magazine, and this was the first published record of the term “adult education” in the education field (Cai, 1997). However, Taiwan researchers also showed minimal interest in adult education studies until the 1960’s when research studies became more prevalent in published articles. In 1980, Mr. Yang and Huang started to position adult education into action for future research (Chen, 2004). In 1990, the education department set up a five-year plan to improve adult education based on the conclusion of the sixth national meeting (www.edu.tw, Retrieved Dec. 23, 2009).

The research studies of adult education then began to really become accepted. In 1993, there were two masters programs of adult education established in National Chung Cheng University and National Kaohsiung Normal University (www.edu.tw, Retrieved Dec. 23, 2009). This helped Taiwanese adult education to initiative research studies and achieve huge developments for research studies specific to Taiwan (Lin, 1999).

According to Huang (1997), there were four periods in adult education development in Taiwan, namely the Practical period (before 1930), the Initial period (1930-1950), the Development period (1950-1964), and the Systemic period (1964-1990). In the practical period, people saw adult education as practical, as it related to job skill enhancement, and the schools only focused on providing remedial activities for adults. Then, in the initial period (1930-1950), universities started to set up professional programs for adult education, and researchers started to analyze existing theories and studies of adult education in order to provide information to implement adult education. In the development period (1950-1964), the number of research studies pertaining to adult education grew quickly, and many theories of adult education were established in this period. Finally, in the systemic period (1964-1990), adult education researchers not only used studies in its own areas, but also used theories and research from other disciplines to expand and add to available research studies conducted about adult education. From this period, the knowledge and information for adult education started to become more systematic.

The Future Trend of Adult Education in Taiwan

Hu (2001) indicated that because of the development of education and the progress of information technology, access to educational institutions and in particular adult education programs should not be limited in the traditional way with high standards typically used by institutions to attract higher quality students with more potential for high achievement. Adult education should include new ideas, strategies, and new ways in adult education activities. There were six strategies that could help universities improve and achieve progress for adult education programs if the schools used them.

1. Open learning opportunity. The universities could reduce the limitations that may prevent accessibility of programs for adult learners to enroll in higher education schools, such as minimum GPA requirements for entering schools, the limits of space, time, and cost. Then by providing better access for adult education, in addition to providing traditional classroom teaching, the schools could provide more education channels for adults to learn from each other. They could then connect this knowledge and information that they were able to gain and synthesize it to other learning opportunities. Moreover, the classes’ design should be flexible in order to give more freedom and choice for adult learners.

2. Quality management. By increasing learning opportunities for adult students, colleges and universities could increase the number of courses offered by expanding adult education availability and program while maintaining quality management. This will ensure that the expansion of the programs benefits all students because it would incorporate a focus on quality with the added benefit of the knowledge and experience that adult learners attain from life experiences.
3. Marketing the activities. The purpose of marketing adult education was to provide accurate and motivational information to adult learners about the benefits of continuing their education. The marketing strategies help colleges and universities to bridge the gap when courses were available and create demand for adult education programs.
4. Merging the local communities. This strategy was to merge the community and to segment the market in order to save resources and to avoid overlapping of resources. This marketing strategy was developed as a tool to identify similar characteristics within communities and to break markets into sections based on similarities in order to choose the most effective marketing strategy that would have the widest reach and provide the most return for a particular or multiple market segments. This strategy helped advertisers to avoid overlapping of resources that would inevitably occur if every consumer were to be targeted within every community.
5. Distance education. Adult education should combine computer and Internet technology as a tool to attract adult learners and increase the enrollment numbers within adult education programs, and thus enlarge the programs of adult education offered at colleges and universities.
6. The participation of adult learners. Universities should encourage adult learners to participate in the process of the classes' design, setting learning goals, evaluating the learning outcomes, and implementing the learning planes. Adult education should be learner-centered, and the schools should set up two-way communication in order to help adults to achieve lifelong learning while receiving valuable information that will help the educational institution to achieve continuous improvement.

The Consumer-Direction of Adult Education

When adults needed access to formal learning and expected the education institution to supply their need, the consumer-direction of adult education would occur (Cranton, 1994). During these years, the government continued to promote adult education. Also, people started to feel the need for continued learning because of the rapid expansion of technology and the need to increase knowledge to keep up with ever-changing trends (Chen, 2004). This demand for adult education prompted government organizations and universities to create programs in response to market demand to meet the ever-increasing needs for adult education (Shiao, 2002).

Hsia (2000) thought that if adult education adhered to consumer-directed learning, then learning would include negotiation in the learning process, and learners and educators would be equal in some ways. Learners and educators would negotiate about the process of learning in order to achieve the best learning outcomes.

Based on the theories of self-directed learning and self-regulated learning, adult learners had more self-control than young learners. Moreover, adult learners would choose adult education programs based on knowledge, universities, instructors, and even the services (such as parking or food). Because the supply of adult education was more than the demand, it was easy to see that adult education tended to be

consumer-directed (Shiao, 2002). Therefore, schools had to work harder to effectively compete to recruit students by advertising the benefits of their program, or why the potential student should choose their university instead of another school.

Educational Marketing

Educational marketing divisions used the traditional ideas of marketing to more effectively manage and promote colleges and universities successfully (Wang, 2003). By increasing the understanding and support of the students, the schools could also increase their competitive advantage and effectiveness of the product based on customer feedback. Kolter and Karen (1995) thought that educational marketing used the ideas and methods of marketing to analyze the environment of the school, the source of students, competitors, and the strengths and the weaknesses of the school, in order to position the school and find out the target market (students).

By positioning the school, the organization could show its strengths and characteristics in order to recruit more students and attract more resources for the school. Moreover, Peng (2000) thought that educational marketing was the process of marketing management of the school, and used the ideas of marketing in the school. Educational marketing was divided into internal marketing and external marketing. The major content focused on the ideas of educational marketing, the marketing combination of the school, and the recruiting promotion. In addition, Chen (2004) pointed out that educational marketing viewed education as a market. The school used distinguishing skills to divide the market, to position itself, to focus on the target market, and used excellent class designs, good instructors, targeted advertising and so on, to increase their competitive advantage.

According to Brown (1984), the first stage of educational marketing was to identify the problem, followed by focusing on the target market, to conduct marketing segmentation, create the marketing strategy, implement the strategy, and evaluate the outcome of the implementation. Please see Figure 1.

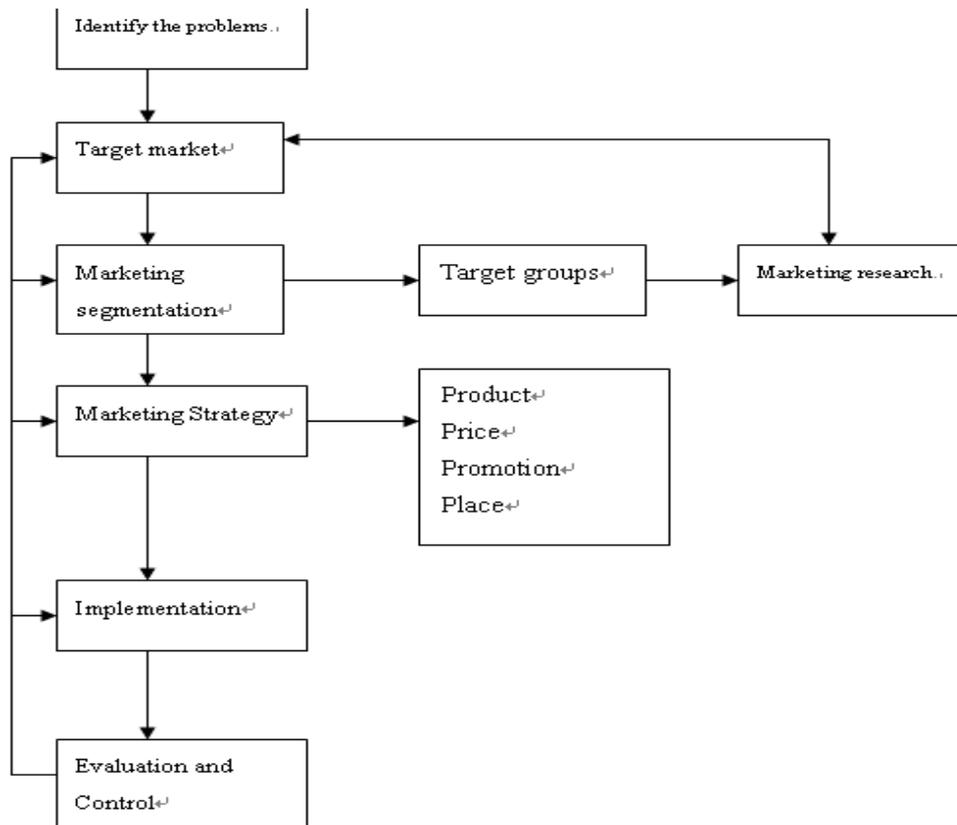


Figure 1. Educational Marketing Stages

From Brown, S. A. (1984). *Marketing Extension Program: Extension*

Huang (1997) introduced the idea of the process of planning the strategy of educational marketing. The steps of planning the strategy were to complete the market research, to analyze the organization, to set up the target of the marketing, to analyze the marketing segmentation, to plan the strategy, to implement and to evaluate and control. Please see Figure 2.

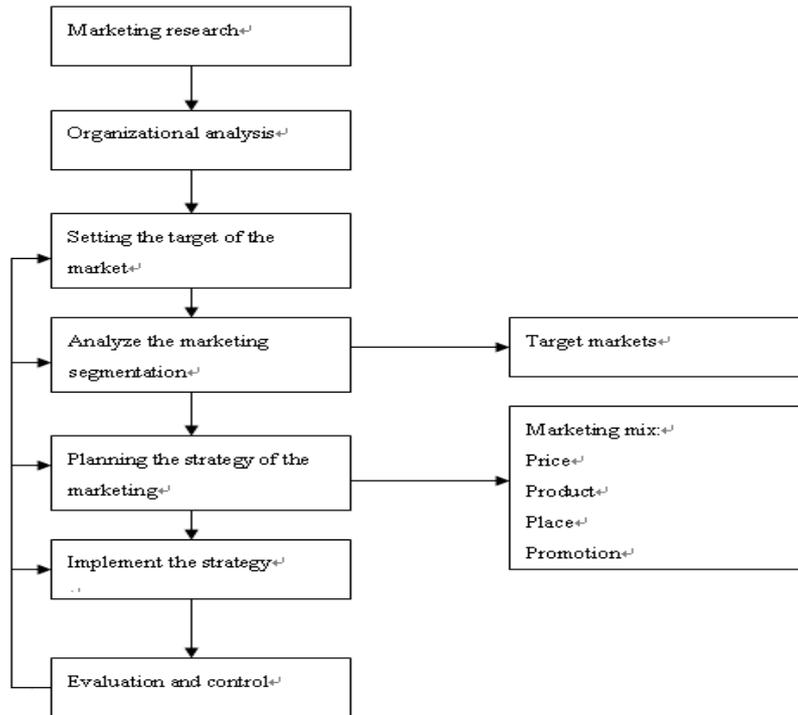


Figure 2 the Steps of Plan for Educational Marketing
From Huang, M. (1997), *Educational Marketing Strategy: Theory and Practice of Adult Education*.
Taipei: Book store of National Taiwan Normal University.

Based on the research of Deng (1998), there were six steps of planning educational marketing. The first step of the plan was to decide the primary goal of the organization. Then, the organization had to analyze marketing opportunities of the organization, study and choose the target markets. Moreover, the organization was to then set up the strategy and plan for educational marketing. The organization could use this information to build up the system and the structures of the marketing plan, and finally implement the strategies and evaluate the outcome. Please see Figure 3.

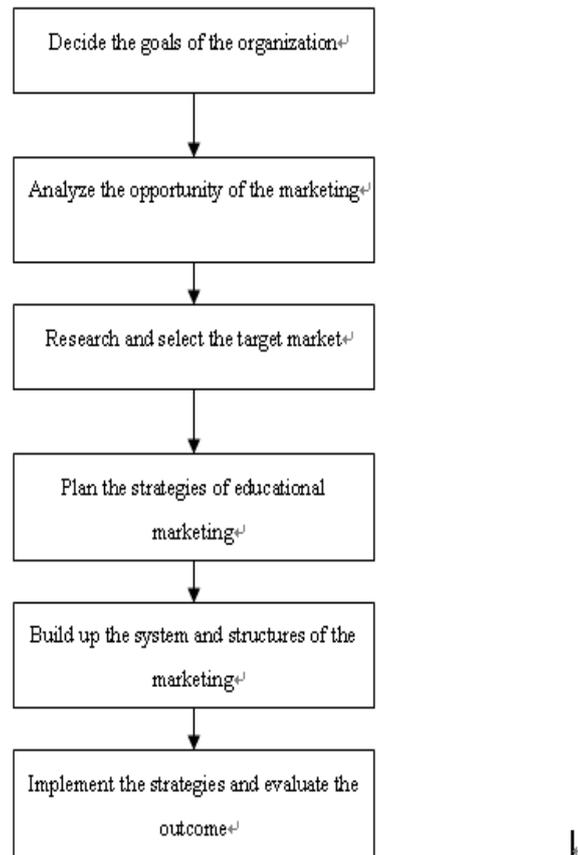


Figure 3 The Steps of Planning Strategies for Educational Marketing
From Deng, W. (1998). Planning the strategies for educational marketing of extension adult education, *Adult Education*, 45, 33-39.

To sum up, the steps of planning strategies for educational marketing used almost the same theories, except the first step of Deng's study (Kuo, 2004; Wang, 2003). Many of the research studies used the 4P marketing strategy, namely product, price, promotion, and place (Brown, 1984; Deng, 1998; Huang, 1997; Kuo, 2004; Wang, 2003). In this research, the steps of planning the strategy for educational marketing of education program used Huang's steps as the foundation, and also used other literature to assist in the research process. The steps for this research were to find the marketing segmentation. Also, based on the theory of customer behavior, the research process used the marketing mix to check the quality of instructors, classes, pricing, location, equipment, and information (Deng, 1998; Huang, 1997; Kuo, 2004).

Methodology

Description of the Research Design

The purpose of this research was to find out what advertising was effective and which marketing strategies for Taiwanese and American universities and colleges were the best to recruit adult students. In addition, the study helped to identify possible correlations to the relationship between advertising and marketing strategies and the demographic backgrounds of adult learners. The findings of the study could help universities and colleges to save a lot of time and money in recruiting students because they could use the findings to create a more effective marketing strategy that would increase student enrollment and understand the difference strategies between Taiwan and U.S.A .

The population of the study was students who were enrolled in adult education courses in the Taiwanese and American universities which the researcher chose for the study. The survey was conducted by the researcher and the testers. The consent forms were signed by the author of the instrument, the university, and the participants. The SPSS for windows was used to analyze the data. The descriptive statistics, the t-test, the Mann-Whitney U test, and the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance and the Pearson Correlation Coefficient were also used to analyze the data (Frankel & Wallen, 2006).

Sampling Method

The random sampling technique was used, because the researcher wanted each of the population participants to have an equal chance to participate. The two stage random sampling techniques were used in this study. First, the researcher used a table of random numbers to select fifteen classes from each school, and the total class numbers were thirty. Also, the same sampling method was used in U.S.A. Then, the researcher used a table of random numbers to select 10 participants from each class based on their student ID numbers. Those students were the participants for this study.

Instrument

The instrument of the Education Marketing in adult education (Kuo, 2004) was used in this research. The instrument used a five-point Likert-type scale. The number five represented “strongly agree”. Four represented “agree”. Three represented “no comment”. Two represents “disagree”. Then, number one represented “strongly disagree”. There were 66 total inquiries in the instrument.

Reliability of the Instrument

This instrument had stability reliability and internal consistency reliability. Because there was only one form, this instrument did not have alternate form reliability. In order to have the stability reliability, the author of the instrument conducted the test-retest. According to Fowler (1993), the value of Cronbach’s α was bigger than .9, which meant the instrument had high internal consistency reliability. But if the value of Cronbach’s α was smaller than .3, this meant the instrument had low internal consistency reliability. The instrument should be fixed. For internal consistency reliability, the Cronbach’s α was .877. Because Cronbach’s $\alpha = .877 > .7$, the internal consistency reliability of this instrument was accepted.

Validity of the Instrument

Content validity and construct validity were established for this instrument. For construct validity, the instrument had the literature review to support it (Fry, Stoner, &

Hattwick, 2001; Jones, George, & Hill, 2000; Juran, 1974; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1985). Moreover, in order to establish content validity, the author of the instrument had a panel of experts to review the questions. Then, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) was used to find out the common elements between variables. According to Kaiser, if the number of KMO was smaller than 0.5 (<0.5), the instrument was not good for factor analysis. In this instrument, the number of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) was 0.741, 0.916, and 0.920 in leisure type, advertising strategies, and marketing strategies. These values were all bigger than 0.5. Hence, the instrument worked for the factor analysis. Also, in Bartlett's Ball test, the X values were 7490.159, 8796.441, and 12934.404. Therefore, it showed that there were common elements in the sampling group, and the instrument could do the factor analysis. Based on the factor analysis, the invalid questions were taken from the questionnaire. This was also used to decide whether to keep the question or delete the question from the analysis.

Research Procedure

First, the researcher got permission from the author of the instrument before continuing with the research study. Also, the researcher obtained permission from the university in order to conduct the survey in the school. Then, the researcher set up a schedule for conducting the survey. In this study, the researcher hired the testers to help with the survey process.

The testers delivered the instrument to the school, and also conducted the survey. The testers explained the study, and the rights of the participants, to the participants. Also, the testers asked them to sign a consent form in order for the researcher to use their information. The process of the survey took about one hour. After the participants finished the survey, the tester collected the survey, and brought back the completed forms to the researcher. The researcher analyzed the data and the testers helped to double check the completion rate of the surveys.

Data Analysis

The SPSS for windows was used to analyze the data. The descriptive statistics, the t-test, the Mann-Whitney U test, and the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance and the Pearson Correlation Coefficient were also used to analyze the data (Frankel & Wallen, 2006).

Results

Q: How Do People Feel About the Marketing Strategies?

In this study, the research used Kuo's definition (2004), which considered three factors in the marketing strategies, namely the orientation consultant, price consideration, and professional skill. The results showed that most participants considered the orientation consultant first when they tried to join an education program. The orientation consultant in this study included the attitude of the consultant, how they introduced the program, and how they represented the program. For the participants, the first impression was important. If the schools wanted to recruit more students, they should invest resources to train and educate their orientation consultants in order to increase the level of satisfaction that students gain from taking the education courses. Moreover, after the orientation consultant, the rank was followed by professional skills, and then price consideration.

It should be noted that the mean of the three strategies were very close. The findings indicated that the participants thought that professional skills and price

consideration were also important. Hence, the schools might still need to pay attention to professional skills and price consideration. By improving professional skills of the instructors and setting a reasonable price, it would meet the needs that students feel are important and address their preferences, thus attracting more students to the program.

In U.S.A., most participants considered price consideration first, and then followed by professional skills. The participants consistently seek out the programs that were less expensive. The price of the programs was the first consideration for them to choose the programs or to make the decision for coming back to the school. Then the professional skills were the second consideration for the participants. Hence, for attracting American adult learners, the schools should research to set up the reasonable price in order to gain more students. Also, the schools should encourage their instructors to improve their professional skills in order to satisfy the adult learner. The price and the professional skills of the instructors would be the major concern for American adult learners to select the adult program.

For American participants, media advertising was the most popular advertising strategy, followed by advertising recognition, then oral advertising. Media was the most effective advertising strategies for the adult learners. Through media, the information could be reached by most people. Then, the second one was advertising strategies, and followed by the oral advertising. Hence, the schools should choose the media to do the advertising year-round. Or based on the needs, the schools should advertise frequently. The media advertising would help the participants to recognize the schools and the news about the schools. Moreover, the schools could use advertising recognition and oral advertising to help the promotion in order to get the effective outcomes.

By using the t-test, the results showed that the gender differences of the participants did not affect their opinions about the marketing strategies. The α value of the orientation consultant, price consideration, and professional skills were .474, .191, and .905. The α values were all above the target of $\alpha = .05$. Hence, the gender of the participants did not affect the opinions toward preferred marketing strategies.

Moreover, the results showed that the differences in the marital status of participants did not affect their opinions about the orientation consultant ($\alpha = .858 > \alpha = .05$), the price consideration ($\alpha = .900 > \alpha = .05$), and the professional skills ($\alpha = .533 > \alpha = .05$). Therefore, the findings indicated that whether or not the participant was married did not affect the opinions toward the marketing strategies. When the schools implement marketing strategies, they might not need to consider the marital status of the participants or incorporate a strategy into their plan with consideration to this characteristic since the findings showed that this demographic variable is not significant.

*Q: Is There A Relationship Between the Demographic Backgrounds, the Advertising Strategies and the Marketing Strategies for education Program in Adult Education?
The advertising strategies*

The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was used to analyze the data. The findings indicated that there was no significant relationship between adult learner's preferred advertising strategies and gender ($p = .32 > p = .05$). This also meant that the gender difference of the participants did not affect the participants' feelings about the advertising strategies. Also, the results showed that the gender difference of the participants affected how they felt about the advertising recognition ($p = .006 \leq p = .05$).

Moreover, by using the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance to test the data, the results showed that there was no significant relationship between adult learner's preferred advertising strategies and gender ($p=.32 > p=.05$), age ($p=.052 > p=.05$), educational level ($p=.219 > p=.05$), jobs ($p=.334 > p=.05$), personal income ($p=.062 > p=.05$), and location where the participants lived ($p=.985 > p=.05$). Hence, the differences in gender, age, educational level, jobs, personal income, and location where the participants lived did not affect the opinions of the participants about the preferred advertising strategies.

For advertising recognition, the findings indicated that for advertising recognition, gender ($p=.006 \leq p=.05$), age ($p=.004 \leq p=.05$), and jobs ($p=.025 \leq p=.05$) had significant relationships. Hence, the difference of gender, age, and jobs affected how the participants experienced advertising recognition. According to Table 16, the results indicated that there was a significant relationship between adult learner's preferred advertising strategies and marital status ($p=.046 \leq p=.05$). This also meant that the participants' marital status affected the opinions about which advertising strategies were effective.

There was only one demographic background of the participants that affected participants' opinions about advertising strategies, namely marital status. But the difference of gender, age, and jobs also affected the ideas of the participants about advertising recognition.

The Marketing Strategies

For the marketing strategies, the findings indicated that there was no significant relationship between the marketing strategies and gender ($p=.916 > p=.05$). This meant that the gender difference of the participants did not affect their opinions about marketing strategies.

By using the Kruskal-Wallis Test to analyze the relationship between the marketing strategies and age variables, The results showed that there was no significant relationship between marketing strategies and age ($p=.688 > p=.05$). Hence, the age difference of the participants did not affect how they felt about marketing strategies.

The results showed that the marketing strategies had no significant relationship with the educational level ($p=.395 > p=.05$). This also meant that the difference the education level of the participants did not affect how the participants felt about marketing strategies.

Moreover, the findings indicated that there was no significant relationship between the marketing strategies and jobs ($p=.684 > p=.05$). The job difference of the participants did not affect their opinions about the marketing strategies. Then, the results showed that there was no significant relationship between marketing strategies and personal income ($p=.979 > p=.05$). Hence, the difference in personal income did not affect how the participants felt about marketing strategies.

In addition, the result indicated that the marketing strategies and the marital status did not have any significant relationship ($p=.607 > p=.05$). This meant that the marital status did not affect how the participants felt about marketing strategies.

Also, the finding showed that there was no significant relationship between the marketing strategies and the location where the participants lived ($p=.311 > p=.05$). Hence, the location where the participants lived did not affect their opinions about the marketing strategies.

To sum up, the results showed that there was no significant relationship between adult learner's preferred marketing strategies, gender ($p=.916 > p=.05$), age ($p=.688 >$

$p = .05$), educational level ($p = .395 > p = .05$), jobs ($p = .684 > p = .05$), personal income ($p = .979 > p = .05$), marital status ($p = .607 > p = .05$), and location where the participants lived ($p = .311 > p = .05$). So the difference of gender, age, educational level, jobs, personal income, marital status, and location where the participants lived did not affect the participants feeling about marketing strategies.

Discussion of the Findings

There were several findings in this study, and these findings can be used to help schools to create useful and practical strategies to recruit more adult learners to education programs.

The first finding was that the most popular and effective advertising strategy was media advertising, followed by oral advertising, and advertising recognition. Hence, the findings indicated that media advertising could be the best choice for schools to attract students in Taiwan and in U.S.A.. Therefore, based on the findings of this study, schools should focus on utilizing media advertising as the most effective means of recruiting students. However, based on Lin's research (2003), people focused on oral advertising, such as the suggestion from friends, or introduction of a product by relatives. However, in U.S.A., the oral advertising was the third choice. The difference might be caused by the culture differences. Also, the finding difference could be due to the difference in participant characteristics, different instruments used to survey study participants, and so on. However, both findings are still valuable and can be used as a basis for future education adult education marketing and advertising strategies. The schools would determine which study is more appropriate by identifying what different information pertains to their specific target market and choose the basis of marketing and advertising plans accordingly.

The next finding was that most participants considered the orientation consultant first when they considered joining an education program. The orientation consultant in this study included the attitude of the consultant, how they introduced the program, and how they represented the program. For the Taiwanese participants, the first impression was important. The orientation consultant in this study included the attitude of the consultant, how they introduced the program, and how they represented the program. For the Taiwanese participants, the first impression was important. If the schools wanted to recruit more students, they should invest resources to train and educate their orientation consultants in order to increase the level of satisfaction that students gain from taking the sports education courses. Moreover, after the orientation consultant, the rank was followed by professional skills, and then price consideration.

Then, in the U.S.A., the price consideration was the first factor for the participants to select the program. In order to recruit students, the schools should research and set up the reasonable price to gain more students and improve the satisfaction of the students. Moreover, the school should pay attention to improve the professional skills of the instructors, because the professional skills were the second concern for the students to join the adult education programs. Hence, when the schools plan the strategies, they should focus on the price, and followed by professional skills.

The findings indicated that the participants thought that professional skills and price consideration were also important. Especially, in American participants, they thought that the price consideration was the most important, and followed by professional skills. Hence, the schools might still need to pay attention to professional

skills and price consideration. By improving professional skills of the instructors and setting a reasonable price, it would meet the needs that students feel are important and address their preferences, thus attracting more students to the program.

Moreover, Chen's study (2004) indicated that price consideration was one major issue for people as a decision factor for joining an education program. Hence, the findings of the study were aligned with Chen's study (2004). Based on the findings of these studies, when schools try to plan marketing strategies, they should pay attention to setting up reasonable prices or making participation as affordable as possible, in order to attract more people.

The next finding indicated that there was only one demographic background of the participants that affected participants' opinions about the advertising strategies, namely marital status. But the difference of gender, age, and jobs also affected the ideas of the participants about the advertising recognition. In Kuo's study (2004), it also pointed out that the gender difference affected how people felt about advertising strategies. Hence, when the schools focus on advertising recognition, they should pay attention to the difference of gender, age, and job type of the target group, because these demographic variables might affect how the target group felt. Also these variables will affect the success of the advertising recognition approach. Moreover, single or married status of the target group might also affect the outcome of the advertising strategies. Based on these findings, the schools should consider the marital status factor into their plan.

In regards to the marketing strategies, demographic background variables of the participants did not affect their feelings about marketing strategies, namely gender, age, the education level, job type, marriage, income, and location. Hence, when schools create a marketing plan, based on the findings of this study, demographic background variables of the participants should not be considered in the plan.

Conclusion

The finding of the study could provide useful information to Taiwanese and American schools and help them to plan a marketing and advertising strategy that identifies effective methods for recruiting Taiwanese and American university students. By using the suggestions which were developed from the results of the study, schools should save time and money in designing effective advertising and marketing strategies. This study could also provide direction for schools to design research studies that can build upon the findings of this research to create effective strategies that are tailored to the respective school. Moreover, the findings indicated that media advertising might be the most effective advertising approach, so the schools could take this into consideration when creating an advertising plan. In addition, the results showed that the relationship between demographic background variables could affect whether advertising and marketing strategies are effective. Hence, before schools create an advertising and marketing plan, they should do an in-depth analysis of all demographic variables of the target group in order to construct a successful advertising and marketing strategy to recruit students. Overall, the findings of the study could provide useful and practical information to help Taiwanese and American education programs to design better and more effective strategies to help the schools to recruit more students for education programs.

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Localization of western discourse in Asian context: a case study of media literacy education

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Abstract:

During the education reform movement starting in 1990s, many educational initiatives have been introduced to East Asian region including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Media literacy education is one of them. As a borrowed educational discourse, media literacy education experienced a process of localization. This paper aims at exploring the localizing process of a western educational discourse in East Asian context. The case of Taiwan will be discussed. The trajectory of localization will be analyzed. Data are from policy documents, academic papers and teaching materials in the field of media literacy education. This paper will offer a case study of policy-borrowing and the localization of western discourse in Asian context.

Key words: Media literacy, discourse, localization, Taiwan

Localization of western discourse in Asian context: a case study of media literacy education

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1. Introduction

Following the expansion of Taiwan's mass media after the end of military rule in 1987, there has been growing concern about the worsening media environment. The worsening media environment has been a long-lasting social phenomenon in Taiwan since the early 1990s after the lift of martial law and the open of media market. This phenomenon brings various debates and causes moral panic among educators and parents. Advocates from different sectors of Taiwanese society successfully lobbied the Ministry of Education (MOE) in 2002 to initiate media literacy education that is viewed as one solution to the worsening media environment in Taiwan. As the first country in the East Asian region to promote media education in both formal and informal education systems, Taiwan's media education policy occupies a significant place in the development of media education in the region. This policy initiative aims at preparing students for a complicated media environment through borrowing the idea of media literacy from other countries like the UK, US and Canada.

This paper is going to address the following series of questions:

1. How did the Taiwan look for a solution to a local problem globally?
2. Where is the borrowed idea from?
3. Is a borrowed idea successfully practiced in a local context?

Empirical data are from interviews with policy-makers and stakeholders as well as the policy text. Drawing on theoretical and methodological approaches from the model of policy-borrowing (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004a) and policy sociology (Ball, 1998), this paper focuses on how the discourse of media literacy which is borrowed from other countries is constructed to suit the local context and provide a potentially workable solution to the social problem locally. The importance of the paper is to provide a case study of policy borrowing and transferring in East Asian context. There will be four sections below: the local context, the global discourses of media education, the policy borrowing and analysis, and conclusion. Some remarks on methodology will be discussed in the third section. As Halpin (1994) indicates, there is a need of doing comparative study in education policy. This paper is able to provide a case for further comparative study in education policy.

2. The contexts – Two driving forces of media education:

(1) Media environment

After lifting martial law in 1987, the government's controlling power over the mass media became weaker, hundreds of newspapers and magazines and dozens of television stations were established within a short period of time. The majority of media are commercial ones and there is one non-commercial terrestrial television station, the Public Television Service (PTS), which is

sponsored by the central government and was established in 1998. Moreover, the penetration rate of television is about 100 per cent and of cable television, which has the highest penetration rate in the Asia-Pacific region, is about 80 per cent (GIO, 1999).

Magnier (2005) describes that ‘Taiwan’s media have the reputation of being among the most aggressive in Asia’ and provides an insightful observation and example from an outsider’s perspective:

Concerned about the media’s excesses and ability to ruin reputations and lives, reformers in and outside the industry are trying to stem the sensationalism, partisanship and corruption that characterize the business. Some argue that the media are merely a reflection of Taiwanese society, which is one of the most freewheeling in Asia.

After years of debating about the regulation of media, the National Communications Commission (NCC) has been set up to take over the regulatory responsibilities from the Government Information Office (GIO) with the legal mandate in 2006 (for details see GIO, 2009). Besides the official regulatory body, there are several advocacy groups trying to use media education as a way of protecting the younger generation from the ill effects of media and an alternative to government regulation. These groups include the Media Literacy Centre (MLC), the Fubon Cultural and Educational Foundation (FBCEF) and the Public Television Service (PTS). They promoted media education in Taiwan before the government got involved. After years of lobbying, the former Minister of Education, Dr. Tseng decided to form a policy-making committee on drafting a white paper on media education in 2002 (see Lin, 2008). Since then, media education develops into another way of responding to the chaotic media environment in Taiwan.

(2) The education reform

As aforementioned, the worsening media environment is one of the pushing forces for advocate groups and the governments to promote media education. However, there is also an opportune moment because of the education reform/modernization that takes place in these three regions. During the reform period, the old education system is under critical examination by the public and a lot of new ideas and initiatives are proposed by various stakeholders (Chou, 2003). All these changes in the reform era are to reconstruct the education system so that the fundamental purpose of education can be restored. That is about how the nation can foster its younger generation to be responsible, well-informed and competent citizen to face the challenges and opportunities in the global and digital world. Traditional subject knowledge is no longer valid in the new times. The up-to-date education system should provide a holistic education for all instead of focusing on the academic performance only.

Influenced by the trend, some dimensions that had been neglected in the traditional education system are brought into the educational agenda. After realizing the power of media, educators start finding solutions for responding to it. The MOE Taiwan (2002, p. 4) makes this point clear in its policy statement:

The majority of educators around the world acknowledge that “the school,” the system, as the education process and educational content evolved over the past century, replaced the family, in particular, as the main source of education. However, few realized that with the emergence of television and other forms of mass communication that developed over the past four decades, mass media has become the second education curriculum for children and youth. The dominance of the media is so strong that it is possibly threatening the position of schools as the first education system. The media has also pushed the role of the family as an educator further aside and is gradually undermining the authority of schools. Mass media is not only “educating” the young, but also every member of society. It is becoming more difficult for most of us to differentiate fact from fiction in what is presented or reported in the media. Some of us do not believe that we are biased by the media, but tend to think that others are influenced. This is the so-called third-person effect in

media studies. As the hours children and youth are exposed to the media (including the Internet and computer games) already exceeds that the time they spend in the classrooms of elementary and high schools, it could be claimed that the media is the first education curriculum rather than the second.

Also, Cheung (2009) points out education reform movement in different countries offers media education opportunities to develop in Asia including Taiwan where media education is viewed as a grass-root movement (Lee, 2007; Wu & Chen, 2007) that starts from a form of social movement and then moves into the formal school system.

3. Discourses of media education

Lin (2008) identifies eight various discourses of media education in major English-speaking countries. They are cultural protectionism, moral anxiety, anti-consumerism, ideological exposure, vocational training, citizenship, 'new' media education and digital literacy. The first three discourses are usually categorized under the umbrella of 'protectionist' approach that claims that adults need to protect children from the negative effect of media. Therefore, they all have negative assumptions about the media and media effect and appear in the early stage of the development of media education (Buckingham, 2003b). Ideological exposure is influenced by vulgar Marxist approach of education and media studies. Peter McLaren (see McLaren, Hammer, Sholle, & Reilly, 1995) and Len Masterman (1985, 1998) are two representative advocates of this discourse that focuses on enlightening learners to discover the hidden ideology in media content.

As to the fifth discourse, it exists in the British education system that views media education as a preparatory course for those who have interest in working in media industry. Media literacy as part of citizenship in the digital era is one of the most common discourse worldwide. The 'new' media education refers to diverse and collective reflections of a group of academics with their findings from empirical studies aiming at redefining the role and content of media education. David Buckingham at the Institute of Education London is the leading academic and practitioner with other international colleagues (Buckingham, 2003a, 2003b; Burn & Durran, 2007; Luke, 2003). Practical work, the media production, becomes a must-have component in this discourse and the concept of literacy has been fully expanded to cover various media. The last one focuses on new media mainly and sometimes overlaps with 'digital literacy' and 'information literacy'. Lin (Lin, 2009a, 2009b) argues that this should be part of the media literacy discourse. The latter three discourses, to some extent, can be viewed as liberal approaches to media education with a positive view towards media.

It is necessary to define the two terminologies, media education and media literacy. Media education refers to the process and media literacy refers to the outcome of media education (Buckingham, 2003). In some cases, these two terms are combined together as media literacy education. In this paper, these three terms will be used accordingly.

4. The policy borrowing

As Ball (1998) argues, policy-makers are looking for 'magical solutions' of various issues in education. A global-scale policy borrowing is a prominent phenomenon. Ochs & Phillips (2004b) expresses that policy borrowing is a complicated process and provides a model of analyzing it. The model has four stages (Ochs & Phillips, 2004b, pp. 10-11):

1. Cross-National Attraction: Why is a country looking for solution of a specific issue from elsewhere?
2. Decision-Making: What are the various intentions and goals of importing borrowed policies. Is the borrowing offering a practical solution or a 'quick fix'?
3. Implementation: How is an imported policy implemented? Is there sufficient support to implement the borrowed policy?

4. Internalisation/Indigenisation: How is a borrowed solution localised?

However, applying this model without adjustments may cause problems because they focus on the historical dimension. Media education policy in Taiwan is a new initiative and there is not enough time for it to be indigenised. Therefore, this paper will focus on the first three stages to analyse the policy borrowing.

4.1 The Cross-National Attraction

As aforementioned, the notion of media education in Taiwan originates from a need identified by some voluntary advocate groups as a potential solution for the worsening media environment. The cross-national attraction comes from the need of attempting to educate young people how to survive in the media era because the government failed to regulate the media. As a brand-new concept, this initiative relies on the experience of practicing media education from Western countries.

However, media education does not have the priority in the long list of various education reform agendas. One of the stakeholders expressed that she and others have tried to lobby the Minister of Education about the idea of media education but failed several times. As a result, several private organisations started the initiatives and searched for useful experiences from other countries. Meanwhile, an unexpected sex video event triggered the policy-making process of media education that is not in the policy agenda in Taiwan. It is an example of ‘serendipity’ of policy-making (Ball, 2006).

Once the Minister decided to promote media education, the duty of drafting the White Paper was assigned to the FBCEF, one of the organizations that promoted media education. A ten-member committee has been formed in charge of producing a white paper. Seven out of the ten members are academics from communication and education department. The rest three are primary and secondary school teachers and a media professional. As one of the members from the practical background pointed out, this committee was dominated by the academics who got their master or doctoral degrees from US. Due to the social and historical context of Taiwan, the English-speaking countries become the prior source of policy borrowing.

Among these English-speaking, the UK is the most prominent case because it has a long history of doing media education in formal and informal education system with a strong support of theoretical and empirical studies. On the contrary, in terms of promoting media education, the US is in the bottom of the table of English-speaking countries. Kubey (1998) listed various obstacles of implementing media education in the US. Moreover, some protectionist discourses are prominent in the US (Gerbner, 1999). Where did these policy makers look for the discourses of media education to borrow? In the following section, the discourses of media education in the policy will be discussed.

4.2 The decision:

The White Paper on Media Literacy Education was officially announced by the MOE in a press conference in October 2002 demonstrating the ‘determination’ of the Ministry to fight against the worsening media environment and to help students be better equipped in the information era. However, the policy-making process from beginning to end took approximately four months. It shows a highly ‘efficient’ policy-making process.

Key terms and metaphors in the following interview extracts and the policy text can be significant indicators of various discourses borrowed by these policy makers. The main finding of analysing the interview of key stakeholders and the policy text is that discourses are mobilized in

different ways and by various stakeholders. There is a mixture of some discourses while the others are absent.

As a response to a worsening media environment in Taiwan, it is not surprising to discover that the most prominent discourses are ‘moral panic’ and ‘citizenship’. The prevailing ‘moral panic’ discourse is highlighted by the overt ‘health’ and ‘environmental protection’ metaphors. Interviewee A explicitly indicates that one of the main themes in the White Paper, ‘health literacy’, is borrowed from the US. As one of the most important themes for the moral campaigners health or health literacy runs through the discourse of moral panic.

Extract 1

- 1 Interviewer: What is the difference between literacy and media literacy?
2 Interviewee 1: We are planning to extend the concept [of literacy]. People even use *health literacy*.
3 We are now moving into the second phase.
4 Interviewer: Excuse me. Now is the second [phase]. What is the first phase?
5 Interviewee 1: The first phase is to produce the White Paper / to raise the awareness ... erm... of the
6 government.
7 Interviewer: I see.
8 Interviewee 1: There is not an explicit explanation in the White Paper. We want to extend media
9 literacy to health literacy. In other words, it is about how the media content influences
10 health.
11 Interviewer: You mean mental or ?
12 Interviewee 1: In many aspects. In many aspects. In fact, media is closely related to personal health.
13 No matter what you watch, sitting to watch television for three hours is unhealthy.
14 Moreover, there are many false messages in television. We even called it health
15 literacy. It is very popular in the United States now. Even WHO [World Health
16 Organization] also proposed this term [concept]. In the old days, it was doctors who
17 could decide whether an individual was healthy or not. But, now this decision is on the
18 individual, on oneself. Like WHO and the College of Public Health at Harvard
19 University, they focus on health literacy. There is a Health Literacy Center in the College
20 of Public Health at Harvard University. So, we start from media literacy and extend it to
21 health literacy.

According to Interviewee 1’s examples (lines 13 to 14), health literacy has both physical and mental dimensions, and the cause of individual health problems is ‘television’ and its ‘false messages’. The assumption is that media, or at least television, is negative in terms of health:

Extract 2

- 1 Interviewer: In the White Paper, ‘health literacy’ is a key concept. Where is this concept from?
2 Interviewee2: This comes from two origins. One is, when we were drafting the White Paper, like the
3 United States, Taiwan had joined WTO [the World Trade Organization] and many new
4 taxes have been introduced for example, the tax on cigarettes, which is one billion per
5 year. Therefore, the Bureau of Health Promotion (BHP) is wondering where they can
6 spend the money. Another origin is Professor SMC. He set up the Department of
7 Communication in Tzuchi University. The main theme is Health Communication. When
8 we discussed the [content] of the White Paper, Professor SMC mentioned
9 public health. That is the report, *Healthy People Healthy Community 2010*, in the US.
10 He proposed the idea of healthy community and viewed media as an environment.
11 Half of the media education in the United States is about health literacy. The
12 money comes from CBC. Those health messages include alcohol, smoking, drugs,
13 and pre-marital pregnancy. Maybe these [social problems] are too serious in the
14 United States so Americans focus on them. As to Taiwan, why did we
15 incorporate ‘media health literacy’? It is because we receive lots of media texts from
16 the United States. Secondly, there are also these kinds of [social] problems in Taiwan.
17 The most common image is people smoke or drink when they feel anxious.

Like Interviewee 1, Interviewee 2 says that the metaphor of health is borrowed from the United States and at the same time, she also claims that the same phenomenon happens in Taiwan.

Claiming that Taiwan and the United States face the same phenomenon is a rhetorical strategy that allows her to generalize the social context of the moral panic discourse so that the rationale for adopting an American ‘health literacy’ approach can be legitimated.

Several key terms such as ‘smoking’, ‘alcohol’, ‘pre-marital pregnancy’, and ‘media as an environment’ can be identified in this extract. The first three are clearly moral issues and the fourth is a combination of the health metaphor with one of environmental protection. Two metaphors of the moral anxiety discourse, as explored in Chapter Four, have been mixed together here. Health literacy or ‘media health literacy’ is a solution to address the moral panic about the ill effects of media.

The adoption of the discourse of ‘moral panic’ is finer and more complicated in the White Paper than in the interviews analyzed previously. The ‘health’ metaphor suggests that any ill effects caused by the media are not only an individual problem but also a collective one. As the White Paper states, ‘the community culture, community environment and community structure should take the responsibility for the individual’s health’, thereby upgrading risk to community level. This idea comes from an American report, *Healthy People 2010*, where ‘health literacy’ is described as follows (Ministry of Education, 2002, pp. 14-15):

Health literacy of modern people and the communication media are highly relevant. Therefore, the basis for promoting health literacy can be applied in promoting media literacy. Simply put, one's media literacy is shaped by the community and social culture. That is why the key to media literacy lies in making a ‘Healthy Media Community’. This is the core value of media literacy education.

To build a ‘Healthy Media Community’ is the ultimate aim and core value of media literacy education, and it is seen to reinforce citizens’ capacity for ‘liberation and empowerment’. The aim of empowerment is to construct ‘community standards’ and to ‘raise the cultural quality of the whole society’, which is based on the idea of ‘collective knowledge’. In the middle of the above extract, it is stated, ‘one's media literacy is shaped by the community and social culture’. The use of a passive voice with an anonymous human agent as the subject implies that the social actor is denied agency. In contrast, the community and social culture are those taking the action of ‘shaping’ the actor. By exploring the use of verbs and voices in this extract and the previous one, one can identify a common theme – that human agency is low and the socialising forces and institutions are more influential. The above discussion shows a tendency to apply American responses to the ‘moral panic’ discourse in response to the wider moral panic about the media in Taiwan.

In viewing this moral anxiety as a force behind the promotion of media education, policy makers concentrate on this discourse. The ‘citizenship’ discourse is also popular because of the full support of Interviewee 2, a key figure, in the policy-making process, and the terms ‘citizen’ and ‘citizenship’ are repeated through the White Paper without clear definition.

The second strong discourses are ‘anti-consumerism’ and ‘ICT’. The former has a strong supporter in Interviewee 1, who believes that media aims to provide public service. As for ‘ICT’, there is no expert in the policy-making committee. Therefore, policy borrowing takes place but it is not effective. Although the role of new media is admitted in the written text and strongly represented in visual images in the White Paper, there is no in-depth discussion or significant attempt to incorporate new media into the practical project of media education in Taiwan.

‘Cultural protection’ and ‘ideological exposure’ only appear in one or two phases. There is implicit cultural discrimination in the Discourse of media education in Taiwan – the criticism of

rap is an example. While blaming low-quality programmes, there is no account of what makes up a high quality programme. The 'ideological exposure' does not exist in the public sphere but it is a prevalent discourse within academic circles. It still occupies a place in the White Paper. One finding from analysing the above discourses is that apart from the policy borrowing, it is full of examples of media education discourses borrowed from abroad, mainly the US.

As key concepts such as 'literacy', 'production' and 'preparation for job market' are absent, the discourse of 'new media education' and 'vocational training' are silent in this context. The general tendency of the Discourse is to adopt a protectionist ideology while conflating it with citizenship. Ignoring the cultural dimension of the audience's media consumption is another feature. The targets of the policy – children and teenagers – have no voice. On the contrary, it is the adults – the policy makers – that speak for them. As a new education policy, the prominent social phenomenon of the internet café and of computer games (especially online role-playing games) is missing, while the policy focuses more on the ill-effects of traditional media. The moral anxiety caused by this newly-emerging phenomenon is replaced by an optimistic view of new technology. This contradictory mixture of pessimistic views of traditional media and optimistic views of new media is a key feature of the White Paper.

The discourses employed by the policy makers display consistencies, contradictions and ambiguities between and within them. These characterise the policy text and reveals limitations of the policy-making process. Indeed, it has been suggested that 'it is crucial to recognise that the policies themselves, the texts, are not necessary clear or closed or complete' (Ball, 2006, p. 44). A policy cannot be too precise and definite. Otherwise, it runs the risk of narrowing its scope. This may be an excuse for these ill-defined terminologies and concepts in the White Paper. However, it is essential to give, at least, a working definition of what media literacy represents, or it perpetuates confusion among its audiences.

4.3 The implementation phase:

It has been seven years since the White Paper was announced. The status quo of media education in Taiwan is that the MOE has failed to keep the promise made by the former Minister of Education – to integrate media literacy into the national curriculum and make it a part of lifelong learning project. The only progress made by the Ministry has been to form an Executive Committee with members from the Ministry, private foundations and communication studies academics. The composition of this committee reveals an exclusion of academics from the educational research community who has the ability to provide consultancy and design the curriculum. The communication academics consider the education academics as conservative and hard to change while the education academics view media education as the business of communication studies. Lack of bilateral understanding and mutual communications causes a predictable threat to the further development of media education in Taiwan.

There is only a one-week teacher training programme was offered by MOE in these seven years. In contrast, the various private foundations keep providing workshops. There is no systematic way of promoting media education in school. Without a proper strategy of promoting media education, most school teachers do not have a idea about what media education is. Therefore, there is no resistance from teachers currently.

5. Conclusion

Under similar circumstance with a strict time limit, the policy makers have tried their best to produce a White Paper. What they have done and achieved should be accredited. Yet, in this

policy-making process that relies strongly on a couple of key players, the ‘personalization of policy’ needs to be considered as an issue. As Ball (1994, pp. 112-113) argues, ‘there are clearly attractions but also enormous dangers involved in reducing policy making to the skills, beliefs or personality of individual actors’. The policy text is written by core policy members, Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 2, so that it is strongly influenced by them.

During the process of searching for solution of worsening media environment in Taiwan, media education in western countries has been proposed as a potential educational solution. Policy makers are looking for possible and useful discourses worldwide to construct a local one because there is none in Taiwanese context. Although UK has a significant achievement in media education, the prominent liberal approaches in the UK do not attract policy makers’ attention. Some of them mentioned that they know UK is prestigious for its long history and applicable materials and methods in the field of media education. However, these policy makers are more familiar with the media education in the US due to their personal history. Therefore, as I have demonstrated in section 4 with limited examples (it is because of the word limit), the discourses Taiwanese policy makers have borrowed is mainly from the US although it is necessary to point out that the US is also seeking for a better solution of their media education outwards. Besides the policy makers’ personal preference, the limited time for the whole policy-making process is another possible reason for not being able to look at more successful models of media education in the UK (Buckingham, 1992; Craggs, 1992; Jones, McDougall, Bennett, & Bowker, 2001; McDougall, 2006; Ofcom, 2004), Australia (Penman & Turnbull, 2007) and New Zealand.

After the change of Minister of Education right after the White Paper has been put into reform agenda, there is no subsequent support from MOE. The implementation becomes a mission impossible. To some extent, it shows that the policy is a ‘quick-fix’ (Ochs & Phillips, 2004) to specific social event that caused moral panic. After the panic fade away, the policy has less value. This paper provides a case study of a policy borrowing with deficiencies.

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The study on significant others and critical incidents of the female university student's career development in Taiwan - a sample from females that choose Nontraditional Occupation Majors

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I .Introduction

There was an old saying in Chinese 「 A girl hide her talents is a virtue 」 . It means that boys had better to work outside to earn money, girl stay at home to manage the affairs of the family and take care of the children. After the arise of the feminist movement , the new women in this generation have the equal rights to go to school.

They also have the opportunity to make choices to stay at home or go to work. More and more women leave their house and go to work. According to the report of the China Newspaper (2004) ,the working women in the America are 59.6 percent, 53.4 percent in Singapore, 52 percent in Hong Kong, 49.7 percent in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 48.5 percent in Japan, and 46.6 percent in Taiwan. (site from Shu-Ming Wu,2004) Taiwan has the lowest number of the above country. There are some meaning beyond the low rate of women go to work.

Young boys and girls are in the period at which the body attains maturity. They are also looking for their self identity. This is a time that many factors would affect one's career aspirations. Enter into adolescence; youngsters get more and more interest in the opposite sex. It will strengthen the identity of stereotyped gender differences for the adolescences. At the same time, they are more and more understand of their school work and records of studies. They also had the idea of their aptitude and ability level. That would help the youngsters to make a practical career choice. (Monks & Van Boxtel , 1985) .

In the socialization of the role model for the adolescences, they are easy to form a narrowed career choice that was influenced by gender differences (McMahan & Patton,1997) .There are many factor would affect young girl's career choices such as Gender ; academic record ; age level ; and academic environment.

Almost half of the people are female, and only a small number become scientific and technical personnel. On the basis of the report of Enman and Lupart(2000), female engineer account for eight percent of their population, female mathematician and computer scientist account for 36 percent of their population, and female chemist account for 27 percent of their population. According to official statistics in Taiwan(Ministry of Education , 2004), female university students in science and technology account for 31percent of their population, female master degree candidates account for 23 percent of their population, and female doctoral student account for 17 percent of their population, lower than

twenty percent .We can find that female university students major at science and technology cut down by eight percent after they move to master degree; and cut down five percent from the master degree to doctor's degree.

The females that choose Nontraditional Occupation Majors, what kind of significant others and critical incidents produce an effect on their career development process, and help them have the courage to fight for one's own end, is an important issue to answer the question of how to enhance females people to attend the science and technology world.

By the current tendencies in society, there are more and more females that choose Nontraditional Occupation. And the restrictions of the females in the working place make considerable reduction. Women in the present age can choose Nontraditional Occupation, such as medical science; medicine; natural science and engineer.

Some research fond there are some restrictions of the females in the non-traditional major. For example, Jing-ying Ning(2002) explored Gender differences in career development of graduates in non-traditional major and fond women who chose male-dominated professions all felt it was a pity they could not hardly find the chums. Women in male-dominated professions sometimes needed to deal with the sexual-discrimination, so they needed to put much more efforts on stay at their non-traditional career choices.

Some research fond there are not so much restrictions for females in the non-traditional major. Such as Yi-Jia Hsieh (2001) , In the research, she choose the graduates among 1973-1997 of civil engineering department of National Taiwan University and Cheng Kung University to be the population. The outcome shows that women's average level of education is higher. They tend to choosing job of programming (44.6%). Just few of the female workers deal with construction manage and site work. But it makes no difference about the income between male and female. Also, most female employees are stable jobholders.

Women in this century are faced with numerous social changes. In this decade, the society gets more and more open-minded, that encourages girls to major in Nontraditional Occupation. This research wanted to know How about the developmental context of career themes of the female student who study in non-traditional fields of science and technology program. Why women chose male-dominated professions. How did they feel about studying in the non- traditional field ? What career plans do they have and what barriers may occur to them in the future ? Through this research, we want to find the answer of how to encourage girls go to study at the non- traditional field. In the long run women would play an important role in science and technology here in Taiwan and improve the competitive power of Taiwan on a global scale.

Above all, the purpose of this research was illustrated under here.

1. Explore the influences of social, cultural, educational, environmental and other related factors on female college students that choose non-traditional fields of study.
2. Explore how the significant others and key events in various stages affect the career development of the female college students that choose the non-traditional fields.
3. Explore the career development position of the girls that enrolled non-traditional fields. Learn about

women's career development block, and allow educators to understand how to become a significant others of the students.

4. Based on the finds, provide educators some recommendations to help young people on career development and to encourage adolescent girls in non-traditional learning fields to pursuit their goals in life with courage.

II .Method

1. Research method

Naturalistic inquiry was adopted as the methodology of this research. An interview guide approach was adopted for data collection. The open-coding method was used to analyze the influence of the significant others and critical incidents of the female university students ' career development. And the data were categorized by using constant comparative method.

2. Subject

Ten college students' form a school in the middle area of Taiwan was chosen as participants' base on maximum variation sampling. They are from the different major in College of Science and Technology that are Consist of Department of Electrical Engineering, Department of Computer Science and Information Engineering, Department of Civil Engineering, Department of Applied Chemistry, Department of Applied Materials and Optoelectronic Engineering.

3. Research instrument

The instrument used in this study is an interview guide that is Consist of the basic data of the subjects and some major problems. The major problems were designed to answer the question of this study.

The other instrument used in this study was the researcher. All the interviews of the ten subjects were done by the researcher.

The major problem concluded such topic as the follow.

- a. In the career development of the Female university students, how did they overcome the burden of traditional gender role stereotypes? And how did they become a student in the non-traditional fields.
- b. Girls who study in non-traditional fields, in her school years, who was the significant others to influence her selection ? What's important to influence her selection, encouraged her to overcome difficulties, and pursue their ideal career?
- c. Female who Study in non-traditional fields of college, in their school history, what key events affect or inspire them to choose to enter science and engineering majors?
- d. College girls who Study in the field of non-traditional learning, what kind of the dilemma had they face ? How did they coping with these difficulties?
- e. Female university students in the non-traditional learning areas, in their stay at male learning area, did they has suffered unequal treatment or impediments ? How did they respond?
- f. Studying in the field of non-traditional learning , how did the college girls plan for the future ? In the pursuit of personal career development and get married at the same time, how did they strike a balance

between family and career?

4. Research procedures

Researchers based on different departments, through the network, BBS, asked the female students major at science and engineering who are willing to assist in the interview as research subjects. And the interviews were done in 2010 from March to April.

Every case of interview time approximately 1 hour, all the interviews were conducted by the researchers. The researchers developed the interview guide in advance, for each topic, respondents one by one. If necessary, the researchers will clarify the discussion on certain topics. Whole interview process was recorded to facilitate analysis of data.

5. Data analysis

Researchers refer the phenomenological method to analyze the data. (Moustakas,1994) .Includes write down the interview content from the record, summarize the phenomenon, named from the elements, categorized under the title of the six questions, and based on 10 cases of cross-case comparison, integrated into the related tables and comprehensive discovery.

III . Results

1. Reasons for the college students' choice

subject	Reasons for their choice
A chemistry Department 4th	1.be pushed for money 2. bad grades in liberal arts 3. mathematical achievement 4. personal interest in chemistry 5.the teach of the school teacher
B Information Management Department 4 th	1. be pushed for money 2. personal interest in computer 3. the teach of the school teacher in primary school 4. mathematical achievement 5. ill achievement in liberal arts
C Information engineering Department 3 th	1.person interest in computer 2.hope to have a stable work 3.The teach of the school teacher in computer club 4.no interest in liberal arts
F chemistry Department 4th	1. personal interest 2. no interest in liberal arts
G civil engineering Department 1th	1. be pushed for money 2. because of the test scores to enter university. 3. parents expectations

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. no interest in liberal arts 5. mathematical achievement
H civil engineering Department 1th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. follow the choice of her sister 2. personal interest on reasoning 3. Like doing things 4. be pushed for money 5. the encourage of the school teacher
I photo electricity Department 3th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. mathematical interest 2. bad grades in liberal arts 3. the influence of the school teacher
J electric engineer Department 4th	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the influence of the school teacher 2. parents expectations 3. be pushed for money 4. no interest in liberal arts 5. no idea of the University subjects

2. The significant others that influence girls make the choices

subject	The significant others that influence girls make the choices
A	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. her father 2. school teacher 3. the entrance extermination of the university
B	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. her father 2. computer teacher in high school 3. Chinese language teacher in high school
C	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. her father hope she have achievement 2. The advise of the school teacher
F	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. school teacher 2. her schoolmates. 3. her father and mother 4. teacher in the university
G	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. her mother 2. school teacher in the elementary school
H	her mother
I	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. her father and mother 2. school teacher in the elementary school 3. mathematical teacher in the high school 4. teacher from extension school
J	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. her father 2. herself

3. The key events that influence girls who study in non-traditional fields

subject	The key events that influence girls make the choices
A	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. succeed in college entrance examination 2. her father's suggestion, 3. advice of the teacher from extension school
B	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. succeed in college entrance examination 2. assist of the Chinese language teacher in high school 3. the teach of the computer teacher in high school
C	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. personal interest in computer 2. succeed in college entrance examination
F	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the teacher's advice 2. succeed in college entrance examination
G	succeed in college entrance examination
H	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Someone give a lecture in high school, and said it would be flourishing in the future 2. personal interest 3. developed an interest in science and technology
I	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. developed an interest in mathematic 2. have no idea of the photo electricity, it sound fantasy 3. succeed in college entrance examination
J	1. succeed in college entrance examination

4. The impact of gender differences or disruption

subject	The impact of gender differences or disruption
A	<p>The impact</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The attitude of family members or relatives and friends is supported and encouraged 2. Limitations of Physiology : In child-bearing age and chemicals harm on bodily 3. Limited ability level 4. Gender differences in school and in everyday life and not obvious. 5. girls no need to move heave things
	<p>Coping :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the credit that not pass in the 3th, re-read it again in the 4th 2. make alternative choices, like chemical analysis 3. Want to have a child earlier, then can working hard
B	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Some boys would like to help and teach the girls. 2. The attitudes of some old people is not supported and encouraged. They think the computer is for boy 3. Some parents of the students distrust of her skills on computer

	<p>Coping :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prove her on one's own efforts. 2. Get some certificates and experiences on computer
C	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. her parents are traditional 2. some people want to hire boys because they can work late 3. girls no need to move heave things
	<p>Coping :</p> <p>Feel it's a pity for lose the job</p>
F	<p>The impact :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The attitude of family members or relatives and friends is supported and encouraged. 2. Supported and encouraged by the teacher. 3. Some boys would not want teaches you
	<p>Coping :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Success in study mainly depends on one's own efforts. 2. Would seriously discuss the questions of learning with the teacher
G	<p>The impact :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Grandfather not hope girl study in the college 2. Boys are more polite to girls, girls no need to move heave things. 3. Limited ability level, especially calculus 4. The old people look down female in the civil engineering
	<p>Coping :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prove self by show her ability
H	<p>The impact :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Father only pay attention to boys in the family 2. Limited ability level, especially physics: 3. Sometime people want to hire boys because they can move heave sundries. 4. Teacher in the college think girls had better choice to work in the office, not to make a building in the outside.
	<p>Coping :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Success in study mainly depends on one's own efforts. 2. Make them look girls can do as well as boys.
I	<p>The impact :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The attitude of family members or relatives and friends is supported and encouraged. 2. Some boys have sex discrimination, is of the view that the teacher will have differential treatment for female students. 3. Teachers are more polite to girls than boy 4. parents are willing to hire female as a tutor

	<p>Coping :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Success in study mainly depends on one's own efforts. 2. Make them look girls can do as well as boys.
J	<p>The impact :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A male fellow student will be willing to mentor a female student. 2. A teacher declared not-to accept female graduate students 3. Limited ability level 4. Gender differences in school and in everyday life are not obvious.
	<p>Coping :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. That teachers do not take girls, can choices the other teacher 2. Would seriously discuss the questions of learning with the teacher 3. Not be fear of failure

5. Career development and career anchor of the girls

subject	Career development and career anchor
A	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. pursue career development 2. Seek work stability and economic independence. 3. after that , can get marry and have a child
B	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. pursue career development 2. Seek work stability and economic independence. 3. after that , may be at her 30th ,can get marry
C	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. pursue career development 2. Seek work stability and economic independence. 3. after that , can think about marry 4. Hope can be stable before her 30th to think about marry
F	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. pursue career development 2. do the things they want to do 3. Seek work stability 4. get marry and seeking support for their work outside from their husband.
G	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. pursue career development 2. Seek work stability 3. Made life stable, she would further planning to get married.
H	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. pursue career development, want to be famous 2. Seeking work stability and economic independence. 3. Looking for man who is suitable, then can planning to get married. 4. Keep working after get marriage.
I	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Seek work stability and economic independence.

	2. Keep working after get marriage. 3. pursue career development , want to be top
J	1. pursue career development 2. seek work stability and economic independence. 3. Never thought of marriage problems 4. consider to adopting children when she are forty years old

6. Their suggestions of the adolescent girls that want to enter non-traditional areas of study

subject	suggestions for the adolescent girls
A	1. you should be interested in 2. you need to do your best 3. you need to try 4. you need to study hard
B	1. you can have many choice on job in the future 2. your occupation in the future will be active and sprightly 3. you can get many skills
C	1. you need to make up your mind 2. you should be interested in 3. you need to do your best 4. You need to have the ability
F	1. you need to make up your mind 2. you need to do your best
G	1 you need to do your best 2. you should be interested in 3. you need to make up your mind
H	1. you need to do your best 2. you have to think carefully in advance
I	1. you should be interested in 2. have the basic background in high school 3. you need to do your best to be top
J	1. you have to think carefully in advance 2. those who like doing research, will be very suitable 3. you need to do your best

IV. Conclusion and suggestion

Conclusion

1. The main factors impact non-traditional learning area college girls' career choice include: family economic reasons, parents values and expectations, school or the school teacher, bad grades in liberal

arts, mathematical achievement, personal interest, and no idea of the University subjects, fill out the choices of major in accordance with the test scores to enter university.

2. The significant others that influence girls who study in non-traditional fields were :

Their fathers, their mothers, school teachers, the entrance examination of the university, themselves, as well as their schoolmates are the significant others.

3. The key events that influence girls who study in non-traditional fields were :

The female students are admitted by succeed in college entrance examination.

The exam systems allow them to enter the University, Their father's suggestion, the teacher's advice, as well as personal interest, and also because they had developed an interest in science and technology.

4. Female university students in the non-traditional learning areas, in their stay at male learning area, the impact of gender differences or disruption have been such as the follow :

Think of restrictions parts include:

a. Limitations of Physiology : In child-bearing age and chemicals harm on bodily, would made the Girls need to give birth of babies before the age of 35, as well as on the consideration in the selection of professional field.

b. Limited ability level, unlike some boys so easy to grasp the situation, can read quickly.

c. Some boys would not want teaches you.

d. Sometime people want to hire boys because they can move heavy sundries.

e. Some boys have sex discrimination, is of the view that the teacher will have differential treatment for female students.

f. A teacher declared not-to accept female graduate students.

Think of no restrictions parts include:

a. The attitude of family members or relatives and friends is supported and encouraged.

b. Gender differences in school and in everyday life and not obvious.

c. Women studying in science and engineering field, gender factors have bring some advantages, such as parents are willing to hire female as a tutor, a male fellow student will be willing to mentor a female student. Teachers are more polite to girls than boys, girls no need to move heavy things.

5. Those students have a modern concept on their future career development. They almost get rid of the old women's thought patterns, in the future career planning, they want to pursue career development, do the things they want to do, to seek work stability and economic independence.

Most girls said after they have stable life, they would further planning to get married, have children, and seeking support for their work outside from their husband. A small number of students say they want to have children even without a family.

They consider to adopting children or have a child without husband.

6. Their suggestions of the adolescent girls that want to enter non-traditional areas of study were very consistent.

you should be interested in, and need to try; have the ability, have the basic background in high school physics and chemistry ; made your mind to study hard by yourself to own a good study. Most people said that the learning for women in non-traditional areas is hard, you have to think carefully in advance. In the learning process, in order to cope with the pressures of schoolwork, you need to do your best to complete their studies successfully.

Suggestion

Taiwan's efforts in gender equality, there has been significant progress over the years.

There are more and more girls go into non-traditional fields of study. And there is a space for female to play a role in this area.

For this study, the researchers made the following recommendations:

1. Proposed education executive authorities continued to advocate for gender equality, is committed to creating fair competition opportunities between the sexes and the environment. Also in sex education courses, advocating the idea, make housework sexes sharing of household duties, and let the female compatriots can have a friendly support environment, able to balance work and family.

Then we can encourage more capable and interested women entering the field of science and technology without worries.

2. For educators, most girls go into science and engineering are inspired by the teachers of mathematics and chemistry. Teachers should enrich professional know-how, development the potential and interest of students, and as the student's learning model.

3. Before the majority of students entering University, most students are not familiar with the teaching content of the relevant departments and the future areas of work.

It is recommended that the executive authorities should implement senior career counseling for the students, assisting students in high school understand their own inclinations and the contents of university departments to assist students in developmentally appropriate.

4. Advice for parents, one of significant others that affected girls to enter university studying science and engineering department are their parents, it is suggested that parents should explore the potential of children and to encourage their pursuit of career development without gender differences.

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「The Asian Conference on Arts and Humanities」
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「ACAH2010 · 亞洲人文與藝術國際學術研討會」

會議論文

Treating and Curing Diseases, and Trying Local Cases—
the Written Records of the Dream Promises Chronicled by
Scholars Themselves in Ming and Qing Dynasty

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Abstract

Facing lots of documents written by the scholars in Ming and Qing Dynasty, the author not only focuses on why and how the scholars wrote themselves, but also pays more attention to their plight which they suffered from the crisis of self-identity; furthermore, through their multiple ways of literature writing style, restructuring the meaning of their existence, and inscribing the domains identified by themselves, how did the scholars delineate the lifestyle of their expectation to establish their entities and positions in the society they lived?

For this plan, the author has especially selected some of offbeat written autobiographies—the autobiographical chronologies—as the basic documents for making a deep inspection and study. The author also notices the facts that the scholars fully intended writing the experiences of their unusual dream promises into autobiographical chronologies by means of reviewing their past lives and selecting some kinds of material to write. Obviously, the speakers were highly interested in whether their dream promises came true or not, and they thought there would be profound and abstruse principles in their promises. Such narrative models of “a promise and confirmation of a dream” brought the scholars a positive attitude toward their experiences of the dreams, which came from the close linkages of the causes and results in their daily lives, and their admiring expressions. Thus, during the period of Ming and Qing dynasty, they tried to annotate the possibilities between the linkages of “promise” and “meaning,” which perhaps revealed some kinds of tone and atmosphere while writing on the themes of dream promises

Keyword: Taking imperial examinations to hold the scholarly honor of a public office, Treating and curing diseases, Trying local cases, Autobiographical chronology, Ming and Qing Dynasty, Writing the dream promises

〈疾病療癒與官司判案—明清自撰年譜「夢兆書寫」之初探〉—Taiwan,國立暨南國際大學中文系
林宜蓉

疾病療癒與官司判案—明清自撰年譜「夢兆書寫」之初探

(本文為初稿，欲徵引者請徵求作者同意)

Taiwan,國立暨南國際大學中文系

林宜蓉

一、問題的提出：

(一)、明清時期的自撰年譜：說一段自己的生命故事

在「知人論世」的研究大纛之下，「年譜」向來被視為在正史以外，足以「補苴罅漏」的重要文獻。在學界長久的關注之下，已然日積月累、與時俱增地形成一套專門學問。面對繁赜如山的年譜文獻，筆者依其撰述態度析為二類，其一，乃持「大歷史敘述」角度，將譜主放置於天下國家的標準，衡量其撰譜之價值，倘若符合「立德、立功、立言，三者有其一」的標準，則其人翹然可傳，方足為後世楷模。這類年譜的譜主，多半為史上不世出之人物，不是功績彪炳、舉足輕重的帝王將相，就是才高八斗、生徒甚眾的文學家或思想家，故其年譜之撰寫多成於後人之手，如曹錫齡所言：「唐之昌黎（韓愈）、少陵（杜甫）、香山（白居易），宋之坡（蘇軾）、谷（黃庭堅），金之遺山（元好問），元之道園，後人讀書論世，景仰遺行，以附於史家年表之例」¹，蓋出於「自為敘述」者甚少矣！

唐、宋、元三代年譜，論者可如是觀之，但到了明代以降，出現為數不少的自撰年譜，則似乎隱隱然揭示了另一類的年譜撰寫態度。

異於大歷史敘述角度，這類自撰年譜，有著力破重圍、爭取個人發聲、肯認自我存在的撰述態度。本文姑且將之列為年譜文獻中的第二類撰述態度。

面對立德立功立言的傳統期許時，士人們仍不免焦慮，正如[清]曹錫寶所言「於德、功、言三者，無一有焉，是鄉人之不若，而猶欲臚述其生平、出處、閱歷，冀以傳示來茲，豈非惑之滋甚者歟？」²，然而自陳焦慮之餘，卻又理直氣壯地、以諤諤之士的論辯姿態，企圖以文字書寫力破重圍，找尋無名小卒得以在歷史中不被消音的合理性——如何以人殊人異的個人姿態，因著目睹時代、參與歷史甚或僅僅為個人生命之體悟與成長作見證，說一段自己的生命故事，爭取無可替代的發聲權！

¹ [清]曹錫齡：《翠微山房自訂年譜》一卷，清嘉慶間朱格稿本，收入北京圖書館編：「北京圖書館藏珍本年譜叢刊」（北京市：北京圖書館出版社，1999[民88]）第110冊，頁199-204。以下版本皆同此。

² [清]曹錫寶：《曹劍亭先生自撰年譜》一卷，清光緒二十三年印書公會鉛印本收入第104冊，頁245。

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清朝嘉慶年間李鑾宣為曹錫齡《翠微山房自撰年譜》³所撰寫序言當中，除了消極地反省後人撰寫之年譜，遠不如自家人所載紀之賅備詳盡；還進一步思索：即便是自家子孫所修纂的記載卻也可能犯下「有所罣漏，甚且摭拾諛處厚誣其先人而不之覺」的闕失，唯有譜主親自操觚，「以事繫月，以月繫年，手訂年譜一書，其間君臣之遇合，庭訓之諄嚴，師友之切磋，以及研窮理道，陶鑄性靈、瀏覽山水、靡不綱舉目張，瞭若指掌」，這種來自本尊的一手說法，才有可能避免上述二種弊病，在文字敘述中建構出一套「生命大事記」式的個人歷史。

在消極除弊的功用之外，自撰年譜又具有何種表述自我的積極意義？李鑾宣序言指陳他撰年譜「未必如自言之親切有味也」⁴，係就「說話者」(speaker)與「閱讀者」(reader)之間所引發的共鳴深度而言，這也是自撰年譜在文學表達上的優勢。自稱念道人的方孩未，則宣稱「先生年譜非先生自筆不可，必先生自筆而後可悲與可敬者，委曲肖像如寫生然，要亦不過自存其本色耳！」而所謂人生中無可避免的「悲」劇與不可不給予高度「敬」意的人格形象，皆來自於年譜中亟力陳述的那種——為世人所不能理解、根深蒂固於本性而昧於通權達變的「愚」：

視羊脂橫玉弗若長版套頭，尚書衙、丞相署弗若匣床⁵一席，長安六尺輿弗若桁楊⁶三木，珠襦玉匣弗若熱血市場者，此所謂愚於性而不移其愚也。可悲其愚於性也，可敬是則為孩未方先生⁷。

無視世人所追求的榮華權祿，方孩未寧可選擇的是手鐐腳銬、匣床坐監甚至東市赴死，語氣一層勝過一層地強烈表述處世抉擇，勾勒出譜主係乃鐵錚錚、不屈強權的男子漢！

這牽涉到撰寫年譜之時，說話者正遭逢了何種人生局面。

丙寅那一年，方孩未年方四十二歲，卻面臨了「秋審及期（案：東林會審）」死生交迫的大局，深感「余暫時人耳」，故於兵馬倥傯、風雨飄搖之際，「縱筆錄其行略以留示子孫。若傾巢而卵不盡碎，讀此知余之辛苦坎（土稟）矣。」⁸；清人王澐續撰年譜

³ [清]曹錫齡：《翠微山房自訂年譜》一卷，收入第110冊，頁199-204。

⁴ 李鑾宣序：《翠微山房自訂年譜》，收入第110冊，頁199-204。

⁵ 舊時牢獄中的一種刑械。形如木床，行刑時命囚犯仰臥其上，再將其手腳緊緊夾住，使其全身不能轉動，痛苦非常。[元]高文秀《黑旋風》第三折：「將軍柱上拴了頭髮，上了腳鐐手扭，抬上匣床。」水滸傳第四十九回：「樂和便把匣床與他兩個開了。」亦稱為「押床」。

⁶ 古代夾頸項、腳脛的刑具。莊子《在宥》：「今世殊死者相枕也，桁楊者相推也，刑戮者相望也。」《幼學瓊林》卷四「訟獄類」：「桁楊兩潤，下無冤枉之民。」

⁷ [明]方震孺：《方孩未年譜》序言，清同治七年樹德堂刻《方孩未先生集》本，收入第59冊，頁1。

⁸ [明]方震孺：《方孩未年譜》一卷，清同治七年樹德堂刻《方孩未先生集》本，第59冊，頁37

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時，言及陳子龍當年如何將年譜初稿托付予他：「昔先生自作年譜成，愴然執手曰：自茲以後，我不復措筆矣！患難之餘，獨子朝夕，我死，

子其為我續書之。」⁹清順治四年（丁亥年）陳子龍四十歲，五月官方御史及巡撫下令「乘此盡除三吳知名之士而以先生為首」，無怪乎譜成之際要愴然如此，執手交付王濬時，已如同託付身後事；崇禎十一年戊寅年八月十五日，天山翁鄭鄭口授年譜時機，乃是初入獄時，「曾欲自敘年譜，以病置，乃從提牢，借紙筆，口授玃兒，略記生平，以俟後之論世君子。」¹⁰，而當其時「錦衣衛提牢百戶...予寄食提牢廳仁齋。」¹¹大抵自揣無法活著走出牢獄，難逃死劫矣！明人薑採於己亥年五十三歲撰寫年譜，亦是兵荒馬亂、流離遷徙、貧病交迫之際。¹²最善好的撰作狀態，莫過於安養天年者，如崇禎十二年己卯年，王思任年已六十五歲，「析產與諸兒輪膳」，而此際「始作年譜」¹³，然而也是日薄西山的垂暮之年矣！

綜觀諸人自撰年譜的時機，大都不離生命垂危之際，不論是年事已高或是牢獄臨難，皆自揣時日不多，趁時提筆自書生平大概。而在筆者所披閱明清自撰年譜當中，特別值得一提的是——文人葉紹袁，佛者方顯愷及刑名專家汪輝祖三位。

明代文人葉紹袁撰寫《年譜》的動機，是因為接年數年之間，遭逢了劇烈的家庭變故——喪母、喪妻、喪女、喪子，悽惻輾轉之餘，透過文字書寫（包括年譜）的撰寫，感嘆旦夕禍福、生命無常，並且深情追憶逝水年華：

其間晦明風雨，悲忻得喪，所可為色舞者幾何？流涕太息者又幾何？歷歷在我目前，而追之已杳不可得，盡歸於夕陽流水也久矣！（頁381）

西堂共北堂交痛，掌珠與眉案偕傷，撫今憑昔，低徊問影，有一善狀可容自慰者耶？（頁382）

李群玉詩「往事隔年如過夢，舊遊回首漫追思」，日久情湮，凝眸而恍憶，亦什之二三而已矣！（頁383）

葉氏於四十九歲作《自撰年譜》，之前壬申年（）即痛喪二女，乙亥年又逢北堂之卹，撰譜之後，於庚辰年復遭（人容）兒之變，「因詮次三年情事，繫為《續譜》」¹⁴。葉氏以文人特有的一往情深，透過文字反覆書寫，不斷藉由各種面向凝視著過往種種之記憶

⁹ [明]陳子龍：《陳忠裕公自著年譜》三卷，清嘉慶八年青浦何氏籛山草堂刻《陳忠裕公全集》本，收入第63冊，頁655。

¹⁰ [明]鄭鄭：《天山自敘年譜》，清宣統二年武進盛氏刻本，收入第61冊，頁257。

¹¹ [明]鄭鄭：《天山自敘年譜》，收入第61冊，頁264。

¹² [明]薑採：《姜貞毅先生自著年譜》一卷，《續編》一卷，清光緒十五年山東書局刻《敬亭集》本，收入第63冊，頁？。

¹³ [明]王思任編；[清]王鼎起，王霞起訂：《王季重先生自叙年譜》不分卷，清初山陰王衮錫等刻本，收入第57冊，頁434-435。

¹⁴ 《續譜》序，頁463-465。

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片段。字裡行間流露之悲情甚為誠摯感人，痛失愛女葉小鸞尤為一大打擊，《年譜別記》中載記他一再期盼夢中與瓊章相遇，甚至透過民間流傳之扶乩招魂、繪圖寫真等行徑，頻頻回首、留連眷顧，幾近於耽溺無法自拔！此種情感，即便後世閱眾如你我者，恐怕也不忍責難其執著至此！

清人汪輝祖則是一位頗負盛名的刑名判官。深染重疾、自分必死的汪氏，藉病情稍緩之暇，口授二子，撰成年譜一書。譜錄中大量載記一生所判定之兇殺案件與參與地方政策的事蹟。對於個人而言，他認為撰寫年譜最大的作用在於，時至晚年者仍可藉此回顧過往得失，達到規範警醒的自惕作用：

前序

古人晚節末路，不忘箴儆，往往自述生平，藉以考鏡得失，亦行百里者半九十之意也。...去冬嬰末疾，轉更沉劇，自分必死，恐無以見先人地下，循省舊事，不已於懷，嚮之所忘，今迺歷歷在目矣！感夢中案冥事，益信一言一行，如有臨鑑。入春以來，病體稍間，口授培、壕二兒，依年撮記，至今夏而止。六月，坊兒試禮部還，命其重加排比，析為二卷，題曰：「病榻夢痕錄」。錄東坡詩云：「事如春夢了無痕。」¹⁵余不敢視事如夢，故不免於痕，雖然，夢虛也，痕實也。實則誠，誠則毋自欺，硜硜之守，實即在此，書其端以告子孫，俾知涉世之難、保身之不易也。歸廬主人輝祖識。嘉慶元年七月一日。¹⁶

「誠實毋自欺」是自言撰寫時戒慎恭謹的態度；詳載諸多刑殺案件則暗指人之窮途末路皆事出有因，年譜之傳，實具有昭示後代子孫「涉世之難、保身之不易」的深遠用意。

明清之際的方顯愷，早年即皈依佛門，八十年來，未嘗刻意記憶俗世種種，然而在晚歲某年之深秋霜降後，因備受足疾磨難而養疴於湖山堂中，日日抱膝呻吟¹⁷，「忽於痛苦中，迴光返照，童時、壯時、老時、衰時，種種人、種種物、種種事、種種因緣、種種苦樂，洞見現前，如鏡鑿形，鬚眉畢露，如水照物，動靜全收」，此種「人生走馬燈」多半出現於瀕死經驗¹⁸，而方氏遭逢此事時雖老病交至，然由其表述得知，係將此種「迴

¹⁵典故出自東坡《與潘郭二生出郊尋春》：「東風未肯入東門，走馬還尋去歲村。人似秋鴻來有信，事如春夢了無痕。江城白酒三杯斝，野老蒼顏一笑溫。已約年年為此會，故人不用賦招魂。」

¹⁶ [清]汪輝祖口授：《病榻夢痕錄》卷上，清光緒間刻江蘇書局刻《龍莊遺書》本，收入第107冊，頁1-2。

¹⁷ 此段敘述係根據原文：「予年八十，生平行履，未曾記憶，丙申九秋霜降後，足疾復作，養疴於湖山「得我堂」，坐臥山閣，抱膝呻吟」，見 [清]方顯愷：《紀夢編年》一卷《續編》一卷，清同治二年南海伍氏粵雅堂刻《嶺南遺書》本，收入第84冊，頁164~165。

¹⁸ 瀕死經驗 (NDE) 不只揭示了最深邃且震懾靈魂之美，同時一如研究所指，它也具有一種力量，能夠徹底轉化並改善那些死亡關口復生者的人生。相關論述可見 Kenneth Ring 著，李雅寧·李傳龍譯：《穿透生死迷思：瀕死經驗真實個案教你如何去看生命》，台北：遠流出版，2001.12。Kenneth Ring 向來專研瀕死經驗，另其他相關著作如《死後餘生》(Life after Death)、《奔向終點》(Heading toward Omega) 和《終極企劃》(The Omega Project)，以及即將出版

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光返照」視為高度體悟的生命境界——「所謂荊公禪定耶？抑別通一路，與本來人相遇於百苦交煎時也！」於是「迅筆疾書，追述前事，題曰《紀夢編年》，將個人之過去、現在、未來三世之間的種種因果關聯與頓悟契機、成長歷程，繫諸此譜，同時也昭告後世讀者，姑妄言之、姑妄聽之：

緣以事有詳略，語多遺忘，時有後先，序或倒置，悉以夢緣該之，觀者不妨諦當作夢會，也不得不作夢會也！不得，昔東坡居士強人說鬼曰「姑妄言，予以妄聽之」，則得之矣。…丙申冬，《紀夢編年》脫藁，手錄一冊，以貽後人，跋此。八十歲老僧成驚書於鼎湖「得我堂」中。¹⁹

蓋人生體悟並不全來自閱讀他人的故事，觀者並不得依此規劃人生藍圖或企圖藉此複製他人成功或悟道之途徑，故強調觀者不得不作夢會。譜錄中所有載紀的種種事績，無非僅僅為體悟之資藉，文字敘述更只是糟粕、只是工具，那麼觀者面對文字所紀錄的《年譜》究竟該採取何種閱讀姿態？又將如何藉此體悟來回應自我人生？——無非是回到自己當下的生活中細細品嚐、體會箇中意義，找回自家面目，這才是方氏撰譜的初衷罷！

(二)、議題的選擇——頗富爭議的夢兆書寫

既然自撰年譜之動筆時機，多半處於時日不多之死生關頭，說話者不得不自我表述（再不說就沒機會說了），其書寫態度理應慎重嚴肅，非關緊要則無須列入年譜。年譜內容可以李鑾宣敘言為代表，舉凡「君臣之遇合，庭訓之諄嚴，師友之切磋，以及研窮理道，陶鑄性靈、瀏覽山水」²⁰，皆可以綱舉目張的方式羅列昭示，便於後世覽者感恩懷念，上述項目論者當無疑義。然而，筆者深感興味的是，自撰年譜為何要寫入缺乏具體事功之強烈佐證、理應刪去以避免爭議的「夢兆經驗」？而說話者又是如何編織敘寫而使之合理存在？

明清自撰年譜中所寫入的**夢兆經驗**，似乎因為是當事人自陳親眼所見、親身經歷的事件，會被擇選為入譜的材料，必然有非說不可的原因，但卻又怕說了別人不信，因此下筆成文時遂多加著墨、鋪陳細節，似乎想將前因後果、相印相證之處交代清楚，編織成合理說法，為的就是求信他人、昭示後代。於是，身為一個年譜研究者，在披閱這些**夢兆經驗**時，重點似乎已不再是孜孜矻矻地善加考證，其經驗倒比較像是看了篇志怪小說或是宗教感應錄、上帝神蹟錄之類的部分情節，只不過是文中主角——譜主，是第一人稱，內容上天下地，或幻遊天府仙境，與神人面示；或遊歷冥間，與亡故親友相晤。因夢兆之靈感，而後還有詩文、圖繪作品等等，不一而足。

的一份專題著作：〈盲人瀕死和靈魂出體經驗〉（Dear-Death and Out-of-Body Experiences in the Blind）。

¹⁹ 同前註。

²⁰ 同註6。

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論者或可由大環境來談其成因，如明代是個儒釋道三教混行的時代，正逢西方信仰的進入（有人聲稱夢見上帝），以及民間信仰（如關聖帝君、城隍廟祈夢、扶乩招魂等等）流傳廣佈，不可不謂此間大有關聯，但需要追索譜主與上述宗教氛圍浸潤接觸之事實，方可避免泛泛之論。倒是在年譜中已然陳述了更直接的因素，蓋當事人認為「夢兆」值得書寫入譜，是因為真實人生處境中恰恰有相應之人、事、物，其前因後果之昭示意義深刻異常，並且讓當事人產生莫名震撼，直至多年後，書寫成譜之時，還免不了嘖嘖稱奇（如葉紹袁《年譜後記》所載女兒瓊章逝世當晚入舅夢與之較勁詩句事）。

撰者將這樣的經驗載入年譜，加以編織因果關聯，就算是後代子孫或是贊刻者在修纂之際，仍舊免不了揣測世人觀看後會有何負面想法。焦慮不外有二，其一是「侈談夢語以自榜異」，其二則是「迷信」。如清人潘士超在光緒年間重刻《堵文忠公集》中的《堵文忠公年譜》²¹一卷，即保存了有關夢兆的相關敘述。文中堵胤錫(1601-1649)自述誕生夢兆，正文之後，堵子表述不刪該文之立場：

萬曆二十九年辛丑十二月八日辛未酉刻，不孝生於夾山之麓 村名十房街
時大人年幾四十再娶而艱於嗣，禱於句曲之峰，夢神語曰：「考汝醇篤，恨汝薄祿無子，惟壽則上算耳。」大人泣曰：「願以壽易。」出遇一道士，手招一牧童，至乖，雙辮，著犢鼻，指謂大人曰：「是爾兒也。」遂寤，至是不孝生，先慈懷孕夢牧童笑入懷中，既一牛突入，毛角猙獰，觸慈於地，慈驚寤，腹遂楚痛坼副，幾絕，因名不孝曰：「授」，志神授也。慈因是成疾不起，大人年止五十而卒，初月川公悉讓其田宅與諸父，乃居武進之夾山外家王氏別業也 符錄因果諸書，予素不喜附會，至侈談夢語以自榜異，尤為君子所厭，聞第此出大人手遺，不忍刪抹，且以見大人一生勤積，有感必應。²²

此則年譜資料簡明扼要地載述堵氏父親當年辛苦求子，禱祝之後夢神許以折壽易子，到了母親臨盆之際，夢見牧童與年牛，還因此而命名為「授」，蓋「神授之子」的特別紀念也。這種夢兆經驗多半出現在道釋符錄因果一類的書籍中，若在年譜，又成了「侈談夢語以自榜異」的襲用套語，堵氏之子基於此乃出自父親手遺，不忍刪抹，但嘗試對於此種載記，提出一種「天人感應」式的詮釋，認為這是父親一生勤勞積善，故真有所感，則上天應許之。

自稱「詩禮士夫之家」²³的楊繼盛，因其自撰年譜中有類家訓數則，足以傳諸後世（故謂之《傳家寶》），後來在民國九年，上海宏大善書總發行之石印《楊椒山公傳家寶書》本，刊印者即於卷首，就書中數事可能涉及迷信的部分，採取模糊論述：

²¹ [明]堵胤錫自記：《堵忠肅公年譜》一卷，清嘉慶十年海寧吳騫抄本，收入第62冊，361頁。

²² [清]潘士超：《堵文忠公年譜》一卷，清光緒間刻《堵文忠公集》本，收入第63冊，頁2。

²³ [明]楊繼盛：《椒山先生自著年譜》，民國九年上海宏大善書總發行所石印《楊椒山公傳家寶書》本，收入第49冊，頁502-503。

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則椒山年譜中，事三人疾不染疫，謂有神佑；受打至五六十後不覺痛，謂有神助；其他夢見大舜，夢見三金衣人灌藥癒瘡，何一非涉迷信者？椒山雖迷信，無害於其為椒山，世之迷信者而皆如椒山，迷信亦何害於世道。²⁴

筆者考訂文中所指大抵乃二十三歲及三十四歲事。一為神祐病癒，一為夢中神示、創作樂器。楊氏在明戊戌年二十三歲，和兩位姪子到佛寺僧房，正逢夏季瘟疫橫行，人人自危，而楊繼盛痾瘵在抱，不忍捨病僧而去，連事三人而不染疾，當時人皆傳為有神庇祐：

引二姪復居縣寺佛永僧房，夏，天行瘟疫，主僧病倒，同舍生即亡去。兄遣人促予，及姪歸，予曰：「如予去，則此僧死在旦夕。」善遣家人回。兄又遣人促曰：「如相染，毋家歸也。」予曰：「平日相與，有病去之，心寧忍乎？如予相染，同死於此可也。」於是止取姪歸，予為之親供飲食，遍求醫藥，夜則同寢。二十日則僧癒，時兄亦染病矣！信到，予即歸，不解衣而事者月餘，兄癒，妻又病，無一人近，予自調養之，數日而癒，是年傳染甚多，予親事三人而不能染，人皆以為有神佑云。²⁵

己酉年楊氏三十四歲，投注心力於古代五音五律之樂，其師鼓勵他自行製作樂器，多日無所得，一夜竟夢大舜，恍然若有所悟，醒後感而成管：

予退而欲製，漫無可據，苦心思索。廢寢食者三日。忽夜夢大舜坐於堂上，予拜之，案下設金鍾一，舜命予曰：此黃鐘也，子可擊之。取之連擊三，醒而恍然若有所悟，呼妻燃燈，取竹與鋸鑽，至明而成管。至巳而十二管成。²⁶

論者如你我，視此究竟是靈驗？抑是迷信？恐怕是見仁見智。刊行者索性說，就算是「迷信」又何害其為楊繼盛？企圖以楊書中教化世人之正面例證，為世人「迷信」之責，開出一條生路。這與前述「不忍刪抹」，都站在「最好不寫」以免引發爭議的立場，提出了一種讓「它」繼續存在的消極說法。

無視此種爭議困境，反而還堂而皇之為夢兆等無稽事，正面提出論點者，莫過於刑名專家汪輝祖。敘中自言藉年譜自以儆惕，「感夢中案冥事，益信一言一行，如有臨鑑」²⁷，汪氏一生判案無數，六十七歲那年恍惚夢境中被召喚至冥間當判官，委任處理多年積累的懸案。數十日後某一日如尋常夢境至冥府判案，一婦持帛前來告狀，告的居然就

²⁴ [明]楊繼盛：《椒山先生自著年譜》，收入第49冊，頁443。

²⁵ [明]楊繼盛：《椒山先生自著年譜》，收入第49冊，461-462。

²⁶ [明]楊繼盛：《椒山先生自著年譜》，收入第49冊，頁465-468。

²⁷ [清]汪輝祖口授：《病榻夢痕錄》卷上，清光緒間刻江蘇書局刻《龍莊遺書》本，收入第107冊，頁1-2。

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是庭上安座的冥間判官汪輝祖！而汪氏仔細一看，堂下站的竟是他三十二歲那年受理的自盡案主！多年來該婦「自認」含冤莫白，故前來控訴伸冤。觀者如你我者披閱至此，豈不心上一驚、冷汗直流！幸而汪氏無愧於心，冤告誤會得以紓解，之後，該女即頹首離去。而此案正是汪氏年譜所載諸多刑殺案件中最特別者，故於序言中具名指稱「**夢中案冥事**」，此事載入之重要原因，在於讓汪氏驗證了平生信仰，並且深深相信——一個人所作所為是無所遁逃於天地之間的，就如同照著一面鏡子一般。深信「敬鬼神」的他，特別要藉年譜之傳使後世子孫明瞭「涉世甚難、保身不易」，世間種種作為皆當戰戰兢兢、戒慎恐懼。汪氏如此深意，讓「夢中案冥事」在年譜諸例中躍升為最重要的敘述，不但不可刪除，還要讀者準此戒慎行事，夢兆書寫得此高度重視的現象的確引人注意！

綜觀上述諸例，不論是由「勤勞積善而天人感應」、「就算迷信又有何害世道」等消極論述，抑或是「期以敬鬼神昭示後代」的積極標舉，夢兆等神異經驗在世人的注視中，已然穿越時空甬道而存留至今，與嘵嘵不休、捍衛道統秩序的聲音，混雜成了多元的敘述現象，這顯然已非昔日立德立言立功一元準則所可以輕易涵蓋。

（三）核心研究文獻、研究方法與論述進程

本論文以自撰年譜中的夢兆經驗為主題，研究主力在於明代與明清之際的自撰年譜，行有餘力則下及清代。迫於時間才力之限，僅僅追索至足以成論即止，無法賅遍，終究有遺珠之憾，故假現今叢書所錄之便，據以為核心研究文獻。這套『北京圖書館藏珍本年譜叢刊』，係於1999年由北京圖書館所編定，收入了歷代年譜1200餘種，約十五萬頁，譜主千餘人，上起三代，下至1949年9月新中國建立前。所收錄之年譜版本，有三分之一是首次披露面世。卷首之〈編輯體例〉中言及，這套叢書所認定的年譜為「以年系譜主事迹之書」，所以符合此原則者，雖不以年譜名之，亦收入，如年表、年略、觀生紀、夢痕錄、知非錄、言舊錄、鴻爪錄等。年譜的變體如詩譜、讀書譜亦收入。

為便於閱讀者一目瞭然，茲將所搜羅之相關文獻資料，以簡要表格羅列於下：

編號	自撰年譜名稱	傳主 生卒年	版本	收藏冊數 及頁數	夢兆經驗
1	《秦襄毅公自訂年譜》一卷	[明] 秦紘 (1426-1505)	[明]秦紘，明嘉靖十七年單縣秦學書刻隆慶三年天啓元年遞修本	第40冊，29頁。	✓
2	《幻跡自警》一卷	[明] 殷邁 (1512-?)	[明]殷邁，民國間海甯陳乃干慎初堂烏絲欄抄本	第49冊，263頁。	
3	《椒山先生自著年譜》一卷	[明] 楊繼盛 (1516-1555)	[明]楊繼盛，民國九年上海宏大善書總發行所石印《楊椒山公傳家寶書》本	第49冊，41頁。	✓
4	《憨山老人年譜	[明]	[清]德清，清順治間刻本	第52、53冊。	✓

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	自敘實錄》二卷附錄一卷	德清 (1546-1623)			
5	《海澄周忠惠公自敘年譜》一卷	[明]周起元 (1572-1626)	[明]周起元，清同治十一年刻本	第56冊，253頁。	✓
6	《魏廓園先生自譜》一卷	[明]魏大中 (1575-1625)	[明]魏大中，明崇禎元年刻《藏密齋集》本	第56冊，405頁。	✓
7	《王季重先生自敘年譜》不分卷	[明清之際]王思任 (1575-1646)	[明]王思任，清初山陰王袞錫等刻本	第57冊，283頁。	✓
8	《方孩未年譜》一卷	[明清之際]方震孺 (1585-1645)	[明]方震孺，清同治七年樹德堂刻《方孩未先生集》本	第59冊，1頁。	✓
9	《天寥自撰年譜》一卷《年譜續編》一卷《年譜別記》一卷	[明清之際]葉紹袁 (1589-1648)	[明]葉紹袁，民國間吳興劉氏嘉業堂刻《嘉業堂叢書》本	第60冊，381頁。	✓
10	《天山自敘年譜》一卷	[明清之際]鄭鄴 (1594-1639)	[明]鄭鄴，清宣統二年武進盛氏刻本	第61冊，219頁。	✓
11	《堵忠肅公年譜》一卷	[明清之際]堵胤錫 (1601-1649)	[明]堵胤錫自記，清嘉慶十年海寧吳騫抄本	第62冊，361頁。	✓
	《堵文襄公年譜》一卷		[明]堵胤錫，清光緒十一年童斐抄本，	第62冊，487頁。	✓
	《堵文忠公年譜》一卷		[清]張夏，清道光二十三年錫山潘氏刻本	第62冊，607頁。	✓
	《堵文忠公年譜》一卷		[清]潘士超，清光緒間刻《堵文忠公集》本	第63冊，1頁。	✓
12	《陳忠裕公自著年譜》三卷	[明清之際]陳子龍 (1608-1647)	[明]陳子龍，清嘉慶八年青浦何氏篔簹山草堂刻《陳忠裕公全集》本	第63冊，503頁。	✓
13	《姜貞毅先生自著年譜》一卷《續編》一卷	[明清之際]薑采 (1608-1673)	[明]薑采，清光緒十五年山東書局刻《敬亭集》本	第63冊，699頁。	✓
14	《紀夢編年》一卷《續編》一卷	[明清之際]方顯愷 (1638-1717)	[清]方顯愷，清同治二年南海伍氏粵雅堂刻《嶺南遺書》本	第84冊，97頁。	
清1	《曹劍亭先生自撰年譜》一卷	[清]曹錫寶 (1719-1792)	[清]曹錫寶，清光緒二十三年印書公會鉛印本	第104冊，245頁。	✓
清2	《紀年草》一卷	[清]萬廷蘭 (1719-1807)	[清]萬廷蘭，清嘉慶十二年南昌萬氏刻本	第104冊，283頁。	✓
清3	《病榻夢痕錄》二卷《夢痕余錄》一卷	[清]汪輝祖 (1731-1807)	[清]汪輝祖口授，清光緒間刻江蘇書局刻《龍莊遺書》本	第107冊，？頁。	✓
清4	《三松自訂年譜》一卷	[清]潘奕雋 (1740-1830)	[清]潘奕雋，清道光十年吳縣潘氏刻本	第110冊，135頁。	✓
清5	《翠微山房自訂	[清]曹錫齡	[清]曹錫齡，清嘉慶間朱	第110冊，195	✓

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	年譜》一卷	(1741-1820)	格稿本	頁。	
清6	《吳崧圃府君自訂年譜》一卷	[清]吳璫 (1747-1822)	[清]吳璫，清道光三年錢塘吳氏刻本	第117冊，113頁。	

全文以明清時期自撰年譜為研究核心對象，考察當中之夢兆經驗，借助了當代文化理論相關研究成果，如過往經驗牽涉到「記憶」²⁸（包括選擇性記憶、記憶的再現與敘述策略）與「自我」²⁹意義的安置。有關「夢」的研究，則除了心理學界之作還有中國夢文化研究等專書足以參考³⁰。

依序分節論及「夢兆經驗」，第二節中分別由「夢兆之一：病亟夢癒」「夢兆之四：幽冥判案」四個小題論述之。最後，再以總觀年譜撰作者的人生觀作結語。

二、 夢兆經驗：越界想像與慾望投射

人有生之年，所作之夢，不可勝數。然而，歷經漫長歲月，仍可於時間巨輪之輾壓下殘存者，已是萬中之一二。到了撰寫年譜之生死當頭，乍然於驀然回首之際，猶且歷歷在目、驚心動魄者，足見該夢境所引發個人感受之強烈、意義之迥異尋常，故於記憶圖版之銘刻如此深刻而不可磨滅也！

說話者在撰寫年譜時，所擇入的夢兆經驗，實與人之生老病死、功名、婚姻、生子、置產等生命經驗，形影相伴。而每個人所認定最重要、印象最深刻的生命情節，又各自有別，故年譜中的夢兆敘述可謂千奇百怪。唯獨異中有同之處，在於「夢」，皆提供所述情節之中，跨越現實藩籬之可能。諸如時間與空間、身體與靈魂（包括過去、現在、未來三世，生死陰陽兩界、空間移動與穿越等等），都可以在夢境中輕易自原有疆界脫

²⁸專書有蘿普著，洪蘭譯：《記憶的秘密》（台北市：貓頭鷹出版，2003），詹姆斯·麥高著，鄭文琦譯：《記憶與情緒》（台北縣永和市：靈鷲山般若基金會，2005）

期刊論文則如李振亞：〈歷史空間/空間歷史：從「童年往事」談記憶與地理空間的建構〉，《中外文學》，卷期/年月 26:10=310，民87.03，頁48-64。徐培晃：〈完美聆聽者：試論羅智成詩中的夢、記憶與漫遊特質〉，《臺灣詩學學刊》，3卷，民93.06，頁107-151。等等。

²⁹如程文超等著：《欲望的重新敘述—20世紀中國的文學敘事與文藝精神》（桂林：廣西師範大學出版社，2005.10），其中〈心靈安頓的自我對話〉一節論及個人慾望指向、慾望主體的意義生成。

³⁰有關中國夢文化的研究，專書部份有劉文英：《中國古代的夢書》（北京市：中華書局，1990），妙摩，慧度著：《中國夢文化》（北京：中國文聯出版：新華書店經銷，1996），盧澤民：《夢書：中國古代夢學探源》（北京：工商聯合出版社，1994），盧元勛等編：《古代占夢術註評》（北京市：師範大學出版社，1993），姚偉鈞著：《神秘的占夢：夢文化散論》（廣西人民出版社，2004.1），羅建平著：《夜的眼睛：中國夢文化象徵》（成都市：四川人民出版社，2006），楊啟樵：《明清皇室與方術》（上海：上海書店出版社，2004.7），姚偉鈞著：《神秘的占夢：夢文化散論》（廣西人民出版社，2004.1）。

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逸而出，到達「他界」（包括天界、冥府、未來、過去、他方等等），並以語言或語言以外的方式溝通訊息。

就文學表述或個人歷史而言，前因後果之繫連，意義之賦予，皆需要「想像」(image)加以編織裁成。此乃本節以「他界想像」作為「夢兆經驗」附標題的緣故。古老中國即已「想像」人有三魂七魄，靈魂與軀體又可以或分或合地因時運用之。而「夢兆書寫」中說話者如何發揮「想像」作用，論者可以如是理解：因為「想像」人的生命從何而來，故年譜中常見主角誕生時因夢兆而命名；因為「想像」人的生命消失後，靈魂可以如白鶴一飛回返天際，故年譜中死亡夢兆則見白鶴返天；因為「想像」世間功名係屬前定，故年譜中士人總期待夢兆有得；因為「想像」靈魂可以穿越時空，故年譜中主角夢至冥府與親友相見。這些夢境中的「想像」，其實又承載了人生中諸如愛恨生死之種種慾望，故文中亦以「慾望投射」名之。

自撰年譜中出現的夢兆書寫，透過了越界想像（天界、冥府等），與現實慾望（戀生、功名等）交織並陳。倘若夢所昭示之意義，在於主角自身的體悟，所產生內心潛在的改變，終於於日後的現實生活中引發一波波漣漪般的擴大效應，進而使主角原本陷入的生存困境與焦慮，迎刃而解！如此說來，夢兆訊息之所以會被寫入年譜，最重要的原因，似乎是因為——它提供了主角解決困境、安頓自我的特殊途徑。

如葉紹袁所述，曾在病痛中，恍悟夢見「前身」為何：

八年乙亥，四十七歲。...先是七月間，夢在一小寺中，蘿徑幽僻，軒館甚小，有香火寥落，（移，木改成“阜”）垣蔓草之感，古柏數株，清瘦如削，似夜雨曉霽，蒼翠猶濕，獨余步廊廡間，寂然無人，余恍然若有所悟，自念云：吾前身名氏為某，今在此為僧，字天寥也。亡何，有內人之戚，得無恩愛已斷，宜證無生，故預示此兆，苦海一筏耳，而今猶沉淪世趣中，竊自愧此一夢矣！³¹

幽微夢境中，他跨越此世到達前世，親臨自己的歷史現場，了悟自己曾經是個「夜雨曉霽」、寂然於青燈下苦修的僧人。就在此夢之後沒多久，葉氏即遭喪妻之痛³²，撰寫年譜時回顧前夢與喪妻之事，葉氏認為此夢顯然具有強烈的預示意義，旨在狠狠敲醒夢中人——既然曾經為僧人，必然了悟人生無常、苦海無邊，而為何此種智慧未能在今世開花，導致此生還沉淪世趣、深深為親人之喪所苦？如此之後設式的夢境詮釋，回應了主角所面臨的困境（沉淪世趣、喪妻之苦），在書寫中愧悔，主角似已然找到了超越困境、安頓自我的途徑！

³¹ [明]葉紹袁：《天寥自撰年譜》，民國間吳興劉氏嘉業堂刻《嘉業堂叢書》本，收入第60冊，頁452。

³² [明]葉紹袁：《天寥自撰年譜》有載：「內人病亟，遣兒輩往求泐公，泐公不能致力，兒歸已瞑目矣！」文中所述，對於妻子之病回天乏術，感到憾恨無限，幾令人不忍卒睹。見第60冊，頁453。

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在世之人，深情凝視過往，眷戀亡故親人，苦於不得相見，而「夢」則提供了跨越陰陽兩界的橋樑。如葉紹袁在癸丑八月之夢，夢到亡女隨侍之亡婢：

癸丑八月病起，一夕，斜陽將闌，心境清絕。俄而，夢至一所，如虎丘半塘光景，綠水平隄，清波盪漾，橫橋斜映，兩岸垂楊數百株，黃鶯飛鳴其間，浮瓜沉李，蔭樹為市。余正顧樂心賞，忽見一青衣小鬟，望之阿娜，然即之，則亡女昭齊之亡婢繡瑤也。余問：汝何至此？曰：兩女郎遣我出買瓜耳。余問：昭齊、瓊章同居邪？曰：同在此山中。遙指西南一山，遠望蒼松翠柏，菁蔥掩靄，余曰：余欲往視之。曰：望之如邇，去之甚遠也。余曰：然則汝何以至此？笑而不答，余亦遂寤，殆或仙境矣！³³

夢中描繪亡女之亡婢現身於如虎丘山塘般的江南小鎮，生活愜意閒適，奉命到市集採買應時瓜果，而亡女所居處所，「遠望蒼松翠柏，菁蔥掩靄」，有若仙境。現實生活中的葉氏，顯然掛念亡女³⁴，而此夢則回應並紓解了他的擔憂與焦慮。³⁵

從這個角度來思索，夢，若可以讓身心靈所壓抑、滯鬱的負面能量，得以釋放紓解，間接也達到了療癒疾病的奇效。另外，夢中情境讓主角頓然有悟，使之面對現實困境時，時而有天外飛來一筆的特殊靈感，從而迎刃而解。以下析為「病亟夢癒」、「判案示訊」兩節，分別闡述夢兆可能為主角帶來生命改變的契機。

（一）、夢兆之一：病亟夢癒

自撰年譜中，出現不少例證，敘說自己曾經病重垂危，在恍惚夢境中，魂魄離開身軀而飄飄然到達天界或地府，或見亡故親友，或見神人昭示，夢後悠然醒轉，竟然不藥而癒。

如曹錫寶之例，康熙十一年，方才十五年少，參加縣試時面呈試卷，為主試者讚許為「髫年佳器」。後來院試不售，返歸鄉里。不料，隨即染上當年鄉中流行的死亡疫症，發作時高燒不退，「七日昏憤不省事」，通曉醫理的大伯，診斷病情後料定，當夜五更是生死關鍵，若出汗，「尚得治，否，則殆矣！」：

³³ [明]葉紹袁：《年譜別記》收入第60冊，頁545-54。

³⁴ 葉氏屢次夢及亡女，又如甲戌上元之夕，余夢瓊章寄詩云：「可是初逢萼綠華，瓊樓煙月幾仙家。坐中吹徹涼州笛，笑看窗前夜合花。」又二語云：「昨夜簫聲雲際響，無人知是麗華來。」余以漢光烈皇后、陳後主后妃外，不識更有否邪？」見[明]葉紹袁《年譜別記》收入第60冊，頁547-548。

³⁵ 葉紹袁深信可以跨越生死陰陽之界，除了夢中如此，他還嘗透過紫姑招仙術、繪製圖像等方式接觸亡女瓊章之冥魂。如《年譜別記》，頁553載「顧太沖為瓊章作「返駕廣寒圖」，點染精絕，余曰君善紫姑術，盍招仙來。」又《年譜別記》，頁570又載「五月顧太沖同一浙中馮生來，能致仙，鎖於密室中，具諸繪彩於內，招魂傳神甚奇術也。」

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自先祖以下，俱深以為憂，及至夜半，予睡夢中，覺啟扉而出，至一所，洞門高敞，其內昏黑不可辨，惟見右首一矮屋，內有燈熒然，即趨赴其處，見一婦人，年可二十許，見予至，命之坐，問及予祖父母、叔父，慘然不樂，余欲啟問，則又曰：「予蓋汝叔之元配也。」予即下拜，頃之，謂予曰：「汝可速行，但向南疾走，遲則城門閉，閉則不能出矣。」予遂往南狂奔，而門已半閉，見予表叔日新徐公，方入門向予問故，予倉猝不能應，急循舊道回家，由門而達至房，至床前見祖父母、父母、伯叔父輩，皆垂涕環視，予大聲呼曰：「兒歸矣！」一躍赴床，聞先伯云：「汗來矣！不可入風。」少停，汗止，予便覺清爽，以頃所涉歷，告之先祖，謂是夢耳。及天明，徐表叔來視予疾，予不敢言所夢，越三日而徐竟以吐血暴亡，始知前所夢見之真，而予之得以再生者，非無因也，先是予孀成婚四十日而卒，停柩城西鐸庵中，予病癒後往設奠，則所設帳幃燈影，歷歷如夢境云。³⁶

夢境所歷處所，即孀孀設奠靈堂；城門係為陰陽兩界之隔，夢中自城門彼界歸返人間的曹氏，醒後渾身發汗，由原本醫石罔效的病危狀態，豁然痊癒；夢中自外而入城門之徐表叔，在現實生活中，竟於三日後吐血暴亡！前因後果相互印證，「始知前所夢見之真，而予之得以再生者，非無因也」，曹氏為此夢震撼不已，時隔多年，仍於撰譜之際印象鮮明，夢中種種情狀躍昇腦海，故擇入詳敘，銘刻入譜。

葉紹袁在二十九歲那年，深秋某一日，內人歸寧，只剩他一人獨居家中書室，不料舊疾復發，兩脇作楚，至夜不能寐，神智昏聩於恍惚之際，夢至他界：

四十五年丁巳，二十九歲。秋杪，內人歸寧，余居家中，西風蕭蕭，獨處書室，於時十月朔矣！忽患兩脇作楚，夜不能寐，痛昏昏然，夢至一所，景光慘黯，街巷寂寥，如天色將曙而晨旭未升者，道無行人，閤門盡閉，但有誦彌陀聲叢叢入耳，比屋皆然，余心訝之。忽見一老父，杖筇而來，余問曰：「此間人何梵唄之早也？」答曰：「彼欲求託生耳！」余（）然曰：「若言託生，此豈冥府耶？」老父笑曰：「子以為非是乎？」余驚恐莫措，私念必求觀音大士方能有濟，即發想間，身已在支硎山麓矣！淒晦之景，猶然如故，捫蘿而登，迫思慈覆方在？焦皇又值貴人傳呼，前至以二旗，旗上各書「甲子」二字，余徬徨且又悶甚也，蹲避巖石間，貴人在輿中，問曰：「何為有生人氣？」命前趨緝之，余不得已，出見，自通姓名，具言所以瞻禮大士之故，貴人乃下輿與余揖曰：「不必恐也。爾故我門生，異日爾功名富貴一似我，方將以余為舉主焉？又何虞乎！」語訖，仍上輿去，余乃驚寤，病數日而瘥。迨越六年甲子，始獲

³⁶ [清]曹錫寶：《曹劍亭先生自撰年譜》，收入第104冊，頁249-250。

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偕公車，亦異矣！³⁷

「誦彌陀聲叢叢入耳」係指身之所在已是冥府，而葉氏驟然到此幽淒地府，竟然是「驚恐莫措」、「徬徨」、「焦皇」，顯然全無離開人世的心理準備，對於俗世種種仍十分戀棧。夢中私念尋求觀音大力士求救，隨即瞬間穿越空間到了支硎山麓，與貴人相晤，貴人面示「異日爾功名富貴一似我」，這似乎又揭示了葉氏心中的功名焦慮。由此看來，葉氏的現實生活困境是痼疾纏身與舉業功名之挫敗焦慮。透過這場夢，穿越時空的冥府之遊，掀開潛意識的世俗慾望（戀生與功名），夢中貴人面示所言，隱隱然化解了潛在焦慮。夢醒之後，葉氏陳年痼疾在數日後豁然痊癒，而夢後六年「始獲公車」。撰主在年譜中敘述夢境，文章末尾又將日後所發生事證列入，編織其前因後果，意謂此夢預告未來訊息，如此靈驗，讓葉氏發出「亦異矣！」的讚嘆，足見其心中感受之強烈！

（二）、夢兆之二：判案示訊

人稱謔庵的小品文作家王季重，曾經到茂陵當知縣，年方二十出頭，「貧不能具夫力，乃攜二童跨蹇之官。關中人訝之，見先生文弱未髭，綠袍玄鬢，一美少年也，號為呱呱知縣」³⁸。不久，縣民梁氏與李氏互訟命案，兩家大鬭，該晚即「夢童年關廷訪來顧，不語而別」，當時並不解曉夢境有何用意：

萬曆二十五年丁酉先生二十三歲

太安人北上春祀 茂陵竣，大吏檄往查盤武功，均站馬，議處台渠底張二驛夫役。會齏使者尋涇陽檄先生閱觀風卷，先生警篆馳馬，襄其事，所前士皆高第去。齏使者吳公楷曰：「牛刀小試！」不意公如此妙年，老練至此。邑民梁應龍訟李洪占地界，李揉下妻胎訟之，梁則以毆殺其子三寬鬭告求驗，是夕夢童年關廷訪來顧，不語而別。越三日，兩姓復大鬭，不及吊□（疑為「符」）人，即徑詣之自驗。至此村已停午，扶老攜幼來觀者環集，舊例諸生約，正供具，先生曰：「嫌疑之際，麾去之。」憩關帝廟中，法嚴，即不敢窺視，偶一起居，見庭柱有字：梁小寬在此一樂。先生悟曰：「疇夕之□（疑為「夢」），啟我耶！」至場，訊兩家，佐具不証所以。先視李胎，一水雞腊也，先生曰：「一月如白露，二月如桃花，三月形象成；此胎未分男女，而汝告殺子，何也？」亟刑之，李直對曰：「懼其兇也。攔之，是實，然伊子之死，實不知故，凌晨，民啟戶，見一尸，方鳴之甲長，而梁家錘鎖交至，今妻將危，家司盡抄去矣」，問梁只呼喧喊撞，第云「活活打死」，哭而已矣。先生喚應龍至案下曰：「吾驗三寬喉下血痕，八字交匝，明係勒死，汝哭雖厲，不見淚湧，此兒必非汝生！」

³⁷ [明]葉紹袁：《天寥自撰年譜》，收入第60冊，頁403。

³⁸ (明)王思任編；(清)王鼎起，王霞起訂：《王季重先生自叙年譜》不分卷，清初山陰王袞錫等刻本，收入第57冊，頁310。

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旁觀者咋舌，問總甲曰：「梁家有梁小寬乎？」應聲曰：「有。」亟呼之至，年十三矣，至則面色如土，一嚇之，具吐情實。先生曰：「兩家皆圖賴也！應龍故殺子孫，應徒耳。」一時呼青天者響振林木，三寬癩而酗賭，荒年所拾蓄也；應龍搯之死，假仇快其私也，人人秉掌。三十八州縣傳聞，訟上臺者，願就呱呱縣官質，牒如雨下，亦可備一笑譚矣。³⁹

由於兩家鬧到不可收拾，連請驗屍官作證都等不及了，王季重遂逕自驗屍。判案當日，在關帝廟中休憩，偶然間見梁上有字：「梁小寬在此一樂」，忽然靈光一現，了悟夢中所示訊息。整個開庭判案過程，如有神助，王季重對案情真相彷彿早已瞭然於胸，針對案情破綻層層逼問，偽證之處一一現形：先看李氏胎屍，未具人形，係不足三月，何來之凶殺！盤問之下李氏遂和盤托出——揉下妻胎是製造事由以控訴對方，純粹為了反制對方之凶悍。再訊梁氏，觀察屍訊非如其說之「活活打死」，乃以繩勒死。又觀察梁哭三寬似哀不及衷，顯然並非親身己出！此種破案關鍵之推論靈感，其實來自夢訊與關帝廟事。蓋關帝廟係法度森嚴之處所，連判官大人都不敢隨便窺看，而何人竟放肆如此，近乎蠱神之舉地在廟柱上塗鴉留名！顯見此「梁小寬」之家大人必溺愛無度。相對於梁三寬之死而淚不及泉湧，梁應龍之偏心昭然具現。王季重遂據此查辦：發現梁三寬係梁應龍在荒年撿拾扶養的養子，而三寬癩而蓄賭，早就是梁應龍的眼中釘，今日藉此誣仇並一除心中大患，原為一石二鳥之計，卻被王季重看穿揭發！

真相至此大白，蓋兩人皆動手殺了自家人（一墮胎、一殺無賴養子），然後再藉此誣告對方，王季重破案之迅速，讓「扶老攜幼來觀者環集」，皆「呼青天者響振林木」，一時「呱呱知縣」聲名傳遍三十八州縣。

此則文獻在王季重自撰年譜中，詳述經過，而夢兆示訊，讓判案過程順利如有神助，令觀者稱奇。古代判案雖重證據，卻因為深信鬼神之說，也接受許多冥冥中的訊息與感召。蓋深信人之所作所為無所遁逃，所謂天理昭彰是也。

三、 結論：跨越視域之可能

明中葉以降的自撰年譜，代表著私人記憶、個人歷史的自覺意識已然覺醒，透過此種書寫，建構個人生命史、編織小我之存在意義，而「夢兆」之所以被擇入年譜的現象，的確不容忽視。本論文企圖解釋夢兆經驗對於說話人本身，可能具有紓解身心靈內在鬱積能量達到療癒疾病的奇效，並帶來天外飛來一筆式的靈感，讓主角在回應現實困境與焦慮時，找到安頓自我的途徑。

明佛僧方顯愷於年譜中載記晚年常飽受疾病痛苦，而在痛苦至極中，頓悟了「疾病痛苦皆真我也」的道理，眼耳鼻舌身意識之苦，若皆可使主角有所頓悟，這表示當中皆

³⁹ (明)王思任編；(清)王鼎起，王震起訂：《王季重先生自叙年譜》不分卷，收入第57冊，頁314-317。

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是真我，如此說來，「疾病」與痛苦、「判案」與困頓的夢境，何嘗不也是個人在滾滾塵世中的覺悟之資？就在觀看年譜中的「滿紙荒唐言」中，吾人深刻地感受到，這當中又有何其嚴肅的自我凝視與生命體悟。

綜觀本論文可能開展的研究視域有二，其一，乃持以研究「年譜」的學術態度，已由傳統定位為「知人論世」的史學功能，再度拉回到文學甚至心理學的領域；而有關「紀夢」的研究文獻，學界向來都偏重於文集、占夢書籍，此研究已經拓展到「自撰年譜」之中，對於開墾新領域而言，本論文可略盡微薄力量。

其次，有關「自撰年譜」之中，個人展現對自我夢境之高度關懷與深切凝視，敘述上則著重個人於此夢兆的種種體悟，與現實生活的回應（徵驗），此種書寫的基本態度，與晚明以降叢林論夢之「夢覺如一」觀點不謀而合（詳見廖肇亨文）。本論文之研究，恰可呼應晚明「夢覺如一」觀點，並將研究文獻拓展至個人自撰年譜（廖文以佛教文獻為主）。

The Study on Teacher evaluation for professional development policy implementation from Local Government and School Level Leadership

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1. Preface

Ministry of Education announced the experiment of Teacher Evaluation for Professional Development Policy Implementation (TEPDPI) in 2006: “Encourage schools and teachers to be volunteers to apply for.” It shows its position on the policy: under the prerequisite of voluntary, schools should build mutual trust and positive atmosphere, remind teachers to prepare for the trend, encourage them to enhance enthusiasm of teaching quality, and provide the necessary administrative support with compassion. What important is to reach success steady at once, rather than in a hurry. Now the policy is no longer an experiment, and the participation of schools is growing years by years till 2009.

A comprehensive education policy has many stages, including planning, evaluation, analysis, legalization, implementation and review stage. The focus of this study is the implementation stage. Because the promotion of policy relies on the interpretation and participation of local school principals and relevant superintendent, the key is the leading pattern in the implementation of such policies, and leadership styles are related to organizational culture of schools, behavior and work attitudes of school members. Principal’s leadership style is a combination of his or her own cognitive and behavior. Western saying goes: “As is principle, so is the school. As is school, so is the student.” It also represents the importance of leadership style. As a facilitator in local school level, the researcher realizes the strategies to promote TEPDPI. In this study, superintendents, principles and directors from four local counties were interviewed for reference in the future.

2. The analysis of leadership style

Many researches of leadership style focus on different aspects due to the researcher’s profession and viewpoint. By the analysis of domestic and foreign researches, they mainly focus on advocacy, caring, vision, stimulation of morale, and edification of intelligence. Institute of leadership often focus on the aspect of advocacy and caring, and we can see leadership cares about both research purposes and human dimensions. Transformational Leadership often focus on vision, stimulation of morale, and edification of intelligence, and leaders are required to stimulate members’ morale and potential to stimulate innovation of

school and achieve the vision and goal. Therefore, according to the analysis above and the actual results of dialectical interaction in interviews, the leadership of superintendent in education department include four aspects, consideration, initiating structure, vision and impoverished management.

In this study, according to the six aspects concluded by principal and director, “the planning and promotion of the policy”, “stuff’s cognition and communication”, “stuff’s skill and capability”, “stuff’s attitude”, “the support from the group to the stuff”, “the supervision of implementation”, the researcher summarizes the leadership style of principal and director. Moreover, according to the five aspects “interpretation of policy”, “policy planning and promotion”, “mobilization of policy”, “adjustment of policy” and “institutionalization of policy”, the researcher summarizes the leadership style of superintendents from four counties. While everyone’s leadership styles is various and not belong to any certain style, the researcher attempts to classify them simply, in order to understand the effect of leadership styles on TEPDPI.

3. Analysis of strategy on TEPDPI

(1) Superintendents of education department from four counties

(a) the interpretation of policy

Education Department superintendents are the key in promotion of the program, while their point of view will affect their practices. In the promotion of TEPDPI, superintendents’ different devotion and interpretation for TEPDPI also affects the following promotion and practices.

Superintendents from four counties all believe that TEPDPI is benefit to teachers, and the encouragement of the Ministry of Education to promote is quite good, and therefore they are willing to devote on the policy.

Superintendents of county B suggest that the promotion of TEPDPI enable teachers to be better, “*I think the purpose is good to teachers.*” (B-E6-033-091029) Superintendents of city A also believe that the promotion of TEPDPI not only enhance teacher’s professional knowledge, but also “*enhance students’ interest on learning and learning performance.*”

(B-E6-033-091029) Superintendents of city C joined the project in person for a better understanding of TEPDPI.

Superintendents of county D also endorse TEPDPI, but unpleasant to the word “evaluation” because “*I think that word is really hateful.*” (D-E6-035-090922) He thinks that as long as teachers can find their own way to make progress, it is not necessarily for them to join TEPDPI. Moreover, due to the quantity of school business, it is not necessarily to focus on the project, which a promotion for one to two years is an acceptable range.

In promotion of TEPDPI, the superintendents have different methods and practices. Superintendent of city C thinks that before promoting to schools, they should have

identification to the project, or it will be treated as a general business.

(b) Policy Planning and Promotion

Education Departments of the four counties have different methods for TEPDPI due to their leadership style. On the distribution of work, superintendents of county A and city D make decision themselves mostly, without interference from their executive. Shortly, it treated by the superintendents on their own, only discuss with the executive when it is covered by more influential decision.

City C and county B are more similar. Superintendent of city C is the role of implement, so decision-making “*are mainly handled and led by the chief*” (C - E6-034-090914), but also discuss with the chief. Superintendent of county B will discuss with the chief first, and then make a decision with the help of chief.

The discussion outward is supported by the superintendent and school. City C and county B are similar, and they often discuss and plan with central schools, which have handled more than three years and experienced. The school members, such as principals, director or teachers can be superintendents, so when superintendents encounter problems, they will ask principals for help.

There is no center schools in City A, so the superintendent’ practice is somewhat different. The superintendent ask principals who are positive in TEPDPI for assist, “*I will find some seriously and actively principals to assist me.*” (A -E6-032-091105), and the schools can do good job through the help of these principals, even if there is no central schools. As for county D, while the superintendents worked just for a short period, he has an active center school as a backup, so that TEPDPI can be promoted well in the county. The superintendent thinks that “*the principal of the central school is more active and advocate.*” (D - E6-035-090922) However, the principal was changed this semester, and the current principals have not shown a very positive attitude, so the superintendent worried about center school would be closure in the future.

At last, the role of superintendent of education department in TEPDPI is discussed. The superintendents from four counties all consider themselves as transmitter and coordinator. To superiors, another schools and teachers, they want to transmit message exactly.

Superintendent of city A also stressed that the message should be not only conveyed but also understood by the superintendent, and then conveyed in a way which counties can understand, that is, message transforming. “*Not only convey but also transform and describe.*” (A-E6-032-091105) That is, superintendents can take the opportunity to know whether the schools can understand TEPDPI, and suggest improvement methods immediately. In addition, superintendents also play a coordinating role for communication between different levels. If schools reply problems, the superintendent would think of a solution as soon as possible.

(c) Policy to mobilize

When promoting TEPDPI, superintendent sometimes also need to listen and care promotion status, but most superintendent of four counties will find resources or ask for others' response after collect opinions of the school. Such as superintendent city C and county D are new and rarely contact with the school directly, "*I will not go to first-line promotion because I am not experienced enough.*" (C-E6-034 - 090,914) "I did not contact with advocacy and briefings", (D-E6-035-090922), asking the center school for assist most.

Superintendent of county B will go to the school to understand the status in person, but this year there are too many participating schools, superintendent worried about some schools will be absent and can not understand their problems. In order to control the presence of the school, in the occasions which superintendents have to attend will call the roll, "*I will be strict, and I give study hours only to who is present. I will call the roll.*" (B-E6-033-091029) Some schools consider education department is too strict.

Superintendent of city A let schools ask questions in advocacy, because there is experienced schools, the problem can be resolved immediately, and attract another schools to join.

In addition, superintendent of city A will bring up extra resources to schools which did good jobs, because such a real help of equipment or money is needed for the school. Of course, superintendents do not mention that specifically.

(d) Mutual adaptation of policy

Here we discuss the robustness, policy resource quantity and characteristics of the implementation group, including two aspects: authorization and participation. Superintendent of the four counties all consider that the promotion period of TEPDPI should not be too short. If the superintendent is transferred soon, the county's business may be stopped. As for county D, although the superintendent understands the importance of continuity, "*The county much care about and invite some experienced teachers to accept.*" (D-E6-035-090922) However, due to the county's policy planning, the superintendent can only accept.

In addition, superintendent of city A mentioned that, in addition to the continuity, the superintendent can be staff or teacher. Staff has more resources to schools, but they are not so clear with teaching. Teachers have a better understanding of teaching, but ignore the integrity of administrative procedures. Therefore, superintendent of city A believes that the most important is the "*input motivation*" of superintendent. (A-E6-032-091105) No matter what identity the superintendent is, as long as his attitudes and beliefs are correct, he can do it. Superintendent of city A also stressed that there should be training before the promotion, and a heritage of experience will be better.

(e) Institutionalization of policy

TEPDPI is still a new program and new experience for many schools, so some

superintendents of the four counties paid great attention to the status of implementation in schools, and they will try to realize and solve the problem as much as possible.

Superintendent of county B handled only for the principals and officers, but due to the reaction from school, the advocacy of teachers were added in 2009. Teachers have a better understanding after the advocacy, so more schools joined this year.

However, the increasing of schools from County B leads to a qualitative problem. Because many of the schools are small and faraway, and there will be a lot of problems in their first join, "*Many of them are small and have a few members, there are only three members, that result problem of resources, and how can we control these schools?*" (B-E6-033-091029) Because of this, superintendents discussed with executive and decided to promote partly this year, in order to take care about all the schools. However, schools increase fast, and the Education Department does not have an institutionalized system to handle. That is what the superintendent worried.

Such a situation also occurred in City C and A. Their schools are less than county B, but this year city C has also set up a strategy alliance, and directors who did better share with new school. Superintendents of city A found promotion difficulties for principals and directors after the advocacy, and a explain meeting was hold, which they face to face with teachers to encourage them to ask questions.

The superintendent of city A cares about teachers' idea after briefings, and therefore did a survey, "*Make a list before they left*" (A-E6-032-091105), and superintendents feedback against the problems. We can see that TEPDPI will be modified while promoting, and only revised while encountering problems, so this program have to be improved in institutional arrangements.

The office of city D does not focus on TEPDPI but other businesses, and the Center School was also altered, so they are helpless now. Except for holding TEPDPI briefing during summer vacation for all county's teachers, there is no other more institutionalized approach.

As for reward system for participation schools, all the four counties take record merits awards, which is the provision of the Ministry of Education, and there are a few other rewards. Superintendent of city A also mentioned that record merits commendation, which is a kind of feedback and encouragement to teachers, is necessary but "*not too much, or in the future we can not satisfy them*" (A-E6-032-091105) In addition, County B encourage schools which joined for three years and give them medals. In this way, encourage the school to continue, and as a model for schools which didn't joined.

**Gasoline Prices and the Demand for Fuel-efficiency Automobiles:
The Case of Taiwan**

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Gasoline Prices and the Demand for Fuel-efficiency Automobiles: The Case of Taiwan

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1. Introduction

In recent years, Taiwan's gasoline prices have increased sharply due to the impact of international oil prices. The retail price has risen from US\$0.57 to US\$0.95 per liter between the year of 2002 and 2008. Although the unit price of gasoline is lower than neighbor countries like Korea and Japan, however, new car sales have decreased deeply during recent years. The statistics show that total amounts of new car sales were 430,814 units in 2004, the amounts decreased to 182,969 units in 2008. Since more than 80% of new car sales comes from nine domestic automobile producers, the gross products of auto industry in Taiwan has reduced by half from US\$6.57 billion to US\$3.22 billion.

The big drop of automobile sales leads to concern that higher transportation costs probably have adversely effects on the economy activity, in particular, the economy recession at the beginning of mid 2008. To help domestic automakers overcome the impact of 2008 recession, the government announced a reduction commodity tax plan for the purchase of new motor vehicles.¹ However, supporting consumers to buy new vehicles ignites the debate of what is the role of government in reducing gasoline consumption from concerns about global climate change as well as local air quality associated with human health.

Although there has been a great concern about the effect of increasing gasoline prices on the new car demand, however, none of the related studies has been provided in Taiwan. Understanding the relationship between gasoline prices and the demand for new vehicles has several meanings. First, consequences of oil price shock during

¹ According the tax-reduction plan, the commodity tax on new sedans, small trucks, and small passenger-cargo vehicles with cylinder volume of 2000 c.c. or less will be reduced by NT\$30,000; for new motor scooters and motorcycles having cylinder volume under 150 c.c., the tax will be cut by NT\$4,000.

2007-2008 have significant effects on the consumption spending and purchases of automobile. Recent studies show that the estimates of price elasticity of gasoline demand are low in the range of 0.034 to 0.077 for 2001-6 compared with the range of 0.21 to 0.34 over 1975-80. (Hamilton, 2009) Second, fuel efficiency, measured by driving kilometer per liter, has increased substantially in past decades. Part of reason comes from the command-and-control policy to raise corporate average fuel economy (CAFÉ) standards for passenger vehicles.² The stringent policies would reduce the gasoline consumption. Third, gasoline tax or carbon tax has been frequently proposed as an option to reduce the gasoline consumption for global warming issue. Examining the issue needs to consider the demand for gasoline consumption as a function of gasoline price and household income. However, the gasoline demand varies from automobile choice and utilization. Therefore, the effect of fuel economy standard or gasoline tax may depend on the effect of gasoline prices on the demand for fuel efficiency automobiles.

Several studies have investigated the impact of increasing gasoline prices or gasoline tax on the gasoline consumption or the purchases of new vehicles. Berry, Levinsohn, and Pakes (1995) used an oligopolistic differentiated product market model and construct a logit type of discrete choice demand estimation. By using the U.S. automobile sales and characteristics data from 1971 to 1990, the results show that consumers with high mileage car uses prefer to buy fuel economy cars while those who buy high price vehicles do not care about the fuel efficiency. Goldberg (1998) analyzes the effect of CAFÉ standards on the vehicle sales, prices, and gasoline consumption from the uses of Consumer Expenditure Survey. The author finds that the structure of the vehicle sales depends on both gasoline prices and the fuel efficiency of new vehicles. Since the average fuel cost elasticity is small, consumers would not be sensitive to the gasoline prices in the short-run whatever the driving distances might be. In the long-run, however, consumers will prefer to buy small vehicles and higher fuel efficiency cars. The increased CAFE standards also force the manufacturers to produce higher fuel efficiency vehicles. Austin and Dinan

² In Taiwan, the fuel economy standard was established in 1988. The standard has been revised three times since 1988. Depending on the engine size, the standards are from 4~11.3 kilometer per liter in 1988 to 6.5~15.4 kilometer per liter in 2001.

(2005) also examine the effect of CAFÉ standards and compare with policy of increased gasoline taxes by using an empirically simulation method. The results show that an increase a 3.8 miles per gallon in the standards would reduce annual costs of gasoline consumption by 10%. However, a gasoline tax would produce more benefits if consumers drive less and purchases higher fuel efficiency vehicles. The similar conclusion also proposed by West and Williams (2005), they suggest that the advantages of gasoline tax over a CAFÉ standards while consider rebound effects and interactions with labor market. Bento et al. (2005) further consider the distributional effects in examining the gas-tax option by an econometrically based multi-market simulation model. They find that over 95 percent of the reduction in gasoline consumption comes from the decreasing of vehicle used, rather than from improvements in average fuel efficiency.

Although there has been a substantial work on the effect of CAFÉ standards or gasoline tax on gasoline consumption, studies on the effect of gasoline prices on new vehicle demand, market shares, and fuel efficiency automobiles are relatively limited. Recently, Klier and Linn (2008) uses a unique data set of monthly new vehicle sales in US market from 1970-2007, and employs a discrete choice demand specification to estimate the effect of gasoline prices on new vehicle demand. After controlling unobserved vehicle characteristics, they find a significant demand response in 2002-2007 due to the increase in gasoline prices. The elasticity of average new vehicle fuel efficiency with respect to the price of gasoline is about 0.12, it implies that an increase in gasoline tax only have a modest effect on average fuel efficiency.

In this paper, we would follow the framework of Klier and Linn (2008) to investigate a similar issue of automobile market in Taiwan. The outline of this paper is as follows. In section 2 we discuss the framework for estimation. Our data is described in more detail in Section 3. Section 4 contains the empirical results. Section 5 gives a brief conclusion of the paper.

2. The Model

Consider the discrete choice model proposed by Berry, Levinsohn and Pakes (1995) that individual i receives utility, U_{ij} , by purchasing j brand of new car:

$$U_{ij} = X_j\beta + \alpha(p_j + c_j) + \phi_j + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

where X_j represents a vector of vehicle attributes such as power, size, weight for model j that can be observed by the individual; p_j is the purchase price of new vehicle for model j ; c_j is the expected operating costs on model j that include fuel and maintenance expenses; ϕ_j is the unobserved vehicle feature terms; and ε_{ij} is error terms associated with individual and model type. Assuming ε_{ij} has type-I extreme value distribution function, the traditional market share demand functions for j model are given by:

$$s_j = \frac{\exp(X_j\beta + \alpha(p_j + c_j) + \phi_j)}{1 + \sum_{j=1}^J \exp(X_j\beta + \alpha(p_j + c_j) + \phi_j)}$$

Following Klier and Linn (2008), we further assume that a model specific intercept, η_j , does not vary over time, which implies that vehicle price, observable vehicle attributes, maintenance costs and mean unobservable vehicle feature terms are time-invariant. The market demand share function can be written as:

$$\ln(s_j) - \ln(s_0) = \alpha f_j + \eta_j$$

where f_j is the expected fuel costs for model j and s_0 is the product of outside market.

Furthermore, an individual's decision-making for driving of a specific model is conditional on the present value of total expected fuel costs associated with the life of vehicle, T , and a discount rate, r . Each period's expected costs are described as the number of kilometers driven at time t , M_t , multiplied by the cost of per liter of gasoline, P_t^{gas} , divided by the fuel efficiency, MPG_j , that is in terms of kilometers driven per liter. The total expected fuel costs are:

$$f_j = \sum_{t=0}^T \frac{1}{(1+r)^t} \frac{P_t^{gas}}{MPG_j} M_t$$

If the prices of gasoline are following a random walk, the expected prices are equal to the current prices. The market demand function for a specific model is:

$$\ln(s_j) - \ln(s_0) = \alpha \left(\frac{P_t^{gas}}{MPG_j} \right) + \eta_j$$

As Knittel and Stango (2008) suggest that adding time dummies can eliminate the effect of outside market, the equation is modified as:

$$\ln(s_{jt}) = \alpha \left(\frac{P_t^{gas}}{MPG_j} \right) + \tau_y + \eta_{jy} + v_{jy}$$

where τ_y is the year dummies, η_{jy} is the vehicle characteristics that does not vary within the same period.

3. Data

The data used in this paper are collected from sever sources. The sales of automobiles data come from Taiwan Transportation Vehicle Manufacturers Association. The data consists of monthly sales of each model manufactured by different local firms. We organized these data into a time series panel that consists of year between 1997 and 2008. The characteristics data of each model are from monthly publication of People and Car Magazine. The publication lists engine size (displacement), horse power, length, width, weight, cylinders, fuel efficiency, prices, etc for each model currently in the market. The gasoline prices are from Taiwan CPC corporation, a government owned oil company. We use the consumer price index to obtain the real price in 2005 constant dollars.

We follow Berry, Levinsohn and Pakes (1995) to treat a model/year as an observation with the definition that two observations in adjacent years as the same model if the name does not change and the type (horsepower, length, width) does not modify more than 10%. With these definitions, a total observation of the model/year is 584 in this study. Table 1 shows some basic statistics of selected variables. The figures reveal some phenomenon of the domestic car market. First, the number of models increases significantly in recent years. It gives consumer more variety for the purchases of new car. Second, the mean prices (at the constant value of 2005) of new cars have increased about 46% from 1997 to 2008. Third, the mean values of car length do not change over year, however, width and height are increasing gradually. It means that more comfortable automobiles are provided. Fourth, average values of fuel efficiency, measured by kilometers driven per liter, increase from 8.47 in 1997 to 13.05 in 2008, a 54% improvement during the period.

4. Estimation Results

Table 2 reports the estimation results for the effect of gasoline price on the new car demand based on the logarithm share equation. The independent variable of interest is the real price of gasoline divided by the fuel efficiency, P_{gas}/MPG . In addition, in column (1), the independent variables also include year dummies and brand dummies that are not reported in the table. In column (2), we further include the characteristics variables into the estimation. The brand dummies are substituted by model dummies as a model fixed effect estimation in column (3).

The results in column (1), (2), and (3) indicate that all parameters of the variable of dollars-per-kilometer have the correct sign as expected and those are statistically significant. The estimates range from -1.3079 to -3.8768 based on the various specifications. We find that the coefficient is smaller in column (1) than other estimates. It implies that the characteristics variables or model fixed effects may play an important role for the estimation. To interpret the magnitude of the estimate, the value of -3.8768 implies that a one dollar per kilometer increases in gasoline price will decrease 3.8% market sales. The alternative explanation is that the elasticity of average fuel efficiency with respect to the price of gasoline is 0.03. Overall, our results are much smaller than those found in the US market by Klier and Linn (2008).

While looking at the column (2), the coefficients of the five characteristics variables have expected sign and most of those are statistically significant. The coefficients of *Cylind6*, a dummy for whether the car is six cylinders, and of *Styling*, a measure of length plus width over height, are negative. It indicates that smaller car has larger market share. The positive and statistical significant coefficients of *Comfort*, a measure of length times width, of *Safety*, the number of air-bag, reveal that consumers prefer new automobile with more safety and comfortable.

Table 3 report the estimation results for the effect on the market sales of firms and automobile features. To investigate the firm effects, we define eight dummies for different firms. Since most of Taiwan automobile manufacturers are technical collaboration with foreign vehicle makers, we use the name of cooperation firm as the dummy variable. The eight dummies are: Honda, Toyota, Nissan, Mitsubishi, Mazda, Suzuki, Hyundai, and Ford. The Formosa Automobile, a local firm that has exited the

market in 2007, as a base firm. The firm effect is reported in column (1). Looking at the parameter estimates of P_{gas}/MPG times firm dummy, most of those are positive and statistically significant. The magnitude of the coefficient can be evaluated the impact of firm on market sales. We find that Toyota is the most vehicle manufacturer in the market under the circumstances of increasing gasoline prices. The magnitude shows that a one dollar increases in gasoline price will increase 1.5% market sales compared with the Formosa firm. Other vehicle manufacturers, Mitsubishi, Honda, and Mazda, also show more than 1% increases in market sales. Overall, the Japanese-type vehicles have increased their market sales in the new car sales than American and Korean makers during the periods of increasing gasoline prices.

The estimation of the features of vehicle also shows the expected results. We find that the coefficient of the variable of $P_{gas}/MPG * Cylind6$ is negative and statistically significant. The magnitude indicates that a one dollar per kilometer increases in gasoline price will decrease 0.28% market sales. The coefficient of the variable of $P_{gas}/MPG * Small$ is positive and statistically significant, it indicates that small car, defined as length plus width over height is less than 4, will increase its market sales by 0.40% while the gasoline prices increase one dollar per kilometer. The coefficient of the variable of $P_{gas}/MPG * Midprice$ is positive and statistically significant, it also indicates that middle price car, defined as sale prices between US\$18,000 ~US\$28,000, will increase its market sales by 0.8% compared with the bigger car if the gasoline prices increase one dollar per kilometer. Although the coefficients of the engine size, two dummies according the displacement, have expected sign, however, none of them is statistically significant.

5. Conclusion

The path of increasing gasoline prices has called public attentions to its impact on economic activity. This also leads to concern whether consumers prefer to buy fuel efficiency automobiles in the market. Estimating the relationship between gasoline prices and the demand for new vehicles not only provide the evidence for auto makers as part of information for decision-making, but also offer the useful measure for policy makers to design available instruments for the issue of global warming.

In this study, we use the new vehicles market share model to estimate the impact of gasoline prices on the demand of domestic non-importing cars in Taiwan. Our empirical results indicate two major findings: First, the increase of gasoline prices has its negative effect on the sales of domestic vehicles, but the sales of high fuel efficient autos will relatively increase. Second, the Japanese-type vehicles have increased their market shares under the circumstances of increasing gasoline prices.

One of important limitations to our study is that it does not consider the household ownership and utilization decisions. Pursuing related research would be useful to get further realization on the impact of increasing gasoline prices. Collecting individual data on the purchases' decision as well as automobile utilization will get more insights to this topic. All of these are attributed to further efforts.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Year	Models	Price	Quantity	MPG	Horse Power	Length	Width	Height	Weight	Wheel Base	Air Bag
1997	52	51.82	138919	8.47	109.8	4339	1682	1409	1085	2528	0.50
1998	56	52.28	289171	8.90	110.4	4345	1690	1409	1114	2530	0.46
1999	46	54.32	250598	9.65	111.9	4348	1689	1420	1129	2534	0.67
2000	45	61.34	248619	10.46	125.4	4438	1705	1437	1217	2561	1.09
2001	47	64.21	194955	11.31	130.6	4469	1712	1454	1247	2580	1.30
2002	49	66.85	248002	10.86	135.1	4415	1713	1498	1296	2572	1.31
2003	56	69.52	287836	11.09	138.9	4450	1730	1517	1315	2593	1.43
2004	62	68.69	335357	11.77	138.6	4433	1736	1538	1344	2605	1.32
2005	58	68.16	364851	12.36	134.7	4318	1707	1533	1326	2557	1.50
2006	62	71.85	237265	12.94	139.9	4400	1741	1549	1343	2606	1.65
2007	73	72.40	231683	13.14	139.4	4396	1744	1560	1362	2608	1.71
2008	73	76.11	111934	13.05	144.4	4432	1758	1566	1392	2627	2.01

Note: The quantity data in 1997 is the statistics from June to December. The quantity data in 2008 is the statistics from January to July. All data are passenger cars not including light trucks.

Table 2. Estimation Results for New Vehicles Demand Share Models

	Dependent Variable: Log(Market Share)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Constant	9.8716*** (1.007)	16.3962*** (1.700)	21.710*** (2.580)
Pgas/MPG	-1.3079*** (0.318)	-3.8768*** (0.6033)	-3.1269*** (0.607)
cylin6		-0.5912* (0.340)	
styling		-3.3890*** (0.451)	
performance		7.5338 (7.944)	
comfort		1.69E-06*** (2.72E-07)	
safety		0.2498** (0.100)	
Observations	584	581	584
$\overline{R^2}$	0.2008	0.3014	0.3562

Note: ***indicates 1% significance level. **indicates 5% significance level. *indicates 10% significance level. Column (1) and (2) include firm dummies and year dummies which are not reported. Column (3) includes model dummies and year dummies.

Table 3. Estimation Results for New Vehicles Demand Sales Models

	Dependent Variable: Log(Market Sales)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Constant	9.6580*** (0.689)	6.7583*** (1.051)	8.3080*** (0.901)	8.7733*** (1.034)	7.0863*** (1.229)
Pgas/MPG	-2.1002*** (0.372)	-0.7449** (0.380)	-1.4652*** (0.286)	-1.9278*** (0.447)	-1.0195* (0.582)
Pgas/MPG*Honda	1.2990*** (0.344)				
Pgas/MPG*Toyota	1.5056*** (0.306)				
Pgas/MPG*Nissan	0.8553*** (0.285)				
Pgas/MPG*Mitsubishi	1.4481*** (0.308)				
Pgas/MPG*Mazda	1.0197*** (0.318)				
Pgas/MPG*Suzuki	0.3605 (0.314)				
Pgas/MPG*Hyundai	0.7353** (0.297)				
Pgas/MPG*Ford	0.8275*** (0.299)				
Pgas/MPG*Cylin6		-0.2803** (0.125)			
Pgas/MPG*Small			0.4033*** (0.099)		
Pgas/MPG*Midprice				0.8128*** (0.274)	
Pgas/MPG*Highprice				0.4599 (0.441)	
Pgas/MPG*Middisp					0.1202 (0.142)
Pgas/MPG*Highdisp					-0.2201 (0.208)
Observations	584	584	584	584	584
$\overline{R^2}$	0.2512	0.2577	0.2725	0.2640	0.2596

Note: ***indicates 1% significance level. **indicates 5% significance level. *indicates 10% significance level.

“Communication Factors that Sustain Employability of Call Center Agents in the Philippines”

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INTRODUCTION

The business sector heavily relies on technological support in expanding to other markets and in increasing profit. Varey (2002) explains one method of modern marketing that relies on the use of the telephone is telemarketing. Telemarketing, as a tool of communication, functions when a seller or agent contacts a potential customer through a telephone gadget or connection to purchase products or services. It has been commonly used in insurance sales, contribution solicitation, credit card promotions and other businesses.

In spite of the success of telemarketing operations, the global economic instability has forced international companies to outsource this type of service. Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) is an outsourcing of services for a period of four to six years with an ultimate goal of lowering operation costs. These BPO operations are: 1) customer contact services, 2) content development, 3) backroom operations, and 4) core IT services (Abu and Matias, 2003).

Call centers serve as a model for multipurpose interaction such as selling, servicing and marketing that serves the needs of various constituents of an organization: customers, prospects, suppliers, distributors, and employees. The typical features of call centers are generally set up as large rooms with workstations or seats. Standard equipment are a computer, a telephone line (headset) hooked into a large telecom switch and one or more supervisor stations (Abu and Matias, 2003).

The Call Center News Service reports that between 20,000 to 30,000 call centers operate in Europe and Asia, among which many serve as outsourcer of operations for North America. According to McKinsey & Co., the market is estimated to have reached \$77 billion dollars with 2 million employees in 2008 (Abu and Matias, 2003).

The Philippines is considered a major call center destination in Asia. As an emerging global player, it continues to generate thousands of jobs with an annual growth rate of 15% with an estimated 400,000 people hired in 2010. According to A.T. Kearney's overall 2004 offshore location attractiveness index, Philippines ranks sixth and is the fourth choice location in Asia, preceded by India, China and Malaysia. The benefits of the Philippines as a BPO destination include its strategic location that allows 24 hours work with the US and UK and its low labor cost which is equivalent to about ¼ of the US rate. In addition, the Philippines is the fifth largest English speaking country, after the United States, India, Nigeria, and United Kingdom. It also has a high literacy rate of 96% with about 325,000 university graduates annually and has the availability of well educated computer savvy workforce and quality software firms (Abu and Matias 2003).

Call center companies already allot 70 to 80% of the operational expenses for “workforce optimization” of the human resources, which can lead to a substantial return of investments. But, Zemke (2003) notes that call centers in the U.S. suffer an average annual turnover rate estimated between 26% and 30%. Two recurrent problems that need to be carefully studied

are the (1) hiring ratio of only eight (8) of 100 applicants and (2) high attrition rate of 57% among CSRs according to the Contact Center Association of the Philippines (CCAP).

One way of addressing turnover is to take a closer look at employee retention. Phillips and Connell (2003) defines 1) Retention as the percentage of employees remaining in the organization; and 2) Turnover (the opposite of retention) as the percentage of employees leaving the organization for whatever reason(s).

Sharp (2003) adds that according to a Gartner research, 85% of CSRs leave because of their personal choices, while 15% are terminated. CSRs resign from the company either for career change or they want to leave the managers. One specific problem of the CSRs concerns stereotyping problems which refer to their competence, nationality, and persistence in a transaction. This is because there are irate and demanding customers who are arrogant and difficult to please. Call center employees also believe that they have minimal control of their work schedule and have little optimism on how their position can foster growth opportunities, which translate to higher pay or moving into management positions in the organization.

One way to reduce turnover in call centers is to change employee perception. Employees need to be attracted, recognized and rewarded. Sharp (2003) cites the following motivation factors for CSRs: wages, working conditions, work challenges, management appreciation, job security, promotion and career path opportunities, involvement in planning, employer loyalty, tactful human resource policies, coaching and training. According to Hechanova (2009), the intention of leaving the company is associated with age, career commitment, burnout, satisfaction with pay, boss, promotions, job responsibilities, firm management and promotions. She suggested the following to deal with call center turnover: 1) effective rewards system, 2) develop fun atmosphere and well being programs, 3) right fit for the person and the job, 4) job designs, 5) continuous growth, and 6) quality leadership.

These factors are helpful in addressing employee sustainability in the call center industry. However, it is also beneficial to look at individual CSR needs and concerns from the communication perspective, specifically by identifying and analyzing communication factors that may affect higher employee sustainability.

Research Objective:

“To identify and analyze the communication factors that sustain employability of CSRs in the Philippines; specifically the Speaker, Message, Channel, and Receiver Factors”

Theoretical Framework

Organizational Assimilation Theory

Fred Jablin (2001) proposes that organizational assimilation is made up of “a chain of events, activities, message exchanges, interpretations and related processes – essentially “links” – in which individuals use what they have learned in the past to understand new organizational situations and contexts, and as to appropriate realign, reshape, reorder, overlap, or fabricate new links so they can better adapt to their own and their organizations’ requirements in the present and future.”

The theory explains the role of the communication process in intervening in the relationship between the individual and the organization, specifically during the stages of:

1. organizational entry

2. assimilation
 - a. anticipatory socialization stage
 - b. encounter stage
 - c. metamorphosis stage
3. exit processing of employees

Jablin (1987) defines *assimilation* as “those ongoing behavioral and cognitive processes by which individuals join, become integrated into, and exit organizations.” Assimilation becomes a dual process based on socialization and individualization. The former refers to the formal and informal situations when the organization encourages the individual to be accustomed, while the latter refers to the attempts of the individual to alter several facets of the organization to suit his or her needs. The process of assimilation starts during organizational entry where an employee is at the entry level. During the first stage of anticipatory socialization (2.a), the future employee recognizes his or her work capacity based on his or her training and experiences since childhood and prior to joining the organization. The three portions of anticipatory socialization (2.a) are “learning about *work* in general, learning about a particular *occupation*, and learning about a particular *organization*.” The first aspect refers to an employee’s early experience in life such as during childhood where he or she does household chores or during the teenage period where an individual gets to work for a part-time job. Secondly, learning about a particular occupation deals with former beliefs like those related to future jobs. This experience introduces and “socializes” the individual leading to an occupation role. The third aspect refers to the actions or preparations of an individual in knowing about the organization where he or she plans to apply. He or she researches information about the company such that the individual has foreseen what work would be like in the prospective organization. Encounter (2.b) is the second stage of assimilation, where the new employee “learns the normal work patterns and thought patterns of the organization.” Jablin (1982) stated that the role of the immediate work group and direct initial superior is to provide key information about the organization; in which case the new employee soon acquires career benefits on a long term perspective. In effect, the employee who has a supportive work group successfully assimilates/ Furthermore, this is the phase where the newcomer first experiences and makes sense of the new organizational culture. This is also the phase where the newcomer learns to change old ways and principles.

The employee experiences the following communication-assimilation processes: (1) written and oral orientation programs, including the employee’s handbook and topics about organizational history, mission and policies, work rules and related practices and procedures and employee benefits and services; (2) socialization strategies among the unit and the individual; (3) training programs; (4) formal mentoring, which is the assignment of a “more skilled or experienced person or a lesser skilled or experienced one” with an objective of helping the lesser skilled one achieve certain competencies; (5) informal mentoring, which happens based on mutual agreement and occurs naturally between the mentor and the protégé sans the formal assignment and with a goal for positive outcomes; (6) information seeking, which are the tactics and behaviors of the employee for assimilation, namely overt, indirect, third party, testing, disguising conversations, observing, and surveillance; (7) information giving, where the employee performs active communication roles which are indicators of his or her ability for “sensemaking” and coping with stress; (8) development of relationships among peer and supervisors; (9) and role negotiation, where the goal of the individuals is to change to perspective of the other with regard to how a role should be acted out and assessed (Jablin, 1987).

During the third stage of socialization, which is metamorphosis (2.c), the employee tries to adapt to the organizational norms by developing new attitudes or by changing existing ones. The employee likewise looks for possibilities on how the organization can accommodate his or her distinct needs and his or her aspiration to influence the organization (Jablin, 1987).

David Berlo’s SMCR Communication model

Figure 1. David Berlo’s Communication Model

S SOURCE	M MESSAGE	C CHANNEL	R RECEIVER
Communication Skill Knowledge Attitude Sociocultural System	Element Structure Content Treatment Code	Seeing Hearing Touching Smelling Tasting	Communication Skill Knowledge Attitude Sociocultural System

Berlo (1960) states that “any human communication involves the *production* of a message by someone, and the *receipt* of that message of someone.” One dimension of the communication process is the purpose. The “who” of the purpose refers to the source and the receiver. As such, when someone sends a message, a receiver must hear the sent message. The “how” of the purpose dimension refers to how do the sender or receiver plans to influence behavior.

Berlo (1960) shows that the communication process involves events and relationships that are dynamic, on-going, ever-changing, continuous, and in motion. This process contains elements which interact and affect other elements in a “dynamic interrelationship.” These elements or “ingredients of communication” are inseparable, interrelated and indivisible into separate entities. He cites the following elements of communication: “*who* is communicating, *why* the person is communicating, and *to whom* the person is communicating; the communication behaviors: the *messages* produced, *what* the person tries to communicate; the style, how people *treat* their messages; examine the means of communication, and the *channels* that people use to get their messages to their listeners.”

METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE

Research Design

The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Respondents

The survey respondents were 150 Filipino CSRs based on convenience sampling. Nine CSRs served as interviewees chosen through convenience sampling from the 150 survey respondents. A Human Resource staff member and a Recruitment staff member were also interviewed.

The chosen call center for this study is one of the world’s leading contact centers with executive offices in Arizona and corporate headquarters in Quezon City, Philippines and branches in Makati, Cebu, and Alabang. It operates with a highly skilled workforce and the best technology to meet client needs such as Customer Service Support, Technical Support,

Inbound and Outbound Sales, Customer Retention, and Marketing Surveys and Research.

Research Instruments

A. Questionnaire

A survey questionnaire was developed from a compilation of the factors related to job retention from the related literature, as well as the principles of the Organizational Assimilation Theory and David Berlo’s SMCR communication model. The survey items looked into the CSRs' speaking and listening skills, knowledge about the products, services, and clients, job description, company policies, feedback, attitudes towards self and others, expectations, peer and superior relationship, customer interaction, sociocultural system, spiels, and hyperspace or computer mediated environment among others. The factors derived for the survey came from the related literature. Also included in the questionnaire were items on preentry perceptions, employment experiences, personal and educational background, family and peer influence, job expectations, prior knowledge about the company, interview experiences, orientation, training programs, actual work, immediate work group, socialization strategies and relations, adjustments, mentoring, information-seeking behavior, role negotiation, the environment of the workplace, and development of new attitudes. The concepts of the anticipatory socialization, encounter, and metamorphosis stages were also included. These items were organized and designated as the Speaker, Message, Channel, and Receiver Factors based on David Berlo’s SMCR model. The factors were given values according to the Likert scale for statements with choices for Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD).

The survey items were numbered and grouped as follows:

Item no.	Variables
1 to 7	Speaker Factors (Communication skills)
8 to 20	Speaker Factors (Knowledge level)
21 to 37	Speaker Factors (Attitude)
38 to 51	Speaker Factors (Sociocultural system)
52 to 55	Message Factors
56 to 60	Channel Factors
61 to 68	Receiver Factors
69 to 78	Anticipatory Socialization
79 to 90	Encounter Stage
91-92	Metamorphosis Stage

The final survey question, Q93, was “Will you stay with or leave the company?” answerable by “Stay” or “Leave.”

B. Interview Guide

An interview guide was developed to determine the procedures regarding to the recruitment, selection, hiring, training and nature of work of CSRs. The interview guide also looked into the specific processes that the CSR had to go through including interviews, orientation, training, and workload.

Research Procedure

Formal Survey

After a pilot test, the revised survey questionnaires were distributed to CSRs. Some questionnaires were personally administered to the CSRs during their convenient time while other forms were endorsed to the Team Leader to get the most number of respondents simultaneously. The formal survey was conducted during the free time of the CSRs particularly during their break time in the pantry area of the floor.

A. Qualitative Analysis of Data

The findings of the interview were encoded and patterns regarding the recruitment, application, selection, hiring, training, and orientation processes as well as the nature of work of the CSRs were documented.

B. Statistical Treatment of Data

Factor Analysis:

All the communication factors answered by the CSRs in the survey were tallied and analyzed to assess the significance of factors that sustain the employability of CSRs. The data were subjected to Factor Analysis to reduce the dimensionality of the data. The survey items were reduced and grouped into factors as a result of the Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA). The MSA measured the overall correlation of variables where the higher the value an item using the MSA meant that there is a high relationship of the factor. As a result, the number of survey items were reduced based on their value.

T-test and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

The t-test is used to compare two groups to a set of factors and the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is done to compare more than two groups to a set of factors from the Factor Analysis.

The t-tests were done for the 13 factors vis-a-vis those who responded to (1) Q93 whether the CSRs intends to stay with, or leave the company, as well as the demographic variables of (2) sex, and (3) social status. ANOVA was used to determine the correlation of the 13 factors and the (4) socioeconomic status, and (5) schools enrolled in, or graduated from. The demographic variables of (1) educational attainment and (2) place of origin were not subjected to t-tests because the data sets were not evenly distributed for the educational attainment and there were sparse data sets for the place of origin, which might arrive at a distorted estimate. There were 123 college graduates compared to twelve (12) college level respondents and two (2) high school graduates. There were also 73 respondents from the National Capital Region (NCR), 24 respondents from Region 4, 18 respondents from Region 3 and single-digit respondents from the other regions and foreign countries.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A call center agent or a customer service representative (CSR) experiences a rigorous recruitment process and an enriching training program to ensure that only “the most dedicated, energetic and skilled individuals get to fill the available seats.” The common practice for the selection of potential CSRs includes phone screening, initial interview, examination, final interview, simulation, and assessment. The main responsibilities of a CSR include interfacing with the clients, providing customer service, or making sales. He/she also works during US daytime hours, with 24-hour shifting schedules, 8 hours a day, 5 days a week.

Training program in the call centers initially includes knowledge of the organization, product knowledge, customer knowledge, communication skills, guidelines for procedures, escalations, quality calls and monitoring, customer escalation procedures, computer systems, and office procedures and hours of operation. Subsequent training programs feature classroom activities (workshops and seminars), call observations, product knowledge tests, one-on-one coaching and on-line tutorials, and self-paced training aids for individual reference and self-learning or tool kits.

Survey Respondents' Profile

A total of 150 CSRs filled out the questionnaire. However, three (3) questionnaires were disregarded because they were incomplete.

The average age of the respondents was 25.22 years old. Their average length of stay in the company was 15.92 months or approximately 1 year and 3 months.

There were 71 males, 70 female CSRs, and six (6) with no answers. The social status of the respondents were 119 single respondents and 25 married respondents, and three (3) with no answer.

For the educational attainment of the respondents, 123 were college graduates, 12 were college undergraduates and two (2) were high school graduates. 10 had no answer.

For the socioeconomic status of the respondents: 11 belonged to Class A, 14 to Class B, 87 to Class C, 23 to Class D, and two (2) to Class E. 10 had no answer

The positions held by the CSRs were as follows: 63 Technical Support Representatives (TSR), 62 Customer Service Associates (CSA), five (5) Multilingual CSAs, three (3) Subject Matter Experts (SME), and two (2) Team Leaders. 13 had no answer.

For the places of origin of the respondents, 73 respondents were from the National Capital Region (NCR), 18 respondents from Region 3, and 24 respondents from Region 4, and 21 from other regions and foreign countries.

For classification of schools, where the respondents graduated from or were enrolled or had enrolled in, Sixty-eight (68) respondents came from urban private schools, 32 were from urban public schools, 10 were from rural private schools, 19 were from rural public schools, and two (2) were from foreign schools. 16 had no answer

After the Factor Analysis, 34 items were deleted. The result of the Factor Analysis and MSA confirmed 13 factors which were grouped to the appropriate factors in Berlo's SMCR model:

A. Speaker Factors

1. Factor 1 – Company loyalty
2. Factor 3 – Knowledge and expectations about the company and policies
3. Factor 5 – Skills perception
4. Factor 6 – Background and ability to adapt in the workplace
5. Factor 7 – Proactive attitude or self-esteem
6. Factor 8 – Attitude towards work environment
7. Factor 9 – Communication skills
8. Factor 12 – Optimism for promotion
9. Factor 13 – Technical skills

B. Message Factors

C. Channel Factors

D. Receiver Factors

1. Factor 4 – Customer interaction or relationship

E. Social relations

1. Factor 2 – Organizational interaction

- 2. Factor 11 – Attitudes towards others
- F. Work condition and environment
 - 1. Factor 10 – Company support system

The results of the t-test and ANOVA and the correlation of the 13 factors and the SMCR factors were generated with a level of significance of 0.05 deemed as sufficient for this study. The basis for the interpretation is that if the p-value is less than the level of significance, the null hypothesis must be rejected or conclude that there is a significant association between the 13 factors and the intention to stay with or leave the company and the three demographic variables mentioned.

Table 1. Summary results correlating communicating variables and factors by t-test and ANOVA

Communication variable	Factor
1. Intention to stay with or leave the company	#1 Company loyalty
2. Sex	#12 Optimism for promotion
3. Socioeconomic status	#3 Knowledge and expectations about company and policies #6 Background and ability to adapt in the workplace #7 Proactive attitude or self-esteem #10 Company support system
4. School enrolled in or graduated from	#5 Skills perception #9 Communication skills

Analysis

1. The first t-test was done to determine the relationship between the 13 factors and the respondents' response to whether to stay or leave the company. A total of 78 responded that they would “stay with the company”, 18 answered that they would “leave the company.” There is a significant relationship between Factor #1 Company loyalty and the CSR's intention to stay with, or leave the company. This means that the higher the score in Factor #1, Company loyalty, the greater the loyalty of the CSR to the company.

According to Manegdeg (2007), the significant variables in fostering willingness to stay among CSRs are the dedication to perform well and the feeling of fulfillment of a worthwhile job. These are indicators that a CSR has developed a sense of company loyalty because he or she has valued his or her contribution to the company, and is, therefore, motivated to consistently do well at work. This was confirmed by the interviewees who said that they promote the company to their friends.

With regard to the work environment and culture, the interviewees said that they appreciate the activities of the company that foster fun and camaraderie through recreational activities and the means by which the company tried to boost the morale of the agents in the team, program, and company levels which they perceive foster loyalty to the company. Sample activities are movie day, food day, raffles, outing, parties, freebies, and exchange gifts.

The CSR also has to learn how to effectively get along with the people in the company. A CSR belongs to a team with a ratio of 1 TL:10 CSRs. The interviewees added that they are

generally satisfied with their Team Leaders. They explained that they comply with the metrics of the evaluation and agree with the justifications for their coaching sessions provided by the TL. This kind of group structuring may lead to the development of company loyalty. Some interviewees admitted that they are dedicated to work because they have already developed a strong affiliation with their colleagues and everybody in the team is rewarded.

2. There is a significant relationship between the sex of the respondents and Factor #12, Optimism for promotion. This means that the males having registered a higher score, have a more optimistic outlook for promotion than the females. Gender and organizational studies show that the corporate world is dominated by males. Females experience a more challenging path in the corporate ladder. An Ateneo (2007) study also cites that female CSRs experience higher burnout rates than males after a correlational analysis. The high susceptibility to burnout are caused by “high stress, nature of night-work, pressure of meeting quotas, and difficult customers.” This finding may explain why the females are less optimistic about promotion since burned-out employees, unable to adapt to an organization, usually opt to get out or to just get on with the job.

Recognition is also a key factor for promotion in the company. Recognition programs in contact centers promote a sense of personal fulfillment among the CSRs for performing meaningful work. These programs recognize and reward the CSRs based on strategic quality and objectives (Levin 2006). The interviewees said that good work is always acknowledged in the company. There are opportunities for promotion in the company. CSRs can go up to CSA 4 or CSA 5 level, after which they can even become Team Leaders or Operations Manager (OM) depending on their performances.

3. There is a significant relationship between the socioeconomic status of the respondents and Factor #3, Knowledge and expectations about the company and policies, Factor #6, Background and ability to adapt in the workplace, Factor #7, Proactive attitude or self-esteem, and Factor #10, Company support system.

For Factor #3, Class C had the highest score followed by Class D, then Class B, and the last is Class A. This means that among the CSRs, those who belong to Class C are more knowledgeable of their job description, duties and responsibilities, and company goals and policies.

CSRs are expected to be knowledgeable of their duties and responsibilities. Respondents clearly understood the work standards and their specific task whether it be Sales, Technical, Service or Financial. A CSR is assigned to an account or unit based on his or her performance. The interviewees understood that the formal assessment for their performances are crucial to staying in the company. The company has a quality performance appraisal where CSRs are evaluated and the results are reflected on their balance scorecards. The interviewees mentioned the following as the evaluation metrics or key performance indicators (KPIs): (1) accuracy/ errors in processing, (2) random call monitoring, (3) average handling time (AHT), (4) security (for financial institutions), (5) lines per hour for sales, (6) compliance, e.g. to breaks, (7) schedule adherence, (8) attendance, (9) tardiness, (10) coaching, (11) team score or program score, and (12) client evaluation. Expectedly, other CSRs complained of the seemingly rigid and strict implementation of KPIs. If the bad performance continues, there will be a remedial program and a warning, then a possible transfer to another program or worse, termination. CSRs, who belong to Class C, may be

more conscious of these guidelines, because they are driven to keep their jobs compared to those who belong to Class A and Class B who may not need the jobs as urgently.

For Factor #6 Background and ability to adapt in the workplace, Class D respondents had the highest score compared to Class A, Class B, and Class C. This means that the Class D CSRs are more ready to adjust at work and have more positive support of the family and school prior to working in the call center. Class D respondents because of their low socioeconomic status may be more accustomed to a difficult life and, therefore, more prepared to adjust to the difficulties that their work may bring.

For Factor #7 Proactive attitude or self-esteem, Class D respondents had the highest score followed by Class C, then Class B, then Class A. This means that Class D CSRs have more appreciation for the development of their skills, more open to their colleagues and mentors, and are more confident to give comments and suggestions for the company. Information-seeking strategies are important for employees all throughout their careers (Rodrick and Knox 2002). The interviewees said that they are provided with venues where they can express their concerns about the company. They said that there are (1) general assemblies, (2) brown bag sessions, (3) quarterly employee satisfaction survey (ESS), and (4) focus group discussions.

For Factor #10 Company support system, Class A respondents had the highest score followed by Class C, Class D, and Class B. This means that Class A respondents perceived that they enjoy more of company privileges such as post-graduate and counseling. The CSRs are offered opportunities for personal growth. CSRs are also entitled to academic advancement aside from the company programs that promote loyalty and teamwork. One interviewee shared that his work schedule was adjusted to enable him to pursue graduate studies.

4. The results of the ANOVA show the significant relationship between the CSRs' schools and Factors # 5, Skills perception and #9, Communication skills.

For Factor #5, Skills perception, respondents from Urban Private schools scored the highest followed by respondents from Urban Public schools, then Rural Private schools, and last by Rural Public schools. The CSRs who enrolled in, or graduated from Urban Private schools are more confident in their skills and knowledge about work compared to the CSRs who graduated from other schools. This means that their perceived skills in handling calls, product knowledge, and services are attributed to the complimentary training of the call center and their school.

For Factor #9, Communication skills, respondents from Urban Private schools scored the highest followed by respondents from Urban Public schools, then Rural Private schools, and last by Rural Public schools. The survey items of Factor #9 referred to the positive attitude of CSRs toward their communication skills. The Urban private schools are generally regarded as the better schools in the country, and therefore, produce better graduates.

The Message factor did not come out as significant factors either probably because the messages of the CSRs are strictly scripted. The CSRs are taught "what to say" and "how to say it." Furthermore, no Channel factor came out as a significant factor. This may be attributed to the behavior of the CSR of this IT generation, whose average age is 25 years old, and who are accustomed to hyperspace interaction.

The results also subscribe to the findings of Manegdeg (2007). The significant variables that contribute to a CSR's willingness to stay were: his perceptions that he performs his job well, feels fulfilled, enjoys the work, considers the job as challenging, and treats the job as his passion.

CONCLUSION

This study sought to determine how the communication factors sustain employability of customer service representatives in the Philippines. The CSR's intention to stay with, or leave the company, sex, socioeconomic status and school enrolled in or graduated from were found to have significant relationships to some of the 13 factors. Factors #1, 3, 6, 7, 5, 9, and 12 are Speaker factors and Factor #10 is under Work condition and environment.

Implications

Filipino CSRs experience major adjustments in working in the dynamic environment of call centers. This study showed that some communication factors have significant influence on the sustainability of employment of CSRs. These demographic characteristics may guide the call center companies in identifying who among the hundreds of applicants have the inclination to stay or, and would, therefore, help reduce company time spend in the evaluation of applicants.

The study also showed that the assimilation and encounter stages are important in developing the loyalty and attitudes of the CSRs. Hence, there is a need for the company to look into the policies that foster such loyalty and attitude and their implementation.

According to business projections, the call center industry is here in the Philippines to stay and flourish. This study pioneers and provides empirical evidence through a communication grounded perspective that will address the needs of the industry, particularly sustaining employability. Companies may build these factors into their first stage of application and selection process to help predict the job retention of applicants. They may also be used in developing job retention programs and training modules. If properly validated, such program will save call center management resources that otherwise go to frequent turnover of employees, training and retraining.

For the call center industry, it is important to understand the needs of the CSRs to keep employed. Though there are available specialized job retention programs in each company, this research hopes to provide a fresh perspective and alternative analyses from an outside source. There are also many available books, articles and analyses on how to generally retain employees but only a few have in-depth research on the employee sustainability issue in the context of the call center industry, particularly in the Philippine setting.

Recommendations

Considering the scope and limitations of this study, the researcher recommends the following:

- a. Conduct longitudinal studies of CSRs from their entry to exit from the companies to investigate the application of the OAT;
- b. Replicate this study using other call center companies since each company may be different from others;
- c. For the replication studies, the questionnaire should be refined and subjected to

- more analysis in order to arrive at a more reliable and valid instrument; and
d. Do personal, social, and situational predictors of job retention in call centers;

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Asian Americans: Myth of the Model Minority
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Abstract

The Asian-American model minority stereotype continues to thrive in the United States. While this stereotype embellishes a flattering portrayal of Asian-American—Asians-Americans are often portrayed as dedicated, intelligent, successful, and college educated professionals—this sterling image paradoxically exacerbates the plight and undermines the progress of Asian-Americans by eroding support for them in the education or social welfare arena. Critics have referred to this denial of assistance or support as “reverse discrimination”, a phenomena actuated by Asian-Americans when they had attained favorable socioeconomic indicators when compared to other ethnic groups.

Historically, the model minority rhetoric has served as a chasm against advocates of affirmative action and supporters of other minority groups by demonstrating that racial differences or even discrimination fails to impede socioeconomic success. In terms of political correctness, comparing Asian-Americans against other minority groups invites less criticism and provides a safer battleground because Asian-Americans are themselves a minority group. However, this reckless labeling of Asian-Americans as the model minority only perpetuates the disparities among the different minority groups by painting an inaccurate but propitious picture of Asian-Americans.

Findings in this literature review suggest that while Asian-Americans have secured a favorable socioeconomic status when compared to other minority groups, the model minority stereotype conceals problems and constraints its edification for Asian-Americans. Furthermore, this image engenders friction between Asian-Americans and other minority groups, mostly in areas of education opportunities and business rivalries. A first step in the elimination of this stereotype starts with the recognition of the myths behind the model minority label.

Introduction

The myth of the “model minority” represents another sad chapter in the portrayal of Asian-Americans in the United States. Not only does this myth affects Asian Americans in the affirmative action arena, the “model minority” myth provides excuses to withhold societal welfare actions, to limit educational opportunities, and to pit Asian-Americans against other minorities. Worse of all, Asian-Americans are being promoted as the “model minority” to discredit the protests and demands for social justice of other minorities (Suzuki, 2002). In a recent review of the available grants, stipends, and scholarships available to students in a public university in Texas, most of the financial aids that favor minority applicants specifically leave out Asian Americans. For example, an application for financial aid posted at this university’s School of Social Work stated

“Priority is given to under represented groups (African-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans)”. Asian-Americans were purposely left out.

The above example illustrates how the “model minority” myth hurts Asian-Americans. First, according to the National Association of Social Workers (2009), Asian-Americans comprised of 1.4% of the licensed social workers in the United States; with the Asian-American population hovering at 3.6 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000), Asian-Americans are not overrepresented in social work. Second, the fact that the application was intended for a social work student and was posted in a social work department, but ignorant of the under representation issue, shows that the “model minority” myth is alive and well even in a department that supposedly teaches awareness of ethnic diversity. Third, by exclusion of financial aid to Asian-American students, it limits educational and career opportunities to Asian-Americans.

History.

Asian-Americans comprised of at least twenty eight different ethnic diverse groups (Morales & Sheafor, 2004). In the early 1800’s to early 1900’s, Asians of different nationalities came to the U.S. to pursue economic opportunities, to escape political oppression, and to migrate to the West (Lum, 2000). As Asians began to succeed in some of their economic endeavors, anti-Asian sentiments began to grow. Riots, hangings, and evictions of Asians spread throughout the West Coast. In the late 1800’s, Asians were portrayed as “yellow peril”, a disease, a horde of uncivilized people who threatened to undermine the American way of living (Suzuki, 2002).

During this time period, the successes of Asians in businesses such as laundries, stores, and restaurants led Americans to use them as scapegoats. This led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This act denied Chinese from entering the U.S., denied American citizenship to Chinese who were born here, and denied the right to interracial marriage (Lum, 2000). This is the same pattern of discrimination applied to African-Americans. Ironically, African-Americans and Asian-Americans constituted two groups of people who contributed to the early economic successes of U.S. by providing cheap labor. Yet, both groups were discriminated in an iron-fisted fashion.

During World War II, after Pearl Harbor, Japanese-Americans in the West Coast who have lived in the U.S. for many generations were forced to give up their homes, businesses, and properties under an executive order issued by Franklin Roosevelt (2000). Many were deported, left the country, or were forced into military service. Anyone with more than one-eighth Japanese blood was forced into one of the ten camps within the U.S. Japanese-Americans were economically ruined and forced to restart with minimal resources after the war. In 1988, the U.S. government agreed to pay \$20,000 to the survivors that stayed at the camps. It was a token remuneration for the property loss as a result of the internment (Lum, 2004), but critics stated that the money was given mostly because the Supreme Court ruled the internment illegal and unconstitutional. Today, 97% of the Japanese-Americans live above the poverty line, the lowest level for any group in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). In less than twenty years from the coerced

internment, Japanese-Americans, but not all Asian-Americans, enjoyed a family income greater than that of Whites in the U.S. Thus, the “model minority” myth was born.

The Start of “Model Minority” Myth.

In 1966, two different articles appeared in *New York Times Magazine* and in *U.S. News & World Report* that praised the achievements of Asian-Americans and naming them the “model minority” (McGowan & Lindgren, 2006). Although the articles painted a flattering picture of Asian-Americans in the U.S., upon closer examination, the reports appeared less to present a flattering picture of Asian than to make pointed criticisms of African-Americans. The timing of these reports may be coincidental to the civil rights movement of African-Americans during this time. For example, *U.S. News & World Report* stated that “Chinese-Americans is a story of adversity and prejudice that would shock those now complaining about the hardships of Negroes,” and “Chinese-Americans, unlike some minority groups, depend on their own efforts—not a welfare check.” In the *New York Times Magazine* article, in comparing Asian-Americans, the article mentioned other “problem minorities” numerous times (2006).

Later, in the 1980s, another set of magazine articles sparked an interest in the “model minority” myth. This time, the articles were written in response to the sudden increase in college enrollment by Asian-Americans. In 1985, *The New Republic* reported that “Asian-Americans have become prominent out of proportion to their share of the population,” and that “Asian-Americans have made a spectacular entry into elite universities.” Likewise, the same year, *Fortune* magazine made the ridiculous statement that “Asian-Americans are simply smarter than us.” (2006). In 1998, although Asian-Americans represented 3.6 percent of the U.S. population, they represented 18 percent of the entering freshmen at Harvard, 29 percent at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 24 percent at Stanford, and 45 percent at University of California at Berkeley (Yin, 2001).

In the 21st century, Asian-Americans earned some of the most impressive success indicators in the U.S. Shinagawa (2005) reported that Asian-Americans have the highest median family income, highest percentage of college degrees among the adults, highest labor force participation rate, highest occupational scores, low crime rates, one of the lowest divorce rates, and the lowest out-of-wedlock birth rates. The two statistics that stood out were the median family income in 2003, which stood at \$55,000 for Asians-Americans, \$48,000 for whites, \$33,000 for Hispanics, and \$30,000 for African-Americans, and the percentages of adult males with a college degree, that statistic stated the percentages of adult males with a college degree were 50% for Asians-Americans, 28 percent for whites, 17 percent for blacks, and 11 percent for Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003).

The Reality.

The statistics above does not tell the whole story about Asian-Americans. For instance, although Asian-American’s median family income eclipses that of whites by 25

percent, and that of African-Americans by 83 percent, Asian-Americans have a higher percentage of their family members employed in the workforce. The number of single parent households for Asian-Americans is significantly less than that of whites or African-Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Therefore, it should come as no surprise that when more people are working in a house, that family's income should be higher than one with less people working. Furthermore, double wage earners do not necessarily mean a healthier family; many people are single parents or choose to remain single because they have more freedom and happiness staying single.

Likewise, Asian-American population is concentrated mainly in California and New York, area where the housing and wages are significantly higher than the rest of the country (Robles, 2004). With less than 4 percent of the U.S. population, but a large majority of that 4 percent is concentrated in the most expensive areas in the country, it should also come as no surprise that the wages and family net worth would be correspondingly higher even though they may not necessarily be enjoying a higher standard of living. When adjustments were made for these factors, research showed that the median family income fell below that of the Whites (Suzuki, 2002). Similarly, studies showed that the per capita income of Asian-Americans was considerably less than their white counterparts who had the same level of education, and the disparity was even greater when level of education and geographical area of residence was kept constant (2002).

Despite the higher educational status attained by Asian-Americans, no evidence exists to support that Asian-Americans are more intelligent than Americans (Stevenson & Lee, 1990). In addition, studies have shown that whites consistently gain a higher return on education than any other ethnic groups, including Asian-Americans. Native born Asian-Americans are less likely to be in management than their white counterparts, and highly educated native born Asian-Americans are earning less—sometimes considerably less than the white counterparts (Suzuki, 2002). Just like women and other minorities, Asian-Americans have a glass ceiling as they try to move upward.

Poverty rate represents another misleading statistic that affects Asian-Americans. As stated earlier, Asian-American consisted of over 28 ethnic groups. Within those 28 groups, a large degree of diversity exists. For example, at the top end of the spectrum, less than 3 percent of the Japanese-Americans lived below the poverty level. On the other hand, 68 percent of the Laotians, 66 percent of the Hmongs, 47 percent of the Cambodians, and 34 percent of the Vietnamese live below the poverty line (U.S. Census, 2000). Despite the huge range in variation, Asian-Americans are all grouped under one group. The implications of this uneven grouping are that many needy Asian-American families may not obtain the educational resources, social welfare services, or employment resources because of their identification with the over representation in certain segments of the society and the myth of the “model minority”.

The media tend to portray Asians-Americans as hard working, frugal, obsequious, and slavish in becoming the “model minority”. Although that portrayal may be true in some cases, most are not true. First of all, most Asian-Americans, unlike African-

American who were forced to settle in the U.S., migrated here voluntarily, and unlike the Hispanics, who simply had to cross a porous border, Asian-American who migrate here usually had to pay a substantial sum of money. Throughout the history of immigration laws in the United States, the U.S. heavily favored immigrants with professional skills and higher education. Over decades of preferred status immigration laws, with few political asylum exceptions, the majority of people who were allowed to immigrate to the U.S. consisted of well to do and professional people. For example, after the Vietnam war, the first wave of Vietnamese refugees who came to the U.S. were professional people who had status at the upper echelons of the Vietnamese society. A large number of them acted as government officials in Vietnam who had dealings with the U.S. government.

Lastly, the successes of entrepreneurship of Asian-Americans in the U.S. mask the reality of discrimination. In 1997, more than 50 percent of all minority owned businesses grossing over one million dollars belonged to Asian-Americans. This status caused Asian-Americans to experience pressure from the white majority as well as from other minority groups (Karger & Stoesz, 2005). Partly because of this status, tension exists between Korean shopkeepers and inner-city African-Americans. This tension erupted violently during the Rodney King riots in California. What most people did not realized is that many Asian-Americans were forced to take on the entrepreneurship role because of the discriminations against them in the job market (2005). Without a decent paying job, the only way to move ahead is by self employment. Despite the successes, different estimates have stated that 85 to 90 percent of Asian-American small businesses start ups, like any other small businesses, fail within the first five years.

How does the “model minority” myth affect Asian-Americans and other minorities?

The “model minority” myth conceals the fact that many Asian-Americans are poor and poorly educated (McGowan & Lindgren, 2006). As a result of this perception by the general population, and in direct contradiction to the U.S. policy of equal opportunity to its citizens, not only do Asian-Americans receive less financial and educational aid from the society, often, they have to accomplish more just to have an equal opportunity. For example, Armor’s (2004) study of affirmative action at three universities—University of Virginia, North Carolina State University, and William and Mary Law School—showed that Asian-Americans had a significantly less chance of being accepted when compared to similarly-qualified whites. At North Carolina State University and William and Mary Law School, Asian-American’s chance of acceptance is 65 percent less than that of whites with similar grade point averages (GPA) or Law School Admissions Test (LSAT) scores.

Likewise, in a study of 124,274 applicants that show different factors that affect admission status at elite universities, Espenshade and Chung (2005) show that being Asian-American meant a loss in the admission point rating process that is equivalent to 50 SAT points. For comparison, the same study found the African-Americans receive the equivalent of 230 extra points on the SAT exam; a recruited athlete receive the equivalent of 200 extra points; and legacy candidates receive a equivalent of 160 extra points. Unfortunately for Asian-Americans, especially the Laotians, Hmongs, and Cambodians,

because of the “model minority” stereotype, their chances of education successes have decreased.

Likewise, Asian-Americans were initially not regarded as a protected minority group under federal affirmative action regulations. Governmental agencies and non-profit organizations were not inclined to fund programs for Asian-Americans in need of assistance because of the perception that the Asian community had few problems (Suzuki, 2002). In addition, during the past decade, China has slowly replaced Russia as the major threat to the global dominance of the United States. This threat, however, has been deflated somewhat by the events of 9/11, where a different type of adversary eclipses the political sentiments of the United States.

The irony of the “model minority” myth is the invidious effect for Asian-Americans and other minorities. Opponents of affirmative action can always silence critics by stating the if Asian-Americans can achieve success in the United States, other minorities can follow their success. Furthermore, what can be a better way to combat the criticisms of social injustice and discrimination of African-Americans, Hispanics, and Native-Americans than from another group of minorities—Asian-Americans? The “model minority” myth amount to blaming other minorities for their own troubles; the myth erode government assistance, educational programs and affirmative action for other minorities (McGowan & Lindgren, 2006). Unfortunately, despite the numerous indicators of successes for Asian-Americans, many of those indicators paint only a partial picture of the true status of Asian-Americans. This seemingly flattering portrait ends up hurts not only the Asian-Americans, but other minorities as well.

Conclusion.

As stated in the beginning of this report, Asian-Americans endured tremendous discrimination and violence in the U.S. during the 1800’s and early 1900’s. The lynching, rioting, and looting of Asian-Americans came about when they started to achieve some success in mining, farming, and other entrepreneurial endeavors. The same cycle is repeating today, but in more civil ways. The “model minority” myth engendered this renewed discrimination of Asian-Americans. The discriminations in social aid, education and employment opportunities are already happening. The earlier discussion of a financial aid application posted at a public university’s School of Social Work is a glaring example of the ostensible beliefs perpetuated by the “model minority” myth. The implication of these discriminations can be significant for other minority groups because the education and income gaps between minority groups and whites are slowly decreasing. One day, when the education and income gap becomes level for whites and other minority groups, similar to what Asian-American’s achieved today; will the other minority groups become targets of discrimination?

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Submission Title: Subversion or Subservience? The Remains of the Empire in Nigeria

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The question here is very simple. Does African literature written in the English language qualify as authentic African literature? Or can the African experience be accurately sustained by the language of the empire? This is crucial to the understanding of how imperialism still has its claws penetrated through the linguistic compromise reached by the writers. Language was an instrument of culture control in the colonial period and that is why some critics feel that a decentralization of language control is necessary. They think that the first step to free oneself from the colonial hangover is to forsake their language. The west was the center of the world exerting political, economic, and cultural power. Now this is when they used their language to dominate the locality in every possible way. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o in his collection "Moving the Centre"-The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms' is concerned with shifting the center. Unless a major shift takes place, it will not be possible to remove the colonial stain from the nation. He thinks the nation needs to detach itself from imperial ties. 'Imperialism and its comprador alliances in Africa can never develop the continent' (Preface XII). Thiongo also saw the significance of the culture-power nexus. The title "Writers in Politics' captures the essence of this cultural/imperial domination. These writers of English Expression using the language of the empire are armed with their pens. Of course we know that the pen is

mightier than the sword and somehow the English Language Empire grows stronger than anything else. My question here is how exactly are they engaged in the act of decolonisation? How are they planning to resist imperial domination? Are they writing back trying to beat the white man in his own game? Or are they match fixing? Some writers reject the language of the empire while others like Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka borrows and subverts the English Language. They have the notion that we have to defeat the White man in his own game. But by using English, these writers fall into the trap of defining the African culture inappropriately. The defining moment is distorted in the sense that the African experience, adorned with the language of the Empire, seems to be at a hyper sophisticated level. In Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's words, it becomes Afro-European. He writes in his preface to "Decolonising the Mind":

I am lamenting a neo-colonial situation...In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Europe stole art treasures from Africa to decorate their houses; in the twentieth century Europe is stealing the treasures of the mind to enrich their languages and culture. Africa needs back its economy, its politics, its culture, its languages and all its patriotic writers' (Preface XII).

If we entertain the nexus between language and power, we see that the writers in power (armed with their pens) shape Africa in an English style. These works are accessible to only a section of the people, that is, the bourgeoisie readers. African literature tends to be in the possession of the westernized educated class. A question springs up again, so what happens in the end? Writers have politicized the act of decolonisation. Their works, no matter how much they have modified or Africanized it, are kept in the bookshelves of the petty westernized educated class. Achebe, for example, writes his *Things Fall Apart* in the western mode. He Nigerianizes his narrative by inserting Igbo proverbs and keeping to the orality of the story telling styles, but it is definitely meant to be in the possession of the educated speaking standard Nigerian English.

"Its greatest weakness still lay where it has always been, in the audience-the petty-bourgeoisie readership automatically assumed by the very choice of language" (Thiong'o 22)

"Because of its indeterminate economic position between the many contending classes, the petty-bourgeoisie develops a vacillating psychological make-up. Like a chameleon it

takes on the color of the main class with which it is in the closest touch and sympathy” (Thiong’o 22)

In school I read Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* with George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*. What good does the Nigerianized text do to the students? These pupils do not use Nigerian English. They are not fascinated by the ancestral stories, folktales, proverbs etc either. All these children are trained to wear the “white mask” Frantz Fanon talks about. They read it to pass the test and then resume their usual ‘Eurotistic’ behaviour. This is a word I created to describe their attitudes. It originates from the word “egotistic” which means practice of talking about oneself; selfishness. Now my word is close to this definition. Eurotistic describes the European style of the African who assumes a higher self-esteem and selfishly borrows the foreign behavioral patterns. Most of the students in school make fun of the superstitions associated with the folktales. They have formatted their minds in a rational way. As a result, they emerge as rational beings. The divine light of enlightenment has dawned upon them. They are too much of an Englishman to believe in their ancestral ghosts. These people have socio-culturally molded themselves into something alien from their tradition. They are detached from their roots and it is high time that they return to the land of their birth. Ngugi talks about the two mutually opposed forces in Africa today; the Imperialist tradition and a resistance tradition.

“The imperialist tradition in Africa today is maintained by the international bourgeoisie... The resistance tradition is carried out by the working people (the peasantry and the proletariat)” (Thiong’o 2)

It is true that the English language cannot be denied as the language of wider communication. The worldwide dominance of English does not allow its abandonment. But the questions of the African sentiments remain. It is not also wholly certain that if these writers opted for African languages, the problem of cultural invasion would be eradicated. But some critics believe that it’s high time that these writers stop ignoring African languages. They think it is being pushed to the periphery by the languages of the imperialist order. Since language is closely tied to culture, it is a dangerous pursuit to use the Empire’s language. In a way it feeds on the native and slowly transforms them to serve colonial interests.

...imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial phases continuously press-ganging the African hand to the plough to turn the soil over, and putting blinkers on him to him view the path ahead only as determined for him by the master armed with the bible and the sword. In other words imperialism continues to control the economy, politics, and cultures of Africa' (Thiong'o 4)

The White man will still be overwhelmed even centuries after defeat to see a black or brown skin tamed/civilized like him. They will forever enjoy white supremacy over third world inferiority. This is an eternal superiority complex of the West. 'The Gods must be Crazy' according to the white man to have created an inferior species. In the movie, the black man was not equipped with the white man's language, but that makes him the *bushman*. He is powerless in a situation where he has gained no knowledge. Of course the urban public has mastered the English Language to keep up to a 'western' standard. How far can an indigenous man go without the gift of the Empire? In the movie, the bushman comes in contact with civilization, but ultimately returns to his people. He somehow communicates with the White man, a non-English form of interaction and they fail to grasp his expression of emotions. We see that the bushman saves the White man's life, but he does not care about their advanced technologies or refined behavior. He is happy in his own world with his own set of beliefs and customs. So in larger sense the African man welcomes the West into their land, entertains them, even endangers his life to save them, but never really tries to match himself with the whites. This attitude should be adopted by the Africans especially the educated westernized class. The bushman is an extreme example, but it offers a model for the Africans to follow. Its definitely not going to be the bushman style, but a heartfelt African sentiment needs to be kept alive.

Another problem is the African situation. The language question has many factors, especially when it comes to African literature. The popularity of the language in African can in part be traced to the fact that due to colonial imposition, it was the language of social mobility in the new order and therefore the language most studied and used formally. The African languages were neglected in terms of formal study and use, so that the displacement replaced what should have been mutual translation between English and African Languages. This is why the development in African Languages of concepts and

terms in modern sciences are at such a low level. English is, therefore the mostly used linguistic tool for intra/inter societal communication in the African continent. In Nigeria, for example, here there are many ethnic/tribal languages, English is more than simply a means of communicating ideas and information; it also serves a very important means of establishing and maintaining unifying relationship with other people of diverse cultures and mother tongues. So the African Writers Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka as the literary language of the continent, but have appropriated it as a act of decolonisation. They believe that the rigid hegemony of the language can be unmasked through this process of adaptation.

In some instances, these European Languages were seen as having a capacity to unite African peoples against divisive tendencies inherent in the multiplicity of African languages within the same geographic state'. (Thiong'o 6)

But in the end it happens to mask the black skin. In the name of unmasking, it actually masks. Here the 'other' is masked to make them participate in the sameness of the grotesque faces. Ngugi believes that using the language of the Empire gives it the power to capture the soul.

'...language was the most important vehicle through which that power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation' (Thiong'o 9)

Nigeria is a large nation with hundreds of languages. The second edition of an index of Nigerian languages lists over four hundred languages. All the languages except pidgin and English are associated with specific indigenous people and are thus not pan-Nigerian. Only English and Nigerian pidgin can be called pan-Nigerian in the sense that no ethnic group can claim native rights to them. Since in Nigeria Ethnic particularism poses a serious threat to national survival, the installation of English is needed. A promotion of national literatures was necessary to stop the ethnic conflicts. This explains Achebe's motivation for choosing to write in English. They used it as a weapon since the survival of Nigeria as a nation required it. The African Writers of English Expression had to think of linguistic hegemony as well, so they engaged themselves in the process of domestication. In keeping with the fast pace of globalisation, these writers borrow and

adapt to the new order. They reshape the foreign tongue. The African writers using English are using the strategy of transliteration. This is a very effective way of conveying the local tendencies in an African manner. But that again has its limits. This was a doctrine originally conceived by the first generation of African Anglophone writers as a second language literary theory. They wanted to use this method to create national literatures in postcolonial African countries. Nigerian writers have successfully used it. They succeeded with this strategy because of their sociocultural and sociopolitical predicament. These African countries south of the Sahara emerging from colonial imposition in the late fifties had the problem of multiethnicity. Achebe felt the tension and this is clear in the following remarks in his essays *Morning Yet On Creation Day*.

The real question is not whether Africans could write in English but whether they ought to. Is it right that a man should abandon his mother-tongue for someone else's? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling (62).

But for me there is no other choice. I have been given this language and I intend to use it. I hope, though, that there always will be men, like the late Chief Fagunwa, who will choose to write in their native tongue and ensure that our ethnic literature will flourish side-by-side with the national ones (62).

This explains Achebe's choice of language. These writers also realized that if they used the native speaker English as their model, they could not evade cultural domination in literature. So they created a pan-Nigeria language that unified the constituent ethnic groups. They were sure that it had no links with the language of the colonial master. Now there were three possible strategies—the use of a pan national modified English (i.e. Nigerian English), the use of various ethnic-Nigerian modified Englishes (i.e. Igbo English, Yoruba English etc), or the use of pidgin. But only one was feasible at the time of Nigerian independence namely the use of ethnic-Nigerian modified Englishes. Pidgin could not be used because of the hostility people showed to the English Language association. The nation tried to abolish the English language of its colonial master. It was considered corrupt. School children were forbidden to use it and writers could not connect themselves to it. It is proved in Achebe's "Things Fall Apart" (1958). There is no instance of pidgin in it, but his later novel "Anthills of the Savannah" (1987) contains a representation of pidgin. This Nigerian English caused identity problems. It closely

connected to the standard English and the people using it assumed a strong sense of superiority. Only the higher rank in the society used this English. The English used by educated Nigerians was the Nigerian English and not the ethnic Englishes. There is no difference between Nigerian English and Standard British English. The Nigerian pidgin performs the role of informal English in Nigeria, for e.g. “You don’t go there”, “I have seen you well well”, “habba o” “it don’t happen” etc.

This English can be distinguished from the Standard English. But the Nigerians speak English the way they write it and that is why it is identical in syntax and spelling with standard British written English. So the only way out was to write in various types of ethnic modified Englishes. This is what came to be known as transliteration. Transliteration does not have the same meaning in African literary theory as in Standard English. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term as ‘the rendering of letters or characters of one alphabet in those of another.’ But in the early sixties following the political independence of several African countries, the word ‘transliteration’ was introduced in African Critical Terminology as a blend of translation and literal—that means it is glossed as ‘literal translation’—a meaning not listed in any English dictionary. This became an important term in the postcolonial language politics of African literature. As Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin have observed, postcolonial writing needed to constitute a language that would suit its purposes.

“The crucial function of language as a medium of power demands that post-colonial writing define itself by seizing the language of the center and re-placing it in a discourse fully adapted to the colonized place”(38).

Transliteration is a procedure for introducing tropes and idioms from an African ethnic language into English through a communication of equivalent words. In Achebe’s *Arrow of God* we see this equivalent transliteration. Thus, the Igbo idiom/ *Were ue gi guo eregi*, which means the same as the English idiom “Read between the lines”, can be introduced into an English text as “count your teeth with your tongue” (Achebe 137). The Igbo words are replaced by equivalent English words, but the idiom remains an Igbo cultural artifact. The use of transliteration here instead of translating is curious because thinking in one language and rendering the thought in another sounds like translation. But African

writers wanted to distinguish their own brand of translation. Gabriel Okara and Chinua Achebe classify it. Achebe recommends that the African writers try to develop their own varieties of English. These varieties do not coincide with any native-speaker varieties; rather its special features are able to carry an African's 'peculiar experience' to the world, a experience that is essentially bilingual and bicultural. In *Morning Yet On Creation Day* he writes:

So my answer to the question: Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing? Is certainly yes. If on the other hand you ask: Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker? I should say, I hope not. The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost. He should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience(61).

So what these writers want is a bilingual variety of English combining native features and foreign elements. The target language expressions cast in the formal mould of source language counterparts. To a British or an American reader, it seems stylistically odd in context, but generally they do not violate the rules of English syntax. There are instances of this in Achebe's *No Longer at Ease* as "a thing of shame" (13) , instead of 'a shameful thing' and in *Arrow of God* , "a man of riches" (40), instead of 'a rich man'. These expressions mirror the form of Igbo expressions.

Then we have the source- language loan words. This is the most alien in an English text. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin discuss this phenomenon in postcolonial writing under two headings- 'Glosing' and 'Untranslated Words' (61-66). They see the choice as essentially political.

"Ultimately the choice of leaving words untranslated in post-colonial texts is a political act, because while translation is not admissible in itself, glossing gives the translated word, and thus the 'receptor' culture, the higher status" (66).

Ashcroft terms these African language words "cultural sign(s)" (62)
A few examples from Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God*:

'It ran away fiam like an ordinary snake"(Achebe 205)
'His nose stood gem like the note on a gong' (Achebe 10)

The Igbo words in these sentences are ideophones-sounds signify the ideas they convey. Since they cannot be translated, they are called 'cultural signs'. English does not use

sounds in this way. We may have onomatopoeic words, but ideophones signify more abstract ideas than sound. Achebe in *Arrow of God* invokes Igbo words not because they are untranslatable, but because of their unique music. In *Arrow of God* two of Ezulu's children repeatedly chant the Igbo sentence "Eke nekwo onye uka!" which is eventually translated as "python run! There is a Christian here"(205). No English expression can convey that music.

Some source language idioms are introduced into the target language text. In *Things Fall Apart* one finds the sayings "A toad does not run in daytime for nothing" (Achebe 20), signifying the same as "There is no smoke without fire". "Let the kite perch and let the eagle perch also" (Achebe 19), signifying the same as "Live and Let Live".

This kind of transliteration was flawed because it could not create a pan-Nigerian language and unify the tribes. English had an advantage over this form. The result was disastrous for national cohesion; it would have created a new type of ethnic particularism in which Igbo English would have been elevated to supremacy with Yoruba English, and other Englishes. The typical Nigerian Anglophone novel consists of two types of sentences-unadulterated standard English sentences, which constitute the bulk of the text, and Igbo, Yoruba sentences. The Nigerian Anglophone novel remains largely foreign. Achebe and Soyinka's works exemplify this point.

At last the rain came. It was sudden and tremendous. For two or three moons the sun had been gathering strength till it seemed to breathe a breath of fire on the earth. All the grass had long been scorched brown, and the sands felt like live coals to the feet. Evergreen trees wore a dusty coat of brown. The birds were silenced in the forests, and the world lay panting under the live, vibrating heat. And then came the clap of thunder. It was an angry metallic and thirsty clap, unlike the deep and liquid rumbling of the rainy season. A mighty wind arose and filled the air with dust. Palm trees swayed as the wind combed their leaves into flying crests like strange and fantastic coiffure (Achebe 130).

The rains of May become in July slit arteries of the sacrificial bull, a million bleeding punctures of the sky-bull hidden in convulsive cloud humps, black, overfed for this one event, nourished on horizon tops of endless choice grazing, distant beyond giraffe reach (Interpreters 167).

This type of English is hardly different from the English a native would use. Achebe captured folkloric dimensions of the Igbo language. His novels mediate orality and literacy by turning translations of folklore and discourses into a formal literary device. His English is hardly different from what a native speaker would write. But what happens when it becomes inaccessible to the Nigerian illiterate masses even when read aloud? It again creates a division/a cultural divide. A difference between those who perceive this mode and those who fail to understand. This time it is not the British Empire, but the native educated masters with the acquired knowledge exerting power over the locality. In an attempt to escape ethnic particularism, these writers have created a new sort of imperialism on their native land. It somehow allows the dead seeds of colonial imposition to germinate all over again. This time it has a new face and in the name of nation building, it actually breaks it apart. *Things Fall Apart* in a nation that has not been able to release itself from the shackles of the colonial era.

As culture is closely tied to language, the Nigerians are bound to follow the western value system. They reshape themselves to suit the west. So classes of westernized Nigerians emerge in postcolonial Nigeria. They don't find any interest in their ancestral heritage, customs, traditions, codes of conduct etc. They have their English/American way of life. I have spent nineteen years in Nigeria, so it will not be a difficult task to portray the texture of my experience in the country. All these years brought me in contact with the different types of Nigerians. The status differences as a result of their identification with the West are apparent in Nigeria. The upper class Nigerian is very much in love with the western lifestyle. My Igbo and Yoruba friends were not at all concerned with their customs. The west has entered their blood and they believe it to be the best way of life. From their choice of the language to their dress codes, hairstyles, eating habits etc are all very non-native. This is cultural imperialism in full bloom. These educated people have seriously instilled the western values into their mindset. My friend never wore her traditional suit (a wrapper with a head scarf). She was always in skirts, jeans, and tracksuits. She even preferred the straight and soft hair to the Afro ringlets. Some Nigerians bleach their skin to make it appear 'white'. Now this is definitely a color complex, which began with the arrival of the Europeans on the Black Continent. Even the

uneducated classes, like the housemaids strive to make themselves Afro-European to fit into the society. They also tend to speak in the British accent and the person with the British accent is considered superior. I went to a school in a northern state, Kaduna and the recollection of the moments evokes a very anglicized childhood.

African literature in Afro-European style has made the situation worse. Is it the literature of the Nigerian people or the native Empire? Definitely not a literature for the Nigerian populace. It is rather a literature of the people by the educated elite for the external world's consumption. The literature is patronized more outside the country than inside. They don't even realize that they are doing something outlandish. There seems to be a universalist strain in Nigerian literary thought. In English they found a universal medium of literary expression. In reality these writers have created another "hybrid tradition, a tradition in transition, a minority tradition that can only be termed as Afro-European literature; that is, the literature written by Africans in European Languages" (Thiong'o 26).

For Achebe, universal English means internationally intelligible English.

"The African writer should aim at fashioning out the English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience" (Morning Yet on Creation Day 61).

So there is international English implanted in Nigeria, which does not have a colloquial register. It is inaccessible to ordinary people who do not understand English. Consider the two citations from Achebe's *Arrow of God*:

"We have come to the end of our present mission. Our duty now is to watch Ezeulu's mouth for a message from Ulu. We have planted our yams I the farm of Anaba-nti" (Achebe 209)

I can see tomorrow, that is why I can tell Umuaro: *come out of this because there is death there or do this because there is profit in it.* If they listen to me, o-o; if they refuse to listen, o-o. I have passed the stage of dancing to receive presents" (Achebe 132)

The cultural signs-"Anaba-nti" and "o-o"- are buried in contexts where it is hardly accessible to ordinary Igbo people who do not know English. *Things Fall Apart* is created in favor of non-Igbo readers because there are few ethnic linguistic or folkloric artifacts in it. The work essentially consists of plain Standard English narration. By contrast

“Arrow of God” satisfies the Igbo bilingual reader. Now it is quite clear why *Things Fall Apart* is Achebe’s literary masterpiece not *Arrow of God*. It is important for Nigerian writers to reconstitute English to make it accessible to the masses and mirror the texture of Nigerian life. This does not mean that the use of standard English come to an end in Nigeria. It will only be used in fields requiring international input and cooperation. It will be valued in higher education, the upper levels of government and administration, and in certain professions.. The general people of Nigeria have little need for such proficiency. Ngugi wa Thiongo tries to give a solution to these linguistic and cultural complexities. His discussions about seizing the language of the center and replacing it with indigenous languages instead of modifying it offers a way out. According to him, the writers using English are involved in politics by using the language of the colonizer. The west saw itself as the center and now we are putting English (The Empire) at the center again. In the process, the African languages are pushed to the periphery. There is a post-imperial prejudice created in the socio-cultural situations. Thiongo writes in the preface of his book *Decolonising the Mind*

If in these essays I criticize the Afro-European choice of our linguistic praxis, it is not to take away from the talent and the genius of those who have written in English, French or Portuguese. On the contrary I am lamenting a neo-colonial situation which has meant the European bourgeoisie once again stealing our talents and geniuses as they have stolen our economies (Preface XII).

Thiongo describes the consequences of suppressing the local languages and elevation of English in *Decolonising the Mind*.

“...language and literature were taking us further and further from ourselves to other selves, from our world to other worlds” (Thiong’o 12).

This is what is happening to the African people. They have absorbed the culture of the language they are using. Since culture cannot be separated from language and it is a means of communication, these people have transformed themselves into foreign beings.

Thiongo talks about this image:

‘...language as culture is an image-forming agent in the mind of a child. Language as culture is thus mediating between me and my own self; between my own self and other selves.’(Thiong’o 15)

‘Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth.... But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world.’(Thiong’o 16)

Thiongo does not support the use of English to escape ethnic particularism. He believes that it is an inadequate representation of the African reality by the western media.

“The study of African realities has far too long been seen in terms of tribes. Whatever happens in Kenya,Uganda,Malawi is because of Tribe A versus Tribe B. Whatever erupts in Zaire,Nigeria,Liberia,Zambia is because of the traditional enmity between Tribe D and Tribe C. This misleading stock interpretation of the African realities has been popularized by the western media which likes to deflect people from seeing that imperialism is still the root cause of many problems in Africa” (Thiong’o 1)

The cultural imperialism at work in Nigeria is mainly because of the weak resistance shown by the natives. The westernized and native ruling classes hold on to the western codes and instill the western system of values into their minds. There is a mental colonization of the people. Foucault’s knowledge-power nexus in the European society comes in when the westernized Nigerian gains a substantial amount of knowledge(the education system) and becomes powerful. It is only then they start to manipulate the less fortunate class. The people are not even aware of the psychological consequences of imperialism. They distance themselves from their own people and feel that they have attained a level of supremacy. Thiongo writes:

It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance with other peoples’ languages rather than their own (Thiong’o 3).

...all those forces which would stop their own springs of life.(Thiong’o 3)

“Imperialism continues to control. It is in its neo-colonial phases. They are still walking on the road built for them by their colonial master “armed with the bible and the swords” (Thiong’o 4)

The bible, that is, Christianity adds another layer to the complications of cultural imperialism. There is a serious conflict between nationalism and Christianity in Africa. The white man’s religion is embraced as subliminal. It is the Igbos and the Yorubas that

are actively involved in the missionary activities. Christianity means ritanche. In Africa, the native missionary figures assist in undermining the indigenous religions and traditional beliefs. In black Africa, as in the rest of the ex-colonial world, the expansion of European interests was accompanied by the spread of Christianity. Important to the process are the western churches, schools and ideas to the African people. The embrace of Christianity by the indigenous Africans was the reason behind the problematic cultural identity. Soyinka's *Ake-the years of my childhood* portrays the ambiguous role of the native missionaries. It is necessary to engage the native missionaries and converts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The natives were inclined towards the establishment of churches. In *Things Fall Apart* we see that Nwoye abandons his parents and joins the church later on in the novel. He travels to an alien existence and symbolically mediates two worlds. The folktale of heaven and hell, the folktale in which there is a quarrel between heaven and hell shows that Nwoye is stuck somewhere in the middle. The vulture is like Nwoye, it travels to an alien dispensation. He moves between two worlds; traditional Umuofia on the one hand, and the colonial- Christian dispensation on the other. Achebe's use of the story of the vulture demystifies the curious new world that Nwoye's alter ego, the mediating vulture, discovers in the course of his trip to the sky.

Whenever Nwoye's mother sang this song he felt carried away to the distant scene in the sky where Vulture, earth's emissary, sang for mercy. At last Sky was moved to pity, and he gave to Vulture rain wrapped in leaves of coco-yam. But as he flew home his long talon pierced the leaves and the rain fell as it had never fallen before. And so heavily did it rain on Vulture that he did not return to deliver his message but flew to a distant land, from where he had spied a fire. And when he got there he found it was a man making a sacrifice. He warmed himself in the fire and ate the entrails. (Achebe 38)

Now Nwoye has to feed on the entrails of sacrifice just like the vulture. This new world is just as unpleasant as the world he already knows. In this process the novel reveals the conceit of Christian (or European) superiority. The church was an institution that had no mercy on the indigenous people. Those joining the church had to sacrifice their ancestral identity. Nwoye represents an emerging class of educated Nigerians who abandons his 'self' to serve the Europeans in the guise of the church Christ.

In *No Longer at Ease*, Achebe places his protagonist in a commuter bus. He forces them to experience the life of the masses of less-fortunate Nigerians. This is the western educated hero who distances himself from the local people. Obi Okonkwo's journey when he is going back to his village shows the transformation of his character. He climbs a wagon called "God's Case No Appeal"-this means that the God they are talking about is the Christian God and Obi is like a God boarding the wagon. It is almost as if the 'case' is Obi's case which has 'No Appeal'. There are many such inscriptions on buses in Nigeria that reveal the supremacy of the Christian God, for e.g. "Beware, Angels on Patrol". The discrimination is apparent when Obi sits in the front seat with the driver and the traders were at the back. The songs they were singing are also significant. The songs about young women who had become teachers and nurses instead of mothers.

"The journey itself was not very exciting. He boarded a many wagon called God's Case No Appeal and traveled first class, which meant that he shared the front seat with the driver and a young woman with her baby. The back seats were taken up by traders who traveled regularly between Lagos and the famous Onitsha market on the bank of the Niger. The lorry was so heavily laden that the traders had no room to hang their legs down...But they did not seem to mind. They beguiled themselves with gay and bawdy songs addressed mostly to young women who had become teachers and nurses instead of mothers(Achebe 48).

When Obi tries to translate one of the songs, he gets lost in translation. He cannot grasp the meaning of this popular song. How can he appreciate the true meaning of the song when he has distanced himself to a great extent from the traders. Obi has his interpretation, but that is an inadequate grasp of his own social location. The elite's standards are very different from the everyday life of food hawkers, bus driver of the postcolonial urban space. These people do not care about a God or the West. They are happy people unlike the elite who has to locate himself between two worlds. But what happens is that the educated elite speaks for the mass. A class prevails and looks down upon the locality. This is a piece of folk wisdom set in place by Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* namely, that no single individual or class should claim to speak for the masses, that is, for all of you. This is the tale about the tortoise who could not fly, yet claimed to speak for all the birds (Achebe 67-70)

In *Ake* we see a powerful attack on tradition in a small town of Abeokuta, and the emergence of a nationalist consciousness. Yoruba aristocratic tradition is humiliated against Christianity and western literacy. *Ake* tells the story of young Wole, from about the age of three to the moment he leaves home to attend secondary school in another town.

The first mission station of the church missionary society was established at *Ake*, Abeokuta in western Nigeria in 1845. One of the missionaries that built the station is Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1806-1891), the first black bishop of the Anglican church. Young Wole imagines meeting Crowther (in moments of childhood fantasy) on the grounds of the parsonage where the bishop once lived. Young Wole was sent to a missionary station by his father. Samuel Ajayi believed in the cultural inferiority of the native tribes and the moral superiority of Christianity. He believed that the tribes he met on the banks of the Niger live in spiritual darkness. Civilization and the Christian God had to be brought to them. He thought they needed to give up slave trading and turn to legitimate trade with British commercial concerns. Wole dreamt of Crowther and thought he would be blessed with moments of enlightenment. In chapter XI, we see the boy's confusing emotion of anxiety after a promise to his father to be the "man of the family" by winning a scholarship to the elite Government College(Soyinka 162)

I went back to bed, fatigued, suffering a mild relapse of the fever. The days regained definition and pattern. A sense of liberation, a deep psychic relief, a sense of lasting reprieve took over. Beyond a few times when I caught myself watching Essay (the father) with a baffled intensity, beyond the evidence of the photographs which had been framed and now hung on the walls. I accepted a sense of gratitude to an unseen Force for a deliverance from the suspected but unnamed Menace (Soyinka 163).

The language of menace comes from the Christian vocabulary of the protagonist's parents. The future to which the novel points is the decolonization movement of the 1940s that led to the independence of many African countries in the 1960s. In *Ake* the traditional ruler of Abeokuta appears to be corrupt. The native administration served the colonial interests. This is a dimension of black Africa's colonial experience that Africanist historians have demonstrated. British colonialism turned to the natives to take advantage and fulfill their intentions. There was a relative privilege of the indigenous power within the oppressive colonial authority. This is still at work in present-day postcolonial Nigeria. The Empire has left, but the native elites form structures of hierarchy and enliven the colonial apparatus. So resistance to the imperial effect in Nigeria is internal when the subaltern confronts the native. It is the subversive against the subservient native Nigerian. In the guise of the postcolonial elite, the west is still exerting power over Africa. In an

attempt to have anti-colonial nationalism; they must begin with overthrowing the native elites.

It could also be the subversive versus the subservient native Christian. Christianity always appears to be an extension of Western culture. It has been prevailing in the continent of Africa since the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is in clash with African nationalism. The Africans conscious about their nation have formed an attitude towards Christianity. African nationalism is the desire of the African people to rule themselves and abolish foreign rule. Now definitely this sentiment will go against Christianity since it ultimately assumes a colonial face. These people are strongly resistant to any kind of western domination. This is the African's struggle against western colonialism. This automatically rules out Christianity, which was introduced in the continent by the white man. These nationalists are psychologically trained to resist any form of imperial tendencies that is kept alive through Christianity. They consider it to be the European's religion. Christianity represents the religious will of those who have taken the teachings of Christ. It becomes more universal (the universal fatherhood of God, universal brotherhood of men, forgiveness of one another and purity of life). But the nationalists react to this since they are concerned about specific local interests. Becoming universal means accepting the 'global' and rejecting the 'local'. The nation is no longer under the colonial rule, but the remains are scattered all over. So the Africans in favor of African nationalism strongly believe that Christ's teachings play a part in the retention of western culture. In Nigeria it is seen that the Christian Igbos assume an aura of superiority. They are reluctant towards building a nation truly independent of foreign intrusion. Christianity brings with it a culture and this culture is somewhat suited to the West. I had a Yoruba friend who used to utter the name of 'Jesus Christ' at every step of her way, "Oh Jesus, what on earth is going on?" I am not saying it is bad to remember God at every step of your life, but there is a foreign flavor to it. I picked up the habit of saying the latter part from her. I still use this expression and I am still very anglicized! It is almost as if there is Jesus watching over us and on 'earth' we have nothing but 'Englishness'. Funmi Layo Ogazuma was a friend, the name was very Yoruba, but her family's way of life was very English. They spoke in English and never ever used Yoruba

to interact. Even at home, they preferred English to their mother tongue. For them the accent was also an integral part of the language. It sort of created a status quo where a British accent was highly valued. My friend went to the U.K. for a course that would refine her accent and make it British. Her father was the director of the Nigerian Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). This status elevated them to a level where they had to become westernized. Everything was done in the style of the Englishman. They were 'victorian' in taste and outlook. From birthday parties, weddings to eating habits and dress style each and every bit reflected the west. My other friend, Ulo Oputa was an Ibo. The American rap artists fascinated her. She was the 'Yo' type. She was very much into Afro-Americanism, but somehow ultimately became 'American'. There are indications of cultural domination in the mannerisms of these westernized literate elites and Christians. We had our western attitudes and were very rational beings, very Afro-European in Thiongo's language. He would have caged us for presenting ourselves in such a way if he saw us. I was not an African, not a Bengali either! I was oblivious to my customs and traditions, so I became Afro-American too. Never 'chutnified' my language. I was trained in school to use standard Nigerian English, the English that has worldwide acceptance. We were part of the 'global' village. Let me not forget that Ulo and Funmi were hard core Christians! They went to church every Sunday and sang the hymns in English. Did that make them very western? Now to go back to the conflict between African Nationalism and Christianity, the latter does not share the political will since it is only concerned with religious concepts. Therefore there is a tension between the two attitudes. How can the nationalists build up a true African nation and discard all foreign elements when the Africans themselves welcome the 'West' into their homes?!

Christianity has played an important role in the development of Africa. It was Christianity that introduced literacy. The education spread by Christian missions cannot be ignored. Christianity, just as the religion should be adopted. There is nothing wrong with being religious. People are naturally religious whether they are dependent or independent. It is dangerous if the Africans (in my experience the Nigerians) begin to wear 'White Masks' and make their land 'Wretched'. Thanks to Fanon for giving us these words. African nationalism cannot be devastated in the hands of Christian

westerners. They have given birth to freedom and democracy in Africa. The creation of 33 independent African countries is the credit of African nationalism. Could the church ever liberate these people? Nowhere in Africa has Christianity established a nation state. Its task is to spread moral values and let it not go beyond that. It should not become an instrument of control. It seems that the spread of Christianity among the Africans is taking them away from their roots to an alien existence. This time its not 'hybrid', it is a transformation into a pure form. As soon as this happens, a status quo emerges. Christianity is used indirectly to maintain this 'status' and therefore becomes an instrument of culture control. It is the Christianity that is used as an extension of western culture and not as a religion. It collides with the nationalistic claims. Every individual has the right to acquire religious morals, as well as national consciousness. They are opposing each other also because in African nationalism there is a lot of violence involved and Christianity advocates non-violence (peace). Some call it 'satanic' manifestation. In retaliation they describe Christianity as the white man's religion that hypnotizes the mind. So they think Africans should have nothing to do with it. In reality the Christians have turned a blind eye on the rights of the local people. In Nigeria I have witnessed the white supremacy pattern adopted by the people. I have seen this culture-centered Christianity and how the tribal people react to the emergence of this Afro-European Christian. I have heard of the burning of churches and beerhalls. Does this mean the Africans don't like beer? This shows that the Africans are angry at the supremacy of this religion and the fact that these elites are supporting an unjust social order. I grew up in a state where a riot between Christians and Muslims doesn't come as a surprise. The Hausa and Fulani people are the hard core practicing Muslims who do not smear themselves in western values. Islam has always been in sharp contrast to the West. On the other hand, Christianity is an embodiment of the west. There is nothing 'western' about Islam, but the point is do the Africans have to become Muslims to overthrow the West? I have heard of burnt pages of the Holy Quran and the Bible in public toilets. Do we support these desperate acts? It is the culture associated with Christianity that is endangering the African values. For the nation to survive in its uniqueness it needs to uphold the national values and not the Christian values. Christianity has to readjust itself in the new situation. It should speak to the actual people and not create a fanciful

environment. This African nationalism was preceded by African religious nationalism, that is, a desire to control their own religious affairs. But this desire was slayed by the Christianity's western supremacy. There are indigenous churches in Nigeria. The opposition of many missionaries to the establishment of the indigenous church in Africa often reminds Africans of the European opposition to the development of African political rule. These missionaries tend to maintain religious control of the African just as the white settlers often fight for political control. In a way, Christianity should die with colonialism in the African continent. It has now become a force of the colonialist type subtly accessing the mind. The cultural dimensions are apparent in the westernized Christian in post-independent Nigeria.

Africans have tried to retain their uniqueness in many different ways. They have their national anthems and even recipes for nation building. But some way or the other, they fall short of the ingredients needed to establish a positive socio-political overview. Somewhere along the way it cracks down. A section of the people can hardly stick to their traditional essence. I have seen that most Nigerians make fun of the concept of 'ancestral spirits'. This is an integral part of African culture/beliefs. My friends in school cracked jokes about the medicine man (the diviner). The diviner is a man or a woman whose function is to determine whether a disease or misfortune is due to witchcraft or to a 'ghost' and to prescribe treatment. In African Culture, it is necessary to accept, as a serious therapeutic hypothesis the existence of ghosts and witchcraft. But some Africans, especially the educated ones feel that it is foolish to depend on these medicine men to cure their diseases. The treatment resists the techniques of western medicine. This conflicts with the deep-rooted assumptions of western doctors who prefer to talk in terms of psychosis and neurosis. They eliminate the psychic factors in the external world. Do these Africans reject the spirit-possession because western science excludes psychic factors? Does it go against the rational thinking of the west? IN Nigeria, some medicine men are arrested for prescribing remedies. On the other hand some government hospitals allow diviners into their wards if patients ask for them. Our family doctor used to work with a diviner and sometimes treated his patients according to the diviner's advice. Some Africans believe that a disease originates from witchcraft/black magic. But only the

uneducated class entertains this belief. The literate Nigerians do not believe in the power of 'spirit possession'. In my class a girl was punished for keeping a 'voodoo' doll in her desk. She told the authorities that she wanted to stand first in class and that doll contained her soul. The voodoo man was in control of her soul through that doll and he would assist her to do well in her exams. That was too much of a 'story' to believe. Our principal seized the doll and warned her not to pursue such impractical means to pass examinations. They thought it was an utterly ridiculous practice. After some days, we had our examination and the brightest girl in our class fell sick the day before her exam. It is true that the voodoo girl could not take her position, but I believe that her magic had something to do with this timely misfortune. No one seemed to take notice of this. Fortunately I was not the brightest student in class! This is definitely an advantage of not being the 'center' of attention. This really works in Africa. It may sound a bit bizarre, but I have seen people recovering from incurable conditions when the medicine man set a trap to capture the ghosts that had possessed the bodies. Some Nigerians make 'bouncers' (this is a counter effect magic) that is used to ward off the effects of harmful medicines used against them. Our driver had a 'bouncer' done since evil spirits once attacked him. Some rich people permanently hire a medicine man to protect them from spells. My brother in Nigeria has a diviner working for him. I guess he sees the results. Most Nigerians do not believe in the inferior spirits. They pursue the Englishman's knowledge of diseases. The educated Nigerian thinks that it is stupid to make a wax image of someone and sticking pins into it. The medicine man claims that man cannot, by rational means, protect himself against the occult. He/she may dream of a danger or maybe a dead ancestor may warn him of a future mishap. Now, how does rational thinking work here? How can a rational man depend on dreams, take it seriously, and act accordingly? It is definitely unworthy of attention by a modern man. Descartes concluded that "I think, therefore I am". It is man's reasoning consciousness that matters the most in the world. This is the attitude of the other world, the world of western scientific man. Somehow he has managed to eliminate God. If thinking is rational, seeing is rational too and this leads to 'seeing is believing'. This automatically discards the existence of God. "Who on earth has seen God"? 'Funmi I still use your expression'. Why should we become blind supporters? The mind is conscious, and the rest is machine that can be wholly

understood. Freud took these emotions into consideration and analyzed the forces. He integrated these forces into conscious activity. But Freud made it pass through consciousness and then repress it into the unconscious. This is in line with the scientific man who sees the universe through his mind. The rational man with his consciousness versus unconscious state stands in contrast to the African who has seen the ancestral spirit and dream warnings come true.

The Rise of the Postcolonial Elite in Nigeria.

Nigeria gained its independence from Britain in 1960. Ceremonies of independence took place. Ghana was the first Sub-Saharan African colony to do so. It was definitely a moment of great joy. It was the end of the Empire. Images of heroism was scattered everywhere. People honored the sacrifices of millions to save their land. It was not a defeat, but a resistance. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan writer pictures the night of independence in his novel "A Grain of Wheat". This was not just a moment of ecstasy, but also a moment of a thousand expectations. Independence was not just an end to colonialism, but the beginning of an African nation. A new Africa was expected to emerge. They wanted something spectacular to emerge. Ayi Armah has written about the dawning of independence in his novel *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*. Now has the dream been fulfilled? The literature of the immediate postcolonial era in Africa says it all. Writers realized that something had gone terribly wrong. Decolonization appeared to be a distant hope. The aftermath was not at all as pleasant as the dreams. This independence seemed to be only for a section of the people. It was for the intellectuals, bankers, and lawyers and not for the population at large. Writers like Achebe responded to these harsh realities of the independent society. These intellectuals were caught between the masses on their left and the postcolonial elite on their right. These elites were feeding on the nation much like the British rulers. Chinua Achebe in his novel *A Man of the People* exposes the Nigerian political elite. He portrays the self-interest and corruption of this elite. Achebe can imagine no solution to the growing lawlessness of civil society in postcolonial Nigeria. Consider the last sentences of the novel. His opponents murder a god man, an activist campaigning for political office. After his assassination, his lover

draws a gun and shoots the man responsible for his death. This incident shows the condition. Justice is done only after destruction and it was love that avenged his death. His people did not help him.

Max was avenged not by the people's collective will but by one solitary woman who loved him. Had his spirit waited for the people to demand redress it would have been waiting still, in the rain and but in the sun. But he was lucky. And I don't mean it to shock or to sound clever. For I do honestly believe that in the fat-dripping, gummy, eat-and-let-eat regime just ended-a regime which inspired the common saying that a man could only be sure of what he had put away safely in his gut...I say you died a good death if your life had inspired someone to come forward and shoot your murderer in the chest-without asking to be paid (Achebe 11).

This is the stagnation of postcolonial society. The elite in all its nastiness, vulgarity, greed, corruption rules the land. The atrocity of the postcolonial society will continue to worsen unless a major turn over occurs. Perhaps an African revolution will do. It cannot be sabotaged by its leaders. Leaders have long betrayed their people and its high time to revolt. These elites turned to power and wealth and ignored social justice. Independence was a hoax for the people. It was an extension of the colonial system, not an abolition.

Chinua Achebe reveals a lack of contact between the leaders and the ordinary people. He also shows that the condition of existence is poor in post-independence Nigeria. It is seen that the ordinary people are the sufferers. The freedom from colonial domination has turned into a nightmare. This problem prevails because the moment Nigeria gained state power, it was handed over to an elite social group. The same system works in many other African countries. The irony is that even though the old colonial rule has been substituted by the new system of rule, it has proved to be a new form of domination. A genuine leadership is needed for the improvement or recovery of the neocolonial condition of existence. The dominant social group has remained alienated from the expectations of the ordinary people. State power has been used as a means of attaining wealth and individual power. Achebe reveals this in his two novels, *A Man of the People* and *Anthills of the Savannah*. In *Anthills of the Savannah*, the military is already in power. They came with the intention of erasing the ills of the previous regime. Now, Sam, the military head of

Kanga, starts the same evil as the civilian politicians before him. The end of the novel shows that Sam is overthrown by another military regime. Since 1960, the control of state power in the country has switched between the military and the civilians. So who is caught in the trap? The ordinary people for sure. This is evident when we see a society full of contrasts and unevenness in development. Affluence exists alongside poverty in the Urban areas. This is what independence has given them.

There is also a contrast between the town and the rural areas. In both *Anthills of the Savannah* and *Man of the People*, the image of the rural area is a wasteland. The military intervention is portrayed as flawed. From a broader angle, the military takeover stops the violence that erupted after the elections. The military releases Eunice from prison and pronounces Max the hero of the revolution (Achebe 148). These examples appear to favor the military. In *Anthills of the Savannah* it is clear that Achebe turns bitter towards the military intervention in politics. He reveals that the nation's development does not lie in the hands of the military because its dictatorial form repels the ordinary people. This irresponsible leadership is nothing but another form of colonial domination. The image of the anthill in *Anthills of the Savannah* gives us an insight into the problematic structures in postcolonial Nigeria. The image is first revealed in the title of the novel, and then repeated in three other instances.

Anthills surviving... (28)
Anthills in the scorched landscape (194)
Gazing ut into the empty... (195).

The anthills we are referring to here are the mounds of the termites that are found in Savannah rain forest habitats. It is important to note that there is the hierarchical order that prevails in the nest. Within this order, the queen occupies the center, and life in the nest revolves around her. This shows that there is an internal structure of privilege. It is like the political order in post independence Nigeria. In fact the anthill reflects the overall condition/state of the country. Power is at the center, in the hands of the elite social group and everything else is pushed to the margins. A system of hegemony is recreated after the fall of the Empire in Africa. This important political concept in Marxist Scholarship can

be applied. This is the strained relationship between the dominant and the dominated social groups. The individual members of the three-caste system in the nest-reproductive, workers, and soldiers-migrate to build other colonies due to harsh environmental factors. The order is transferred to another habitat, but the previous anthills remain uninhabited. The image of the anthill is like the state's image with the complex internal structures. Achebe makes the empty structure sustain the harsh conditions. These termites abandon their earlier nest t build other mounds just like the individuals who control the state. Now why has Achebe made it survive harsh conditions? The nation needs to cancel the projects of preceding governments and start anew. The anthill needs to be broken down which is yet to be done. This can also be an image in the socio-cultural situation. Decolonizing the African mind has to be urgently done. The 'anthill' (The British Empire's remains) needs to disappear. Frantz Fanon writes in his *The Wretched of the Earth*

...the passion with which the native intellectuals defend the existence of their national culture may be a source of amazement, but those who condemn this exaggerated passion are strangely apt to forget that their own psyche and their own selves are conveniently sheltered behind a French or German (or any western) culture which has given full proof of its existence and which is uncontested(Fanon 168).

African cultures are threatened by the intrusion of the western culture. There is an urgent need to retain the Africa cultural values in the age of globalization. Globalization is another Empire that is exerting its power over the locality. This fractured condition of existence in Nigeria is because of the lack of a 'culture education'. A 'culture education' is needed to enlighten the people on their societal values and customs. If education is the process of knowledge acquisition, culture education is the knowledge of societal values. It is a means by which skills are developed in language, oral traditions, music, dance, rituals, festivals, and traditional medicine, food ways. This is very important since it ultimately refer to the people's pedagogy of cultural values and acquisition of culture. Unless this is incorporated, the distinctive cultural/spiritual social material will gradually fade out. These features of a society/group (e.g. lifestyle, ways of living, value systems, and beliefs) must be preserved for the promotion of an ideal social order. Since culture defines an identity, it is an important part f the consciousness of the nation. It is an

integral part of the consciousness of the 'self'. A society without identity is as good as a dead land. A 'living' society is one that is conscious of its beginning, its preset standing among other societies and one that heads towards a secure ideal future. The Africans should not leave it unprotected in the hands of modern western civilization. In the name of globalization, the West penetrates the local tribes. These local cultures are at risk of extinction in the hands of the uncultured elites. In an attempt to suit the trend of globalization, they dissolve their cultural traits in the 'universal'. Now in the age of globalization, the threat of cultural decline and loss of identity is more apparent than previous centuries.

Today the western educational system serves a similar interest. It is much like the imperialist vision of the colonial period. It further exploits the postcolonial African and captures the African mind. There is a serious mental colonization going on. Nigeria had strong indigenous systems of knowledge acquisition before contact with the west, but this intervention of the imperialist west and its alien educational policies were responsible for cultural decay.' Culture education' is not part of the university educational system in Nigeria today. The acquisition of cultural heritage should be made compulsory. The study of indigenous African cultures and oral literacy performance in most schools in Nigeria is absent. The national policy on culture is very clear regarding the need to teach Nigerian cultural history and tradition from the primary school onward. But the implementation of the policy at the primary and secondary levels of education has not been conducted properly. In Nigeria the policies of Education are problematic. The government is not responsive since it bows to the fancy of its benefactors; the IMF, the World Bank, SAID etc. The military rule in Nigeria also contributes to the ongoing difficulties/defects in policies. Most of them are not products of university education and therefore seemed not to appreciate this tradition.

The southern part of Nigeria came into contact with Europeans first through trans-Atlantic slavers. Following the abolition of the slave trade, legitimate trade began to flourish. The start of a capitalist economy and consciousness into the indigenous scene had a catastrophic effect on the general psyche and spirit of the Nigerians. The Nigerian

cultural values had given way to accommodate the new spirit of ‘survival of the fittest’ and other western values. The consequence was immediate, hunger and starvation. Farmers had to forsake their indigenous systems of food production and become actively engaged in the mass production of cash crops. The western education introduced to Nigeria by the Christian mission schools became a threat to the survival of traditions, especially oral literary performance.

The indigenous belief systems had become ‘taboos’ that ‘civilized’ people (whom missionaries called God’s people) must not associate with any longer if they wanted to get to heaven. The influence of Christian religions has made it difficult to locate the authentic Nigeria citizen, for e.g. most Nigerians including those that are regarded as custodians of culture-Obas, Emirs, priests of local shrines, heads of traditional cults, herbalists etc are Arab, Jewish (European) by name. The Nigerian situation is one in which a nation compromises its identity and submits itself to a dilution in the so-called universal. So many years after independence, it has not attained an adequate level of development. The teaching of Nigerian cultures from the grassroots level is not given any priority at all by relevant agencies. As a result, the negative impression of the educated class prevails. The educational and cultural policies in Nigeria advocate this, but more exposure to relevant knowledge is necessary for cultural integration.

The indigenous leaders have converted to either Christianity or Islam and migrated to cities. They feel that their skills are now irrelevant and their services are no longer needed in a global capitalist economy. They are busy coping with the demands and daily needs of a capitalist economy. The impact of new information and communication technologies, global challenges of religion and cable satellites, western music and media is terrible. There is an over exposure of the nation’s children to foreign cultures and education. Children are denied access or are no longer interested in ‘local’ or ‘indigenous’ festivals, oral performances, moonlight stories etc. Their minds are now expanded through the acquisition of a globalized knowledge and this encourages them to ward off their true identity. Nigerian youth steadily become self-alienated and lose touch with their roots. This is the direction in which Nigeria is headed and it poses a serious threat to the

continuity of African Cultures. The local government can look for a way out of this. They can organize rich cultural events, institutional festivals. The teaching of culture and tradition can begin at home and must be continued into primary and secondary education. Such curriculum must be capable of giving the Nigerian child a new a positive consciousness of self as a Nigerian.

It seems that the 21st Century ‘globalization’ is here to diminish the importance of the nation states such as Nigeria. They can hardly raise the profile and identity of nationality groups that make up a nation state. Nigeria should be active in preserving important aspects of their culture and incorporate elements in the performing arts (music, dance, drama, traditional games) and project their cultures by satellite broadcasting to the rest of the world. Instead of a ridiculous enacting of other cultures, Nigeria should be actively engaged and committed to the preservation of its national elements. The pursuit of culture conservation, enrichment, and dissemination will certainly ensure a strong identity consciousness. They must make their groups operate in the twenty- first century, instead of allowing them to wither away with the modern pop culture. The people should break through the mental colonization and develop a positive attitude towards their own cultural values. A new and more spiritually oriented practice of world religions, which is set within the cultural milieu of the people, can be a possible way out of the tensions. There should be a renewed interest in African Culture. It should be introduced in schools at the basic levels. The local Government Councils should act responsibly to promote their rich cultural elements, not only internally but also at an international level. The writers should try to attach themselves to the locality in their attempts to fight against imperialism. They should aim at flourishing ethnic literatures with the portrayal of authentic African images. A unity in the multi-lingual diversity should be attained not through foreign aid, but by exploring and enriching their own material. A consciousness among the people is highly recommended to save the nation from cultural collapse. Professor Eghosa Osagie in his lecture said that a new idealism among the younger generation should be ignited. He is hopeful of a bright future. The nation is badly in need of seeds of revival. The twenty-first century has heaped opportunities and challenges ahead. The only way to contest is to be well equipped with one’s own precious resources. It is high time that the agencies

work together in the preservation of the languages and national heritages of Africa. The future of the great continent of Africa can be dazzling only if the people declare a true African Empire in its purest form.

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*Asian Heritage within a European Nation:
Examples of ambiguous Hungarian Ethno-Politics in a Globalizing World*

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*Asian Heritage within a European Nation: Examples of Ambiguous Hungarian Ethno-Politics
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Introduction

The paper offers a new approach to ethnicity in a globalizing world regarding structural elements of Asian/Eastern ethnic markers used within the current ethno-politics of a European nation:¹ the examples come from recent Hungarian identity- and ethno-management,² which instrumentalizes a broad spectrum of cultural activities reaching from intrinsic language usage to Asian heritage in naming, clothing and in various symbols. This might be used to respond to globalization, as well as to sharpen ethnic boundaries³ against neighboring European nations and against 'other' ethnic groups living in Hungary⁴. This paper aims to introduce a variety of symbols referring to the ambiguousness of bringing Asianness and Europeanness together.

Firstly, a few crucial milestones in Hungarian history will be presented to show the interaction of Asian/Eastern heritage as well as Europeanness in Hungarian history. They seem to be mutually dependent both in Hungarian history and in the identity constructions of Hungarian people, because to believe in a common history is one of the basic ethnic markers.⁵ Moreover, some symbols will be introduced in the first chapter in relation to 'historical milestones'. A few examples show the application of these symbols.

Secondly, the paper determines current activities of cultural societies in Hungary. Within the scope of identity-management they use ethnic markers, which refer directly or indirectly to a different heritage contrasting neighboring European peoples. They accentuate the fact that Hungarians/Magyars hail from equestrian peoples of the Asian steppe; within that scope the Hungarian language is another crucial argument, because it is the only one in Central Europe which does not have Indo-European roots and it also has Asian ancestry. A close relationship to the language is offered by the 'Magyar runic script'. Later the role of ancient folk music and other typical Hungarian music-styles for present identity-management will be discussed.

Thirdly, the paper emphasizes that Hungarian nation building simultaneously underlines Asian-/Eastern heritage and Europeanness. Within this point it shows that this ambiguousness still plays a role within Hungarian ethno-politics and that the weight of each of the two indicators differs in relation to socio-cultural and/or political background. The role of the Hungarian language in nation building will be discussed shortly, too. Furthermore, there are eastern and European symbols used side by side. In some cases the mutual usage of both Asian and European cultural heritage melted into each other and led to hybridity; recent examples of hybridity within the wider scope of processes of 'glocalization' will be presented, too.

I)

When we look back to the late 9th century A.D., to the so called time of the Hungarian land seizure, the ruling dynasty was the Árpáds (Hung. Árpádok). Their name arose from Árpád, who was the head of the tribal federation in the year 895, when the Hungarians occupied the Carpathian Basin. The tribal federation was formed of seven Hungarian tribes (Hung. hétmagyarok = seven Magyars) named Nyék, Megyer, Kürtgyarmat, Tarján, Jenő, Kér and Keszi.⁶ These seven tribes unified for military reasons. During the 10th century they still settled separately within the Carpathian Basin.⁷

The historical development into a medieval state regime ran similar to other European state structures when leaders of ethnically related but rival tribes try to usurp power. The Árpád dynasty succeeded and István, the son of grand duke Géza, asked pope Silvester II. for a Christian king's crown. The coronation-ceremony was celebrated on December 25th 1000.⁸ This date marks *the* turning point in Hungarian history both from Heathenism to Christianity and from Asian tribal-societies towards the then European system of nobility.

Two further milestones in Hungarian history which are outstanding in the collective memory of the Hungarian people are the uprising against the Habsburg Empire in 1848/49 and the 1956-revolution against communism.⁹

The main symbol representing the time of the Árpáds is the striped Árpád-flag with four horizontal red and four horizontal white stripes.¹⁰

[picture: Árpád-flag]

In times of upheaval like in the above named uprisings the Árpád-flag – being deeply rooted in Hungarian history – symbolized the successful repeat of the land seizure as well as the power to defeat the enemies.

Another symbol referring to the time of the Árpáds is the *Turul*, a fabled bird, half falcon half eagle. In myth the Turul guided the Magyar tribes from the Asian steppe to the Carpathian basin.

[picture: Turul]

The fascist *Hungarian Arrow Cross Party* and later the neo-fascists transformed the symbol of the Turul into a “combat-bird”, defending the Hungarians and reclaiming areas, which Hungary lost after the Trianon-treaty.¹¹

The main symbol representing the time of king István / Stephen and the turning point to Christianity and towards Europe is the *Hungarian Holy Crown*. As early as 1256 the crown was named “Magyar szent korona” in Hungarian.¹²

[picture: Hungarian Holy Crown]

At this point one has to emphasise, that the crown itself predominantly *symbolizes* King Stephen and the adoption of Christianity, because it was not exactly this crown-model, which was used during his coronation ceremony: “[...] experts came to the conclusion that the Holy Crown was assembled into its current form during the reign of Béla III (1172-1196)”¹³. Five hundred years later the so called ‘doctrine of the crown’ was invented to make believe that it was King Stephen’s original one:¹⁴ The ‘doctrine of the crown’ first appeared in the years 1514-1515 when István Werbőczy wrote a summary of the Hungarian law entitled *Tripartitum*.¹⁵ After that time the doctrine was extended with legends: above all with the famous legend of King Stephen offering the crown to the Virgin Mary (Hung. Nagyboldogaszony) during the coronation. It happened to symbolically seal a divine contract between her and the Hungarian people; later the Virgin Mary became therefore *patron saint* and *regina* (queen) of Hungary.

At present the symbol of the Hungarian holy crown is used in manifold ways, above all to express *the* symbolic unity of Hungary with Christianity.¹⁶ The following examples are in touch with present reality:

Since January 1st 2000, the Hungarian holy crown has been preserved in the building of the Hungarian parliament. It shows the contrast of modern democracy with traditional value systems as well as the longing of the Hungarian people to have both a modern welfare state and a glorious and powerful history. Therefore the Hungarian holy crown is used as a symbol of the Hungarian kingdom, the Greater-Hungary of the time before Trianon.

*Szent Korona Rádió*¹⁷ promotes itself with the slogan “a tiszta magyar hang” which means “a pure Hungarian sound”. It plays features and music for listeners, who are national-

conservative and Christian¹⁸ – blogs on the homepage and Radio-features are critical of left-wing-parties, against Roma and Jewish people. Moreover, there is Szent Korona Televízió (= Holy Crown Television), too and it has the same qualitative and ideological aims.

Before one enters the home-page of *Magyarok Világszövetsége* (= World Federation of Hungarians) and of *Magyarok Háza* (= House of Hungarians), he or she will be welcomed with the Christian proverb “Isten hozott” (= welcome) and as *the* Christian Hungarian national symbol refers to the Hungarian holy crown in these pages.¹⁹

From December 27th-29th, 2009 the *IV. Szent Korona Conference* was held in the House of Hungarians in Budapest. Last year the conference was entitled “Szent Korona és Kereszténység” – The Holy Crown and Christianity.²⁰

[picture: conference invitation poster]

II)

In Semmelweis u. 1-3 in Budapest an accumulation of Hungarian cultural and ethno-political societies is located in the above mentioned named *Magyarok Háza* (= House of Hungarians). One of the most important societies in the House of Hungarians is the *World Federation of Hungarians*. Within its wide scope of activities in the year 2008 the Federation published “Selected Studies in Hungarian History” focusing on the following goal: “We hope that this publication in Hungarian and English will reach both Hungarian and English-speaking scholars, researchers and all those interested in learning about the true history of Hungary.”²¹ However, one has to be very careful, if somebody offers “the true history”, because the scientific theory of history tells us that the depiction of the past is always a construction based on different sources.²² The publication further aims to “reveal the hidden history that has, until now, not been allowed to come to light, and will correct the misinterpretations and half-truths that have been taught, and are still being taught as Hungarian history.”²³ In other words, the *World Federation of Hungarians* took on the mission to edit Hungarian history by avoiding an academic discourse.

The Asian heritage of the Hungarians plays a crucial role in this book, although it is not named as explicitly Asian – it is usually paraphrased with terms e.g. “eastern origin” or “Eastern family of equestrian cultures”.²⁴ It is important to mention the observance that the peoples settling in the Eastern parts of Europe during the first millennium did not distinguish between the different peoples from Asia coming in waves: “They all wore their hair in the same braided style, which was foreign to the inhabitants of the Carpathian basin. Their leather clothes, their weapons and their language all appeared to be the same.”²⁵

The Asian roots of the very important ethnic marker language – its influence on Hungarian nation building will be discussed in chapter III of this paper – are emphasized in many ways in the above named book; for example : “According to old stories which were recorded by the chronicles of the Hungarian kings of the middle Ages, Asia was the ancestral home of the Magyars and the Magyar language.”²⁶

Very close to the exclusiveness of the language seems to be the exclusiveness of the ancient *Hungarian Runic Script* (Hungarian: *rovásírás*).

[picture: Hungarian Runic Script]

Hungarian Runic Script originates from Old Turkish script and has an alphabetic character. It was used from the 7th to the 10th century A.D. Following the adoption of Christianity the Latin script took the place of the Hungarian Runic Script. Only the Szeklers, close relatives of the Hungarians, use their *Szekler Runic Script* (= *Szekély rovásírás*) to this day. The Szeklers use it especially in ethno-political contexts to underline their uniqueness in the mixed ethnic region of Transylvania.²⁷

The pentatonic melodies of Hungarian folk music are related by lineal descent to folk music of other predecessors from the Asian steppe like the Huns, Scythians, Avars and Turks. In any event, in ethnomusicology²⁸ the relevance of folk music history and folk music tradition for (collective) memory and national identity is obvious,²⁹ but it is easy to go over the top: “It is for this reason, that the Magyar *musical mother-tongue* is decidedly different from the folk music of today’s European cultures, that of the surrounding peoples, who are more or less related. The difference has several layers and it is complicated, but it reflects perfectly and honestly the eastern roots of the Hungarian culture, their feelings, spirituality and, through this, their thinking. In other words: it reflects in essence their entire mode of behaviour and philosophy of life.”³⁰

To research the interdependences of music with further cultural expressions of complex everyday life is usual in ethnomusicology – to hold traditional folk music responsible for feelings, spirituality, mentality as well as philosophy of life seems to be exaggerated: firstly, the spiritual background of this music, which originates in Asian shamanistic traditions, could not be transferred as a whole (in)to the modern life of Hungarian people. Secondly, there is no scientific evidence about the question of whether this kind of traditional music moves Hungarians more than non-Hungarians or if traditional folk music moves Hungarian people generally more than other styles of music.

When we observe the listening habits of Hungarian people regarding music with a typical Hungarian and/or with a national background we will find “nemzeti rock” (= national rock music) in first place. Most of the Hungarian bands playing nemzeti rock use the above named symbols – the Árpád-flag, runic-script, Hungarian holy crown - on stage or on their home-pages.³¹

A mixture of different heritage symbols is used by cultural societies, too. A striking example is the society named *Kárpát-Haza Nemzetőrség* (= Carpathian-Home National-guard).³² Their leader is named Lajos Papp; he postulated that he and his followers should wear snow-white clothes symbolizing the love of Christ.

[picture: Lajos Papp]

Another symbol which refers to the Christian background of society is the wearing of a double-cross (Hung. Kettős kereszt). However, since the sign of the double-cross means *gy* in runic-script, Lajos Papp and his followers interpret the double-cross as the indivisible “egy” (= one) and in their sense it is the symbol of ‘one nation’, ‘one home’ and ‘one god’. This interpretation via runic-script refers to Asian heritage culturally shaped by Christianity. Other symbols in clothing of the members of the Carpathian-Home National-guard refer more directly to the Asian heritage. Their hairstyle is like that of the equestrian peoples of the Asian steppe at the end of the first millennium; on the front of the leather-headband, at the forehead you may often see the Turul-symbol. The cut of their white shirt is named “szkíta ing” (= skythian shirt)³³ in Hungarian and it symbolizes the time of the above named Hungarian land seizure. Furthermore, the members of the Carpathian-Home National-guard wear the “tarsoly” on their belt. Equestrian peoples used this small bag mainly to keep their ‘essential-for-survival’ arrowheads in.

III)

Hungarian nation building is rooted in the times of the above named land seizure and in times of the establishment of the Hungarian kingdom. Therefore, early Medieval events are still in close connection to the Hungarian nation building of Modern Hungary. In the terms of the German historian Holm Sundhaussen the Hungarian nation can be interpreted as a “natural” nation, because it is held together by a common language: “A common language with some tradition (that is: not a newly created language but a more or less old-aged common language)

is regarded as another feature of a ‘natural’ nation. But the problems with a native language are the same as the problems with the common origin.”³⁴ Moreover, in this quotation Sundhaussen emphasises, on the one hand, the extreme importance of ‘a common language with some tradition’, but on the other hand, he refers to the same problems which attend the discussions of ‘common origin’, too.

Regarding the Hungarian nation building the ethnic marker language plays a crucial role: notwithstanding the fact that the Hungarian language (= Hung. magyar nyelv) has many affinities to the Turkish language family, too, the Finno-Ugric language theory has grown stronger since the middle of the 19th century, because it seemed to be more convenient for Hungarian scientists and politicians to have a European language-partnership than an Asian one. The Hungarian language was/is the glue for the different ethnic groups of the Carpathian basin and it is the main factor for considering themselves ‘Hungarians’ rather than simply ‘being citizens of the Hungarian state’: speaking Hungarian – being Hungarian. Furthermore, the exclusiveness of a language, which is totally different from languages of the neighboring peoples and ethnic groups has always been used in Hungarian identity-management to sharpen the boundaries between the *we-group* (= we Hungarians) and *the others*.

Even in the times of the land seizure many different ethnic groups like Avars or Slavs settled in the Carpathian basin and since the Early Modern times new ethnic groups like the Slavs (Slovenes, Serbs, Croats and Slovaks), the Gypsies or the Danube Swabians settled in the areas of the Hungarian crown. In the history of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy the development of the Hungarian language to national language status in the Hungarian Komitates of the Monarchy took place between 1791 and 1844. Hand in hand with that development and the raising of the Hungarian language to national language status went a process of assimilation, called *magyarization*, of other ethnic groups sharing the same territories with Hungarians.³⁵ Especially after the compromise of 1867 – Hungarian ethnopolitics established a nation, where the Hungarian language played an unchallenged role in schools and in administration. This *magyarisation* was successful, because the minority languages decreased continuously. At present they are mostly spoken hidden from the public, because today nearly all members of ethnic minorities in Hungary are bilingual and use Hungarian in public. Moreover, the language transformation changed the ethnic sense of belonging as well. Many Hungarian speaking people know that their ancestors were not Magyars from the Asian steppe, but they consider themselves truly Hungarians and they also believe in a common origin of the Hungarian nation. In that sense Hungarian nation building was ambiguous but rather successful.

When we further look at the role of the Hungarian language in comparison to neighbouring languages, it does not come as a big surprise that the Hungarian language could be used to express a high degree of Asianness,³⁶ if necessary. A certain degree of Asianness in language is not only crucial for Hungarian nation building, but sometimes it is more or less seen as an embodiment of homeland, as a means of perception and of self-image, too. For example: “The decisive role in the survival of the Magyar language until today was the fact that it was strongly separated from the European languages such as Slavic, Germanic and Neo-Latin. The writer Sándor Márai said, and he was exactly right, the *‘the sweet home is the mother-language.’* Language is our truly unique treasure; it is the assurance of national pride and the hope of survival. [...] In our language, there are an enormous number of connections that point toward the geographical and biological environment of life in times past, including ancient folk customs, and demonstrate the coexistence of people in an earlier society [...]”³⁷

Another aspect which goes hand in hand with language is the still lively tradition of Hungarian naming and there are still many Hungarians with a forename, which is a symbol of Asian/Eastern heritage like Árpád, Attila, Csaba (son of Attila), Emese, Géza, Hunor, Koppány, Réka (wife of Attila).

In the Introduction it was mentioned, that Asian/eastern and European symbols are used side by side, and that the mutual usage of both Asian and European cultural heritage caused them to melted into each other and led to hybridity, too.

[picture: celebration of March, 15th 2010]

In the picture you can see both the red-white-green flags of Hungary and red-white striped Árpád-flags side by side. The tricolor-feature – with reference to the French revolution – of the red-white-green flag originates from the times of upheaval against the Habsburgs in the first half of the 19th century.

Homi Bhabha stresses that cultural hybridity is understood as a dynamic recombination of elements that are rooted in different traditions.³⁸ In that sense, a hybridity is represented for example by the above named outfit of the followers of the *Kárpát-Haza Nemzetőrség*. There, we may observe a mixture of symbols of Asianness and Europeanness in the way, that the whole issue represents a hybrid form of betwixt and between. The expression of hybridity, as well as the mixture of symbols, requires the observer to find his or her individual *cultural translation*.³⁹

Another hybrid form can be found in the above mentioned Hungarian *nemzeti rock* representing a synthesis of different music styles: there are some pieces of music, which interlace Hungarian Folk music of Asian heritage with Hard Rock music originating in Western cultures. Furthermore, they use manifold Asian symbols in combination with Hungarian national symbols to underline the demand for the music ‘to be Hungarian’.

[picture: album covers of Nemzeti-Rock]

The strategy of mingling different symbols of Hungarian history is visible in daily Hungarian ethno-politics, too. I want to give one example. When Hungarian politicians want to underline their close relationship to the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian past they use the symbol of the *Magyar szent korona*, although Hungary has not been a monarchy since the end of the First World War. In the year 2000 it was the then Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, who decided that the Hungarian Holy Crown should be publicly kept in the building of the Hungarian parliament. In this way, the symbols of monarchy and democracy were brought together again. It was mentioned before, that the Hungarian Holy Crown is a symbol of Christianity and therefore in political imagery a clear signal against Communism. In summary, we can observe an interesting hybrid phenomenon of politicians in a pure democracy using former monarchist symbols.

In a broader sense, the above named examples can be interpreted as local answers to global phenomena, because they are expressions of so called ‘glocalisation’.⁴⁰ Historical roots and myths have been transformed into symbols, which every Hungarian is able to decipher easily. One of the main goals of Hungarian identity-managers is to express that Hungarians have much in common with each other in the same way that they differ from ‘other peoples’: “The Hungarians differ significantly in their appearance and culture from surrounding peoples, because they still possess certain signs of their *ancient eastern culture*.”⁴¹ In a second interpretative step, we also recognize that some symbols have the function to paraphrase and counterpoint Asianness and Easternness as well – for they provide for instance symbols of Christianity, Latin script, European style of clothing, Rock music etc.

Conclusions

“The only suitable criterion for the existence of a nation is the *national consciousness* of its members.”⁴² This statement of Holm Sundhaussen is very well applicable to the Hungarian situation as well: At first sight, for Hungarian people it mostly does not matter to what degree their Hungarian ancestry is considered Asian/Eastern in relation to European, because both are integrated elements of the national Hungarian consciousness. In the same way, the

symbols that have been introduced in this paper, are integrated elements of daily life in present day Hungary.

The protagonists of ethno-politics, identity- and ethno-management, however, are well capable of governing the appliance of these symbols and they use the ambiguousness of the Asian-European-past for their purposes. At present, the Asianness/Easternness of the Hungarians is principally used from different points of view to sharpen the boundaries with other ethnic groups and peoples living in Europe and the Europeanness of the Hungarians is used to sharpen the boundaries with the descendents of other peoples from the Asian steppe. All things considered, hybridity and ambiguousness in ethno-politics can be interpreted as the *local* Hungarian forms of answering the challenges of nation-building in a *globalising* world.

¹ The article is part of research project P 20 060 of the Austrian FWF.

² The author wants to point out that the term *ethnomangement* and its scientific concept is basically conceived as neutral – specifically it is not pejorative.

³ In the sense of Frederick Barth (ed.): *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organisation of Cultural Difference*. Oslo: Universitätsverlag 1969. See further: Frederik Barth: *Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity*. In: Vermeulen H., Govers C. (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis (1994), pp. 12-32.

⁴ Fieldwork in Hungary showed that the members of smaller ethnic groups and minorities consider themselves to be national Hungarians in the sense, that they are full members of the Hungarian state, speaking Hungarian or being at least bilingual, holding a Hungarian passport and citizenship. Therefore many Hungarians, who want to highlight their ‘origin’ use symbols of distinction.

⁵ Richard McElreath et al: *Shared Norms and the Evolution of Ethnic Markers*. In: *Current Anthropology* 44 (2003), pp. 123-129.

⁶ Cf. István György Tóth (ed.): *Geschichte Ungarns*. (Budapest:) Corvina-Osiris (2005), p. 47.

⁷ Cf. Gyula Kristó: *Telepítés és államalapítás: Írások Szent Istvánról és koráról*. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely 2000.

⁸ Cf. István György Tóth (ed.): *Geschichte Ungarns*. (Budapest:) Corvina-Osiris (2005), pp. 51-56.

⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 458-515 and pp. 732-742.

¹⁰ From November 27th 2009 to and February 28th 2010, the Holocaust Memorial Center in Budapest showed an exhibition entitled “Árpád-stripes – then&now”. See <http://www.hdke.hu/index.php?changelang=eng> (29.03.2010).

¹¹ Cf. N.N.: *Was haben Árpádfahne und Turul zu bedeuten? Eine Ausstellung in Budapest versucht es zu erklären*. In: *Pester Lloyd* 26.01.2010, see http://www.pestertloyd.net/2010_04/04turul/04turul.html (29.03.2010).

¹² To coronation of King Stephen see: György Székely: *Korona és lándzsa*. In: Gyula Kristó (ed.), *Államalapítás, társadalom, művelődés*. Budapest: MTA TTI, 2001, pp. 21-31.

¹³ N.N.: *The extreme right and the Holy Crown*. In: *Hungarian Spectrum*, August 23rd 2008.

<http://esbalogh.typepad.com/hungarianspectrum/2008/08/holy-crown-of-hungary.html> (29.03.2010).

¹⁴ To the ‘doctrine of the crown’ see: István Kocsis: *A Szent Korona tana. Múltja, jelene, jövője*. Budapest: Püski 1996. For an English version see: István Kocsis: *The Mystery and Doctrine of the Holy Crown*. In: László Botos (ed.), *Selected Studies in Hungarian History*. (Budapest:) Hun-idea (2008), pp. 495-546.

¹⁵ Cf. István György Tóth (ed.): *Geschichte Ungarns*. (Budapest:) Corvina-Osiris (2005), p. 194.

¹⁶ A very good selection of examples can be found on the following web-page: <http://www.lmrkat.hu/szentkorona.html> (29.03.2010).

¹⁷ See <http://szentkronaradio.com/szentkronaradio> (29.03.2010).

¹⁸ One daily broadcast is named „Egy kis napi biblia“ and it brings a short detail from the Holy Bible with commentary. Cf. http://szentkronaradio.com/hit-vallas/2010_03_29_egy-kis-napi-biblia (29.03.2010)

¹⁹ See <http://www.magyarokhaza.hu/> (30.03.2010).

²⁰ For the whole conference-program see: <http://konferenciakalauz.hu/konferenciak/8382-iv-szent-korona-konferencia> (30.03.2010).

²¹ László Botos: *Acknowledgements*. In: László Botos (ed.), *Selected Studies in Hungarian History*, unpagged.

²² To the ‘construction of the past’ in history-theory see e.g.: Chris Lorenz: *Die Konstruktion der Vergangenheit. Eine Einführung in die Geschichtstheorie*. Wien et al: Boehlau (1997). (= *Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur*. 13.)

²³ László Botos: *Acknowledgements*. In: László Botos (ed.), *Selected Studies in Hungarian History*, unpagged.

²⁴ Cf. László Bárdi: *The Life and History of the Huns of Asia*. In: László Botos (ed.), *Selected Studies in Hungarian History*, p. 64.

²⁵ László Bárdi: *History of the Uygurs*. In: László Botos (ed.), *Selected Studies in Hungarian History*, p. 93.

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- ²⁶ László Marác: The Origin of the Hungarian Language. In: László Botos (ed.), Selected Studies in Hungarian History, p. 559.
- ²⁷ See e.g. the home page of the Szekler National Council <http://www.sznt.eu/> (30.03.2010).
- ²⁸ Cf. Jennifer C. Post (ed.): Ethnomusicology. A Contemporary Reader. New York (et al): Routledge (2005).
- ²⁹ Cf. Tatjana Marković/Vesna Mikić (eds.): Musical Cultura & Memory. Belgrade: Dept. of Musicology 2008. (= Musicological Studies: Proceedings. 2.)
- ³⁰ György Csajághy: Hungarian Folk Music, as our “Musical Mother tongue”. In: László Botos (ed.), Selected Studies in Hungarian History, p. 200.
- ³¹ “Nemzeti Rockmusic – National Rock music” indicates Rock music with Hungarian words. Some audio-file-examples of this music-style can be found at <http://nemzetirock.hu/zenet> (01.04.2010).
- ³² See <http://www.karpathazanemzetorseg.hu/> (02.04.2010). On the home page there is the most important Hungarian-national Christian symbol, the Hungarian Holy Crown, in the centre.
- ³³ Examples of that clothing-style can be found on the home-page of a special shop; one of them is named e.g. “Turulbolt” (= Turul shop). See: <http://turulbolt.hu/> (02.04.2010).
- ³⁴ Holm Sundhaussen: Ambiguities of “natural” and “artificial” nations. Introductory remarks. In: Ulf Brunnbauer/ Hannes Grandits (eds.), New and Ambiguous Nation Building Processes in Southeastern Europe: BiH, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro. Munich: Oldenbourg (2010/11). [forthcoming]
- ³⁵ Cf. István György Tóth (ed.): Geschichte Ungarns. (Budapest:) Corvina-Osiris (2005), p. 477.
- ³⁶ The Hungarian language is similar to many Asian languages because the grammatical structure is agglutinating.
- ³⁷ László Bárdi: The Life and History of the Huns of Asia. In: László Botos (ed.), Selected Studies in Hungarian History, p. 64 f.
- ³⁸ Cf. Homi K., Bhabha: The Location of Culture. London/New York: Routledge 1994.
- ³⁹ For ‘cultural translation’ see: Peter Burke: Cultural Hybridity. (Cambridge:) polity (2009), pp. 55-61.
- ⁴⁰ For the phenomenon of ‘glocalisation’ in South Eastern Europe see: Klaus-Jürgen Hermanik: Interethnische Koexistenz: Selbst- und Fremddefinition von Minderheiten in der Globalisierung aus ethnologischer Sicht. In: Wilfried Heller et al (eds.), Ethnizität in der Globalisierung. München: Sagner 2007, pp. 161-170. (= Südosteuropa-Studien. 74.)
- ⁴¹ György Csajághy: Hungarian Folk Music, as our “Musical Mother tongue”. In: László Botos (ed.), Selected Studies in Hungarian History, p. 200.
- ⁴² Holm Sundhaussen, Ambiguities of “natural” and “artificial” nations, [forthcoming]

The Role of Media on Political Confidence, Democratic Values and Civic Participation in Authoritarian China

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Abstract

This study examines the role of media and its linkages among political confidence, democratic values, volunteer membership and political actions in China. With increasing tight control from state-party and enlarging marketized conglomeration, the Chinese media are acting in a double role of political propaganda and liberty competition in the market. Will this double role lead to both increased political confidence and democratic values? What are the predictors of political participation? Using the fifth wave data of World Values Survey China 2007, it is found that in cognitive level, media provides neither support of political confidence or democratic perception. However, on behavioral level, media not only predict of recreation and political membership but also a significant predictor both types of political action (petition and boycott). Political dominant from Chinese media is decreasing. Media is becoming a channel for participation. The limitation of measurement and suggestions for future studies follow.

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Introduction

The level of political confidence (or, political trust) in China is ambiguous. According to an international survey, Chinese government ranked 13 among 72 countries of perceived legitimacy (Gilley, 2006). To wit, CCP maintains its legitimacy mainly through three ways: education system, state-controlled media (Kennedy, 2009) and state-led patriotic campaign (S. S. Zhao, 1998). However, the Chinese government built its legitimacy upon this “performance legitimacy” and such legitimacy is quite unstable (D. X. Zhao, 2009). This argument is partly supported by the recent dramatically increasing number of collective actions, petitions (*shang fang*), mediation even other mass violence incidents (as noted by Cai, 2008). How the stable-maintenance measures conducted by the government and the subversion forces come along, and to what extent will such conflict alter the knowledge, attitude and behavior of average people? I choose the role of media (both conventional mass media and Internet media) and their linkage with political participation as the threshold to discuss this issue.

The role of media is important due to two reasons. First, the nature of media in China is taking drastically changes. From 1949 when PRC was founded, the state-controlled media system has successfully mobilized people from the whole nation to participate into state development and knowledge penetration (Bishop, 1989). However, started from 1990s, with the “conglomeration” (*ji tuan hua*) process, the media industry become a semi-business seeking economic benefits on the one hand and portraying positive nation-party image on the other (Lee, He, & Huang,

2006). Therefore, media in China are acting in a double “role”: both political propaganda equipment and commodity in the liberal market. To cope with this trend, besides some sensational entertainment news and large advertising pages, even some political “incorrect” messages can also appear on the media (Ma, 2002, pp. 22-23). Secondly, the Internet has altered the media landscape where the audiences are not merely receiver but also content generator (Leung, 2009) and conduct social networking, mobilizing collective action together with traditional mass media (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Postmes & Brunsting, 2002). In some extreme cases, online opinion can even affect the decision of central government (Hand, 2006; Zhang, 2009, July).

However, concentrating on the media can only examine their changing nature, without articulating their effects on average people. Although some overseas Chinese scholars elaborated this double role from political economic, commercialization and globalization perspectives (Lee et al., 2006; Lee, He, & Huang, 2007; Y. Z. Zhao, 2000), the consequence of this double role is yet to be determined. As Lee and coworkers (2006) noted, marketization itself won't lead to democratization. How do the average people receive the media content? How people's perception of politics, civic and democracy is influenced by the double role media?

Regarding participation in China, two sides of voices are raised. For one thing, as argued by some domestic scholars, there is decline of political or civic participation in China, especially among youth. Youngsters in China today are no longer as active as their elder counterparts twenty years ago. They become more apolitical, having lower political-efficacy, being addicted to online games and care much about finding a good

job. However, for another, the number of collective protest rises dramatically together with an increasing number of NGOs and civic groups these years. While the collective actions are sometimes damage as its nature, most NGOs take the form of environmental, lawsuit to express their political appeal and negotiate with the government (Yang, 2005).

Examining the mechanism between media usage and civic participation, the study is conducted as the follows. First, I discussed the changing role of media within the context of changing nature of state and state-society relationship. Then I proposed two positive relationships between media use and two set of political participation at cognitive level: political confidence and perception of democracy. Next I build the linkage between such perception engagement and behavior participation with the indicators of civic organization membership and political actions recently done. And results and discussion follow.

The Double Role of Chinese Media

All media in China are controlled by CCP with “four unchanged principles of party-ruled media” (*dang guan mei ti si bu bian*), which are: the “mouthpiece” (*hou she*) nature of media is unchanged; all media are under the supervision of CCP; media professionals are under the leadership of CCP, and media should lead the public opinion in accordance with CCP’s order, respectively (Qian, 2006). Some domestic scholars considered that these principles are extremely taken into consideration during conglomeration (Y. Chen, 2002; Zhu, 2009). Even in the era of internet, the Chinese

government has strengthened its control over online information. A comprehensive system for internet censorship has been established, such as GFW (“Great Firewall”, referring to China national firewall), internet-police, monitoring center at public security and different kinds of information filter softwares. Besides party leadership and information control, in a recent case of Beijing Olympic, Chinese media have conducted “a campaign of mass distraction”, using large scale of positive propaganda and mobilization messages through which the audiences’ attention is distracted from more troubling issues such as inflation, unemployment, political corruption and environmental degradation (Brady, 2009).

However, this is only one side of the coin. Two interesting phenomena caught scholars’ attention. Take *Shenzhen Economic Special Zone Daily*, the official newspaper of CCP Shenzhen branch, as an example. within the same sheet of newspaper, the front page is much more inclined to political correct than inner pages (Lee et al., 2006). Another case is that within different types of media, print media is more restrictive than broadcast media while news media is more restrictive than cultural media as magazines, periodicals or TV show, radio phone-in programs (Ma, 2002, p. 23). So to what extend does Chinese media deviate from the political control?

From the prism of media type, as note by Ma (2002), electronic media are more liberal than print media. Take TV, with the 96.6% national penetration¹ and being perhaps the most popular medium in China, as an example. Two types of program are

¹ Data from CMM Intelligence Agency, available at <http://www.cmmintelligence.com/>

deviated the most from the mainstream of party-state in both program content and mode of interaction with the audience. One type is the abrasive journalism (also called investigation journalism). Learnt from its Western counterparts, the investigation program in TV sometimes stand against the government decision and being representative of those unsatisfied citizen due to the reform process, such as laid-off workers, lost-land farmers and the hard lives in under-developed remote villages (de Burgh, 2003). A recent study even argued that the professionalism among Chinese journalists are developed, which is similar to those in Western democratic countries (S. Zhang, 2009). Another type is the large scale TV reality show, imitating its overseas counterpart *American Idol*. From 2004 when Hunan TV held the first *Super Female Voice*, the annual TV reality talent shows in China raised several whirlwind enthusiasts of “TV Cinderella myth”. Particularly, besides mass scale voluntarily gathering² and voting, people are in favor of those apparent democracy displayed during the singing contests, acting as “democratic entertainment” in China (Jian & Liu, 2009).

Besides such TV programs, internet is another venue for people to conduct information flow. By July of 2009, China has over 382 million internet users, exceeding the overall population of US. Various controversial issues can be debated among online forum, blog, social networking sites and other channels. Although under heavily-guarded online environment, the Chinese internet users have alternative

² According to the voting statistics from official website of CMMC, in the 2005 competition, the champion got 3.52 million votes whereas over 8 million votes were made for the candidates ranked first three.

methods to “bypass” the block using tools like anti-blocking software, mirror sites, re-mailers, secret Usenet groups, and anonymous e-mail services (Lacharite, 2002). As noted by Endeshaw (2004), the state-internet relationship in China is like a never-ending “cat and mouse” game. Internet also serves as a “democratic institution” as netizens use Internet as a “mean of collective action” to challenge justice fairness even state legitimacy (Zheng & Wu, 2005).

So I argue that the Chinese media are delivering two (but no limited to) major kinds of messages. One is political propaganda message tight to positive nation image and another is the democratic related message. Moving a step further, how these two kinds of message come along and have what kind of effect of average people? Are people becoming more loyal to CCP, or more in favor of democracy? Next I will discuss a possible consequence of such messages from the perspective of audience, in terms of civic engagement at cognitive and behavior level.

Civic Engagement at Cognitive Level

Civic engagement refers to “a wide range of individual and collective social participation or action with potential consequences on the society, for achieving public goods or public concerned issues” (Son & Lin, 2008, pp. 332-333). Lots of scholars developed their approaches to identify different typologies or dimensions of civic engagement. Norris (Norris, 2002) listed three dimensions of civic engagement: political knowledge for the cognition of public events, political trust towards the political system and political participation (p. 217). This definition focused too much

on political issues while neglecting some daily engagement as trust, membership, volunteer jobs, and among many others. Later, Zukin and his colleagues (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenking, & Carpini, 2006) developed a more comprehensive measurement which includes “indicators of cognitive engagement” together with “civic indicators”, “political indicators” and “indicators of public voice” (pp. 57-58). That is, the concept of civic engagement must include measurement under both daily non-event participation (such as joining into association, keeping attention to news media, etc) and event-based participation (vote in the campaign, boycott, demonstration in a certain issue, etc), and both behavioral and perception aspects.

This section deals with perception aspects. Earlier study created a group of criterion variables as 1) level of political knowledge and 2) level of opinionating (Xenos & Moy, 2007). In China, I adopt political confidence (also named political trust), knowledge of democracy and perceived importance of democracy as three indicators of cognitive engagement. I choose these three concepts for two reasons: they are linked to the media performance in China, as Chinese media are delivering messages related to both. Moreover, this cognitive engagement may lead to actual political participation in behavior level, which I will elaborate in the next section.

Political confidence is the “cornerstone” of political survival and development within the country (Wong, Hsiao, & Wan, 2009), which is the level of trust and support based on the evaluation orientation towards the government performance. Political confidence can be divided into two aspects: the “diffuse” and “specific” (Easton, 1965). Specific support refers to the confidence of one or more specific

government outputs or political elites whereas diffuse support refers to the regime-level political objects. As noted by Hetherington (1998), as useful this division might be, it obscured the overlapping of measurement because any regime is consisted of several incumbents, and the diffuse case is more straightforward in measuring the political relevance, leading to the question of state legitimacy. I choose “diffuse” in my study due to two reasons: 1) in China, the “party and nation” (*dang he guo jia*) is always strictly combined, especially in political news appeared on the media. Most people cannot separate officials between government and CCP (Li, 2004) and treat two terms equally; 2) as China has been under CCP’s governance from 1949, the specific round of government administration may be altered³, but the whole political system may not be likely to change.

It is brought to scholars’ attention that political confidence level in China is “always” high, no matter how the questions are phrased (Kennedy, 2009). Previous scholars identified three possible reasons: 1) average people might be fear of expressing their alternative views, 2) Chinese traditional Confucian culture of “*Zhong*” (loyalty) towards the regime as it has been found that the Confucianism may impede people’s rejection of authoritarian values (Qi, 2008); and 3) the powerful effects of mass media and education system (Li, 2004; S. S. Zhao, 1998). However, alternative explanations are also raised. Chen (2005) found that average people may not dare to speak out their unsatisfactory of the government in some local survey

³ i.e. we may refer to “Bush’s administration” in 2000 to 2008 but now we refer to “Obama administration”. However, they are all political elites of US government. One may have lower trust of Bush but highly believe in the US government.

whereas in a comparison of political trust among China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, Wong et al. (2009) found that institutional factors are more powerful than culture factors for people's support of authoritarian regime (Wong et al., 2009). The tradition "blind loyalty" (*yu zhong*) of the regime has been abandoned by Chinese people and a new political culture is emerging (Chu, 2001). The effect of education system is somewhat ambiguous. People with higher education may be more critical of the propaganda information, but with the inequality of education in a large scale population, CCP still manages to retain a high level of trust (Kennedy, 2009).

Previous studies, however, left two questions unsolved. First of all, the role of media is not fully addressed. If the double role media notion is correct, then the confirmation of high trust level reveals only one side of the story. The high level of political trust does not necessarily indicate lower democratic perception, or lower level of willing to participate into political-oriented activities. Moreover, earlier studies neglected average people's resistance or critical view of government's propaganda. Therefore, to reveal the double effect of media, I introduce democratic values in my study.

The democratic values in China have a long historical background. It was first introduced to China during the Republican period of "*New Culture Movement*" and peaked at "*May 4th Movement*" in 1919. After PRC was established in 1949, democratic value has long been suppressed under CCP's authoritarian dictatorship. Even there are short period campaigns calling for diversity thoughts under the name of "hundreds of flowers, hundreds of thoughts" and reform of CCP's party daily

newspaper People's Daily, it was soon be muzzled and muted with years of suppression and chaos such as "anti-rights movement" and Great Cultural Revolution. The thoughts of daily life become diverse only until around 1978 due to the reform and open up policy. In the early and middle of 1980s, intellectuals played an pretty active role in promoting Western thoughts and democratic value, who are from three groups: researchers employed by International Academy of Chinese Culture while the other two groups are editorial committees of "going to the future" book series and "Culture: China and world" book series (Gu, 1999). Such penetration of democratic value was a crucial factor leading to *Beijing Spring Movement* and *Tiananmen Movement* in the summer of 1989. The politic control was pretty high after 1989. Only later in the middle of 1990s did the political concern of media content become looser, together with the conglomeration of media group and China's joining into Internet.

To date, per previous discussion on the role of media in China, although some sensitive and democratic content can be appeared on media, the relationship between that content and people's cognitive engagement is still to be confirmed. When treated Internet as a tool for communication, venue of public space, and a means for collective action, Internet has democratic implication and enable average user to interact with nation-state (Zheng & Wu, 2005). Therefore, the first hypothesis is posted:

H1a: Media usage level is positively associated with democratic values.

H1b: Media usage level is positively associated with political confidence.

Civic and Political Participation in China

Regarding the civic participation, the *Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement* established a three-category scale: 1) civic dimension such as community problem solving, membership in an association, charity fund-raising, etc; 2) electoral activities such as regular voting, campaign contributions, etc and 3) political voice, such as contacting officials, print or broadcasting media, protest and petition, etc (Lopez et al., 2006). However, not all previous measurements can be adopted in the present study as most measurements do not meet the reality of China. For instance, the voting behavior and campaign participation in China are totally different from those in Western countries. Not only the different state-controlled political system in China only provides limited number of candidates (Shi, 1999), the motivation mechanism (J. Chen, 2000) and strategies to mobilize the voters are not totally as liberated as democratic societies (Jie Chen & Zhong, 2002). Arbitrarily using previous measures will lead to either invalid data or false explanation.

Here I define civic participation into two dimensions. One is the level of different civil membership while another is level of political actions. The civil membership in China thrived from middle of 1980s, although the term “civil society” in China quite immature (Yu, 2006). According to the official report from China Bureau of Civic Affairs, up to 2007, there are 386,916 registered NGOs, 694,715 self-governing mass organizations at the grass-root level with over 7 million of employees in total.⁴ In

⁴ Annual Statistics from China Bureau of Civic Affairs: <http://www.my12340.cn/article.aspx?ID=191>

terms of the type of membership, in an international survey, membership can be divided into three categories: religious association, “old” social movements (labor unions, professional organization and political parties), and “new” social movements (peace associations, environmental, human and women’s rights) (Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001, pp. 807, 815-816). This classification is derived from the perspective of social and political movement within democratic society, which might not be appropriate for China. Considering the social, political and historical background, Yu (2006) developed seven types of membership: mass organizations, autonomy organization, professional organization, environment organization and so on (Yu, 2006, pp. 121-122). This classification is developed within Chinese context, but it is too trivial and lack of parsimony. I combined adopt both of them and four typologies are addressed: 1) recreational membership, includes art/recreational and sports organization; 2) political organization (labor unions and political parties); and 3) professional organization (professional organization, environmental, human and women’s rights).

What the role of media is in mobilize or de-mobilized people’s civic participation? Previous studies have identified the role of media in mobilizing the civic and political participation. In democratic society, the when media is the channel of free information exchanging, media play a crucial role in mobilizing people’s participation. However, as the party-owned media in China, it was also found that the media coverage of different kinds of participation and its tolerance of such report is quite different. Those non-political civic group such environmental, civic rights or peace organization is

allowed whereas the SMO even utilized this opportunity to raise their political appeal (Yang, 2007). However, messages like petition boycott even large scale collective actions are normally prohibited in Chinese media. Therefore, here is another puzzle I proposed: in what extend will media usage affect different dimensions of civic participation? Two questions related to two hypotheses are illustrated:

H2: Media usage level is positively associated with organization membership.

H3: Media usage level is negatively associated with level of political actions.

Method

Data are retrieved from the fifth wave of World Values Survey (WVS, thereafter) conducted in China in 2007. WVS is an international, multi-level and random survey, repeating around every 5 years as “waves”. It aims to conduct longitudinal and cross-cultural measurement of a wide range of values such across over 80 countries/societies in the world. All the background information, sampling scheme, and questionnaire (written in both English and local language with rigid translation) with data (in SPSS format) can all be accessed and download on WVS official website: www.worldvaluessurvey.com.

Measurements

Mass Media Usage Media usage is measured according its medium in dichotomous variables. “1” stands for “used last week” versus “0” for “not used last week”. Daily newspaper, news broadcasts on radio or TV, printed magazines, in depth

reports on radio or TV, books, internet/e-mail are measured. Medium was then recoded into different types, which are print media (daily newspaper, printed magazine and books), broadcast media (news broadcast or in-depth reports) and new media (internet and e-mail).

Political Confidence Use a four-level-scale (1=not at all, 4=a great deal) to measure the trust level of several different government agencies including armed forces, the police, parliament, the civil services, social security system, the government, the political parties, and the justice systems. I combined them into three sets: military forces (armed forces and the police), judicial system (legislative system of Parliament⁵ and justice system) and government-administration system (the civil services, the government and the political parties).⁶

Democratic Values Here three sets of questions are retrieved: perceived importance of democracy, evaluation of democracy within the country, and support of a democratic political system.

Volunteer Organization Membership Totally nine kinds of organization were asked. For each item, the respondent was asked: whether you are a 0=not a member, 1=inactive member and 2=active member.

Political Actions Such questions in China are too sensitive and only in 2007 that

⁵ In China the parliament it is called National People's Congress (NPC), serves the function of legislation.

⁶ In the questionnaire, political parties was using the term “*zheng dang*” (政黨) without notification of whether the party refers to CCP or other democratic parties. In China, there are eight democratic parties. The role of these parties are mainly “jointly govern” and “supervision”. Here I don't care whether this is the reality. But to average people, they are under control of CCP. So I classify them in parallel with government and other civil services.

two questions were asked: sign and petition. Each respondent was asked: of such action, you “have done/might do/have never do”. The results are coded as interval variables.

Demographic Variables are served as control variables including gender, age, educational level, score of income, job category and occupation institution. All categorical variables were *contrast coded* by the author.

Results

Descriptive Analysis

In 2007, the WVS China survey was conducted by Research Center for Contemporary China (RCCC) in Peking University from Mar 25, 2007 to May 10, 2007. To cover the nation-wide universe of both sexes aged from 18-70 including the migrants, RCCC conducted “*GPS/GIS Assistant Area Sampling*” whereas respondents are sampled through stratified, multi-stage PPS (probability proportional to size) sampling.⁷ Finally 2015 valid respondents were drawn with a response rate of 78.6%, covering all provinces in mainland China.⁸

Demographic Variables As WVS covers a long list of detailed demographic measurements, I only select four basic measurements. The percentage of female (54.2%) is slightly higher than male (45.8%). Aged from 18 to 70, the average age is 44.76 with standard deviation of 13.32. Among 1990 valid respondents, nearly

⁷ Detailed technical information is available at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.com/>.

⁸ The number of valid respondents shown in WVS official website is 1991. However, when running the SPSS dataset, the system indicated there are **2015** valid cases in all kinds of statistics.

one-third (28.4%) of the respondents have completed secondary university-preparatory as their highest educational level attained, followed by inadequately elementary education (26.1%) and completed elementary education (25.6%). Technical/vocational diploma (12.5%) and university with degree (6.3) are the minority. Among 1599 valid respondents, the average score of 10-level income scale (from 1=lower step to 10=tenth step) is 3.96 with the standard deviation of 1.874. In terms of occupation nature, among 1816 valid respondents, over half (59.4%) are self-employed whereas working in public institution (15.2%) and private business (15.1%) are almost equal. Only .4% (8 people) works in the private non-profit organization.

Media Usage Around one-fifth (23%) of 1999 valid respondents reported that they've used daily newspaper. In other medium, the percentages with valid respondents are: news broadcast on radio-TV: 75% of 2008; printed magazines: 16.7% over 1992; in-depth report on radio or TV: 54.4% of 1996; book: 18.9% of 1993; and Internet/Email: 11% of 1995, which is the lowest.

Political Confidence In a 4-level scale (1=not at all confident and 4=a great deal confident), the average score of confidence among seven government agencies is 3.16, with standard deviation of .542. Specifically, the central government ranked first in terms of confidence (M=3.32, SD=.636), followed by National People's Congress (M=3.31, SD=.642), armed forces (M=3.25, SD=.651), the political parties (M=3.19, SD=.691), the civil services (M=3.13, SD=.674), the justice system (M=3.04, SD=.71) and the police (M=3.01, SD=.723). In a single test of ANOVA, the difference between

means of confidence across seven government agencies is not statistically significant (F value=1.0088, p=.335, df=12).

Democratic Values when asking how about having a democratic political system in China, majority of 1233 valid respondents chose “fairly good” (59.4%) followed by “very good” (34.3%).

Volunteer Organization Membership The descriptive results in shown in Table 1. It shows that sport/recreation, art/music and labor unions are the major membership. Professional organization and religious organization is not the majority. However, chi-square test indicates that there is no statistical difference between the numbers.

Table 1. Inactive/Active Number of Volunteer Organization Membership

	Church /Religious	Sport /Recreation	Art /Music /Education	Labor Unions	Political Party	Environment	Professional	Total
Inactive	13.97%	20.13%	16.18%	15.99%	13.01%	11.08%	9.63%	100%
Active	7.88%	19.94%	18.49%	14.47%	19.29%	14.15%	5.79%	100%
Total	10.92%	20.04%	17.34%	15.23%	16.15%	12.61%	7.71%	100%

Political Actions As the only two questions related to political action, for signing petition, only 5.9% (119) of respondents reported they “have signed petition” in the last 5 years. However, over half of respondents (44%) thought they “might do” the petition and 47.3% chose “would never do”. For boycott, the actual behavior is even less (67 people, 3.3%) and 839 people (41.6%) thought they “might do” the boycott and 52.2% thought they “would never do”. Although the actual numbers of political actions are not so high, the willing to participate is quite considerable.

Hypothesis Testing

Result of media usage and cognitive engagement and shown in Table 2. Then OLS regression of civic participation upon two cognitive perspectives was conducted and illustrated on Table 3. Then logistic regression was carried out, two political actions being the dependent variables. Finally, the overall model was reported in Table 5.

Table 2. Standardized Coefficient of OLS Regression on Cognitive Engagement

Predictors	Political Confidence			Democratic Values		
	Military	Legal Sys.	Government	Democracy in Own Country	Perceived Democracy Importance	Supporting Democracy Pol. Sys.
Media Usage						
Print Media	.046	.026	.041	.023	.041	-.061
Broadcast Media	.043	.030	.034	-.009	.034	.001
Internet	-.018	-.071*	-.056	-.012	.036	.046
Demographic						
Female	.016	.017	-.009	.011	.031	.000
Age	.067*	-.006	.059*	.064*	.070*	-.051
Education Level	-.071*	.006	-.028	-.125**	.024	-.013
Employment Status (1=full time)	.031	.046	.059*	.038	.005	-.013
Income Level	.000	.045	.045	.079**	.009	.016
Occupation (1=self-employed)	.009	.056	.050	.013	.067*	-.031
Interest in politics	.244***	.282***	.271***	.199***	.118***	.020
<i>Model R²</i>	8.27%	9.76%	1.45%	7.07%	3.38%	.8%
<i>Final Adjusted R²</i>	7.61%	9.10%	9.80%	6.27%	2.59%	-
<i>F Value</i>	12.50***	14.85***	16.06***	8.78***	4.30***	.81***
<i>Valid N</i>	1398	1384	1388	1164	1242	1018

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 2 shows that conventional media has a no significant effect upon dimensions of political confidence while internet has a negative effect of trust of legal system. For democratic values, only print media has a marginal level of positive impact of importance of democracy. Demographically, higher education level leads to

lower trust in military and more democratic knowledge. Moreover, interest in politics is an important positive predictor of democracy cognition.

Table 3. Standardized Coefficient of OLS Regression on Organization Membership

Predictors	Organization Membership		
	Recreational	Political	Professional
Media Usage			
Print Media	.159***	.196***	.105*
Broadcast Media	-.031	-.032	-.068
Internet	.086**	.026	.067*
Demographic			
Female	.015	-.045	-.016
Age	-.105***	.052*	-.112***
Education Level	.119***	.140***	.096**
Employment Status (1=full time)	-.077**	.002	-.094***
Income Level	.127***	.079**	.135***
Occupation (1=self-employed)	-.094**	-.182***	-.039
Interest in politics	.059*	.144***	.125***
<i>Model R²</i>	2.20%	21.48%	
<i>Final Adjusted R²</i>	19.64%	2.92%	
<i>F Value</i>	35.70***	38.49***	
<i>Valid N</i>	1421	1418	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3 shows that except print media associated with all three kinds of membership. Internet is a positive predictor for recreational and professional membership. Education level, income level and interests in politics also foster all kinds of membership. However, full time employers are less likely to join recreational and professional associations, compared with their part time workers, students, and unemployed people. It is also found self-employed workers have smaller chance to join into art, music, or education organizations.

Table 4. Logistic Regression on Political Action (signing petition and boycott)

Predictors	Signing Petition		Boycott	
	Odds Ratio	Probability (=1/(1+odds))	Odds Ratio	Probability (=1/(1+odds))
Media Usage				
Print Media	1.843***	64.82%	1.421*	58.70%
Broadcast Media	0.912	47.69%	1.443	59.07%
Internet	0.941	48.47%	1.841	64.80%
Demographic				
Female	0.906	47.52%	0.666	39.99%
Age	0.847	45.87%	0.977	49.41%
Education Level	2.087**	67.61%	2.170**	68.45%
Employment Status (1=full time)	0.811	44.79%	0.613	38.01%
Income Level	1.148*	53.44%	1.232*	55.20%
Occupation (1=self-employed)	1.333	57.14%	1.384	58.06%
Interest in politics	0.810	44.76%	0.955	48.84%
<i>Pseudo R²</i>		16.24%		15.49%
<i>LR Chi-sq</i>		121.90***		73.19***
<i>log likelihood</i>		-314.302		-199.736
<i>Goodness-of-fit Sig.</i>		.193 ns		.360 ns
<i>Valid N</i>		1430		1430

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

In table 4, parameter coefficients were reported as probability mode, the critical points being 50%. Print media is positively associated with both kinds of political action. One logarithm increase in the unit of print media use, the probability of signing petition and joining into boycott will increase 14.82% and 8.70%, respectively, being other conditions equal. The possibility of political actions also increases with educational level and income level.

Discussion

1) The notion of “double role of media” should be further explained. That is, in

perception level, party-controlled mass media (both print and broadcast) failed to build a positive linkage with people's political confidence. Internet use even has a negative linkage with political trust. Meanwhile, media might not be an effective channel to promote democratic value. Chinese media currently are concentrated upon commercialization, depoliticalization, and internationalization, while the due to the audiences' dependency, CCP is losing ground to some commercial oriented media (Sun, Chang, & Yu, 2001).

2) In behavior level, media will arouse people to join into different level of membership and political actions. Look even further, from the descriptive analysis, we found that Radio and TV are the most popular media in China because in most underdeveloped remote area without daily newspaper and high illiteracy rate, RTV is the only information channel. Examine the beta value of RTV only, we can found that RTV is almost still delivering the "mandate" message: more political confidence, no democratic values, less organization membership, marginal level of political action. Therefore, the net effect of RTV is yet to be studied, considering its highest population in China.

3) Another possible explanation of media and participation is, most political and professional organizations are centering on or even subsidiary the CCP. For one thing, financially, take some intellectual groups as an example, they receive financial support from the government and develop their "research". This co-habitant relationship is defined as "patron-client model" (Ngeow, 2007). For another, administratively, take Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) as an example, as

a institution engaging into 1989 Tiananmen Incident, it still can “survive” and stay with the government. Because it receive CCP’s political direction intentionally while CCP also deliver radical political views through “regulation, guidelines, meetings, academic activities and financial, material and social encouragement” (Sleeboom-Faulkner, 2007, p. 83). Therefore, most high education groups or professional groups have become both think-tank and mouthpiece for government, rather than deviant dissents. This can also partly explain the opposite direction in my findings: the democratic value provide no increasing in membership but marginal increasing in political action. Because democratic values and political confidence are somewhat heading towards a different direction, given the contextual background of authoritarian China under CCP government.

Conclusion, Limitation & Suggestion

Per previous discussion, from three perspectives I conclude that 1) media in China is more than playing the double role of political propaganda and market competition. For one thing, it contributes nothing to help the CCP establish state legitimacy. For another, the increasing information flow magnitude contributes nothing to the democratic related actions. 2) Political participation is not moving on the “right” track of democratic participation due to the nature of state and nature of memberships, given the differential type of media and professional organization’s linkage with government. Therefore, 3) a further study of predictors of civic participation, especially political actions is in need, which also points out one of the

suggestions for further research.

In analyzing the effect of media upon people's democracy perception, this study (also the WVS) failed to include the alternative channel of information. In coastal cities in China, people can go to Hong Kong to buy or view some political sensitive books or periodicals. Another source is large scale of local-made piracy DVD. There are thousands of underground factory and retails selling piracy DVD in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen, Sanya, etc. There are also numerous numbers of P2P and BT download sites in China,⁹ which is totally deviated from mainstream media in terms of content regulation, distribution flow and interaction between the audiences. We still need studies to reveal the new behaviors adopted by people after this new technology.

In addition, as pointed out by Zhang (2009), the classification of dimension of civic engagement in China is fairly crucial. Take "petition" as an example. If the "petition" is about supporting Beijing Olympic then it is more than welcome and will receive large proportion of media coverage. However, just think about Dr. Xu Zhiyong and Mr. Liu Xiaobo, after they "signed" the *Charter of 2008*, they were arrested and probably will be prosecuted due to the "crime of subversion of the state". However, it is still a myth of public's opinion towards such "outliers". Are such democracy thoughts popular enough? From the WVS result presented in "scale" or "scores", the democracy values in China are more than high enough. But to what extend and in what condition will such values transfer to behavior, or just be muted

⁹ When I was writing this article, notice came that the Radio-TV Film Bureau is going to close three major P2P sources website in China and mass resistance is aroused. The result is still no clear. But as a researcher, we may concentrate on the effect of BT downloading, which has been accumulated for years.

due to powerful nation machine?

Lastly, that comes to the old question of conducting public opinion research in China. Either the respondents may provide a “save” answer or the whole questions is being “harmonized” (deleted) before it is conducted. What is the real causal or interplay relationship between state, media, civic society and culture in China?

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Emotional Intelligence Paradigm for the Operation of Natural Resource Management

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Topic: The paper presents an Emotional Intelligence Paradigm for evaluating the human component of the natural resource management model by establishing a model of individual and group emotional intelligence and then testing the model through a pilot study.

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Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to highlight the nature and use of a model of emotional intelligence (EI) characteristics in relation to members of natural resource management committees in Australia.

Approach: An overview of the impact of reforms in the public management domain upon the operation of Australia's natural resource management workflow framework is followed by a review of EI characteristics that are relevant to the goals and methods of natural resource management committees. A pilot study was conducted to test the relevance of an EI framework to the work of such committees. Some suggestions are made specifically pertinent to the Australian Government policy, in a region, which is a major player in resource management innovation both nationally and globally.

Findings: The outcomes of the pilot study provide a positive basis for the continuation of research within the area of EI and its influence on the operating effectiveness of natural resource management committees.

Originality and Value: Based on emerging research findings on EI and public sector management principles, this paper takes a user-centred view of the committee management process. Suggestions are made for EI applicable strategies, which will enhance the effectiveness of this EI-based novel paradigm in an Australian context. Based on the results of the pilot it appears worthwhile to conduct further in-depth studies to tease out further details of the applicability of the EI paradigm on the management of natural resource management committees.

Introduction

The direction of natural resource management in Australia has been driven, in part, by the need for global public sector reform. These reforms provided the foundation for the development of the current Australian natural resource management model which is based on the appreciation that solutions, which are locally driven, determined and implemented are amongst the longest lasting in their effect (Carson, White, Hendricks & Palmer, 2002).

After considering the need for community based solutions the State and Territory Governments initiated the establishment of locally driven natural resource management committees. It was considered that to successfully achieve community consultation and public participation, and to empower the community to take control of natural resource management issues (NSW Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources, 2003), these committees would need to build rapport with the community, to negotiate, to manage change proactively and importantly, to provide leadership.

As these newly formed natural resource management committees began to operate it was observed by stakeholder groups, such as the Irrigation Industry, Landcare and local government, that some committees were more effective than others (Council of Australian Governments, 2006). This observation has prompted a review of the operation of the natural resource management model by the Australian Government. This review is intended to focus first on the economic and environmental aspects of the model. The review of these aspects will broadly address key targets, best management practices, methods for monitoring and evaluating the natural resource and on-ground expenditure. The social, or human component of the model will be reviewed in the context of whether the model has improved community awareness of natural resource management, aided in the adoption of information and new technology and whether the government support systems in place are effective (Australian Government, 2008). Even though there is research evidence which supports the importance of emotional competencies in the effectiveness of both individuals and committees to build rapport with the community, to negotiate, to manage change proactively and to provide leadership the review does not address this component.

The paper presents an EI Paradigm for evaluating the human component of the natural resource management model by establishing a model of individual and group EI and then testing the model through a pilot study.

Public Sector Reform and Natural Resource Management

Over the last 40 years, both within Australia and internationally, natural resource management has been shaped in part by the need for global public sector reform. The international public sector reform agenda has been highly complex and intricate, and while each individual country has developed reform programs and distinctive reform models and strategies it has been acknowledged that global public sector reform is driven by seven common factors (Australian Public Service Commission, 2003; Johnston, 2003). Globalisation, the ability to capture information and data, resource constraints and demographic changes in population are the first four identified drivers of change. It is the last three drivers of change, changing community expectations of government, the move from a closed system to a more participative and inclusive culture in policy development and changing attitudes towards government fuelled by rising expectations of citizens, which have had a marked impact on natural resource management (Tiernan et al., 2002).

Australia, along with countries such as New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, have embraced the final three drivers of public sector reform and developed natural resource management models which have replaced the traditional 'top-down' model of centralised management that relies on governments for planning and implementation with an approach that relies on participation by citizens through regional boards and committees (Beeton et al., 2006).

Australian Natural Resource Management Model

Successive Australian Governments have worked towards the implementation of extensive and significant public sector reforms. These reforms have focused on promoting efficient and effective resource management, responsiveness to clients, transparency in government operations, the opportunity for citizens to participate in policy making, fair dealing between government and citizens, and the ethical behaviour of public officials (Verspaandonk, 2001).

With a platform for public sector reform established by the Australian Government, State and Territory Governments commenced the introduction of major reforms in their key natural

resource management agencies. These reforms were based on community consultation and public participation and provided a strong commitment to working with the community to develop better policies and ways to deliver them (NSW Premier's Department, 2001). Within the context of these reforms each State and Territory Government made a commitment to ensuring that a structured process was developed that would build rapport with the community, provide a mechanism for negotiation, manage change proactively and provide leadership.

This new direction provided the mechanism in which the natural resource management model began to move from a closed system to a more participative and inclusive system (Keating, Davis & Weller 2000). In order to facilitate the implementation of this new model (Figure 1) the State and Territory Governments established natural resource management committees where membership was comprised of individuals from the community that were appointed by either a stakeholder based selection process or a competitive merit based selection process. It should be noted that while each State and Territory had a common agreement with the Australian Government with respect to the structures, legislative powers, responsibilities and reporting channels of the newly formed natural resource management committees there are inconsistencies between the States and Territories with regard to the name given to the committees, program administration, regional responsibilities and resourcing (Robins & Dovers, 2007).

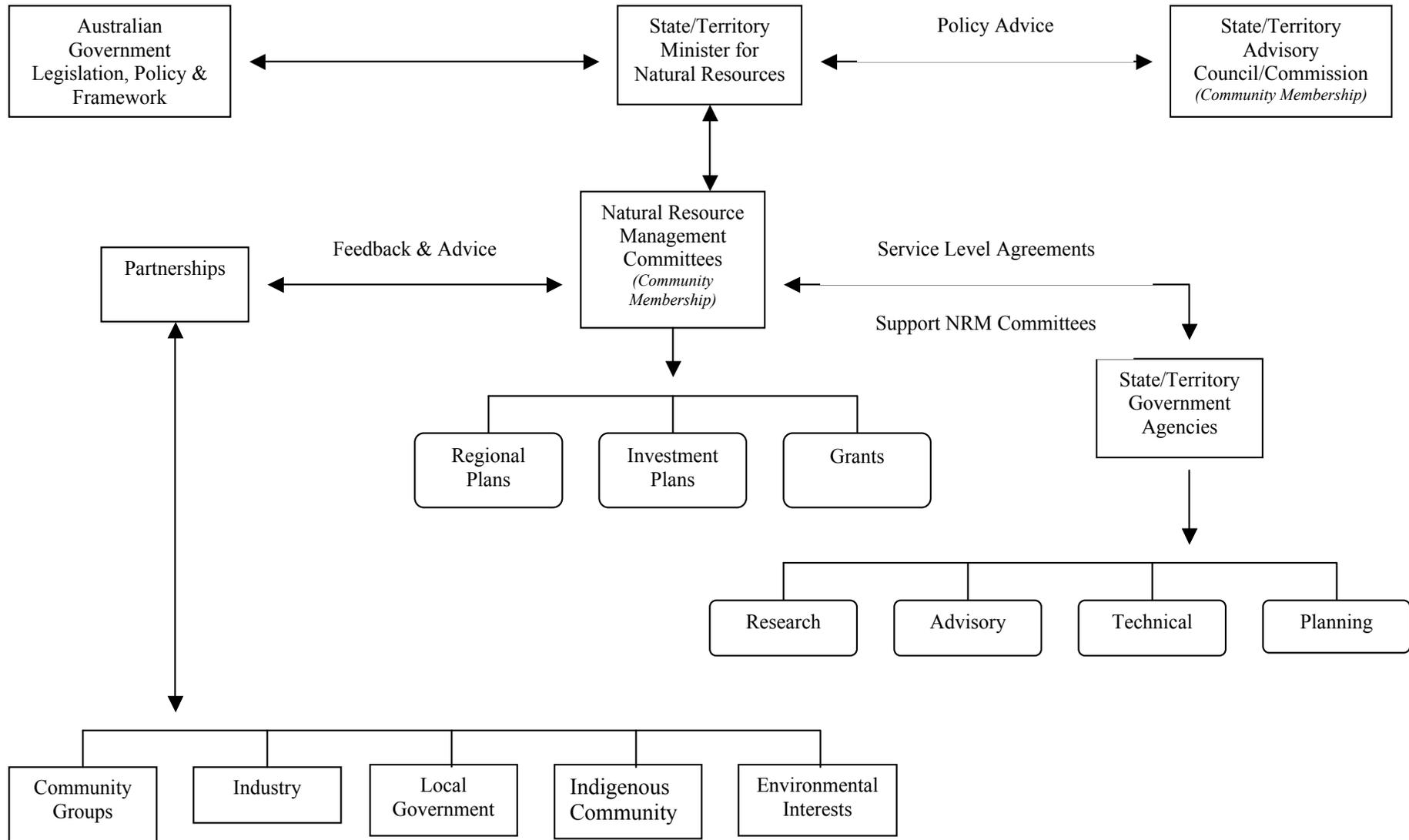


Figure 1: Model of Natural Resource Management in Australia (Schalk, 2008)

As these committees were established and began operation it was observed by stakeholder groups that some committees were more effective than others (Council of Australian Governments 2006). These observations prompted a review of the natural resource management model focused firstly on the economic and environmental aspects of the model. The review of these aspects will broadly address the relevance of regional key targets, the applicability of adopted best management practices, the methods for monitoring and evaluating the natural resource and on-ground expenditure (Australian Government, 2008). The social, or human component of the model will be reviewed in the context of whether the model has improved community awareness of natural resource management, aided in the adoption of information and new technology and whether the government support systems in place are effective in engaging the community (Australian Government, 2007).

Natural resource management goes beyond understanding the relevance of key regional targets, the applicability of best management practices, the methods for monitoring and evaluating the condition of the natural resource and the importance of public participation and community consultation. It should also focus on enhancing genuine community engagement by fostering social cohesion within communities and building both human and social capital. It is well recognised that in order to achieve long-term environmental outcomes, investments in people are critical (Australian Government 2007) and to date the Australian, State and Territory Governments have not reviewed the model in terms of natural resource management committee composition and their ability to make decisions and provide leadership (Schalk, 2008).

The Impact of Emotional Intelligence on Natural Resource Management

The management of natural resources in Australia is complex and often contentious, and therefore it is important to have natural resource management committees who are able to provide leadership and engage the community in natural resource management decisions (NSW Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources, 2003). A study by Herkenhoff (2004) indicated that in environments where leadership and community engagement are vital those involved need emotional capabilities to inspire and empathise with the community. Higgs (2004), Moriarty & Buckley (2003) and Tischler et al., (2002) further highlight the importance of emotional capabilities in the success of individuals and groups by suggesting that performance and success are improved if the emotional competencies of conscientiousness, emotional resilience, motivation, interpersonal sensitivity and self-awareness are focused and developed. The literature further demonstrates (Cadman & Brewer, 2001; Druskat & Wolff, 2001a; Palmer et al., 2000; Welch, 2003) that the use of EI competencies is beneficial for predicting performance, selecting leaders and managers and building stronger teams. It is therefore not unreasonable to ask, in the absence of any review focusing on the human component of natural resource management, whether the current Australian model of participatory committees will productively serve the needs for the community and lead the way to sustainable natural resource management (Schalk, 2008).

EI is defined in many ways, but generally it is about people being able to assess their own feelings and thoughts, gauge the feelings and thoughts of those around them, and adjust their behaviour to respond to the right things in the right way at the right time (McLelland, 2004). Goleman (2004) suggests that EI is concerned with the integration of feelings, thoughts and behaviours to deal appropriately with any set of circumstances that may arise. According to Bar-On (2000) there are four main branches of EI which include the ability to be aware of, to understand and to express oneself; the ability to be aware of, to understand and to relate to

others; the ability to deal with strong emotions and control one's impulses; and the ability to adapt to change and to solve problems of a personal or social nature.

Studies by Cadman & Brewer (2001), Palmer et al., (2000) and Goleman (2004) have consistently demonstrated that EI is the factor that marks out individuals as leaders, innovators and effective managers. The following six examples show that EI contributes to the bottom line in any work organisation:

- The United States Air Force used EI tests to select their front line human resource personnel recruiters and found that the most successful recruiters scored significantly higher in EI competencies compared to unsuccessful recruiters (Cherniss, 2004)
- Individuals who displayed a set of six EI competencies were distinguished as star performers in a survey of over 300 top level executives from fifteen global companies (Spencer, 1997)
- Hunter et al., (1990) determined that in jobs of medium complexity, a top performer is 12 times more productive than those at the bottom, and in the most complex jobs, a top performer is 127 times more productive than an average performer. Goleman (1998) suggests that one-third of this difference is due to technical skill and cognitive ability while two-thirds is due to emotional competence
- In a large firm, using standard methods to hire division presidents, 50% left within two years mostly because of poor performance. When the firm started selecting based on emotional competence only 6% left within two years (McClelland, 1998)
- The ability to handle stress, which is identified as an emotional competence, has been linked to success as a manager and a leader (Lusch & Serpkeuci, 1990)
- In a study by Schutte et al., (2001) where participants were asked to complete a 33 item measure of EI, which assessed to what extent individuals characteristically perceived, understood, regulated and harnessed emotions, it was observed that individuals with higher EI performed better on cognitive tasks, and when encountering difficulties whilst performing those tasks they were better able to ward off the detrimental emotional effects of the difficulties and persist with the task.

Various literature also suggests that potentially, by introducing the concept of EI into the work environment the effects may be:

- Greater confidence in influencing and inspiring both colleagues and committee members by fostering positive attitudes and creating a sense of contribution and belonging (Palmer et al., 2000).
- An ability to build rapport with a diverse range of people and fostering a network of people built on goodwill and trust (Goleman, 2004).
- Being able to effectively listen and empathise while encouraging debate and open discussion, and orchestrating win-win situations (Goleman, 2004). This would provide employees with greater confidence to mediate and negotiate difficult situations.
- The cultivation of the ability to think 'outside the box' when change demands the application of new ideas to achieve results (Advanced Communication Skills, 2004).
- The further development of team collaboration and performance (Advanced Communication Skills, 2004) through being more aware of their personal emotions and their colleagues' emotions.
- Improving the team's ability to make decisions (Barbuto & Burbach, 2006).
- An improved ability to manage personal emotions, understand other people's emotions and to handle stress (Cherniss, 2000).

While it has been acknowledged that EI is critical in fostering teamwork (Druskat & Wolff, 2001a) the majority of studies have focused on EI as an individual competency. Natural resource management in Australia is based on the operation of natural resource management committees, which must function as a team and therefore it is critical to understand team EI. Druskat and Wolff (2001a) suggest that team EI is more complicated than individual EI because teams interact at more levels. This observation is further supported by Welch (2003) who reports that team EI is made up, not only of each individual's EI, but also from a collective competency.

Research by Druskat and Wolff (2001a) shows that three conditions are essential to a group's effectiveness. These conditions are trust among members, a sense of group identity and a sense of group efficacy. Even if these conditions are absent cooperation and participation are still possible but the team will not be as effective. To be most effective the team needs to create emotionally intelligent norms which will support behaviours for building trust, group identity and group efficacy. Creating awareness of emotions through team self-evaluation and seeking feedback, and regulating emotions through creating resources for working with emotion, creating an affirmative environment and solving problems proactively are the norms that are established by emotionally intelligent groups. This research showed that the most effective teams are the emotionally intelligent ones.

The literature suggests that the implications of EI can be broadly grouped into three categories. Firstly, Herkenhoff (2004), George (2000) and Tischler, Biberman & McKeage (2002) suggest that at an individual level EI is important in effective communication, building rapport and influencing others. Secondly, in commercial terms, EI is seen to underpin performance and in understanding and meeting customer needs (Higgs, 2004; Rahim & Minors, 2003; Schutte et al., 2001). Thirdly, in an organisational context, EI is seen as critical in fostering teamwork and motivating others (Druskat & Wolff, 2001b; Moriarty & Buckley, 2003; Welch, 2003).

Emotional Intelligence Paradigm for Improving Natural Resource Management

As previously discussed, the review of the Australian natural resource management model focuses on the relevance of key environmental targets, the adoption of best management practices and the improvement in a community's awareness of natural resource management. Traditionally, these outcome focused criteria have been used to measure the effectiveness of the natural resource management model, and subsequently extrapolated to measure the effectiveness of natural resource management committees.

In managing natural resources, decision-making processes can be complex and contentious, and often further hindered by the need to provide leadership and engage the community (NSW Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources, 2003). Studies by Herkenhoff (2004), Higgs (2004), Moriarty & Buckley (2003), Tischler et al., (2002) and Druskat & Wolff (2001a) have indicated that in complex decision-making environments where leadership and community engagement are vital those involved need to have focused and developed emotional competencies of conscientiousness, emotional resilience, motivation, resilience, interpersonal sensitivity and self-awareness.

Figure 2 provides a new paradigm for the review of the natural resource management model, including the review of the effectiveness of natural resource management committees in terms of emotional competencies.

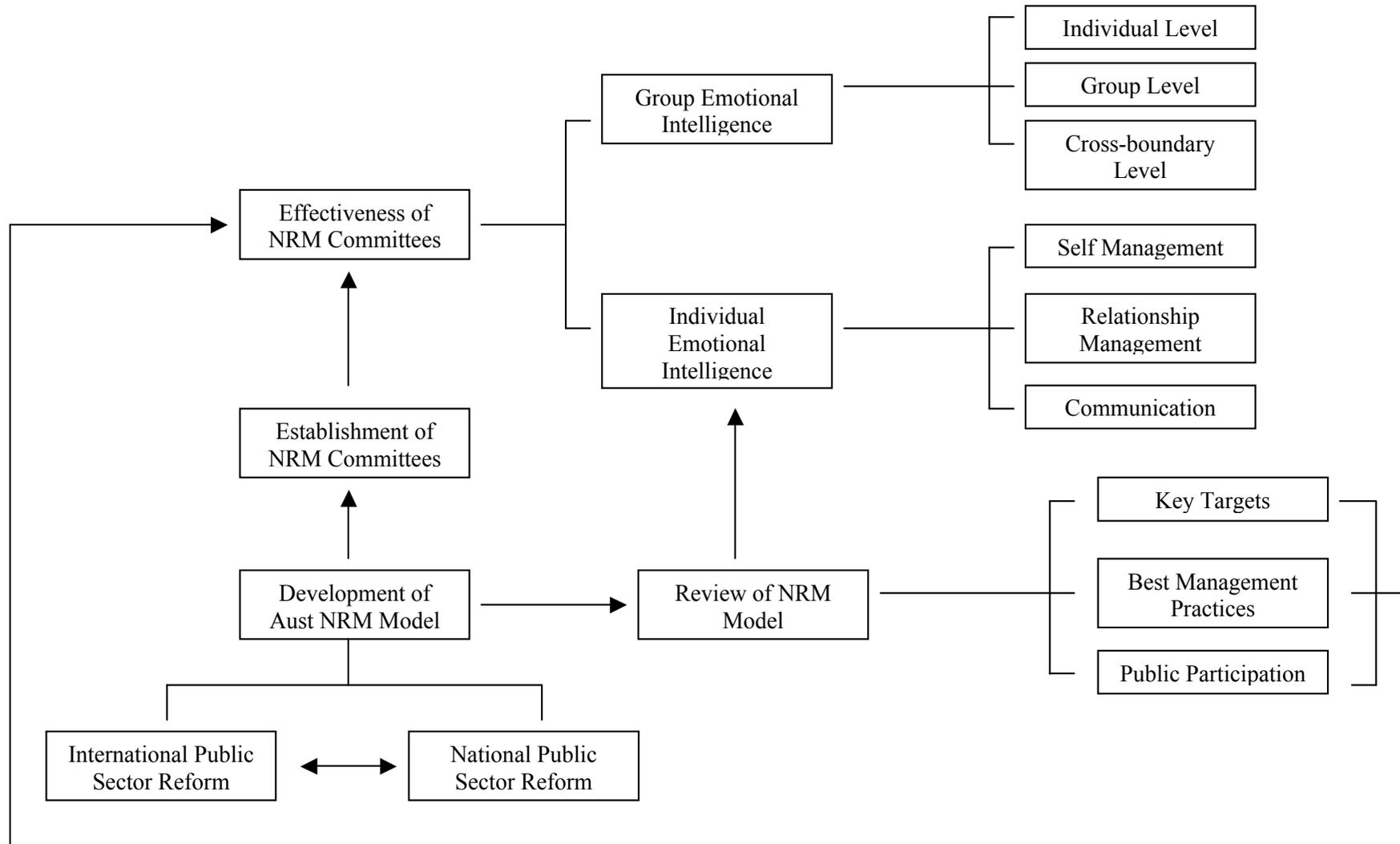


Figure 2: Emotional Intelligence Paradigm for the Review of the Australian Natural Resource Management Model

To review the natural resource management model in terms of emotional competencies it is important to consider measuring both individual and group emotional competencies. Individual emotional competencies influence the interpretation of and behavioural response to emotion, which over time builds a system of collective beliefs about issues such as trust, safety and group efficacy. Group emotional competencies define the ability of a group to develop a set of group norms that influence the interpretation of and behavioural response to emotion in a constructive and positive way (Druskat & Wolff, 2001b).

The EI Paradigm identifies three individual emotional intelligent components and 17 corresponding individual EI competencies (Table 1). The components and competencies are based on the Goleman (2004) model of EI that aims to measure the four basic concepts of self-awareness, self-management, social awareness and relationship management. These four concepts encompass the skills and knowledge identified by Davidson et al., (2008) that contribute to the effective operation of individual members on natural resource management committees.

Table 1: Individual Emotional Intelligence Components and Scales

Components	Scales
Self Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-Development- manages one’s own time, energy and abilities for continuous personal growth and maximum performance. • Adaptability/Stress Tolerance - maintains balance and performance under pressure and stress. Ability to effectively cope with ambiguity and change in a constructive manner. • Self-Control - manages and control emotions and behavior in the face of interpersonal conflict. Demonstrates patience, rarely overreacts or loses control. • Trustworthiness - demonstrates and practices high standards of personal and professional integrity. Displays honesty and candor. Creates trusting relationships with others. • Strategic Problem Solving - analyses a situation, identifies alternative solutions, and develops specific actions. Gathers and utilises available information in order to understand and solve organisational issues and problems. • Achievement Orientation - accomplishes tasks, projects and assignments on time and with quality
Relationship Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building Strategic Relationships - initiates and cultivates strategic internal and external networking relationships that foster both individual and organisational

Components	Scales
	<p>goals. Builds and maintains effective and collaborative relationships with diverse internal and external stakeholders.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict Management - negotiates and effectively resolve interpersonal differences with others. • Leadership/Influence - utilizes appropriate interpersonal styles and approaches in facilitating a group towards task achievement. • Interpersonal Sensitivity/Empathy - takes actions that demonstrate consideration for the feelings and needs of others. • Team/Interpersonal Support - assists, motivates, encourages and supports others who depend on each other to accomplish tasks, projects and assignments • Collaboration - establishes and develops cooperative, supportive and collaborative working relationships with others.
Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Written Communication - expresses written thoughts and ideas in a clear and concise manner. • Two-Way Feedback - keeps others informed in a timely manner. • Oral Communication - conveys oral thoughts & ideas in a clear and concise manner • Oral Presentation - presents individual and organizational viewpoints to groups in a clear and persuasive manner. • Listening - listens and understands the verbal communications of others

Source: Envisia Learning, 2008.

Group EI in the EI Paradigm has been divided into three levels; individual, group and cross-boundary. These levels are then divided into six dimensions, which are further divided into nine norms (Table 2). The levels and dimensions are based on Goleman’s EI framework of awareness and regulation of emotion at multiple levels (Goleman, 2004).

Table 2: Group Emotional Intelligence Norms

Levels	Dimensions	Norms
Individual	Group Awareness of Members	1. Interpersonal Understanding: is the degree to which a group attempts to understand the needs, perspectives, skills and emotions of its members. This norm relates to the ability of members to build bonds among themselves.
	Group Management of Members	2. Confronting Members Who Break Norms: is the degree to which a group addresses member behaviour that goes against agreed behaviour or is harmful to group effectiveness. This requires empathy, self-control and persuasion. 3. Caring Behaviour: is the degree to which a group treats its members with respect, supports them, seeks their perspectives, and validates their efforts. This norm contributes to members identifying with the group.
Group	Group Self-awareness	4. Team Self-evaluation: is the degree to which a group is aware of how it is performing. An Emotionally Intelligent group will be aware of their collective moods and will seek out information to assist in evaluating how well the group is working.
	Group Self-management	5. Creating Resources for Working With Emotion: is the degree to which the group allows time and resources for addressing member emotions. 6. Creating an Affirmative Environment: is the degree to which a group stays positive and optimistic in the face of challenges. 7. Proactive Problem Solving: is the degree to which a group anticipates problems and takes action to prevent them as well as taking action to address challenges.
Cross Boundary (External)	Group Social Awareness	8. Organisational Understanding: is the degree to which a group seeks to understand the needs and concerns of those outside the group.
	Group Management of External Relationships	9. Building External Relations: is the degree to which a group actively and strategically builds relationships with other people and groups who can affect their performance and provide resources.

Source: Wolff (2006)

Piloting the Emotional Intelligence Paradigm

A pilot study using an Environmental Management Program Project Team was designed and conducted to determine whether the EI Paradigm could be successfully applied to the review process of the natural resource management model. The pilot study used a self-report survey

of EI and entailed the distribution of both an individual EI survey and a group EI survey to each of the eight committee members. Two observers, who regularly attended committee meetings, were also asked to complete the group EI survey. Three sets of survey data were collected to facilitate data triangulation and to provide a detailed EI profile for the committee. The first and second sets of data collected targeted individual committee members and provided individual committee member EI profiles along with a group EI profile. The third set of data collected was observer data, which provided an assessment of group EI for the committee as a whole.

The preliminary outcomes of the pilot study determined that there was a moderate level of agreement of the existence of emotionally competent group behaviours, along with the perception that the committee operated more effectively in the dimension of self-awareness at individual and group levels than at self-regulation at individual and group levels. The study also indicated that there was a need for improving the effectiveness of members giving and receiving feedback and creating resources to successfully work with the emotions of the committee (Sofa & Schalk, 2008). These findings provide a positive basis for the continuation of research in the area of EI and its influence on the operating effectiveness of natural resource management committees.

Conclusion

The pilot study indicated a positive impact of the EI paradigm on the management of natural resource management committees. The management of natural resources is complex and often contentious, requiring natural resource management committees to have, or acquire, skills that will enable them to provide leadership and engage the community in decision making processes. Further studies in this area could assist to map particular strategies for the development of the EI competencies of conscientiousness, emotional resilience, motivation, interpersonal sensitivity and self-awareness of committee members. The pilot study also indicated that there was a need for improving the effectiveness of members giving and receiving feedback and creating resources to successfully work with emotions. If the results of replicated studies confirm the need for the development of competencies in the areas of giving and receiving feedback it would be beneficial to design interventions, training content or meeting protocols to address this identified area of need.

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**The Route to the West and the Way Back to the Native:
The Historical Studies of Westernisation
and Nativism of Taiwanese Modern Theatre**

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In the first half of the twentieth century, the theatrical form of Western origin was new and first introduced to Taiwan. Its appearance on this island henceforth suggested a conceptual opposition to something 'old' as well as many different styles of native drama currently performed on the island, ranging from theatricals of *nanguan* and *beiquan* music through several hybrid forms which were all conventionalised and characterised by the operatic acting and the dramatisation of several old themes. Since then, Western-styled theatre had been thought of as a modern form of theatre, and there were countless efforts could be seen in Taiwan, shown and shared by many theatre practitioners, to assimilate numbers of Western repertoires onto the Taiwanese stage. First through the Japanese colonisation and then through the post-war rapport with the United States, the twentieth century had seen quite a historical background that paved the way for many local theatre practitioners—mostly the well-educated youth—to have a direct contact with a variety of Western theatricals and thereby to absorb considerable dramatic novelties from abroad. For many of them, the native theatricals—*qizi*, *luantan*, *gezai*, or the like—were not only the old-time recreation, always repeating themselves in form and in style but were too narrowly used and affiliated with many local liturgical functions to seriously carry out any artistic depth. Many young theatre practitioners, who received the modern education and grew up with an intellectual contact with the outer world, tended to turn their eyes to other new sources of inspiration rather than the native theatricals which, they generally believed, were obsolete and old-fashioned. This strain of thought recurrently dominated the Taiwanese theatre throughout the twentieth century, vigorously viewing and entitling the appropriation of foreign-styled theatre to better excavate and articulate the deeper and wealthier level of art. With that, many young theatre practitioners were largely oriented to expanding and strengthening their understanding of Western theatre, leaving the native forms of theatricals, albeit many had been there in Taiwan for over hundreds of years, so belittled and estranged from their life.

The problematics of Westernisation

This paper aims at reviewing the reception history—as well as the affected

historiography pertinent to representing this reception—of the Western theatre in Taiwan. I intend to briefly outline how Taiwanese theatre practitioners over a long period of time have been intensely and variously appropriating a considerable body of Western repertoires and theories, and argue how it then results in such a far-reaching consequence that around the early 1990s the backbone theories of historiography and theatre studies were made up by a package of knowledge borrowed directly from the West. Ever since the very inception in the Japanese colonial time, the arrival of new theatrical forms of Western origin had been warmly accepted and designated as *xinju* (literally New Drama) in Taiwan, which could be said corresponding with the current movement of *shingeki* (New Theatre) in Japan and arguably could even find roots back to the modern theatre in Europe and the United States. Through the Japanese colonial expansion, Taiwan and the theatrical activities happening on this island had in fact been included in a large geopolitical terrain of modernisation which, if understood from the perspective of Japanese colonial homeland, was principally an enterprise of Westernisation, a nationwide task to emulate the Western powers in many ways through which Japan as a colonialist empire passed ever since the Meiji Restoration. This cultural and political practice of modernisation/Westernisation was likewise assumed in colony Taiwan to modernise and thereby to uplift the local culture in the colony with an aim to emulate the progress of the Japanese colonizer or even the Western powers.¹ The genesis of *xinju* in Taiwan under such a colonial climate was the case in point for it was often understood as an imperative means to modernise and renovate the native theatrical culture by absorbing, albeit indirectly through the mediation of Japanese colonisation, a variety of eminent repertoires and devising methods from the West.

Absorbed accordingly was a range of relevant theories from the Western context onto post-war Taiwan. Especially by the 1990s with more and more scholars trained at prominent Euro-American universities returning to Taiwan, some seminal theories, e.g. realism, modernism, or postmodernism were therewith introduced to Taiwan and there built up a theoretical niche for these returned scholars to examine the local theatrical activities. Ma Sen's *Xichao xiade zhongguo xiandai xiju* (The Chinese modern theatre after the upsurge of Western tide) and Zhong Mingde's *The Little Theatre Movement of Taiwan* were two weighty volumes of such a kind whose conscious use and appropriation of Western theories among realism, modernism and postmodernism indeed enabled their understanding of local theatre capable of much interpretive depth. The problem, however, is that each of these theories carries, by

¹ I discuss this situation somewhere else in another chapter of my dissertation tentatively titled 'Colonial Modernity'. Chapter unpublished.

definition, a specific meaning and historical significance in their original Western context, which when appropriated altogether in some non-Western regions are likely to implicate—or even predetermine—a mode of temporal progress that evolves consecutively, if not spontaneously, from realism, modernism to postmodernism. Such a temporal implication—always narrowly reinforcing a Western archetype of temporality through which non-Western regions adopt to self-fashion the progress of local development—is uncritically assumed and widely disseminated in Taiwan. The theatre historiography that was brought to the fore in the 1990s by Ma Sen or Zhong Mingde was typically subject to this Westernised temporality. With his specific coinage of *xichao* (literally a ‘Western tide’) to describe and to reiterate the inexorable impact of the Western influence ever happened twice to Taiwanese theatre over the twentieth century, Ma Sen regarded the theatrical past after what he termed as ‘two upsurges of Western tide’ as respectively and characteristically partaking of realism and modernism, and so the theatre history as having progressed from one to the other. And Zhong Mingde concerned himself with the social and political excitement congregated in the so-called Little Theatre Movement around the 1980s, for which postmodernism was introduced and promulgated by him as an analytical framework to timely rationalise (and to historicise) the radical experiments ever seen in the Movement. He therefore even stood out as one of faithful proponents of postmodernism in the early 1990s, calling attention to what he supposed to be the postmodern performance of Taiwanese theatre, raising and causing several historical inquiries made with an apparent focus to pressingly ask—and debate—whether Taiwanese theatre by then had been turning postmodern.² Preoccupied with various guiding theories appropriated from the West, the local historiography through the intellectual interplay of different schools of Western thoughts turned out so much like a testing ground, upon which local theatrical activities were constantly inspected, criticised, defined and loaded with meanings inspired decidedly from an acquired framework of thoughts. This is what I mean by the problematics of Westernisation: the reception of the West that in effect facilitates not only the introduction of Western repertoires, dramaturgies, and devising methods but, more profoundly, the assimilation of a whole pack of Western thoughts to constitute an epistemic basis in shaping and determining the local knowledge production. Since the first encounter with the Western-styled theatricals in the early colonial time, the need for the westernisation has come in embryo and later thrives on to an extent that even a Westernised temporality has been so ingrained in theory, in practice and in every aspect of theatre-making. The theory-conscious use of Western thoughts to expedite

² Several debates actually happen between Ma Sen and Zhong Mingde. See Ma Sen, *Xiju: Zaomeng de yishu* (drama: dreaming-making arts), Taipei: Rye Field Publishing Co., 2000, p303-07.

the theorisation of local historiography may be understandable in the first place. But it later on insinuates a historical trajectory underpinned by a Westernised temporality that at some practical level holds back any historical inquiries sequent to the premature promulgation of postmodernism, simply because there are no longer any other new guiding theories available to theoretically carry on the historical narrative beyond the exhaustive use of postmodernism. How and where are we going to move on from here?

It would be very inappropriate to rigidly regard every non-native form of theatricals or tenet of thoughts in Taiwan as still Western or Westernised. Over a long span of time Taiwanese theatre practitioners have been devoting incredible effort to pursue and accommodate a large amount of Western repertoires, devising methods or relevant theories, and many of these foreign imports have as yet been commonly accepted, established, and found home on this island. What I call into question, however, is a sense of Westernisation in Taiwan that is so deep rooted to such an extent that it preconceives a Westernised viewpoint—epistemically and/or ontologically—in the local knowledge formation, reproduction and circulation. When the theatre history of this island is therefore understood as having evolved smoothly from realism to modernism and as also having reasonably assured the postmodernist inclination ever seen in the Little Theatre Movement, it, however, largely leaves out a phenomenal rise of what I would like to regard as a nativism launched and engaged by a small group of theatre practitioners coming from the Movement. Unlike their previous penchant for adapting devising methods directly from the West, some young theatre practitioners, who just quickly rose from the horizon in the Little Theatre Movement, suddenly shifted their attention to the local folk culture in search of creative inspiration amid many native forms of theatricals and folk activities. This turn to the native culture could be best exemplified in U-theatre's 1989 renowned *shuo-jihua* (the project of retrospect), in which the members of U-theatre declared to seek out an ideal manner of performing style that should be 'in connection with the forefather' and also 'in conversation with the modern people'.³ The design of U-theatre's Project was to extensively learn and extract the native performing or liturgical essence from the folk culture and, more importantly, to have it properly modified and represented for the modern regeneration. Such a nativist attempt to find folk roots for new theatrical expression, albeit not intended for the direct revival of the native folk culture, was by no means postmodern. Rather, it entailed the deliberate introspect into the root of

³ The phrase comes from the production proposal of U-theatre's 1989 production titled '*Shuo: xunzhao zhongkui*' (Retrospect: in search of Zhongkui). Quoted from Liu Changrang, *Youjuchang shuojihua de linian yu shijian zhi yanjiu* (U-theatre in 'the project of tracing back'), MA diss. Taipei National University of Arts, 2005, P2.

one's own culture, so as to search for an ideal mode of performance originally and genuinely generated from within. However, with the staple historical narrative seemingly concerning itself with the formalist analysis, formulating and expanding upon the postmodern (or postmodern-like) performance of Taiwanese theatre, the sudden rise and fall of this nativism was ignored.⁴ Even today, we do not see any historical accounts ever taking this nativist turn into serious consideration, nor can we see any of them making a breakthrough, or a revision, to the extant historiography and the encroachment of Westernised temporality thereof. As a result, the appeal to return to the native turns out, so as it seems to me, to be a short-lived movement incompatible to the thematic concern of most historical accounts, largely left out there unexamined, let alone its legacy or possible historical significance in relation to this island's long history of westernisation.

To find the nativist venture a place in the contemporary historiography, my paper is dedicated to rethinking the history of theatre in Taiwan after its long contact with the West. I would like to argue that the evocation of the native ever seen around the early 1990s is practically a nativism which, from my viewpoint, is by no means an intended movement or the postcolonial revenge against this island's the long-term Westernisation, nor as an artist twist in search of the alternative way of devising theatre. Rather, the rise of nativism is supposed a spontaneous, albeit quite belated, feedback in response to (and also in consequence of) the local reception of foreign theatre. But for the chronic reception of the West, there would have been no need to designate any idea or practice as native or nativist. That is, the appeal to return to the native in Taiwan is a reflective mechanism that arises causally in the face of the penetration of Western influence and this island's entanglement of modernity. And my job here is to gauge in depth historically to reason out the cause and effect of nativist conscious in Taiwan within the historical context that has long been subject to the Western influence and thereby to also reflect the questionable historiography that is essentially conditioned by the Westernised temporality and historicism.

⁴ There are still some researches touching on U-theatre's nativist attempt. Liu Changrang's MA dissertation is a comprehensive survey of U-theatre's activities during the Project of Retrospect. Craig Anthony Quintero's PhD dissertation titled *Performing Culture/Cultural Performances: The Little Theatre Movement in Taiwan* at Northwestern University draws U-theatre's nativist attempt as an example to discuss the unmentioned side of Little Theatre Movement in Taiwan.

**Where Shall We Two Meet, in East or in West:
When Po-shen Lu's *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* Encounters with William
Shakespeare's *Macbeth***

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[ABSTRACT]

By using *tai-yu* (*min-nan-hua*, Taiwanese local language) to stage William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Po-shen Lu produced an experimental performance in the southern part of Taiwan in 2003. When he produced *Antigone* in 2001, Lu was challenged by his critics in three aspects: 1) the tradition of *tai-yu* theatre of Tainan Jen Theatre and that of Western plays, 2) audience reception in Taiwan, and 3) the advantages and disadvantages of integrating *tai-yu* with Western classic texts. In spite of these criticisms on his theatrical productions, Lu has continued helping Tainan Jen Theatre transform into a professional theatrical troupe since he became an artistic director in 2002. By analyzing how and why Lu staged his *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* in the socio-historical context of intercultural adaptation, I propose to re-evaluate Lu's artistic contribution to the theatrical development in the southern part of Taiwan. I would argue that Lu is not only challenging Taiwanese reading of Shakespeare but also exploring the possibilities of *tai-yu*'s theatricality, in a view to bringing new life to Taiwan's intercultural theatre.

[KEY WORDS]

Lu Po-shen, *tai-yu*, William Shakespeare, Tainan Jen Theatre, intercultural theatre

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Introduction

After Po-shen Lu produced *Antigone* in 2001, Tainan Jen's Western plays produced in *tai-yu* met with numerous applauses. With these encouragements, Lu continued doing a project on staging Western classic texts in *tai-yu*.¹ In 2003, Lu, the new artistic director of Tainan Jen Theatre, used *tai-yu* (*min-nan-hua*, Taiwanese local language) to stage William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. While producing these western plays in *tai-yu*, Lu has been challenged not only Taiwanese audience's reception but also Tainan Jen Theatre's traditions of *tai-yu* theatre. In this project, Lu tires to create a highly successful intercultural performance and explore the possibility of *tai-yu* theatricality. However, is such intercultural theatre acceptable in Taiwan? In order to reevaluate Lu's artistic contribution to Taiwanese contemporary theatre, firstly we undertake a study of socio-historical context of Tainan Jen Theatre to discuss how the troupe develops its *tai-yu* theatre. In the second part, we focus on Taiwanese audience reception towards Lu's *the Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth*. In the third section, we analyze the advantages and disadvantages of integrating *tai-yu* with Western classic texts.

Tainan Jen Theatre and *Tai-Yu* Theatre

The development of Tainan Jen Theatre can be traced to the movement of "little theatre" during the 1980s.² Although the concept of "little theatre" was introduced by Man-kuei Li in 1960, such a theatrical movement did not flourish until the 1980s. In the mid-1980s, Taiwan's little theatres started to have divergent developments. Some focused on the expressions of

¹ Tainan Jen Theatre's Western classical dramas in *tai-yu* includes Sophocles' *Antigone* in 2001, William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in 2003 and 2007, Samuel Beckett's *Endgame* in 2004 and *Footfall* in 2006, and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in 2006.

² Wei-jan Chi indicates that the movement originated from André Antoine's Théâtre Libre in Paris and W. B. Yeats' Abby Theater in Dublin at the beginning of the twentieth century. Chi also points out that "the movement concerns with left-leaning, anti-mainstream, anti-colonialism, democracy and community politics." (212) Besides, the literal meaning of "little" is the small auditorium that contains only 350 seats. Later, "little theatre" becomes a genre, a fashion and a movement of theatrical development. However, after these ideas were introduced by Li, they were distorted by ROC government and served as the revolutionary power for Taiwanese theatre during the 1980s. During 1980s, the movement of little theatre in Taiwan was a reflection that Taiwanese people as well as theatres were liberated from the oppression of the hegemonic government.

individualism or personal emotions. Some aimed at becoming professional theatre companies.³ Others have turned out to be “community theatres.” Tainan Jen Theatre, once considered as a community theatre, was established and became the first modern theatre troupe in the southern part of Taiwan after World War II.

In 1987, Tainan Jen Theatre was founded by Rev. Don Glover, a Catholic Church father, and Jui-fang Hsu, the previous leader of the troupe. At the very beginning, the troupe was named “Hwa Deng Theatre Troupe” (華燈劇團) and its enthusiasts were mostly composed of Tainan people. When the troupe was initially founded, none of the members was familiar with the theatre. With the help of the graduates of the colleges of Art, the troupe started to have a prototype of the theatre, and then its participants also knew how to run an acting company. In 1992, the troupe was included in a project for developing the community theatre that had been conducted by the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) for three years. During these three years, the organization of Hwa Deng became more stable and stepped to the biggest and well-organized troupe in Tainan area. In 1997, the name “Hwa Deng” was changed to the current one, Tainan Jen, to mark the tenth anniversary of the troupe’s birth. Meanwhile, the troupe changed from an amateur community theatre into a professional one. From then on, the troupe has not only produced new plays and theatrical adaptations but also devoted to the projects on Theatre-in-Education (TIE) and Youth Theatre that provide teachers or students a chance to receive theatrical trainings.

Near the end of 2002, Jui-fang Hsu resigned from the troupe; meanwhile, Lu became a new director who was in charge of the development of the company. From then on, the contents of Tainan Jen’s performances have changed, too. From 1987 to 1992, Tainan Jen’s productions focused on localism, such as domesticity and Taiwanese daily life. After the troupe was conducted by the CCA in 1992, the quality of the performances was promoted and its content drew close to the modern life in Taiwan. Believing in various performance styles of the theatre, Hsu invited Lu to stage Sophocles’ *Antigone* in 2001. For the audience, it was seemingly surprising that Lu used *tai-yu* to produce an ancient Greek tragedy in a Tainan historical site, Koxinga Shrine, for the first time. After that, many critics gave Lu positive comments and Chien-chung Lu, one of the critics, illustrates,

Different from the historical and cultural background of ancient Greece, the pathos in Taiwan’s contemporary life is not as strong as that in Greek tragedy. However, the tone and the language of Tainan Jen’s *Antigone* give us the possibility of intercultural interpretation.⁴

³ In fact, no professional theatre company has developed in Taiwan since the 1980s because some troupes, such as Ping-Fong Theatre Company, the Contemporary Legend Theatre Company, and Godot Theatre, still have no permanent theatres and theatrical administrators.

⁴ See Chien-chung Lu’s drama review on *Antigone—Greek Tragedy V.S. Taiwanese Pathos: Afterthought of Tainan Jen’s Bird and Antigone*. (《安蒂岡妮》劇評—希臘悲劇台灣情:《鳥》與《安蒂岡妮》觀後感) <

Yu-hsiu Liu also has a similar attitude towards the play and she says,

Tainan Jen's *Antigone* is one of highly successful adapted plays in Taiwan. On one hand, it does not distort the original. On the other hand, it skillfully fuses the local color of Taiwan with western plays... Such a play shows us a successful example that Taiwanese could have an international perspective through this play.⁵

The positive feedback encouraged Lu to take Shakespeare's *Macbeth* as his second theatrical experiment. In 2003, with the translator, Ting-pang Chou's help, Lu expurgated several scenes from Shakespeare's original text of *Macbeth* and maintained thirteen scenes in the *tai-yu* version.

The reason that Lu used *tai-yu* to stage *Macbeth* is related to the practice of sound spectrum. Sound spectrum, considered as a theatrical training, helps the actor to find his or her way to play the character precisely. By figuring out and controlling the voice and body language of the character, the actor can naturally unearth the role that the playwright would like to portray in the play. Lu asserts,

The notion of sound spectrum comes from Constantin Stanislavsky's Physical Actions and Vsevolod Meyerhold's Bio-Mechanics. Actors can find out the characters' sound spectrum by playing the characters' personalities and desires. After that, actors can control the tempos of the characters' sounds and body languages. And Shakespeare's lines and verses can be interpreted precisely. Thus, sound spectrum can help not only the actors to play characters of the play precisely but also the audience to enjoy this kind of audio imagination. Furthermore, audience can experience the dramatic illusion and images of the play. (Shen 73-4)

Thus, in Lu's *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth*, *tai-yu* not only helps the actors to perform the characters correctly but also maintains the beauty of Shakespeare's verses.

After Lu's *the Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* was toured around Taiwan in 2003, Lu won much appreciation. Hsueh-chen Liu says in her review,

The rhythm of *tai-yu* is more poetic than that of Mandarin Chinese. It is marvelous to see Tainan Jen to interpret Shakespeare's play in *tai-yu*. Five actors' amazing skills bring the audience to the world of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. It could be thought as the first-rate performance that I have ever seen.⁶

From these criticisms, Lu seems to do successful experiments on integrating western plays with *tai-yu*. However, the achievements of these adapted plays in *tai-yu* are questionable. When the project on staging western plays in *tai-yu* was ceased in 2007, Tainan Jen produced no more

<http://www.tainanjen.org.tw/command.htm> >

⁵ See Yu-hsiu Liu's drama review on *Antigone—See Ancient Greek Tragedy in Koxinga Shrine* (《安蒂岡妮》劇評—到延平郡王祠看古希臘悲劇) <<http://www.tainanjen.org.tw/command.htm>>.

⁶ See Liu's drama review on *Tainan Jen's the Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* in Tainan Jen's official website <<http://www.tainanjen.org.tw/command.htm>>.

tai-yu plays. Instead, Lu produced western dramas in other ways.⁷



Fig. 1. Three witches use the drum as a caldron to perform the witchcraft. (Photo by Yu-han Tseng and photo courtesy of Tainan Jen Theatre)

There are three reasons that Lu used *tai-yu* to stage western dramas. The first one was related to political reasons. In 2001, Tainan Jen Theatre had a project on staging western plays in *tai-yu* for three years. Coincidentally, the political condition changed at the same time. In 2000, Shui-pien Chen, the President Candidate of Democratic Progressive Party, won the President Election in Taiwan. Different from Kuomintang's policy, Chen and his colleagues emphasized the recovery of local culture, including the usage of *tai-yu* and the recognition of Taiwanese literature. Tainan Jen's project not only fit in the DPP's political assertions but also served as government's propaganda medium to broadcast the localism of Taiwan.

The second reason that Tainan Jen staged western plays, especially Shakespeare's plays, is related to the fashion that has started since the movement of little theatre during the 1980s. When the Martial Law was lifted in 1987, many acting companies started to produce or adapt Western plays, especially ancient Greek dramas and Shakespeare's plays. For instance, the Contemporary Legend Theatre produced *The Kingdom of Desire* which was adapted from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in 1986. Later, the CLT continued adapting *Hamlet* in 1990, *Medea* in 1993, *Oresteia* in 1995, *King Lear* in 2000, and *The Tempest* in 2004. Godot Theatre Company

⁷ After *the Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* was produced, Lu had a plan to recover the way that Shakespeare produced his plays in the Elizabethan Era. Since 2005, Lu has continued doing theatrical experiments on three Shakespeare's plays—*Romeo and Juliet* (2004), *Hamlet* (2005-6), and revised *Macbeth* (2007). This series of plays is later called "Shakespeare Unplugged." However, only revised *Macbeth* was performed in *tai-yu*, and others were in Mandarin Chinese.

produced a musical play, *Kiss Me Nana*, which was adapted from *The Taming of Shrews* in 1997, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1999, and *Othello* in 2008.

The third reason that Tainan Jen Theatre used *tai-yu* to stage *Macbeth* is related to its tradition. Tainan Jen had produced many *tai-yu* plays because Tainan locates in the southern Taiwan where most of the inhabitants in Tainan are *tai-yu* speakers. Tainan Jen's first *tai-yu* drama, *Taiwanese Comic Dialogue (Tai Yu Xiang Sheng)*, was produced in 1990. The themes of its following productions in *tai-yu* concerned about localism in Taiwan. In 1998 and 1999, the troupe produced two Western dramas in *tai-yu* (Eugene Ionesco's *The Gap* and Anton Chekhov's *The Marriage Proposal*), but the scale of these productions was not as big as Lu's adaptations. Before 2001, the way that Tainan Jen applied *tai-yu* to stage Western plays is to get close to the local people. Thus, Tainan Jen's Western plays before 2001 were adapted to cater for the audience's taste. After 2001, when Lu reused *tai-yu* to stage Western plays, he believes that he could put much emphasis on the maintaining not only the spirit of the original text but also the verses of the play. Therefore, in Lu's belief,

Those who do not understand *tai-yu* would not completely depend on the language; instead, they could enjoy its sound. But for those who understand *tai-yu*, they will be surprised that *tai-yu* can bring new life to the performance. (Shen 52)

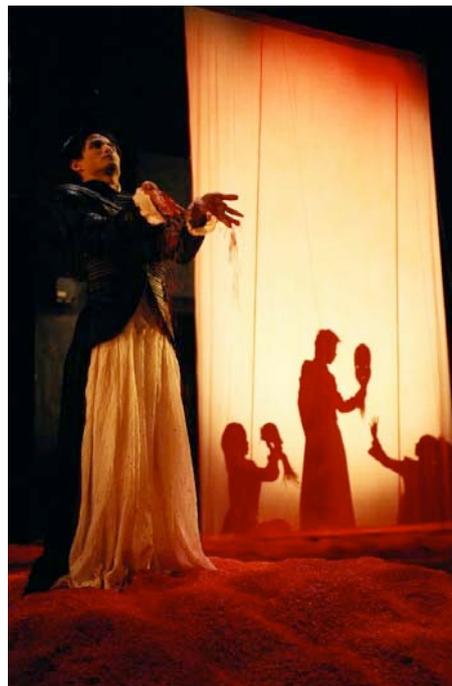


Fig. 2. The way that the red rice husks flow through Macbeth's fingers symbolizes his hands with Duncan's blood. The shadow show is applied in the performance to portray Macbeth's inner world. (Photo by Yu-han Tseng and photo courtesy of Tainan Jen Theatre)

Audience Reception in Taiwan

After *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* was produced in 2003, it impressed the Taiwanese audience for Lu's daring experiment on the theatrical design. When the audience enter the auditorium, the floor is covered by the husks of the rice which is painted in red color. With the change of the light effect, it provides the audience with an uneasy and horror phenomenon especially when the witches appear or Duncan is murdered. In addition, Lu adopts the vocal, a piano, and a percussion instrument to create mood music. Lu also applies many performance techniques, such as the use of stilts or a shadow show to portray Lady Macbeth's desire and ambition. The way that Lu uses the androgynous witches is also impressive. The audience seems to be impressed by its visual and sound effects, but quite a few people appreciate the use of *tai-yu* in the play.

In some positive comments, most critics aim at the sound effect of the play. For instance, Chien-hung Lan thinks Lu has successfully presented the visual and sound effects of the performance. Wen-lung Chang also exclaims,

I adore those players for their excellent body language, power and strength of their voices. The audience have been charmed by Lu's production even though *tai-yu* may trouble their understanding of the play.⁸

In Chang's comment, the audience may enjoy the dramatic illusion that Lu created, but the problem that integrates *tai-yu* with Western plays cannot be ignored. In Taiwan, Mandarin Chinese is the official language and so are the characters in use nowadays. During the past decades, when Western plays were adapted in Taiwan's theatre, these plays were performed in Mandarin Chinese all the time. Definitely, these Western drama texts are written in Mandarin Chinese, too. However, when the Western play is translated into *tai-yu*, the meaning of the word might be twice removed from the original text because *tai-yu* does not have its own signs that the readers always speak *tai-yu* through Chinese characters. Ling-ling Shen also indicated the problem of the language in this play and she says,

The gap between *tai-yu* and Mandarin Chinese must be connected by phonetic symbols, and then the meaning of the words can be generated. However, these phonetic symbols cannot be read by everyone. Although the play is a contribution to the translation, the translator has to make efforts to find out proper words for translation. (75)

As for the problem of the translation that Chou used in the play, I take Banquo's words as an example to examine how Taiwan's audience evaluates the play. In scene one of *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth*, when Macbeth and Banquo return from the battlefield, they meet

⁸ See Chang's drama review on *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* in Tainan Jen official website <<http://www.tainanjen.org.tw/command.htm#劇評類>>.

three witches. After being informed of becoming a future king, Macbeth is shocked and Banquo says,

老大兄，你ná會chiah青驚，ná像驚聽著chit款好tāi？
希望恁照實講，恁是無iáⁿ--ê，
或是真正像恁展現--出-來-ê ań-ne？
恁用伊chít-má尊貴ê頭銜，
Kap料想伊會升官、做國王，來祝賀我chit位同伴，
Hô伊聽kah bāng-su-su想kah失神。Á我，恁soah無講siáⁿ。
若準恁有才調看thàng時間ê種子，
知iáⁿ toh一粒會puh-iⁿ，toh一粒bē，
做恁kā我講，我bē求恁恩賜，mā m驚恁ià-hūn--我。

(*The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth*, Scene I)

Good sir, why do you start; and seem to fear
Things that do sound so fair? I' the name of truth,
Are ye fantastical, or that indeed
Which outwardly ye show? My noble partner
You greet with present grace and great prediction
Of noble having and of royal hope,
That he seems rapt withal: to me you speak not.
If you can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow and which will not,
Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
Your favours nor your hate. (*Mac*, Act I, scene III)

From the quotation, Chou's translation combines Chinese characters with Roman phonetic symbols, but the reader may be confused with those strange words if they do not learn Roman phonetic symbols before. In addition, the words or the idioms that Chou used are not colloquial even though Lu tries to present Shakespeare's blank verses in so-called poetic *tai-yu*. Thus, a tragic end of the play may become a comic relief because of the gap of the languages.

When Macbeth laments on the death of Lady Macbeth and his doom in Act V, scene v and says, "To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow," the translation "明á再，koh明á再，koh再明á再" has made the audience laugh. The reason that the audience may laugh at the tragic end of Lu's *The Witch Sonata—psalm of Macbeth* is related to the translated words that cannot convey the messages of the original. That is to say, the audience cannot be moved and grasp the deeper meaning out of the performance. Wan-yi Yang, one of the audiences, mentions,

Although the theatrical elements of the play are abundant, it is a pity to see the performance that could not reach the deeper sensibility of the original play. Briefly speaking, there is a gap between the emotional expression and the structure of the

play.⁹

Besides, when the actors are not familiar with the language that they speak, it is also difficult for them to express their feelings. Definitely, the audience cannot get the strong feeling from the performance. Oscar G. Brockett also points out,

Figures of speech are likely to seem contrived and bombastic if the actor does not appear to be experiencing feelings strong enough to call forth such language spontaneously. Shakespeare's plays may be damaged in performance if actors do not rise to the emotional demands of the poetry. Therefore, the very richness of expression can be a stumbling block for both performer and reader. (109)



Fig. 3. Lady Macbeth stands on the stilts in front of Macbeth. The exaggerated and standing tall image of Lady Macbeth symbolizes her desire and ambition that are greater than Macbeth. (Photo by Yu-han Tseng and photo courtesy of Tainan Jen Theatre)

Advantages and Disadvantages in Integrating *Tai-yu* with Western Classic Texts

Before the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages in integrating *tai-yu* with any Western classic text, the qualities and characteristics of *tai-yu* should be first recognized and identified. *Tai-yu*, like any other dialect in the world, vividly embodies the regionalism in one certain locality. Even though Taiwan is not geographically vast and people who speak *tai-yu* find little difficulty understanding the other *tai-yu* speakers, *tai-yu* still varies slightly from place

⁹ See Yang's drama review on *Tainan Jen's The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* in *Performing Arts Review* < <http://www.paol.ntch.edu.tw/e-mag-content.asp?show=1&id=1250601> > .

to place, whether in accents or usage of words. When hearing some special accents or figure of speech, one may easily recognize the speaker's cultural or social identity. Therefore, *tai-yu* functions as a cultural index to represent one's upbringing background.

However, in Taiwan, *tai-yu* can do more than as a cultural index showing one's cultural background; it, furthermore, works politically as a collective cultural heritage to shape a strong ethnical consciousness within *tai-yu* advocates. Although more than half of Taiwanese speak *tai-yu*, *tai-yu*, being oppressed for long for political reasons, has never been recognized as one of official languages used in Taiwan, or at least as a common cultural fact until the last decade of the 20th century. With the rising awareness within people to revive local cultures and the supportive encouragement from the government grants, *tai-yu* suddenly turned out to be a representative of a long-lost cultural icon victimized by colonialism and dictatorship. *Tai-yu* becomes a strong currency of languages marking culturally and politically correct when producing any artistic creation. It is no less a huge rebound than a prisoner finally being released from a dominating and confining political censorship; many productions are performed in *tai-yu*, and some performers who never speak *tai-yu* must master this new skill to demonstrate their liberal-mindedness to all races and explore more selling points. This change in language using and performing technique has come to its high tide in the first decade of the 21st century. However, this change comes too quickly that we may start wondering if there might be some problems in accommodating.

As a matter of fact, *tai-yu* never really disappears from any theatrical work, though we seldom saw theatrical production in full *tai-yu* before 1990. *Tai-yu* has often been associated with local peasants or unsophisticated country life. Thus, when Taiwan's society finally produces plays in full *tai-yu*, it asserts firmly that the use of *tai-yu* is a cultural and social fact; moreover, it marks the recognition of *tai-yu* as one of the official languages—no longer marginal! Furthermore, in terms of its trait of freshness (full *tai-yu* has seldom been used in theatre before the 1990's) and localism, *tai-yu* does much in inviting more possibilities in representing a foreign work to Taiwanese audience. Take *Antigone* (2001) for example, Lu is very much aware that what he faces is no one but Taiwanese viewers. It is quite compulsory for him to help his audience relate to a play that is totally foreign to them. Language could function as a bridge. Using *tai-yu* could not only be one of many ways to communicate with the audience who could not read Shakespeare's original texts in English, but also create a strong sense of freshness and dramatic surprise on stage.

Moreover, in order to preserve the Shakespearian style of the blank verse, the translator, Ting-pang Chou, also adopts the similar style and has the performers recite *tai-yu* verses on stage. As a result, many compliments to this theatrical challenge in mixing *tai-yu* and the Shakespearian verse never ceases and sees this theatrical invention as a way to explore more potential in

applying *tai-yu* in theatrical forms.

However, staging *Macbeth* in *tai-yu* is simply like a two-blade sword, which not just diminishes the hindrance of the language gap, but meanwhile creates more new gaps in translation and adaptation. As we have mentioned before, though *tai-yu* has been accepted widely because of the improvement of democracy in Taiwan, the late prohibition against speaking *tai-yu* still has a strong residual pernicious influence over the young generation. To the young generation, *tai-yu* might be as foreign as Greek and hard to understand. Therefore, a theatrical work in full *tai-yu* could be a “politically local” production, but “culturally foreign” to young viewers. Moreover, apart from young viewers, young performers also encounter similar problems. Many audience find it difficult understanding young performers’ *tai-yu*, since these young performers are not 100% *tai-yu* native speakers. Actually, Taiwanese use a blend language mixed with *tai-yu*, Hakka, Mandarin Chinese, and sometimes a bit of Japanese. Young performers could not master *tai-yu* completely, and they might pronounce wrongly, which also cause communication gaps between the audience and performers.

If *tai-yu* is a “foreign in usage” but “local in culture” language to some viewers, translation would play a huge part in helping the audience understand the theatrical work. One must bear in mind that, like many regional dialects, *tai-yu* is a spoken language and there is no written convention and commonly approved written characters in it. In order to write *tai-yu* down, one must utilize Chinese characters, and especially in Chou’s case, English and Roman phonetic symbols to note down *tai-yu*’s pronunciation.¹⁰ It may not be too difficult to understand the adapted play by means of “hearing,” but it definitely causes problems in “reading” the play, since one needs the training of “decoding” this multiple writing system. As a dramatic text, Chou’s revised *Macbeth* in 2007 may cause constant breaches in semantics and semiotics. For example, in Scene 7, as the porter answers the door knock, he says,

Lònglònglònglòngsiáng--lah--oh
Káhit hit--a--leh--lahē-tàng kāê á kap
h³--aLònglònglònglòng soah ah (Scene 7, p.10)¹¹

Here we see at least two different language systems: Mandarin Chinese characters and Roman phonetic symbols. When reading this part, he or she needs to understand these two languages. However, Roman phonetic symbols are not widely accepted by the mass, which makes the translation even less readable and accessible to the audience. So the misinterpretation and

¹⁰ Roman phonetic symbols were first introduced into Taiwan by Western missionaries, so this system of language is now commonly used in Christian churches, which makes this system even less popular and accepted, since Christians are minors in Taiwan.

¹¹ This part is newly added and revised in the version of 2007, different from that of 2003. Its English translation is as follows:

“Knock, knock, knock! Who is at the door? Holy Ghost!
Are you the one who acted Liu Wen-zong in *Pilihou*? Come! Liu Wen-zong!
You can come in to prepare your matches and gasoline for setting fire.
Knock, knock, knock! Will you stop knocking?” (my translation)

misunderstanding might be foreseeable; for example, people may understand “Lòng, lòng, lòng” as “long, long, long” in English and refer this expression as a something’s length instead of its sound.

However, citing various Taiwanese cultural elements and using *tai-yu*, though creating interest to local viewers, does not mark the cultural identity of *The Witch Sonata*. In producing *The Witch Sonata*, Lu still applies the form similar to that of *Macbeth*, and intentionally “de-orientates” the East-ness of his production: his performers recite blank verses, and addressing each other by their English names. Moreover, we do not see local Taiwanese theatrical factors, such as Gezaixi (Taiwanese Folk Opera) or Taiwanese Puppet Theatre, emerged in Lu’s production. However, the audience are constantly reminded that they are watching a non-Western play, since they are consciously reacting to the ambiguity of Taiwanese performers speaking English names and *tai-yu* at the same time.

Conclusion

Then we might conclude, without *tai-yu*, Lu just duplicates and revises a *Macbeth* similar to any other performance under this title. Thus, *The Witch Sonata* is simply a production with much cultural debris repressed together without referring to a specific cultural identity. This is Patrice Pavis’s idea of “cultural collage”:

They [the intercultural theatre] cite, adapt, reduce, enlarge, combine and mix various elements without concern for a scale of importance or value....Although these cultural collages have nothing blameworthy in themselves and resulted in productions of intense beauty and great power, they nevertheless do not pretend to understand a civilization, and they choose their forms and techniques without regard for their ethnological function in their home cultures. (9)

After seeing Lu’s production, we could hardly label *The Witch Sonata* as a Taiwanese theatrical work, since it applies none of Taiwanese theatrical elements, nor understand it as a Western classic. Lu does not pinpoints the values and importance of acting *Macbeth* in *tai-yu*, and how *tai-yu* helps shape the cultural identity of *The Witch Sonata*. *Tai-yu* would only be a cultural excuse for directors like Lu to appeal for people’s ethnical consciousness and sympathetic emotions, but hardly help people access to the authentic Shakespearian texts with proper regard to the home cultures. Lu’s *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* indeed brings new life to *tai-yu* theatre as well as Shakespearean performances in Taiwan. However, when Po-shen Lu’s *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* encounters with Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, what kind of performance does the play belong to? Neither an Eastern play nor Western drama, Lu’s *The Witch Sonata—Psalm of Macbeth* is simply a production of cultural collage.

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Gender and Sexual Inequality of Adolescent in Thai Social

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Gender and Sexual Inequality of Adolescent in Thai Social

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ABSTRACT

Male and female adolescents had significantly statistical difference in gender role perceptions. For behave same as gender, male adolescents had tendency to practice according to their role perceptions. While female adolescents' role perceptions followed the culture norms but there was a tendency not to practice according to such perceptions. The image of good female and male adolescent was presented through personality and social expectation.

INTRODUCTION

In 2009 the Epidemiological Division of the Ministry of Public Health found that almost half of all AIDS cases were among young people aged 15 to 29 years. The cause of this problem was format of Thai relationship which expected to gender and different of gender role between Thai male and women. In the past, sexuality was considered an unacceptable topic of discussion with Thai adolescents and parents inevitably avoided it. If their adolescent inquired about sexually-related topics, parents would often give them misinformation. Currently, parents are not the only sources of information regarding sex, with the mass media being most prominent. Unfortunately, though, such sources can also communicate incorrect information and messages to adolescents. While sex education is a subject beginning in primary school, teachers are not confident enough to teach it, sometimes because they themselves lack the necessary knowledge and skills to teach the subject effectively and encourage the adolescents to trust them as advisors. Even parents, who are the closest to their adolescents, also fell frustrated in talking with their adolescents and advising them. Because of there difficulties, adolescent often resort to friends, books, or even commercial sex workers in order to learn about sex. Some receive incorrect information from these sources, and this antagonizes several, social problems, such as prostitution, rape, sexual transmitted disease and AIDS. Consequently, this study on the perceptions and sexual behaviors of adolescents' can be beneficial in obtaining baseline data in order to develop effective sex education programs as well as to formulate effective reproductive health policies. The objective of this research was to (1) study the perception and behave same as gender (2) study the sexual inequality of adolescent and (3) study the culture of categorization between good female and good male.

METHODOLOGY

The study entailed obtaining both survey research using questionnaires created out of focus group discussions and qualitative research. The sample groups were 600 adolescents which get from systematic randomization. Qualitative data was collected

from in-depth interviews, focus group collaborate non-participate observation. Quantitative data were analyzed using the Chi-square test to determine relationships between variables. Qualitative data were analyzed using content analysis.

RESULT and DISCUSSION

Perception, behave same gender and sexual inequality of adolescents. Results from this study found that there is a significant statistical difference in gender role perceptions of both male and female adolescents. Half of the male adolescents had a low level of such role perceptions. While the majority of the female adolescents (51%) had high level of role perceptions and there was relationship between age and gender role perception among female adolescent. The lower age, the higher the level of perception was found. On the contrary, no relationship between age and perception was found among male adolescent.

As far as gender power relations are concerned, in almost every situation female adolescents had comparatively lower decision making and bargaining power than male adolescents. In other words, male adolescents dominated in all such situations, while female adolescents shouldered almost all the burden. Only in temporary sexual relationships did female adolescents have equal or even more decision-making and bargaining power than men.

The study further found that the female adolescent generally perceived it was their duties to perform domestic chores which was corresponded with the Thai social value. What was different was the perception that most women adolescent felt they were no less capable to be in the important and honored position in the society than men while most men adolescent perceived they were more capable than women.

Female and male adolescents agreed that like men, women should learn about sexuality. Concerning sexual expression, while most female adolescents valued the significance of cultural norms which prevent them from expressing their sexual feelings, men were allowed to express such feeling freely without any stigmatization.

When men and women adolescents entered into relationships, the study disclosed that women had more decision and bargaining power than men. Once they became lovers, women adolescents had less of such power since men adolescents were the ones who determined the situations to meet and initiated the physical contact, and insisted for sexual relations which proceeded "little by little." Such insistence could be classified into three natures. First, the male adolescents exerted physical power over their female partners. In certain cases, the female adolescents initially resisted but were permissive toward the end following their partners continuing physical exertion. Finally, the two parties were mutually concurred to have sexual relations. Moreover, the first sexual intercourse of the male adolescents was found to be predetermined contrary to the female adolescents which was unexpected.

After sexual relations, female adolescents generally felt that were of lesser value due to their lost virginity. They feared being abandoned by men as well as getting pregnant. On part of men, they not only feared that the women would become pregnancy but they also developed a sense of belonging to the woman.

The study revealed that men made the decision whether or not to use contraception during their first sexual relationship. In cases where male adolescents believed that they would definitely have sexual intercourse, they obtained contraceptive, usually condoms and emergency contraceptives. If unprepared,

withdrawal was used as an alternative. Men also decided upon the use of contraception in subsequent relationships. Female adolescents reported that they were reluctant to select a contraceptive method for themselves as well as to inform their partners to prepare themselves, since they feared being accused of being sexually experienced. The popular place to buy contraceptives among adolescents in this study was the local convenience store. Few people were inside the store, and others outside of the establishment had no knowledge of what transactions were being made. It was also discovered that female adolescents did not dare to buy condoms. Rather, it was men who did so.

Therefore, men's sexual practices tended to be in line with their perceived role expectation, largely because it was in their interest to do so (i. e., great freedom to have sexual relation). On the contrary, female adolescents' role perceptions followed the cultural norms (the women should not know about sex or have premarital sexual relation), however their actual behavior tended to go against this norm. Moreover, male adolescents believed that women should not be as sexually free as men, and they even disliked female adolescents who were so. This reflects a double standard and gender inequality among the sampled male and female adolescents in this study.

Categorization of good male and female adolescents. The meaning of good female adolescents followed an idea of adolescents was the person who had properly behave. The clothes were the importance thing to divide good or bad female adolescents. Furthermore, the personality of good female adolescents should be cheerful, positive thinking, respect to other people, polite, innocent and express a few of wish about gender.

In contrast, the image of good male adolescents should be gentleman, polite, self-confident, leader and friendly. Thai social often hoped that male adolescents were omniscient, excellently in associate with other people, freely to study for successful life. The night activities of male adolescents were drinking of spirits and traveling to cabaret such as restaurant and brothel.

In conclusion, good male adolescent had various measurement standards more than good female adolescent. The reason was that sexual relationship of male adolescent differed from female and inequality of assignment. The majority of male and female adolescent believed their premonition in choosing good or bad male or female. Further, they did not wear condom with the lovers that they belief that their partner were good.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that the viewpoint of adolescent showed on meaning of good female and good male and also the double standard of gender role perceptions will have been tendency to infect with AIDS. At the same time, we can help them reduce the risk to infect AIDS using campaign and giving education. It will be succeeded if the trainer comprehends gender.

RECOMMENDATION

The Ministry of Education should develop the educational curriculum on gender equality at both the family and societal levels. This is to equip the learners with the awareness on their rights ; the decision to refuse or bargain ; and the mutual decision between men and women at every reproductive health process from the beginning to termination of relationship

The campaign on condom use should not heavily emphasize on prevention of HIV/AIDS since the adolescents generally did not wear condom with their partners or lovers due to their confidence of not being infected. Therefore, to increase condom use among the adolescents, emphasis should be placed on condom use as effective and easy method of pregnancy prevention. However, campaign on AIDS prevention has to be paralleled.

BEFORE RELIGION: On Magnus Hirschfeld's Encounter with Asia and the Quest for a New Symbolic Order of the Sexual

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BEFORE RELIGION: On Magnus Hirschfeld's Encounter with Asia and the Quest for a New Symbolic Order of the Sexual

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"Sexuality is the paradigm."

Susan Sontag¹

1. The German-Jewish physician Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935)² was one of the most distinguished theorists in the history of sexology, and the foremost sexual minority rights activist in the twentieth century. In November 1930, shortly after completion of his five-volume opus magnum *Geschlechtskunde auf Grund dreißigjähriger Forschung und Erfahrung bearbeitet* [Sexual science treated on the basis of thirty years of research and experience], he left for the United States of America, where he had planned a lecturing tour. Having reached San Francisco in March 1931, however, he decided to extend his travel to a world trip, eventually visiting Japan, China, Indonesia, India, the Philippines, Egypt, and Palestine. Back in Europe by April 1932, Hirschfeld became increasingly aware of the menace that the rise of Nazism meant for his life and work, and decided not to return to Germany.³ A year later, Hirschfeld published in Switzerland the report of his world journey titled *Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* [World journey of a sex researcher], which was soon to become one of the founding texts of the then emerging discipline of sexual ethnology. The following elaborations focus on Hirschfeld's travel report against the backdrop of his sexological key contentions and seek to assess their significance for a symbolic order of the sexual beyond the constrictions imposed by closed schemes of sexual distribution.

2. The core of Hirschfeld's sexology is constituted by what he termed *sexuelle Zwischenstufenlehre* [doctrine of sexual intermediary stages], a set of key premises purporting a biologically grounded deconstruction of the Western ideology of binary sexuality sanctioned by the Abrahamic creation narratives and the religions invoking their authority. Throughout his oeuvre, Hirschfeld sought to prove on the basis of a careful reading of the sexed body that the postulation of a dichotomous division between men and women is unwarranted. Hirschfeld's critical endeavours in this regard were all the more demanding as he was well aware that the binomial scheme of sexual distribution had become the actual cornerstone of the specific Western understanding of the human, which, through the mediation of Christianity, resumed and radicalized the millenary assumption of a hiatus between two mutually exclusive sexes: the exemplary Adam is a man because he does not possess the sexual attributes of Eve, his human Other. Rejecting this premise, Hirschfeld contended that a human being is neither man nor woman, but at the same time man and woman in unique and therefore unrepeatable proportions. On these assumptions, Hirschfeld's doctrine led to a re-inscription of sexual difference in an open-ended framework of natural continuity, and adumbrated therewith the post-modern contestation of closed schemes of sexual subsumption.⁴

3. The scope of Hirschfeld's paradigm shift can be elicited from the motto he chose to open the crucial treatise he published in 1905 under the title *Geschlechts-Übergänge* [Sexual

Transitions].⁵ The quote in question is a brief sentence by the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz that runs: "Tout va par degrés dans la nature et rien par sauts."⁶ Applying this general principle to sexuality, Hirschfeld concluded that the allegedly distinct groups of sexuality are actually transitions within the pervasive continuity of nature. Contrary to the either/or scheme of traditional assignation to one of two sexes, the idea of sexual gradation allows in principle for infinite variations of sexual constitutions depending on the way the poles of the masculine and the feminine combine at each of the different layers of sexual description. In Hirschfeld's time, such layers were assumed to range from the sexual organs and the secondary sexual characteristics, to the sexual drive and the way psychological traits are articulated in culture.⁷ Arguing that sexual difference is not determined in relation to one single excluded alternative (male or female), but in relation to an open ended system of as yet only partially realized combinations of the masculine and the feminine at the different descriptive layers, Hirschfeld concluded that the sexuality of each and every individual is characterized by a unique complexity. Since from a Hirschfeldian perspective sexual difference is defined within the framework of potentially infinite sexual varieties, all differing from one another and undergoing change throughout the individual's life, the number of sexualities has to be conceived as being co-extensive with the number of sexed individuals.⁸

4. In consideration of Hirschfeld's basic premises, it becomes apparent that he did not intend to establish—as has been oftentimes suggested—a theory of homosexuality as a "third sex" intermediate between the heterosexual male and the heterosexual female.⁹ Although the relative popularity of the term "third sex" in the twentieth century was mainly due to the impact of his activism, Hirschfeld was keen to stress that he never used the concept in his scientific publications, but only in the context of his popular-educational writings.¹⁰ Opposing the categorial suppletion of binary sexuality through a third sexual constitution, Hirschfeld re-conceptualized the allegedly third sex in a quintessentially de-totalizing and de-totalized manner. Thus, he severed sexual difference from its traditional references and assumptions, and reframed it within the ever-diversifying continuum of nature. Since on Hirschfeld's premises the third sexual alternative evinces itself as being merely a "fiction" added to the already fictitious categories of male and female,¹¹ its occasional rhetorical postulation does not entail a revocation of his fundamental insight that "all human beings are intersexual variants."¹² Regardless of his denial that the "third sex" category could be "something complete or even almost closed in itself," however, Hirschfeld assigned to it the function of an indispensable "makeshift"¹³ designed to overcome the "extremely superficial scheme of classification into man or woman."¹⁴ In the context of Hirschfeld's new serial scheme, therefore, the postulation of a third sexual constitution does not entail the finitization of sexual alternatives, but, on the contrary, it leads to the acknowledgement that, on principle, there is no final completion of the series of possible sexualities. Notwithstanding their common dismissal of the cogency of the sexual binomial from the liminal perspective of the excluded, the suppletive and the serial conceptualizations of the third sex envisaged, lastly, very different emancipatory aims. While the tripartition model adds a third alternative without necessarily transforming the self-understanding of the alleged majority according to the binary pattern, the open-ended model challenges from the outset the very possibility that such a majority be constituted by questioning the theoretical validity of its cohesion.¹⁵

5. Going far beyond the mere normalization of the third sex as a fact of nature, Hirschfeld articulates already in *Sappho und Sokrates* (1896), his first sexological treatise, the essential traits of his future sexual doctrine. Resuming and expanding on the leitmotifs of Charles Darwin's grasp of sexuality, Hirschfeld resorts in this context not only to the theory of recapitulation of phylogenesis by ontogenesis, but also to the reality of a bisexual primary disposition, whose traces or 'remainders' can be readily perceived at the physiological level:

"Every man keeps his stunted womb, the uterus masculinus and the superfluous nipples until death; likewise, every woman [keeps] her useless epididymis and her spermatic cord."¹⁶ Arguing analogically, Hirschfeld points out that, with regard to the psychic center of sexual sensibility, one can definitely assume that, here also, residues of the drive subsist that, on the whole, are eventually destined to disappear."¹⁷ Since "in their primary disposition all human beings are with respect to their body and soul bisexual,"¹⁸ the inexhaustible diversity of sexualities results not from qualitative, but from quantitative differences that are determined by the way the primary sexual disposition reacts to processes that hinder or advance its development. Furthermore, Hirschfeld underlines that the later a particular sexual difference is developed, the more significant the influence the "residual" sex has on it.¹⁹ Thus, whereas gradual deviations occur less frequently with regard to the primary sexual characteristics, and more frequently with regard to the secondary ones, in the case of tertiary characteristics such deviations occur even more frequently, as is shown by the high incidence of sexual orientations at variance with the supposed norm. Based on these variabilities, Hirschfeld unmasks the purported naturalness of the binomial sexual hiatus as an unwarranted concealment of sexuality's endless transitions deployed in consonance with nature's pervasive continuities.

6. In correspondence with his overarching critical commitments, Hirschfeld sought to illuminate the dim precincts of sexual half-truths and prejudice. In the first editorial he wrote for the periodical *Die Aufklärung* [The Enlightenment], Hirschfeld frankly declared his intent "to fight for the freedom of humankind" with the "fair weapons provided to us by precise investigations."²⁰ His specific aim was to shed light on the parochialism of Western "mores" (*Sitten*) that deflect from or silence the sexual facts ascertained by science and therewith hinder the emergence of a truly universal sexual "morality" (*Sittlichkeit*). In no uncertain terms Hirschfeld advocates supplanting the theological foundations of the sexual by well-grounded scientific premises apt to prevent the unnecessary strife between natural and human laws, science and morals, and indeed between "pure truth and true purity."²¹ Well aware of the overwhelming task posed by the "sexual misery"²² of twentieth-century humanity, Hirschfeld closes his editorial with an explicit reference to eighteenth-century classical Enlightenment:

"And like 150 years ago the 'Enlightenment' (*Aufklärung*) meant the end of political absolutism, so our 'Enlightenment' (*Aufklärung*) pursues a no lesser goal: the end of the absolutism of mores (*Sitte*) – that autocracy, which, unkindly and unworldly, wishes to accord validity only to its own petrified views: the end of servility."²³

Mindful that absolutism fosters servility not only within the confines of governmental policy, Hirschfeld envisages its dismantlement wherever the alleged universality of factually provincial sexual mores is invoked to subjugate the individual. Consistent with the ethical-emancipatory project of *Aufklärung*, Hirschfeld envisions the deployment of the individual's unique sexual differences in the framework of a universal history liberated from the yoke of theological teleologies.

7. The significance of Hirschfeld's report on the journey he undertook between 1930 and 1932 resided in its being one of the first systematic contributions to sexual ethnology, a science that he considered to be, "with regard to its contents, the oldest, with regard to its method, the youngest one"²⁴ among the sexological disciplines. Since "the *biological* and *pathological* foundations in the field of sexuality" are the same for all humanity, sexual ethnology, in Hirschfeld's understanding, has to deal with the extreme diversity of "sociological consequences, solutions and assessments"²⁵ indicative of humankind's response to the complexities of its own sexual nature. Hirschfeld's premise that, despite all cultural variability, the sexual dispositions and drives—"taken as a whole"²⁶—are common to all

nations and races, however, was by no means meant to corroborate the constrictive patterns of traditional sexual binarity. On the contrary, Hirschfeld's work is a constant reminder of the boundless diversity of sexual constitutions that is ascertainable in all times and places. Since this diversity, however, challenged the way historical cultures to the present have been organized, they understandably reacted with the propagation of "symbolic and idealistic explanations" of sexuality that Hirschfeld disqualified as being merely "*a posteriori* constructions."²⁷ As Hirschfeld further underscored, owing to such constructions, "every nation (and every religion) is convinced that its [sexual] mores are morality in the *objective* sense" and is inclined "to reject all other mores as more or less immoral".²⁸

8. Given the Nazi cultural policies, *Weltreise* had to be published in Switzerland a year after Hirschfeld's return to Europe. As a "principled supporter of the emancipation *movements* of all nations,"²⁹ Hirschfeld made his "libertarian attitude"³⁰ throughout the book abundantly clear, contending that the drive to freedom is a "natural law"³¹ inherent in all men and nations, and that "once awoken, [it] can be checked only temporarily."³² Well aware of the entangled configurations of oppression in Asia, he criticized European imperialist policies, while refusing to idealize the cultural differences commonly associated with Asia's exoticism. Thus, Hirschfeld castigated not only the repressive politics of the colonial powers of the time, but also the curtailment of human liberties resulting from the mostly millenarian traditions of the colonized nations themselves. Although he acknowledged the cultural relativity of his views on debatable issues such as corpse copulation in the Malabar coast³³ or the erotic preference of Egyptians for people having a squint,³⁴ Hirschfeld was far from relativizing his stance when focusing on murderous or life-threatening practices such as widow burning, the exposure of female babies or the circumcision of women. In this connection, it is especially noteworthy that notwithstanding his assessment that Hinduism and Buddhism are more tolerant religions than Christianity with regard to non-normative sexualities, Hirschfeld openly admitted his dismay in view of the roles women have been forced to assume in the social fabric of Far Eastern cultures.

9. Hirschfeld's emancipatory pursuits were not limited to the field of sexuality. Toward the end of his life and prompted by the rise of Nazism, Hirschfeld sketched out a conceptualization of race based on biological assumptions comparable to those of the *Zwischenstufenlehre* and leading to similar unsettling results. His most comprehensive elaborations on race are included in *Phantom Rasse* [The race phantom], a series of articles that began to be published in 1934—a year after the publication of *Weltreise*—in a German-language newspaper in Prague, but was never completed due to Hirschfeld's unexpected death. In analogy to his critique of closed schemes of sexual distribution, Hirschfeld maintained that there are no clear-cut, fixed differences between the races, but only gradual racial variations between individuals. Thus, the sexological premise that all human beings are sexual intermediaries, is paralleled by the assertion that, "strictly speaking, from the point of view of biology, all human beings are hybrids."³⁵ Like in the case of his sexual doctrine, Hirschfeld's elaborations on race are guided by Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's philosophical thesis that, with regard to the infinite fullness of inherited characteristics and forms, "all classifications of living beings are ultimately only 'artificial instrumentalities,' [for] Nature herself [...] knows neither classes nor species."³⁶ Dissolving the categorial closures superimposed on her by man, Nature's fullness fosters—in Hirschfeld's depiction—a sense of humanness irreconcilable with the schemes of sexual and racial classification utilized in the (self-)identificatory processes of individuals throughout history. Resonating with the results of his sexual deconstructions, Hirschfeld's analyses of closed schemes of racial distribution makes racial groupings appear as merely taxonomic *fictions* that fade away in the face of racially unique individuals. Thus, in view of the fascist and fascistoid self-misapprehension

of culture as a product of the so-called racial purity, Hirschfeld underscores: "culture is the result of racial mixings, and only this mixing saves from barbarism."³⁷

10. In his treatment of race, Hirschfeld certainly drew on his personal experience as a Jewish non-Aryan who had traveled through Asia, and confronted the greatest cultural diversity ever brought about by humankind's racial spectrum. Signally, when depicting sexual, racial and cultural diversities in his travel report, Hirschfeld did not assume that Western mores (or any given mores, for that matter) could offer the paradigms required for judging or condemning Asian insufficiencies in dealing with those diversities. Rather, he regarded Oriental and Western articulations of sexuality and race as essentially related and deficient configurations within a cultural continuum requiring critical analysis as a whole. Elucidating this cultural relatedness by an example, Hirschfeld argued that the difference between the stomach-slapping of Ceylonese forest people and the buttocks-slapping of Bavarian dancers is hardly greater than that between the nose-rings of Indian women and the earrings of their European counterparts.³⁸ Being "basically the same,"³⁹ such cultural manifestations and commodities suggest that, ultimately, there "is no essential difference between 'primitive' and 'civilized' people."⁴⁰ Like in the case of sexual or racial individuation, Hirschfeld considers the cultural specificity of mores, institutions and artifacts not as the result of discrete or isolated qualities, but of gradual differentiations within an open totality. On these assumptions, any concrete cultural actualization is suitable not only to be understood through its relationship to the continuity in which it is embedded, but also to be critiqued by gauging its still unrealized potentialities.

11. Given the "internationality of all sexual problems of humanity"⁴¹ and their intersectionality with issues of race and culture, Hirschfeld was keen to stress that their solution cannot be found within the purview of religious asceticism. As a student of religions and religiosity, however, Hirschfeld warned against simplistically equating asceticism with the religious worldview in general.⁴² Accordingly, he distinguished between religions inimical to sexuality (like Christianity) and those favorable to it (like Islam),⁴³ and eventually maintained that "deep religiosity and sexuality by no means exclude one another."⁴⁴ Hirschfeld's nuanced assessments of religion are based on a wealth of observations concerning the understanding of sexuality in the Hindu and Buddhist traditions,⁴⁵ in the monotheistic spiritualities of "Moses, Jesus, Mohammed,"⁴⁶ and even in minority religious formations such as Shinto,⁴⁷ Jainism,⁴⁸ and Zoroastrianism.⁴⁹ More importantly, his purview of Asian religions is completed by references to religious groups with an outspoken favorable appreciation of sexuality that range from tantrism⁵⁰ and the mystical-erotic sect of the Baul, renowned for their carezza-method of love,⁵¹ to Din-I-Illahi, the short-lived ecumenical religion founded by Akbar the Great (1542-1605).⁵² Although Hirschfeld's treatment of religious diversity in Asia seems designed to acquit religion *per se* from the charge of being inimical to sexuality and erotic love, it soon becomes apparent that, from Hirschfeld's perspective, no historical religion is suited to satisfy the theoretical demands made by his sexology and by the new sexual ethics it entailed.

12. Beyond examining the interactions between historical religions and sexuality, Hirschfeld made during his trip inquiries into residual or subjacent cultural contents that could hint at a weltanschauung very different from the views of reality propounded by full-fledged religious traditions. In this connection, Hirschfeld reported, for instance, that in Bali "still reigns an extensive pansexualism, an erotic all-love, which was perhaps the reason why many nations in the past gave sexual valences to all beings and things."⁵³ More importantly, in his search for extant traces of prehistoric cultural configurations, Hirschfeld studied the unabated magical and ritual relevancy of lingams in widely dispersed locations between Japan and Western

India. He mentions, for example, that remains of a phallus cult associated with hopes for fertility and male progeniture have survived in Japanese rural areas independently of Buddhism and Shinto.⁵⁴ In Batavia, the present-day Jakarta, Hirschfeld observed such a desperate yearning for fertility that the mere resemblance of a cannon with a phallus was reason enough to attract annually thousands of women from all parts of Java who presented their offerings in exchange for pregnancy.⁵⁵ Later on in his journey, scholars from the University of Benares pointed out to Hirschfeld that the incorporation of the lingam to the cult of Siva represented a rather late religious development, and therewith strengthened the sexologist in his conviction that the lingam cult is "not only older than Hinduism, but even older than religion in general."⁵⁶ Hirschfeld's pronounced interest in possible evidence for a worldview previous to the emergence of current religions is especially apparent in the chapter titled "Lingam triumphs over Siva,"⁵⁷ as well as in the passages relating his visit—just before his final departure from India—to the lingam shrines in Elephanta, an island off Bombay. At this site, "where the territorial ascendancy of Siva ends and Allah's single lordship begins,"⁵⁸ Hirschfeld imagines the godly lingam addressing the crowds of believers in terms that come close to his own Goethean- and Nietzschean-inspired vitalism: "I am the organ and the symbol of all-destructive Siva, who brings ruin, war and death to men, but I am at the same time the organ of eternal re-birth, the emblem of life that continually renews itself through love, of the 'Die and become!'"⁵⁹

13. Notwithstanding his interest in lingams and yonis as tokens of a pansexual, fertility-oriented pre-historical period,⁶⁰ Hirschfeld had good reasons for not idealizing the phallic apotheosis that antedated the emergence of historical religions. On the one hand, he unmistakably rejected the binomial scheme of sexual distribution that underlies the prehistoric sacralization of reproduction. On the other, he was keenly aware of the shortcomings of a sexual life devoid of the ethical parameters conveyed by the great religious traditions. While acknowledging their ethical advantages, Hirschfeld did not overlook that world religions continue to assume a concept of binary sexuality that derives from the primitive lingam/yoni disjuncture. Against this backdrop, Hirschfeld's doctrine of sexual intermediaries purports an epochal break with the male/female divide that has been prevalent ever since the emergence of culture. In accordance with this line of argument, Hirschfeld evokes throughout *Weltreise* diverse instantiations of sexual intermediariness that openly resist being pressed into binomial sexual patterns. Thus, he refers not only to art-historical cases ranging from androgynous Buddha statues in Japan⁶¹ and the double-sexed Siva represented as Arahana-rismwar,⁶² but also to the contemporary occurrence of non-homosexual transvestite and homosexual male impersonators of women in the Kabuki theatre,⁶³ Balinese transvestite dancers,⁶⁴ and even homosexual and pseudo-homosexual yogis.⁶⁵ Despite the wealth of evidence he reports in this regard, however, Hirschfeld avoided making elaborate emancipatory claims concerning the sexual minorities he encountered throughout his journey. Given the appalling impression that the alienated condition of women in Asia made on Hirschfeld, it is no wonder that he considered their emancipation to be the most urgent task of the libertarian politics he advocated.

14. While documenting the diversity of sexual mores (Sitten) Hirschfeld came across during his trip, *Weltreise* diagnoses their inadequacy as point of departure for developing a sexual morality aspiring to universal validity (Sittlichkeit). As Hirschfeld maintains toward the end of his travel report, the ethics needed for attaining the future "United States of Earth"⁶⁶ rests on the premise that humanness exists only in the fractionation of individuals, and is perverted whenever a sexual group, race or culture claims exclusive rights to its accession. Focusing on the nuances and complexities that mark the individual's uniqueness, Hirschfeld developed an encompassing program that moves from the lucid acknowledgment of the biological basis of

human sexuality, to visions of a libertarian culture facilitating the realization of the potentials inherent in irreducible sexual diversity. This overarching vector of Hirschfeld's sexual thought is encapsulated in his life motto: *per scientiam ad justitiam*. Although an essential part of his critical program consisted in dissolving the categorial fixations of sexuality, Hirschfeld acknowledged the legitimacy of provisionally resorting to categorial reductions for the sake of research and therapy. In this context, Hirschfeld's redefines the grasp of sexual constitutions, on principle, as an asymptotic task informed by the awareness of the ultimate ineffability of the individual's sexual difference. Given the inherent boundaries of any epistemic pursuit, the inevitable gap between the always perfectible scientific understanding of sexual difference and its implementation for the sake of sexual justice becomes the actual site of the categorially non-subsumable individual, whose sexual liberation begins with the dismantlement of the closed regimes of gender that constrain the inexhaustible diversification of natural sex.

15. Contrasting with the historically sanctioned fixation of the sexes, Hirschfeld's new scheme of sexual distribution purports that each individual embodies a unique sexuality, and as a consequence, that the number of sexualities is potentially infinite. On the premise that human beings combine in different and non-repeatable proportions the poles of masculinity and femininity, Hirschfeld's doctrine dismisses the issue of sexual *identity* defined according to a binomial or ternary scheme as an ideological burden from the past. Furthermore, it transforms the question of sexual *self-identification* into an endless task, since categorisations function, at most, as provisory approximations that must be constantly readjusted as multi-level sexual complexity metamorphosizes throughout the life of the individual. Although Hirschfeld did not always deal in detail with the consequences of his doctrine, his efforts to cope with the sexological aspect of biographies along with his continuous attempts to refine his theoretical instrumentality make it apparent how relevant diachronic differences were to his overall grasp of the sexual. Since in his understanding, sexual alterity is not determined within a dual or triadic pattern, but within an open-ended scheme of unique sexual constitutions, all differing in gradually diversified aspects from one another, sexuality evinces itself as being always a sexuality of difference: "hetero-sexuality."

16. Hirschfeld's programmatic pursuits were closely related to his personal interpretation and adaptation of Jewish religion and history. In this connection it is apposite to note that despite his self-understanding as a Jew, he did not embrace the creationist monotheism of normative Judaism. As a member of *Deutscher Monistenbund* [German Monist League] founded by the eminent Darwinian Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), Hirschfeld subscribed, instead, to a pantheistic view of Nature that countered essential aspects of traditional Jewish teachings. Notwithstanding his a-theological stance, however, his conception of sexual emancipation as a political, future-oriented process is reminiscent of Ancient Israel's prophetic tradition and shares core assumptions of the same Messianic legacy that influenced Marxism and Zionism. The transformation and re-contextualization that this legacy underwent in Hirschfeld's oeuvre were profound.⁶⁷ On the one hand, the biblical theologumenon of an almighty God was replaced by the conception of an inexhaustibly creative Nature, whose ground traits go back to Baruch de Spinoza's philosophical understanding of *natura naturans*. On the other hand, the creational teachings regarding the binary sexual constitution of humankind were supplanted by an understanding of sexuality that escapes the grids of any finite system of sexual distribution. On these premises, Hirschfeld's Messianic-inspired blueprint of sexual emancipation reclaims the irreducible sexual diversity emerging from Nature as the point of departure for realizing, in the concretion of history, a libertarian culture capable of fostering the deployment of the individual's unique sexual potentialities.

17. At the very end of *Weltreise*, Hirschfeld includes some reflections on the issue of Jewish assimilation that close as follows:

"Only [the love of humanity] can bring back the lost paradise, the golden age, only [this love] can create the organism of humanity, created on the soil of Freiligrath's words of hope:

"Despite all that, despite all that – the time comes despite all that,
When all around man will hold out the brotherly hand to man
Despite all that.""⁶⁸

Since the topos of the golden age in the cited verses by German socialist poet Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876) are a clear clue to the emancipatory futurity Hirschfeld envisioned, it becomes apparent that what he termed "the assimilation of Judaism into Humanity" constituted an essential aspect of the Messianic hope encoded in the poem's repeated "Despite all that." From the standpoint of Hirschfeld's libertarian conception of history, the advent of a time of universal reconciliation coincides with the effective acknowledgment that there is difference of value only "between individual human beings," and that "national, family, religious, professional, ethnical or other forms of appurtenance"⁶⁹ are to be subordinated to the individual's worth and merit. Consequently, Hirschfeld's oeuvre exposes and challenges the axiological asymmetries resulting from unexamined constructs of sex, race or ethnical belonging, and delineates a non-essentialist naturalism of infinite diversity, in whose ambit the individual occupies an irreplaceable point of transition within the continuities of nature. In Hirschfeld's demarche *per scientiam ad justitiam*, the acknowledged uniqueness of the individual constitutes the indispensable condition for realising the ethical commonality of the human.

18. As his single most important contribution to uncovering humanity's true sexual constitution, Hirschfeld's doctrine mandates a radical reassessment of the Western articulation of sexuality following from the conflation of the Creation narratives of Adam and Eve and the originally Pythagorean axiology opposing being and maleness to nothingness and femininity.⁷⁰ While Hirschfeld's deconstructive endeavours confront Freudian psychoanalysis as the most encompassing theoretical deployment of the phallic apotheosis that marks occidental history, the encounter with Asia during his world trip offered him a broader anthropological-historical perspective for gauging the deep rootage of binomial sexuality in the pre-religious, symbolic patterns of the lingam/yoni dichotomy. Since the basic premise illustrated by this most archaic articulation of sexual binarity retained its pervasiveness throughout cultural history, it throws light on the radical novelty of Hirschfeld's thoroughly counterintuitive assumption of potentially infinite sexualities. Against the backdrop of Hirschfeld's science-based and libertarian-aimed doctrine, the symbolic order of binomial sexuality and the consequent imaginary of the phallus/lingam can only resort to argumentative strategies of reiteration to keep a semblance of its pervasive validity of old. The new symbolic order necessitated by Hirschfeld's sexual doctrine and its assumption of a penis/clitoris continuum resets the representational agenda beyond the simplistic conveniences of thought patterns that operate on the basis of the opposition between male fullness and female emptiness. The chance and challenge of the symbolic order ensuing from Hirschfeld's critical pursuits is to represent potentially infinite sexual variability with the prosaic means of finitude. In this light, the symbolic of the sublime evinces itself as the true representational site of sexual difference.

¹ Sontag, Susan: *Reborn. Early Diaries. 1947-1963*. Edited by David Rieff. London: Penguin Books, p. 220.

² The standard biography of Hirschfeld is: Herzer Manfred: *Magnus Hirschfeld. Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen*. Zweite, überarbeitete Auflage. Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001. For a biography in English, see: Wolff Charlotte: *Magnus Hirschfeld. A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*. London / Melbourne / New York: Quartet Books, 1986. A brief presentation of Hirschfeld's life and work can be accessed at: Bauer, J. Edgar: *Magnus Hirschfeld*. In: *glbtq. An encyclopedia of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender & queer culture*. General Editor: Claude J. Summers, 2004: www.glbtc.com/social-sciences/hirschfeld_m.html.

³ Since 1920, Hirschfeld had been a target of defamation and physical aggression orchestrated by the German fascists. Thus it was not totally surprising that soon after Hitler came to power in 1933, the Institute for Sexual Science Hirschfeld had founded in 1919 was closed, and its extensive library as well as its sexual-ethnological collections were destroyed. A year later, in 1934, the Nazi regime deprived him of the German citizenship. After moving to Ascona in Switzerland and then briefly to Paris, Hirschfeld finally settled in the city of Nice, in the south of France. There he died on his 67th birthday, May 14, 1935 as a stateless person.

⁴ For a detailed analysis of Hirschfeld's "doctrine," see: Bauer, J. Edgar: *Der Tod Adams. Geschichtsphilosophische Thesen zur Sexualemanzipation im Werk Magnus Hirschfelds*. In: Seeck, Andreas (ed.): *Durch Wissenschaft zur Gerechtigkeit? Textsammlung zur kritischen Rezeption des Schaffens von Magnus Hirschfeld*. Münster / Hamburg / London: Lit Verlag, 2003, pp. 133-155. Reprint of: Bauer, J. Edgar: *Der Tod Adams. Geschichtsphilosophische Thesen zur Sexualemanzipation im Werk Magnus Hirschfelds*. In: *100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung. Dokumentation einer Vortragsreihe in der Akademie der Künste. Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Manfred Herzer*. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1998, pp. 15-45. A revised version of the essay can be accessed at: Magnus Hirschfeld Archive for Sexology, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2009: <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/BIB/bauer10.htm>. Further elaborations on the issue are included in: Bauer, J. Edgar: *Über Hirschfelds Anspruch. Eine Klarstellung*. In: *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft*. Herausgegeben von der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft e.V. 29/30 (Juli 1999), pp. 66-80; Bauer, J. Edgar: *Magnus Hirschfeld: per scientiam ad justitiam. Eine zweite Klarstellung*. In: *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft*. Herausgegeben von der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft e.V. 33/34 (Dezember 2002), pp. 68-90; Bauer, J. Edgar: *Magnus Hirschfeld: Sexualidentität und Geschichtsbewußtsein. Eine dritte Klarstellung*. In: *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft*. Herausgegeben von der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft e.V. 37/38 (Juni 2007), pp. 109-120. Revised online versions of the three essays can be accessed at:

<http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/BIB/bauer05.htm>, 2009;

<http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/BIB/bauer06.htm>, 2009;

<http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/BIB/bauer04.htm>, 2009.

⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Geschlechts-Übergänge. Mischungen männlicher und weiblicher Geschlechtscharaktere. (Sexuelle Zwischenstufen.)* Erweiterte Ausgabe eines auf der 76. Naturforscherversammlung zu Breslau gehaltenen Vortrages. Leipzig: Verlag der Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und sexuelle Hygiene, W. Malende, 1905, title page. (Second edition: Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr (Inh. Ferd. Spohr), 1913.) Magnus Hirschfeld's books and articles are referenced according to the original publications in German. All translations from German texts are by JEB.

⁶ Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm: *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement (IV,16,12)*. In: Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm: *Die philosophischen Schriften*. Herausgegeben von C.J. Gerhardt. Bd 5. Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1978, p. 155. Translation by the author: "In nature everything happens by degrees, nothing by leaps."

⁷ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*. Nachdruck der Erstauflage von 1914 mit einer kommentierenden Einleitung von E.J. Haeberle. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984, p. 357; and Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Geschlechtskunde auf Grund dreißigjähriger Forschung und Erfahrung* bearbeitet. 1. Band: *Die körperseelischen Grundlagen*. Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926, pp. 547-548.

⁸ See on this issue: Bauer, J. Edgar: *43 046 721 Sexualitypen. Anmerkungen zu Magnus Hirschfelds Zwischenstufenlehre und der Unendlichkeit der Geschlechter*. In: *Capri 33* (Dezember 2002), pp. 23-30. Revised online version: Magnus Hirschfeld Archive for Sexology, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin: <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/BIB/bauer18.htm>, 2009.

⁹ Sigmund Freud was the most influential figure that interpreted Hirschfeld's sexological contentions in this sense. Thus, in a passage targeting primarily Hirschfeld, Freud wrote: "Die homosexuellen Männer, die in unseren Tagen eine energische Aktion gegen die gesetzliche Einschränkung ihrer Sexualbetätigung unternommen haben, lieben es, sich durch ihre theoretischen Wortführer als eine von Anfang an gesonderte geschlechtliche Abart, als sexuelle Zwischenstufen, als ein 'drittes Geschlecht' hinstellen zu lassen." (Freud, Sigmund: *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*. In: Freud, Sigmund: *Studienausgabe. Band X: Bildende Kunst und Literatur*. Hrsg. von Alexander Mitscherlich u.a. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1969, p. 124) / "The homosexual men who have undertaken an energetic action against the legal restriction of

their sexual activities, like to be exhibited by their theoretical spokesmen as a sexual deviation that is separate from the beginning, as sexual intermediary stages, as a 'third sex.'"

¹⁰ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Das angeblich dritte Geschlecht des Menschen. Eine Erwiderung. In: Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft 6 (1919), p. 22.

¹¹ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die intersexuelle Konstitution. In: Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen 23 (1923), p. 24.

¹² Hirschfeld, Magnus: Von einst bis jetzt. Geschichte einer homosexuellen Bewegung. 1897–1922.

Herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Manfred Herzer und James Steakley, Berlin 1896, p. 49.

¹³ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die intersexuelle Konstitution, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁴ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die intersexuelle Konstitution, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁵ On this issue, see Bauer, J. Edgar: Gender and the Nemesis of Nature: On Magnus Hirschfeld's Deconstruction of the Sexual Binary and the Concept of 'Sexual Human Rights.' In: Hodzic, A. and J. Postic (Eds.): Two Is Not Enough for Gender (E)quality. Zagreb: CESI & Ženska soba, 2006, pp. 153-171.

¹⁶ Ramien, Th. [=Magnus Hirschfeld]: Sappho und Sokrates oder Wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts? Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896, p. 10. The second edition (1902) was issued under Hirschfeld's own name.

¹⁷ Ramien, Th. [= Hirschfeld, Magnus]: Sappho und Sokrates, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁸ Ramien, Th. [= Hirschfeld, Magnus]: Sappho und Sokrates, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

¹⁹ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Kenntnis der homosexuellen Natur eine sittliche Forderung. Mit einem Anhang: Die Bewertung anderer anormaler Triebe vom ärztlichen Standpunkt. Eine wissenschaftliche gemeinverständliche Darlegung. Charlottenburg-Berlin: Fritz Stolt, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907, p. 22.

²⁰ Hirschfeld, Magnus: "Was Wir Wollen" In: Die Aufklärung. Monatsschrift für Sexual- und Lebensreform. Herausgegeben von Magnus Hirschfeld und Maria Krische. I, 1 (1929), p. 3.

²¹ Hirschfeld M., "Was Wir Wollen," op. cit., p. 1.

²² Hirschfeld M., "Was Wir Wollen," op. cit., p. 6. Characteristically, Hirschfeld grasped his research work as a sexologist, from the start, as a body of knowledge that should be put at the direct service of humanity. In this sense, his very first sexological treatise of 1896 and other early writings were programmatically designed to spread the light of Aufklärung as regards anormative sexualities and their role within the order of nature and society. See for instance: [Hirschfeld, Magnus]: "Was muss das Volk vom Dritten Geschlecht wissen! Eine Aufklärungsschrift" Herausgegeben vom wissenschaftlich-humanitären Comitee. Mit Illustrationen. Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1901; and Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Kenntnis der homosexuellen Natur eine sittliche Forderung, op. cit.

²³ Hirschfeld, Magnus: "Was Wir Wollen," op. cit., p. 7.

²⁴ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers. Brugg (Switzerland): Bözberg-Verlag, 1933, p. 3.

²⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. VI.

²⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁷ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁸ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁹ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 345.

³⁰ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 91.

³¹ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 128.

³² Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 231.

³³ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 199.

³⁴ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 299.

³⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Phantom Rasse. Ein Hirngespinnst als Weltgefahr (8. Fortsetzung). In: Die Wahrheit. Prag, Jg. 14 (1935) Nr. 2 [Caption of the paragraph: "Bastarde" und "Reine Linie"]. There is an edited version in English of the text: Hirschfeld, Magnus: Racism. Translated and Edited by Eden and Cedar Paul. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1938. The corresponding passage is included on page 198.

³⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Phantom Rasse. Ein Hirngespinnst als Weltgefahr (12. Fortsetzung). In: Die Wahrheit. Prag, Jg. 14 (1935) Nr. 6 [Caption of the paragraph: Menschliche Varianten und Typen].

³⁷ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Phantom Rasse. Ein Hirngespinnst als Weltgefahr (14. [actually: 15.] Fortsetzung). In: Die Wahrheit. Prag, Jg. 14 (1935) Nr. 9 [Caption of the paragraph: Zoologischer Rasseglauben (sic)].

³⁸ See Hirschfeld M., Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 198.

³⁹ Hirschfeld M., Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 198.

⁴⁰ Hirschfeld M., Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 150.

⁴¹ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 308.

⁴² See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴³ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴⁴ Hirschfeld, Magnus: Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers, op. cit., p. 306.

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- ⁴⁵ See, for instance, Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., pp. 199-200, 232-233, 233-234, 240-242, 242-245.
- ⁴⁶ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., pp. 353-356.
- ⁴⁷ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 32.
- ⁴⁸ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 277.
- ⁴⁹ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., pp. 274-277.
- ⁵⁰ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., pp. 212-213.
- ⁵¹ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 213.
- ⁵² See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 257.
- ⁵³ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 153.
- ⁵⁴ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 49.
- ⁵⁵ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 157.
- ⁵⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 243.
- ⁵⁷ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 242.
- ⁵⁸ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 281.
- ⁵⁹ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 281.
- ⁶⁰ Hirschfeld rarely mentions any yonis as counterparts of lingams. See on this issue: Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 209.
- ⁶¹ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., pp. 48-49.
- ⁶² See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 281.
- ⁶³ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 46.
- ⁶⁴ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 164.
- ⁶⁵ See Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 248.
- ⁶⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 392.
- ⁶⁷ On Hirschfeld's relation to Jewish religion and religiosity, see: Bauer, J. Edgar: "Ahasverische Unruhe" und "Menscheitsassimilation": Zu Magnus Hirschfelds Auffassung vom Judentum. In: Kotowski, Elke-Vera und Julius H. Schoeps (Hrsg.): *Der Sexualreformer Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935). Ein Leben im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft, Politik und Gesellschaft*. Berlin: Be.Bra Verlag, 2004, pp. 271-291.
- ⁶⁸ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 392. Hirschfeld quotes from "Trotz alledem," which was a free rendering of a poem by Robert Burns and was included in Freiligrath's *Ein Glaubensbekenntnis*, a collection of poems published in 1844.
- ⁶⁹ Hirschfeld, Magnus: *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, op. cit., p. 392.
- ⁷⁰ On this issue, see Aristotle: *The Metaphysics*. Books I-IX. In: Aristotle in twenty-three volumes. With an English translation by Hugh Tredennick. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Volume XVII, p. 34 [1986 a 22-30].

Women with physical disabilities and their able-bodied community: Lessons learned from rural Thailand

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Abstract

Community is very important for people with disabilities. This article, which draws from face-to-face interviews, explores the nature of social interaction between women with physical disabilities and their able-bodied community. Findings from in-depth interviews with 20 physically disabled women in northeastern Thailand indicated that their community involvement was hampered by over protection from non-disabled people around them. Despite showing their ability to cope with daily life, physically disabled women still failed to convince non-disabled people to believe in their contributions to the wider community. The author argues that this was due to stereotypical ideas of their family members and false impressions of women with disabilities. In addition, the non-disabled community obviously failed to grasp the magnitude of physically disabled women's community involvement, ignored their contribution and left them behind wider community.

Keywords: Physical disabilities; Disabled women; Gender and Disability; Social sector; SE Asia

Introduction

Women with disabilities are one of the most marginalized groups who need to be socially recognized in the development process. This article, therefore, attempts to investigate the interplay between women with physical disabilities and their involvement in community in northeastern Thailand. From Disability Survey Report

in 2008, 288,373 people with disabilities out of 756,606 registered with the Department of Disability Empowerment living in the northeast of the country (Thailand, Survey Report, Department of Disability Empowerment, 2008). Among women with disabilities registered with the Department, physically disabled women are the highest. The Survey report recorded 139,242 out of 313,274 women as having physical impairment.

From mainstream development perspectives, people with disabilities have been in the spotlight recently because disability severely hampers the process of development because most societies consider people with impairments burdensome and they believe that those people are economically non-productive (Barnes, 1991; Asch and Fine, 1988).

Finkelstein (1980), Oliver (1990), Whyte and Instad (1995) contend that studies of disability require a paradigm shift away from the clinical approach towards community involvement. They assert that a disability study must be seen in the context of ordinary social interaction. Their arguments clearly illustrate that people with disabilities require social contexts within life. Consequently, sociologists and disabled people have challenged the justification of the medical model and demanded that the disability study be influenced by a social model (Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1991). This social model will explain how people with disabilities can be socially recognized and they must receive equal opportunities to be recognized and participate in social activities in the community (Edmonds, 2000).

Among women with different classifications of disability, women with physical disabilities are more marginalized and are usually excluded from the non-disabled community (Asch & Fine, 1988). Moser (1989) pronounces that low involvement in community-based activities impoverishes rural women including rural women with physical disabilities. Several studies of physically disabled women found that their bodily impairment had negatively influenced their participation in their community (Thomas, 1999; Anderson & Kitchin, 2000; Orme, 2001; Mays, 2006; Crooks, Chouinard & Wilton, 2008; Bualar, 2009; Nixon, 2009)

Many scholars and academics have produced research on people with disabilities; however very few of them have been interested in gender and disability or disability in community participation which keeps women with physical disabilities in an inferior position in a rural community. Additionally, it should be emphasized strongly that the overwhelming majority of writings on disabled women have failed to address the situation of women living with physical disabilities in rural areas in developing countries. The interplay between physically disabled women and their wider community therefore became the focal point of this article.

Social Expectations, Culture and Women with physical disabilities

Women with disabilities are the most vulnerable group among the vulnerable groups, simply because their public identity is eliminated by the social construction of womanhood and their physical disabilities, which make them less visible in a community. To comprehend the subject of women with physical disabilities in its entirety, a discussion on the social expectations of women with disabilities, disabled

women in the context of the public sphere and how they are different are discussed below.

In theory, social expectations of women can be divided into traditional and non-traditional or feminist expectations. Traditional expectations confine women to motherhood and depict them as subservient persons and followers. These expectations, as such, categorize women to be stay-at-home workers and to be obedient. Non-traditional or feminist expectations hypothesize that human beings are equal. Women are able to receive higher recognition. Women become self-confident, liberal, wise and ready to participate in the wider community (Fiske & Glick, 1995).

Because of their physical impairment, mainstream society does not expect motherhood from women with physical disabilities. In addition, these women are not included in feminist expectations because they are not socially and economically independent. Social expectations from mainstream society minimize the interests of physically disabled women in the public sphere. Evidently, physically disabled women tend to obey the social expectations or social norms manipulated by non-disabled people, making them feel uncomfortable in their community, and they do not realize the importance of their contributions to the public sphere. These social expectations encourage physically disabled women into believing in social control so that they finally find themselves alienated from the public sphere and public participation in community-based activities (Mackelprang, 1993; Gleeson, 1999; Reinders, 2000; Krieger, 2003).

Women with physical disabilities will feel doubly oppressed because of being women and disabled. MacFarlane (1994) clearly postulates that being a woman is one thing, but a disabled woman is likely to face more hardship in her life than those who are non-disabled. The non-disabled community and bodily impairments will reinforce social prejudices in the case of women with physical disabilities. On one hand, physically disabled women will be excluded by non-disabled people when it comes to economic resources such as employment opportunities while on the other hand, these women will be socially barred from playing primary roles such as motherhood, pregnancy, denial of sex or finding partners because the borderline between customary roles and disability are clearly demarcated by social attitudes. Oliver (1990) illustrates inextricable links between disability and women because, as he pronounces, disabled women are naturally associated with dependency, vulnerability and fragility. Implicitly, physically disabled women could become very passive and represent negative images in a community of non-disabled people (Morris, 1991).

Closely aligned with social expectations of disability, culture plays a pivotal role in shaping social attitudes influencing individual performance, social inclusion and self-esteem because, as Parker insisted, culture will condition human behavior and social structures which require public obedience (Parker, 2003). A cultural account of disability concentrates on all aspects of cultural matters such as gendered disability, minority and disability (Morris, 1991; Begum, 1992). Those who share a common culture of signs and symbols will have strong potential to oust those who hold deviant ones. Thus it becomes evident that the association between disability and culture is acutely significant (Shakespeare, 1994).

Shakespeare (1996) further extends his analysis to point out social prejudice. He explains that social prejudice is implicit in cultural identity, in language and in the socialization process. He also postulates that all cultures negatively respond to disabled persons and suggests that the social construction of disability should be redefined to reflect cultural oppression and social prejudice against disabled people. Culture and social prejudice become inextricably interwoven to continually reinforce social attitudes toward physically disabled women in a community (Davis, 2002). The problem of disability does not lie with the persons with disabilities but the way that culture together with social prejudice is constructed to create problems for these women.

Dominant groups in community seek to impose their own judgment and core values. They encode their interests into norms which they aspire to generally enforce. Failing to abide by the core culture or rejecting the core values ends up with social sanction and punishment which Gramsci (1971) conceptualizes as the core culture of dominant groups producing hegemony. Since this hegemonic culture is constructed by non-disabled people, women with physical disabilities fail to catch up with the non-disabled culture. They are categorized as social deviants and they will be judged by the construction imposed by culturally imposed normalcy (Morris, 2004; Zitzelsberger, 2005; Mays, 2006; Hughes, 2007).

Women with physical disabilities and their body in society

People always explicitly or implicitly make, send and dissipate their codes, signals and information to other people with body language and its interaction, such as

smiles, grinning faces, happy faces, etc. Goffman postulates that body language reflects powerful relations in social life which denote physical gestures, position and conduct which he refers as '*body idiom*' (Goffman, 1979). Body and society are inextricably interwoven because people will pay attention to physical appearance and its interactions in daily life. Goffman's argument reveals two aspects of body. Firstly, the relationship between physical appearance in society and secondly, the relationship between embodiment and daily life.

Sociologists strongly believe that the body is socially embodied by social structures, social norms, folklores and social attitudes. As such, the body's definition and its value are not judged only by the owner of that body, but also by other people in the community (Turner, 1996). As a result, a body is merely a set of social practices.

The human body is best regarded as a potentiality in everyday life and social activities. From this argument, the body as a set of social practices is derived from the perspective of symbolic interactionism. The body plays an active role in social context and it can be best argued that an individual's human body is trained, constructed and socialized by the culture of its given society (Hughes, 2009).

In their anthropological work, Depoy and Gilson studied the relationship of social class and a body in everyday experiences. They found that the body in society possesses certain cultural capital which is illustrated through action and practices (Depoy & Gilson, 2004). As a result, a body is conceived as a system of signs which is a carrier of social meanings and the importance of the body in representing culture and shared meanings in society (Naemiratch & Manderson, 2009). Therefore, it can be interpreted that the human body is a source of power relations.

Society judges a woman's body as a source of beauty, and this beauty is well accepted by mainstream society. In other words, disability is defined in the opposite way.

Whilst beauty is judged as angelic, disability is judged as diabolic. Women in daily activities have to care about their beauty because their beautiful appearance will encourage them to encounter other people. Butler (1993) also conceptualizes that beautiful bodies of women are framed and embodied by (non-disabled) heterosexual persons. As a result, it can be said that beauty and attractiveness in body are deeply gendered and to be read by other persons under the context of social norms.

Thinness, slenderness, beauty and attractiveness are therefore typical norms of typical women, and women have traded on physical appearance to attract people (Nosek, Young & Rintala, 1995; Sobsey & Doe, 1991; Thomas, 1999).

As clearly discussed, disabled women easily become victimized because they are deformed and not beautiful. As a result, mainstream society will not accept their physical appearance as typicality. Therefore, social spaces between communities and deformed women will be clearly demarcated just because disability fails to pass society's criteria of mainstream beauty. As such, women with disabilities fail to participate in social activities because they are trapped by the definition of beauty given by mainstream society. Eventually they will lose their self-confidence in the public arena, and self-estrangement could become prominent and damage their self-esteem. In this case, the mainstream society is sending a powerful message to women with disabilities and such a message is strong enough to subvert disabled women's intentions to involve themselves in social activities.

Women with physical disabilities and Otherness

Bringing otherness to women with physical disabilities is a product of social prejudice against disability which leads to spatial relations; therefore physically disabled women who step into the public sphere will be perceived as having otherness. Simone De Beauvoir (1949: 53) explains that the perception of women having otherness in society is not derived from biological difference but from prejudice and manipulation that brand women (with physical disabilities) as being *'the other'*.

According to De Beauvoir, physically disabled women may perceive themselves as *'The Other'* in the public sphere; they are the other to non-disabled persons. They suffer from the social attitudes that perfect people have ideal bodies and a dominant culture judges them by their bodies and looks, making these women invisible. The Otherness feeling among women with physical disabilities derives from an imbalance in power resulting from their limited choices of being accepted by the general public.

Kabeer (1999) elaborates on women and otherness by investigating the interplay between *'otherness'* and *'power'*. She argues that power has both a positive sense and negative sense to women. In the positive sense, power refers to the capacity of women to exercise their power in their community. On the other hand, power could be applied to the most negative sense which refers to *'power over'*. *'Power over'*, in other words, can refer to threats, coercion and violence which finally makes women with physical disabilities alienated and having otherness in the wider community.

Kabeer's argument strongly associates with Sen (1983) and Agarwal (1997). They argue that women's identity in a community is vague and weak. The identity of women with physical disabilities, however, is weaker than non-disabled women because they receive double discrimination from their community which drives them to alienation and otherness.

In all, social expectations of disability, culture and otherness are controversial issues which eventually result in social denials imposed by non-disabled people. Since these influences are so strong, women with physical disabilities feel uneasy and uncomfortable joining in with the wider community and moreover they will possess otherness, which is a real cause of being less visible in community-based activities.

Explaining the research

Based on field research, this article examines the interplay between women with physical disabilities and their able-bodied community. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted from November 2008 – January 2009 in northeastern Thailand. The first phase of this study was a reconnaissance survey of physically disabled women addressing their feelings of loneliness in their families and communities. Interview checklists were pre-tested by ten disabled women. In addition, some experts in disability studies in Thailand were asked to review the checklists. After pre-testing, some changes were made to correspond with the test results. The complete checklist was designed to examine physically disabled women's feelings of loneliness and to investigate the stereotypical ideas of non-disabled people in the community.

For physically disabled women, the complete checklist was designed to ask five questions:

1. How does she feel about her role in her family?
2. How does she feel about her family in general?
3. What does she think about the non-disabled community?
4. What does she think about community-based activities?
5. Does she agree that a community-based activity captures her interests in community involvement? If so, why? If not, why not?

For key informants from the non-disabled community, the complete checklist was designed to ask the following questions:

1. What do they think about women with physical disabilities in general?
2. Do they find difficulties when dealing with physically disabled women? If so, why? If not, why not?
3. How do they facilitate physically disabled women during community participation?
4. Do they agree that community participation increases these women's community involvement? If so, why? If not, why not?
5. Do they agree that community participation raises the public awareness of disability?

In the second phase, the complete checklist was used to interview participants.

Sampling design and the selection of participants.

The research was conducted in northeastern Thailand – the poorest area of the country. Using purposive sampling, the provinces of Nakhonratchasima and Kon Kaen were selected. Then, the poorest sub districts from each of these provinces were purposively chosen.

Criteria for the selection of disabled participants included (1) being between the ages of 18 – 60 years; (2) being a woman with physical disabilities which affected normal life activities; (3) not having any intellectual impairment or mental disorder; and (4) being able to communicate verbally.

The names of physically disabled women were given by the Office of Social Development and Human Security from Nakhonratchasima and Kon Kaen. According to the criteria, forty women with physical disabilities were recruited. Then the Human Security Official and I contacted these women and explained the objectives of the research to them. Eventually, only twenty physically disabled women agreed to participate.

I also introduced a triangulation method into the in-depth interviews. Key informant interview method was also introduced to cross check data from physically disabled participants. Key informants from the non-disabled community were purposively selected for focus group interviews. Key informants consisted of two local politicians, two local government officials of each Sub-district Administrative Organization, two Village Headmen from each sub district and disabled family

caregivers. After learning the purpose of this study, they agreed to give in-depth information

Data and information collection

The selected participants in this study speak in a northeastern Thai dialect. In order to avoid miscommunication, I employed four local field assistants. We used a semi-structured checklist with face-to-face interviews to collect data and information. In order to protect the privacy of the participants, their names were fictitious and their biodata remained anonymous. The interviews took place at their homes and lasted for two hours. Each interview was tape-recorded and then transcribed verbatim.

The participants

Of the 20 participants, 15 per cent were aged 20 – 30 years, 50 per cent were between 31 – 40 years, 25 per cent were between 41 – 50 years and 10 per cent were between 51 – 60 years of age.

The common disability types were loss of limbs and arms (50 per cent) followed by post-polio conditions (30 per cent), half-paralysis, joint defects and spinal injury (10 per cent each). 60 per cent had become physically disabled as a result of accidents; 20 per cent were born disabled and another 20 per cent were disabled because of illness. More than half of participants had had physical disabilities for between 5 – 10 years (70 per cent), 20 per cent for 11 – 20 years and 10 per cent for more than 20

years. Most of participants were single (80 per cent) while the rest of them were married and widowed (10 per cent each). Only 20 per cent had children.

None of the participants were well educated. More than half of them received a primary-education certificate (60 per cent). 10 per cent had a secondary-education certificate. 20 per cent were able to read and 10 per cent were illiterate. In Terms of dependence, 15 per cent were dependent on their parents, 75 per cent on their relatives, and 10 per cent on their husband and their sons or daughters. Their employment opportunities were very limited. Most of them were unemployed (75 per cent). 15 per cent had raised poultry while 10 per cent did knitting and sewing.

I also found that most of these physically disabled women were interested in community-based activities. However, only 30 per cent reported that they occasionally participated in community-based activities, but only when invited.

Results and discussion

After the interviews, I grouped the responses by statements. All quotations below were taken from these interviews. I began with the sense of loneliness felt by physically disabled women, followed by the thoughts of the able-bodied community about women with physical disabilities.

Overprotection by the family and the sense of loneliness felt by physically disabled women

It is clear that these women rarely feel good when they are left behind. Findings clearly indicate that family members usually keep these women at home during the day. Their family members use 'womanhood' and 'impairment' as their excuses for not allowing these women to participate in the wider community. Overprotective family members deter disabled women from participating in community life because they hypothesize that these women are vulnerable to health complications and exploitation if they are away from their families. Family members, however, have no time to pay attention to these women because they must be out at work from dawn to dusk. During the day time, these women stay at home alone and they feel lonely. For instance, Jennifer, a 30-year-old woman, said:

'My younger sister, who takes care of me, says that community-based activities are not worthwhile because such activities are for able-bodied people and the activities can cause more health complications. She says that home is best.'

These findings are strongly supported by theories of erroneous impressions of women with physical disabilities, for example in the descriptions from Oliver (1990), Morris (1991), Barton (1996), and Shakespeare (1996). Social expectations of physically disabled women have influenced the attitudes of family members toward these women. Family members tend to restrict the involvement of physically disabled women in public activities. Permission to let these women be away from their families is seldom granted. The internalization of the roles of physically disabled women is heavily based on family influences. Excuses from family members have

placed these women under close confinement which eventually makes them feel lonely in daily life.

Family ignorance is the most unwanted situation because physically disabled women need affection from their families. However, when I did an in-depth interview with one of the family members of these women, they explained that they did not mean to make these women lonely. They have to earn more income to support the medical bills for their disabled daughters if necessary. One mother who takes care of her 25-year-old disabled daughter reported that:

'My husband and I do our best to support her emotionally and personally. We are not rich enough to cover her medical bills, so we work harder on our farm. In the morning, I prepare her three meals and everything she needs. When we come back at dusk, she likes to talk with us before her bed time.'

This clearly indicates that family members are trying to overprotect their disabled relatives and keep them at home. After listening to their disabled daughter during in-depth interview, the answer is different. Their daughter said:

'I understand that my parents have got to work harder. I feel ashamed of this since I have become a poor amputee. While they are working in the field, I am doing nothing in the house. I do not want to be in the house alone every day. The house is deadly quiet during the day time. I want to go out with them but they always refuse my request.'

The answers from her parents and herself indicate that she is unintentionally over-protected by her parents. Her parents intend to keep her in a safe place like home, however good intentions sometimes do not yield good results because, in this case, their daughter feels lonely. Although she can do her daily activities such as taking a shower, toilet use or having three meals, she has still developed a sense of loneliness. Most non-disabled family members will not interpret this situation as family denial because as they claim, they are doing the best things for their disabled members. It seems that family members are satisfied with their contributions to physically disabled family members. Their answers stemmed from a feeling of 'ableness' and they claimed that their disabled family members deserved this sort of support. Eventually, physically disabled women had conditioned themselves to accept what their family members had done for them. It can be best argued that these women had internalized their family's attitudes towards their disabilities. Sandra, a 40-year-old woman, reported that

'As we are poor, I believe that my family has done their best. I should not take a risk of going out to participate in community-based activities. If anything wrong happens to me, they cannot afford the medical bill. So I think staying home is best.'

Being economically non-productive, women with physical disabilities have to rely on family support. Families containing these women, however, have limitations – for example, they have to be very careful with the household income and cut back on household expenditure. Therefore, physically disabled women tend to reduce their

involvement in the community if such activities consume financial resources (Morris, 2004; Pagan, 2009; Taub, Mclorg & Bartnick, 2009). Community-based activities held far away from home usually cost money. Family members who take these women to community-based activities lose their chance to earn a wage that day. Even if some women with physical disabilities are mobile enough to take part in community-based activities alone, their family members would have to cover the cost of participation such as travelling costs, the possibility of health complications or any another unwanted situation. Perceiving that women with physical disabilities were economically burdensome, to let them join community-based activities regularly could result in heavy economic pressures.

Women with physical disabilities and the non-disabled community

It seems obvious that participation within a community is highly significant because community can construct self and identity (Turner, 1996). A sense of belonging and social esteem therefore can be derived from community involvement. The regular involvement, however, sometimes requires strength and financial contributions from community members. Women with physical disabilities are one of the most vulnerable groups that are excluded from participating because of poor health and low financial contributions.

With respect to physically disabled women, despite having received rehabilitation from hospitals, they lack self-confidence in dealing with the general public.

Moreover, many women with physical disabilities are advised not to risk their health

in community participation. As a result, it is better not to risk having multiple injuries in community activities. For instance, Rebecca, 50 years old, highlighted this point:

'I don't want to risk my health. Doctors and medical staff asked me not to stay around outside my house because I might have more health complications. My husband and my son agreed with them. When there is any village meeting or temple fair, my husband will be our household representative. Sometimes, I would like to join such activities, but my health should come first.'

Theoretically, the more people with disabilities confine themselves to home, the more they are excluded from the community. If non-disabled people in a community rarely see physically disabled women, they will fail to include them in mainstream society (Priestley, 2004; Pescosolido, 2001). In rural communities, physically disabled women usually obey the advice given by doctors and medical staff because risking their health in community participation might not only end up in poorer health but also result in higher medical bills.

Apart from the health conditions discussed above, non-disabled people in a community do not know how to deal with physically disabled women. Generally, community-based activities are organized in either temples or government buildings which are hard for these women to get to. Temples and government buildings are not *'user-friendly'* to them and other disabled people. There is no friendly toilet, no ramp for wheelchairs and no facilities to support their participation. It can be concluded

that their community participation is clearly restricted by unfriendly facilities which explains why these women are excluded from wider community.

Unfriendly physical facilities are not the only factor that can hinder their participation – misunderstandings toward disability also weakens the social status of these disabled women. While an unfriendly physical environment affects their physical strength, misunderstandings toward disability strongly affect their psychological well-being. Debra, 30 years old, told me about misunderstandings toward her disability:

'Although I cannot walk perfectly, I like to join community-based activities such as temple fairs or village meetings. However, I always encounter flawed impressions from non-disabled people like the village headman. He fears that I might get more hurt. Then he usually asks me to stay at home. I understand that he has good intentions but he might be over-worried. I try to tell him that I am able to do anything but he and his people seem to ignore me.'

Her response shows that non-disabled people do not understand disability. One of the misunderstandings results in false impressions which can discourage women with physical disabilities from wider community. Indeed some physically disabled women are capable enough for some participation but false impressions from non-disabled people in their community make them feel anxious and upset.

Theoretically, community involvement is an instrument to empower disabled people and get them back to normal life. Twenty women with physical disabilities

interviewed indicated that their contribution in community was not strong enough to overcome the false impressions felt by the non-disabled community. When dealing with physically disabled women, non-disabled people in the community laid a much greater emphasis on medical rehabilitation than on social rehabilitation; therefore it seems that the non-disabled community has learned very little about disability (Swain, French & Cameron, 2003). If the whole community fails to address the stereotypical perspectives on disability from non-disabled people, getting women with physical disabilities back to normal life in their own communities will be extremely difficult.

Apart from normal people in the community, local politicians, local government officials and village headmen do not understand women with physical disabilities either. After asking two local politicians, two local government officials of each Sub-district Administrative Organization, two Village Headmen from each sub district and disabled family caregivers during focus group interviews, I discovered that they had stereotyped physically disabled women.

Local politicians who provided an allowance to disabled people in their jurisdiction said that these women looked frail and impaired. One local politician said to me:

'She does not look normal when she is walking or filling out forms. I am sure that the more she moves herself alone, the greater risk she may encounter. I do not feel comfortable when she comes to my office. I feel easy to talk to her non-disabled family members.'

This response from a local politician clearly indicates that physically disabled women are seen in a negative light. Their negative perceptions have a major impact on community involvement among these disabled women. When asked about facilities for community-based activities or meetings, local government officials expressed their limitations. Jack, a local government official who has worked with disabled people for five years said:

'Since we use government buildings, these physically disabled women have to understand that the facilities are not for them. We always tell them to send someone who can represent them at the meeting if they do not feel happy to come. Family members are best. Although these women cannot participate in our meetings, they will get some information later because we will send a fieldworker to disseminate information from the meeting to them at home. We try our best to do everything for these women.'

Facilities are an important factor that can either promote or hamper community participation among women with physical disabilities. Since local governments are understaffed and overloaded, formal community meetings or activities are mostly held at their offices or in urban areas. Local government officials use meeting rooms in government buildings as meeting places. There are no special facilities for physically disabled women.

These local government officials do not provide many facilities for women with physical disabilities during meetings. Lack of staff and lack of budget are their excuses for lack of facilities for these disabled women. Local government officials

fail to draw the attention of physically disabled women to persuade them to join community-based activities. In addition, local government officials tend to do everything for these women. Doing everything for women with physical disabilities may yield negative effects because non-disabled officials will misinterpret their needs. The best things in the perspectives of local government officials may not be equally good in the mindsets of these disabled women. Because of poor facilities, women with physical disabilities may ignore wider community participation.

I also explored gender issues in disability and community involvement and found that there was a gender gap involved with the community participation process. These are some typical responses from two village headmen and their staff when they dealt with physically disabled women.

'We have no problem at all if they are men because we can touch them. They (disabled men) will never be too shy to ask one of us to take them to the toilet and we don't feel bad, either.'

'We have failed to convince their parents or their family members. Very few parents or family members allow these disabled women to join community-based activities such as disability campaigns or group therapy in the city. They don't want to let their disabled women come with us alone. Probably, they fear for possible injuries. However men with physical disabilities are flexible and their family members are willing to let them come with us.'

These responses clearly indicate that village headmen and staff found some difficulties when dealing with women with physical disabilities. There were two factors influencing the gender gap: physically disabled women along with local government officials, village headmen and their family members or their parents.

Local government officials and village headmen think that women with physical disabilities are more difficult to handle because they are women, whereas the staff are mostly men. The problem becomes worse if these disabled women ask for help that local male staff find awkward to give, such as toilet use or touching some parts of their body during group activities or meetings. In this case, physically disabled women may also feel uncomfortable. Family members of these women are therefore the best source of help.

According to the quotation above, local government officials understand that parents or family members do not want to let their disabled women out of their sight. In addition, local government officials and village headmen fail to convince parents and family members of the benefits of community participation. They therefore they tend to pick up men with physical disabilities because they think that it is easier to get permission from their parents or their family members.

Many parents and family members do not know why able-bodied community is significant for physically disabled women. They know only about disability allowances and medical rehabilitation, but they do not know that there are other activities involved with community. These stereotypical ideas clearly indicate that local government officials and village headmen have failed to disseminate

information about the benefits of community participation to the families of people with disabilities.

Conclusion

Findings in this article clearly show that the non-disabled community strongly believes that women with physical disabilities need special protection from family members only. This set of beliefs influences the community involvement of physically disabled women because family members and non-disabled people will deter these women from exposure to the wider community because they unintentionally impose overprotection on these women.

Protection is necessary for physically disabled women, but over-protection has paralyzed their identity in community. Perceiving that disabled people are beneficiaries, women with physical disabilities feel inferior to non-disabled community members because these women will internalize their anxiety, fear and distress when in public.

The non-disabled community does not understand why community involvement is very important to women with physical disabilities. The only thing they know about disability is that it is the responsibility of the family, not of society; therefore the family is the primary unit to accommodate these disabled women. Because of poverty, family members do not have the time to take care of these women and they do not have enough money for medical bills. In practice therefore, physically disabled women are left at home. It can be postulated that the best place for these women is

not within the non-disabled community, but either within their own family or some disability institution or so-called private space. What they have given to these disabled women is full of good intentions; however these good intentions fall into the traps of overprotection, medical models and a charity-based approach (Campbell, 1992).

Family members, local politicians, local government officials, village headmen, local staff and the non-disabled community as a whole unknowingly govern women with physical disabilities in an unfair way and prevent them from having opportunities to enjoy participatory community-based activities. Rules and regulations governing community participation are prioritized and finalized by non-disabled people, not physically disabled women, which make them feel alienated and develop a sense of otherness in the public sphere (Begum, 1992; Lloyd, 1992; Charles, 2000).

To ensure their high levels of involvement in the community, women with physical disabilities must be given complete access to community participation right from the decision making stage. Without high levels of involvement in the community by these women, positive outcomes such as social inclusion effectiveness, physically disabled women's empowerment and the sustainability of community participation cannot be realizable in practice.

I assume that different disability types and different age groups of disabled women may provide different responses. I would therefore suggest that researchers should broaden their focus when dealing with genders with disabilities and community participation. In order to make disability research findings more comprehensive,

disability research objectives should really incorporate both qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

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**Perception of Satisfaction with Schizophrenic Patient's evolution after Psycho-educational
Family Program**

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Perception of Satisfaction with Schizophrenic Patient's evolution after Psycho-educational Family Program

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ABSTRACT:

The aim of this research is to determine the level of satisfaction of relatives of patients with schizophrenia, users of the Public Service of Mental Health in the city of Arica, Chile. Forty-one expressed an interest in participating. They were randomly assigned to one of two groups. One group comprised 18 caregivers who were participated in a multifamily intervention program at the mental health center. The second group (waiting list) comprised 23 caregivers who would not receive any kind of family intervention until the first group finished the program.

The results on satisfaction indicate that the experimental group manifests to be more satisfied in the area of patient's evolution.

Psycho-education improves among the relatives the level of satisfaction with the patient's evolution and, has also positive consequences on the relationship between patients and their relatives.

Keywords Satisfaction - Caregiver - Schizophrenia - Public mental health service

INTRODUCTION

Evidence of the efficacy of psychological intervention in the treatment of schizophrenia is increasing. Family intervention programs favor the integral treatment of the disorder rather than the use of psychoactive drugs alone, and have gained considerable support among therapists. Research and clinical work have shown substantial evidence of the efficacy of these family interventions, especially if patient relapse, attitudes and quality of life are considered as outcome measures (Gutiérrez-Maldonado, Caqueo-Urizar and Ferrer-García, M., 2009; Gutiérrez-Maldonado and Caqueo-Urizar 2007; McDonell 2003; Kung 2003; Berlung et al. 2003). Several obstacles for the implementation of these programs in the mental health services have also been noted, such as the lack of training of therapists, poor organization of mental health care, a lack of interest in families shown by the services and a certain level of stigmatization. (McFarlane et al. 2003; Gutiérrez-Maldonado and Caqueo-Urizar 2006).

Research on family intervention has mainly focused on relapse as the main outcome measure. Only a few studies to date have centered on reducing the caregivers' burden and on improving their quality of life (Shimodera et al. 2000; Gutiérrez-Maldonado et al. 2005). Additionally, though a large number of studies of issues related to the negative consequences for the caregiver

are available, few publications have focused on interventions aimed to reduce those negative consequences, and fewer still have evaluated the efficacy of these interventions while also examining relatives' satisfaction with the care provided by mental health services. Satisfaction of caregivers who use the services has been observed to be inversely related to the burden experienced, highlighting the importance of considering satisfaction as a measurement (Sherman 2006). So the measurement of satisfaction has emerged as an important reference point for the development of services, and is a significant indicator of service excellence (Svensson and Hansson 2006). The most commonly used method for evaluating satisfaction with mental health services is the administration of self-report questionnaires to patients and family members (Perreault et al. 2006). The results of research into this topic are contradictory. Some studies show high levels of satisfaction among relatives regarding mental health services (Grella and Grusky 1989; Vicente et al. 1993; Ruggeri and Agnola 1993; Cuevas et al. 1996; Haertl 2005), but others have found high levels of dissatisfaction (Grosser and Vine 1991; Hatfield et al. 1997; Solomon et al. 1997).

A number of studies have evaluated the level of satisfaction in immigrant users of mental health services. Most, however, have been conducted in developed countries. It is particularly important to conduct research in contexts elsewhere in the world which are likely to present different social and family conditions (Jackson et al. 2007; Carlson et al. 2007).

The main aim of this study is to compare levels of satisfaction in two groups of caregivers of patients with schizophrenia at the ambulatory mental health service of Arica, Chile. The first group participated in a family intervention project, and the other group did not.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The study was conducted at the ambulatory mental health service in Arica, Chile. Patients attend this outpatient service monthly, seeing the nurse and receiving their medication. In the event of decompensation, they are sent to the Psychiatric Unit of the Central Public Hospital until they recover from the psychotic state, at which point they are attended at the Mental Health outpatient services. These centers are staffed by a psychiatrist, two psychologists, two social workers and two nurses.

Arica is a city in northern Chile, with a population of slightly under 195,000 inhabitants. The city's economy depends on fishing, agriculture and mining. Once relatively affluent, the city has been hit by economic recession in the last 20 years, and unemployment rates have risen to 12%. The extended family is the most common family unit, with several generations living together. The relatives of the patients of this ambulatory mental health service were contacted and informed that a family intervention program had been planned. Forty-one expressed an interest in participating. They were randomly assigned to one of two groups, based on a previously generated random number table. One group comprised 18 caregivers who were participated in a multifamily intervention program at the mental health center. The second group (waiting list) comprised 23 caregivers who would not receive any kind of family intervention until the first group finished the program. So the total sample comprised 41 main caregivers (31 females and 10 males) with an average age of 54.2 (SD \pm 15.0) years. 58.5% lived with a partner and 43.9% worked outside the home. Mothers of patients accounted for 63.4% of the sample, fathers 14.6%, siblings 9.8%, spouses or partners 4.9%, and children 2.4%. Protected residence monitors, who are paid by the Mental Health Service to care for patients in 12-h shifts, accounted for 4.9% of the sample. The average period of co-residence was 28.6 (SD \pm 9.7) years. Patients are mainly males (26 men and 15 women) aged between 19 and 66 years. Mean age of the first outbreak was 19.6 (SD \pm 2.9), and mean duration of illness was 13.6 years. Nearly two-thirds (63.9%) of the

patients were diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia. Most patients were not employed (90.2%) and did not receive a public pension (58.5%). There were no statistically significant differences between the two groups.

INSTRUMENTS

The Family Questionnaire (FQ, Cuevas et al. 1995) was administered. Most of the original items were maintained, although some of the questions were shortened in order to ensure comprehension and some of the more difficult items were removed. Scores on each item range from 1 (positive) to 3 (negative). The lower the score, the higher the satisfaction level. A total score can be obtained (range 25–75), or two partial scorings: one corresponding to satisfaction related to the assessment of the patient's changes (range 10–30) and another corresponding to the level of satisfaction with the mental health service (range 15–45). In this study was only considered the first level of satisfaction. The Cronbach's alphas were: 0.83 for the items related to satisfaction with the patient's changes; and 0.85 for the items related to satisfaction with the mental health service.

PROCEDURE

The caregivers were evaluated at the ambulatory mental health center where patients attend monthly controls. Evaluation was conducted individually in both groups by psychologists working at the center. Considering the low educational level of the carers, the questionnaire was delivered in an interview format and completed by the psychologist based on participants' responses. The group receiving family intervention participated in a weekly multifamily psycho-educational program consisting of five modules with a total of 18 sessions. The modules focused on the family's experience of schizophrenia, psycho-education, skills to improve family cohabitation, relatives' self-care and the evaluation of the intervention (Gutiérrez-Maldonado and Caqueo-Urizar 2007).

RESULTS

A marginally significant difference was observed in satisfaction with the patient's evolution, with the family intervention presenting higher levels of satisfaction ($F = 3.76$ $P = 0.060$; Experimental: 15.22, $SD = 2.34$; Control: 16.57, $SD = 2.08$).

Examining the caregiver and/or patient variables that might affect the influence of the family intervention on the level of satisfaction, an interaction was found with the receipt of a public pension in the evaluation of patient's changes ($F = 7.495$; $P = 0.002$). Caregivers who participated in the family intervention program and whose relatives did not receive a pension were more satisfied than those whose relatives received one (Experimental without pension: 14.00, $SD = 1.65$; Experimental with pension: 16.44, $SD = 2.35$). Another variable that affected the level of satisfaction in the evaluation of patient's changes was patient's educational level ($F = 7.869$; $P = 0.001$). Regarding the evaluation of the patient's evolution, in the family intervention group, caregivers of relatives with medium-high educational level were more satisfied than those of relatives with low educational level (Experimental, medium-high educational level: 14.00; $SD = 1.48$; Experimental, low educational level: 17.14, $SD = 2.19$). In the group of participants who did not receive family intervention, the reverse was true: caregivers of patients with low educational level showed higher levels of satisfaction (Control, low educational level: 15.20, $SD = 1.64$; Control, medium-high educational level: 16.94, $SD = 2.07$).

DISCUSSION

Few studies have examined satisfaction in the individuals who are not the direct receivers, but who are affected or involved in the treatment—that is, the caregivers and/or treating professionals (Ruggeri and Agnola 1993). It has been suggested that low levels of interaction between relatives and the mental health services is one of the fundamental sources of burden (Dixon 1999; Merinder et al. 1999; Sherman 2006).

Caregivers of the group that received family intervention tended to exhibit more satisfaction in the area of patient's evolution. This result is particularly significant in connection with the psycho-educational treatment offered by the service and the resulting relationship between the patient and the caregiver, especially in the light of the hypothesis that relates family stress with the probability of relapse (Barrowclough and Tarrier 1995). Additionally, these elements of the patient's evolution emerge as interesting indicators of the efficacy of the intervention. Perceiving these changes in the patient can also constitute a significant feedback element for the psychologists in charge of the family intervention.

It is surprising that caregivers in the experimental group who did not receive a public pension felt more satisfied than those of patients who did receive one. Though contrary to expectations, this finding may be because caregivers of patients who receive a public pension are aware of the limited nature of this support and of the need for more resources for the treatment of their relative.

A study conducted in Spain (Cuevas et al. 1996) found that receiving financial help from the government did not influence caregivers' satisfaction. Unlike our study, Cuevas's analysis was carried out in a developed country, with a greater amount of resources for assistance and with many patients receiving some kind of financial support. Other research has shown that receiving financial help generates benefits in the families (Barry and Busch 2007).

Finally, caregivers of patients with higher educational level reported higher satisfaction, indicating that these patients may present better functioning and may have fuller access to social resources, factors which would have an influence on the caregivers' level of satisfaction. It has been suggested that low levels of interaction between relatives and the service is one of the fundamental reasons for dissatisfaction and one of the main sources of burden (Dixon 1999). Therefore, there is a clear need for greater financial resources in order to establish care and follow-up program for relatives, and for increasing the public benefits for these patients and their families.

A limitation of this study is the lack of anonymity, which may have influenced participants' responses. Another limitation is that we used only one measure of satisfaction, FQ: the fact that its response scale has only three steps may have reduced the variation in satisfaction scores. Future studies should include other measures such as the Experience of Caregiving Inventory (Joyce et al. 2000), which may add considerably to the interpretation of the satisfaction data.

Considering the importance of providing quality service, the systematic evaluation of public mental health services should be a priority. The data obtained in studies of this kind will offer particularly useful feedback and guidance for the care of patients and their families.

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Vietnam's MDG report card: An assessment
of progress on reproductive health

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Abstract

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were published along with 18 specific targets and 48 indicators in August 2001. Five years away from the 2015 deadline, Vietnam's MDG achievements are commendable, but a significant number of obstacles remain, particularly in the area of gender equality. Issues such as sex-selective abortion, the barriers faced by youth in accessing abortion, contraception and sex education, as well as high rates of maternal mortality in ethnic minority areas, are evidence of dire shortcomings in terms of sexual and reproductive health and rights.

My presentation draws on interviews, conducted from December 2008 to October 2009, with staff from the United Nations Country Team (UNCT), international organisations, local NGOs and donors, in order to illustrate persistent gaps in key international commitments made by Vietnam relating to reproductive health and gender equality more generally. Together with government data and other studies on Vietnam, the data from my interviews illustrate shortcomings otherwise not demonstrated by Vietnam's performance when measured against the MDG indicators. I propose a disaggregated data analysis and argue for greater accountability for other global commitments made by the Government of Vietnam, at both the International Conferences on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994, and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, as well as in the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Key words: Vietnam, MDGs, reproductive rights, gender equality, ethnic minorities, sex-selective abortion

**Vietnam's MDG report card:
An assessment of progress on reproductive health**

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Vietnam's progress in respect to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a set of eight development outcomes focused on health, education and other aspects of human security, is undeniable. The MDGs, seven of which measure poverty and related barriers to equality in Global South countries, were published along with 18 specific targets and 48 indicators in August 2001. Vietnam has received significant accolades for its achievements, particularly with regard to infant and child mortality (see MDGs 4 and 5) (World Bank, 2006: p. 100). There is no evident gender gap in primary and secondary school enrolment, Vietnamese women have one of the highest labour force participation rates in the world, and Vietnam has one of the highest percentages of women in national parliament in the Asia-Pacific region (World Bank, 2006: p. 115).

However, current progress in these areas does not allow us to fully assess the extent to which adequate government machinery exists to promote gender equality. Nor are the MDGs able to measure the extent to which there is genuine will among government stakeholders to achieve these global goals, or if there is an holistic and accurate understanding of the meaning of gender equality. Progress on MDG 6 on HIV/AIDS and malaria, which looks beyond Vietnam's achievement by 2015 (MDG Monitor, 2007; Wells, 2005: p. iii), does not reflect the particular experience of Vietnamese women living with HIV/AIDS; moreover, the maternal and reproductive health indicators of MDG 5 do not fully reflect the specific experiences of ethnic minority women or high rates of abortion, including among young adolescents, as well as other barriers to sexual health.

The purpose of my presentation is to illustrate that reaching the MDGs by 2015 – in particularly MDG 3 targeting gender equality and women's empowerment and MDG 5 on universal access to reproductive health, – will nonetheless leave a number of significant challenges to achieving gender equality for Vietnamese women in practice. Using Vietnam as a case study, I argue that progress cannot be adequately assessed without disaggregation of data and a more in-depth comparison against other global commitments.

There are certainly many advantages of having goals defined by specific benchmarks against which all states can be held accountable. However, as one critique has noted, a "rights-based perspective towards health embraces issues that go far beyond the formulation of quantitative goals such as MDG 1 or 4" (Volkman, 2006: pp. 59-60). The World Bank has also recognized a lack of consensus on measures of poverty, despite the methodological consensus reflected in the MDGs (World Bank, 2006: p. 24). Indeed, although the MDGs reflect some agreement on what variables should be measured, there

are multiple indicators absent to adequately present the extent of sustainable development towards global equality and security. Other writers highlight the immeasurability of many of the goals, when we do not have accurate baseline data and cannot adequately measure change (Attaran, 2005: pp. 955-961). In the words of one UN expert at the management level, these problems are heightened by the fact that the Vietnamese Government “works very hard to have policies which measure-up on an international stage” and not necessarily in practice (Anon., Management level, UNCT, pers. comm., 15 December 2008). Rather than dismiss the MDGs due to their shortcomings, however, my purpose is look at the situation of reproductive health in Vietnam through the lens of the MDGs to reveal some of the remaining gaps needing to be addressed if gender equality and women’s empowerment is to be attained.

My research was conducted as part of a larger doctoral research project on trafficking in Vietnamese women and draws upon interviews with staff from the UNCT in Vietnam, international organizations, local NGOs and donors, conducted between December 2008 and October 2009.¹ I sought interviewees’ thoughts on the key obstacles to women’s empowerment in Vietnam, ministerial capacities in relation to gender equality, and the current state of Vietnamese women’s reproductive rights. I also discussed with interviewees the experiences of women at the margins, including adolescents and women from rural communities. One limitation of this material is the lack of first-hand commentary from government staff, leaders of the Vietnam Women’s Union, or women from rural and minority communities. Moreover, the opinions of my key informants cannot fully represent the experiences of women across Vietnam and do not completely reflect more recent progress by the government. What my research does show are the views of some key stakeholders, particularly from the international community, who are working to implement laws, policies and programs against gender inequality in Vietnam.

I should also note that I do not wish to suggest that the Government of Vietnam is ignorant of the current shortfalls. *Nhân Dân Online* reported that Dr. Nguyen Ba Thuy, Deputy Minister of Health and General Director of the General Office for Population and Family Planning, conceded the extent of further work required in a speech delivered on World Population Day in 2009. While maternal mortality ratios may have fallen, the Deputy Minister noted the large difference between regions and admitted that family planning services fall short of demand, especially for young people. He also criticized reproductive health care and family planning programs for their lack of a close tie with programs to control sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS (‘UN and Ministry of Health appeal for investment in women’s health’, 2009). I explore these and other shortcomings in more depth in this presentation.

1. Reproductive health and the MDGs

¹ All but one of the eight interviews cited in this paper were conducted in English. One interviewee responded via email in Vietnamese, with translations provided by Do Thi Thai Thanh. All of the interviews in English were transcribed by the author, and the transcripts of all interviews are on file with the author. The comments of all informants have been quoted without editing. I obtained permission from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of New South Wales to conduct this research.

In this section, I provide a brief introduction to the key entitlements involved in the right to sexual and reproductive health. I also provide an overview of MDG 3, on gender equality and women's empowerment, and MDG 5 on improved maternal health. Unquestionably, all of the 8 MDGs are important for the protection of women's rights and advancement of gender equality. Consequently, it is an oft-made criticism that MDG 3 has relegated gender concerns to this goal to the neglect of mainstreaming gender throughout all MDGs in line with UN policy (Barton, 2005: p. 103; Alston, 2005: p. 757).

MDG 3 aims at promoting gender equality and women's empowerment, with indicators 9, 10 and 11 respectively measuring the ratio of boys to girls in primary, secondary and tertiary education; the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector; and the proportion of seats held by women in national parliament. Reproductive rights include, *inter alia*, the right to attain the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health (ICPD, 1994: Chapter VII, para 7.2; Beijing Platform for Action, 1995: C.3, para 95). Reproductive health requires the ability to have a satisfying and safe sex life and the capability to reproduce together with the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so (ICPD, 1994: Chapter VII, para 7.2; Beijing Platform for Action, 1995: C.3, para 94). Implicit in this last condition is the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, and the right to access appropriate health-care services that enable women to go safely through pregnancy (ICPD, 1994: Chapter VII, para 7.2; Beijing Platform for Action, 1995: C.3, para 95, 97).

The political sensitivity of the issue of reproductive rights, which should otherwise be understood as encompassing a range of other inalienable human rights, is evident in the drafting of the MDGs. When the General Assembly adopted the Millennium Declaration in 2000 and, a year later, the MDGs, an explicit commitment to the reproductive rights of women was absent. Such a commitment was also absent in the allocation of specific indicators for measuring progress. Although MDG 6 addresses some important reproductive health issues, including condom prevalence and comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS among young populations, opposition from the G-77 was pivotal in preventing inclusion of the language of the 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) (Crossette, 2005: p. 72). With the addition of the reproductive health indicators in 2005, MDG 5 was expanded to include the achievement, by 2015, of universal access to reproductive health, with the contraceptive prevalence rate, adolescent birth rate, level of antenatal care coverage (at least one visit and at least four visits) and unmet need for family planning to be measured. I use these reproductive health indicators in this analysis of Vietnam's progress.

2. Placing the spotlight on Vietnam

In this section, I provide a brief overview of Vietnam's legislative framework in relation to gender equality and guarantees of the right to reproductive health. I then consider key examples where persistent gaps remain, particularly when data is disaggregated.

Vietnamese law provides a number of protections for reproductive health. Article 40 of the Constitution of Vietnam (1992) declares that men and women enjoy equal rights in all aspects and circumstances (Article 63), and places an obligation on the State, society, family and all citizens to protect mothers and implement the population and family planning program (Article 40). In 1960s, the Vietnamese National Assembly adopted the Law on Marriage and Family based on the four principles of freedom of marriage; monogamy; gender equality; and protection of women's and children's rights. In 1989, the Law on Protection of People's Health was approved, affirming the people's rights to choose contraceptive methods. Furthermore, the Law articulates women's rights to abortion, receive gynecological diagnosis and treatment, health check-ups during pregnancy and medical services during birth. Article 17 of the Law on Gender Equality of November 2006, although not yet implemented, provides for equality between men and women in the field of public health, with equality in choices and decision-making regarding contraceptives and safe sex, and with specific reference to poor women residing in remote and mountainous communities.

From a reproductive rights perspective, this set of laws is certainly progressive. However, implementation, government will, and resources remain major challenges. Moreover, as one respondent noted, there is a persistent shortage of gender experts in government (Anon., Management level, UNCT, pers. comm., 15 December 2008). Similarly, when interviewed, another gender specialist in the UNCT shared with me their view on the lack of gender expertise and leadership among government staff:

...capacity of Government here is very low. We have people working in the gender equality units that do not know anything about gender equality. They think that gender equality means getting people at the table. They think it means getting a woman represented in Parliament. In actual fact, even when the law was introduced, Vietnam only had one minister out of 26 ministries, *one*, but a lot of vice ministers. So there was a sense of recognizing that women are of high calibre but there is still a ceiling that women cannot break (Anon., Gender specialist, UNCT, pers. comm., 11 December 2008).

These shortcomings cannot be adequately reflected in the MDGs. In fact, one respondent remarked that the achievement of true gender equality lies far beyond the MDG deadline of 2015:

There are now two major pieces of legislation that at least say in rhetoric that women do have all these rights, that they should be protected. It is probably going to be 20 years before it filters through to the community and has any impact (Anonymous, gender specialist, UNCT, pers. comm., 11 December 2008).

Various challenges persist with regard to gender equality in Vietnam. I now consider several key reproductive health issues, including maternal mortality, access to a full range of family planning, access to abortion, the continued use of sex-selective abortion in response to son preference, and the experience of women living with HIV/AIDS in Vietnam.

Maternal mortality

Vietnam has achieved a sharp decline in maternal mortality, from 223 deaths per 100,000 births in 1990 to 75 deaths per 100,000 births in 2007. However, this trend has slowed in

recent times, as noted by the UN. There are significant challenges in reaching the national target of reducing the rate to 70 per 100,000 by 2010 and addressing the higher rates of maternal mortality in disadvantaged and ethnic minority areas (UN, 2009). In an interview with Bruce Campbell, the Country Representative of UNFPA, he noted how, when disaggregated, the maternal mortality ratio ranges from 40 deaths per 100,000 live births to as high as 500 deaths per 100,000 live births. He continued by noting that the role of the UN in Vietnam is to “go beyond the aggregate data” and look at the specific experiences of vulnerable groups such as migrants and at differentials between districts and provinces (Bruce Campbell, UNFPA Country Representative, pers. comm., 13 October 2009).

The situation of ethnic minority women is particularly stark. According to government data, the infant and child mortality rates in the mainly ethnic minority Northern Mountains region are twice the rates in the majority Kinh Red River Delta region (VDHS, 2002). Much higher discrepancies have been documented by the Ministry of Health (MOH, 2006). Bruce Campbell discussed with me the complexity of the issue of improving maternal mortality rates for ethnic minority women. In the high mountainous and other inaccessible regions where most ethnic minorities live, health care facilities, although fully staffed and equipped, recommend practices seen as a challenge to traditional ethnic minority lifestyles. Referring to the desire among some ethnic minority communities to bury the placenta of the new born child in a specific location following birth, Campbell observed:

We need to train ethnic midwives to deliver ethnic babies. This is something that you cannot scale-up. You have to scale down and design it more pragmatically around the cultural needs of the individual, the family and the community. We all strive for the MDG indicators and universal access and this is a good example of why it is not enough (Bruce Campbell, UNFPA Country Representative, pers. comm., 13 October 2009).

Beyond the scope of this paper is discussion of a range of other maternal health measures requiring monitoring, including maternal nutrition and births attended by skilled health personnel.

Access to a full range of family planning

Vietnam should be commended for its relatively high contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR, percentage calculated using contraception among women who are married or in a union). UNFPA’s Population Change and Family Planning Survey, conducted in April 2008, covered 378,000 households and 415,000 married women from all parts of the country. The survey revealed a CPR of 68.8%, although there was no significant increase from the 2007 survey (68.3%) (UNFPA, 2008: p. 9). According to WHO data from 2005, however, the CPR is even higher, around 78.5%, with the average for well-developed regions of 68.9%, and for less developed regions of 59.2%.

Access to contraceptives is of course most difficult for rural and ethnic minority women. The urban rate is higher than for rural areas, and ethnic minorities are disadvantaged by other barriers to utilization, including language (Bruce Campbell, UNFPA Country Representative, pers. comm., 13 October 2009). A further issue is the needs of adolescents engaging in pre-marital sex, a highly stigmatized subject. With many women

marrying later, an increase from an average age of 21 to 26 over the last decade, many women engage with contraceptives only after the first pregnancy. It is only at the stage that Vietnam reaches the 70% CPR (Bruce Campbell, UNFPA, Country Representative, pers. comm., 13 October 2009). This leaves unmarried Vietnamese women particularly exposed to unwanted pregnancy, HIV and STDs, violence and abortion. Despite attempts by the international community to create youth-friendly services, including anonymous and easily affordable or even no-cash services, the government's response to addressing this problem for adolescents has been slow (Bruce Campbell, UNFPA, Country Representative, pers. comm., 13 October 2009). The issue of contraception for adolescents goes beyond the question of social morals. Tine Gammeltoft's research provides evidence of how socio-political views of sexual activity and myths about the non-existence of pre-marital sex have in turn contributed to young people's non-acknowledgement of their own sexual activity and to an inhibited awareness by youth of their own need for sexual health services (Gammeltoft, 2002: 494).

Access to abortion

Vietnam has one of the highest abortion rates in the world. According to a 2003 estimate, the average Vietnamese woman has 1.3 abortions in her lifetime, although this figure did not include the many privately performed abortions (Haub and Phuong, 2003; see also Hoang et al., 2008). An earlier estimate from 1996 estimated the rate to be as high as 2.5 abortions per lifetime (Henshaw et al., 1999). More recent estimates are that there were approximately 500,000 abortions provided by the public sector in 2006 and at least the same number by the private health sector (Hoang et al., 2008: p. 145). The discrepancies between the estimates from the 1990s and more recent figures could be explained, in part by what seems to be a trend towards a reduction in the average number of lifetime abortions. However, reliable statistics on the prevalence of abortion are difficult to obtain and are unavailable for unmarried youth (Gammeltoft, 2002: p. 484), making comparisons and trends difficult to establish.

In spite of a liberal law and a high number of recorded abortions, unsafe abortion is still a common cause of maternal death in Vietnam, estimated at 11.5% of direct causes in 2002 (Hoang et al., 2008: p. 145). This illustrates a direct correlation between the lack of access for all women to safe abortion and MDG 5 on maternal health. A number of factors hinder access to safe abortion services. Although the Ministry of Health's National Reproductive Health Standards and Guidelines stipulate that abortion is legal up to 22 weeks, availability depends on the capacity at each level of hospital. At the central hospitals, abortions can be performed up to (and in a few cases above) 22 weeks, whereas the limits at the district and commune level are up to 12 weeks and up to 6 weeks respectively, mostly due to lack of skills and the instruments required (Hoang et al., 2008: p. 146).

There is also a high demand for second trimester abortion, especially for young unmarried women (Hoang et al., 2008: p.145). Delays in seeking an abortion have been partially blamed on inadequate sexuality education, which has resulted in fallacies about how one falls pregnant and lack of knowledge about access to contraception and abortions, as well as unfriendly attitudes of abortion providers when it comes to sex

before marriage, and a lack of confidentiality and privacy at public hospitals (Hoang et al., 2008: pp. 146-147). It should perhaps be noted, however, that in 1999, Danièle Bélanger and Khuat Thu Hong reported respect for anonymity in public hospitals (1999: 73). Sex selective abortion is also a key driver of abortion demand.

Sex selective abortion

The clash between a low demand for children and a high demand for sons in Vietnam is clear (Bélanger, 2002: p. 326; Wells, 2005: p. 6). Nearly 37% of adult respondents in the MOCST survey favoured sons, particularly women respondents and respondents in rural areas and in the Central Highlands (MOCST et al., 2008: p. 23). Vietnam has seen a sharp increase in the sex ratio at birth to 112 females for every 100 males, while the normal sex ratio at birth is 106/100. When interviewed, one UN staff member with expertise in population and development commented,

I think the fundamental thing that you get from the sex ratio at birth study is that stigma against girls remains a huge issue in this society. If you look back, son preference has a long history here, like in other countries, and has a long history agriculturally. Even as we put attention on more urban populations, we still see son preference as a very strong cultural belief and with that come incredibly strong preference to have a boy child (Anon., management level, UNCT. pers. comm., 13 October 2009).

The increase in the sex ratio at birth is actually one of the sharpest in history, “sharper than China, sharper than Korea and sharper than India... Vietnam has gained a point per year for the last four years so it is twice as fast as China” (Anon., management level, UNCT pers. comm., 13 October 2009).

According to the director of a local NGO, the enforcement of the two-child policy, with fines and threats against male employees working in the public sector, continues to contribute to the preference for sons (Anon., director, local NGO, pers. comm., 10 September 2009, translation). Until May 2009, there were daily reports in the newspapers of “someone receiving some sort of penalty, whether it is no bonus or demotion. Even at high levels, even in industry, people who have more than two children lose some privileges” (Anon., management level, UNCT pers. comm., 15 December 2008). However, some UN experts argue that progress is being made, with one informant noting that senior policy makers in Vietnam are moving towards the language of “small family norm” (Anon., Management level, UNCT, pers. comm., 13 October 2009). However, the shift in policy is not necessarily driven by the right of women to decide the number and spacing of their children. UNFPA has been quoted in the popular press as stating that the government should reconsider its population policies in light of the difficulties it will face if it attempts to increase the population in a few decades when faced with an aging population, and the consequences of an insufficient labour force if it enforces the policy (*Vietnam to enforce two-child rule*, 2008). One UN expert agreed:

The census indicated that total fertility is continuing to decline and it may decline to such a point, as was experienced in Malaysia and Singapore, that you build a huge economy but you do not have a big enough workforce to fill those jobs so you have no choice but to import labour. And frankly speaking, I do not think this country wants to import labour (Anon., management level, UNCT, pers. comm., 13 October 2009).

Sex-selective abortion is a clear reflection of gender inequality and a major obstacle to the advancement of women. It perpetuates and reproduces inequalities, “not only by male and senior (male and female) family members who put pressure on women, but also by women themselves needing to guarantee their status and position in their family and community” (Bélanger, 2002: p.195). Furthermore, the resulting demographic imbalance heightens inequality. Increased violence and a decline in women’s political power, with few women to vote, have been documented (Bélanger, 2002: p.195). With such an imbalance in the sex ratio, there is also a potential increase in demand for young brides, with Vietnam expecting to have 4 million unmarried men in 2025.

While there are “efforts to curb sex selective abortion” and some UN staff suggest that “the government is moving away from the two-child policy language” (Anonymous, management level, UNCT pers. comm., 13 October 2009), current practice in Vietnam remains a major obstacle to gender equality. Referring to the challenges that lie ahead in changing attitudes, one UN Gender Expert noted in an interview with me:

I understand that there is already change in the language. This is a big step. The state incentives can be changed, but the values within the family, how are you going to change that? Yes, I think the government is concerned. How much they can do, I do not know (Anon., UN Gender Expert, UNCT, 20 October 2009).

Women living with HIV/AIDS

As noted above, Vietnam is unlikely to achieve MDG 6 with regard to HIV. Although the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Vietnam has not been high compared with many other developing countries, the situation is now changing rapidly. The first officially reported case of HIV/AIDS was in 1991. In 1999 there were about 22,816 people infected with HIV/AIDS, up from fewer than 4,000 in 1995. More troubling, however, is the increasing number of new cases reported each year. By 2001, this number had climbed to over 43,000, with about 3,560 people having died from the disease (Haub and Phuong, 2003).

Although the government is attempting to adopt a public health approach to drug use, HIV and sex work, the continued use of the language of “social evils” in relation to drug use, sex work and HIV/AIDS has served to stigmatise people living with HIV/AIDS and inhibit public health programming (see Vijayarasa, 2009). The merging of the National Aids Bureau with the “social evils” approach also creates fear of arrest among those possessing a condom (Knudsen, 2006: p. 157).

I have elsewhere critiqued the impact of the Government’s “social evils” approach on female sex workers and victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Vietnam (Vijayarasa, 2009). This approach has also served to create public perceptions associating HIV/AIDS with drug users and sex workers, with social marketing regarding condom use linked to these target groups. One UN expert noted, “It is clear is that the government has made some mistakes with the HIV response by targeting these individuals rather than targeting these behaviours” (Anon., management level, UNCT. pers. comm., 13 October 2009). Unprotected sex is common within marriage and the number of men with HIV/AIDS is continuing to rise, increasing the risk of transmission from husbands to

wives (Anon., management level, UNCT. pers. comm., 13 October 2009). Discussions concerning HIV on the ground have not adequately addressed the intersections between high rates of domestic violence and unwanted or forced sex increased vulnerability to HIV, nor the higher rates of violence that may be experienced by HIV positive Vietnamese women (see generally WHO, n.d.)

3. Next steps: Global and local

As I have discussed elsewhere, accountability at the national level for gender equality remains a problem in Vietnam (Vijayarasa, 2010). Institutions and bodies established to monitor accountability for women's rights in Vietnam lack "influence, resources and creativity" (World Bank, 2006: p. 118) and largely maintain the status quo (Vijayarasa, 2010: 94). The Vietnam Women's Union (VWU), although one of the largest women's mass organizations in the world, lacks the political influence to champion the rights of women (Vijayarasa, 2010: 95). A frequent partner in the implementation of projects with the international community, the VWU remains under-resourced, with a lack of avenues to coordinate policy at the government level (Goetz, 2003: p. 77).

National gender machinery: Who is monitoring and guaranteeing accountability?

At the ministerial level, responsibility for gender equality remains divided. Monitoring and implementation of the Law on Gender Equality is in the hands of Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA), while the Law on Domestic Violence Prevention and Control is the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MOCST). Ministerial capacity is also weak. When the former National Committee for the Advancement of Women was integrated into MOLISA, according to one UN gender expert, its most experienced staff did not accompany the move (Anon., UN Gender Expert, UNCT, pers. comm., 20 October 2009). With a large mandate, spanning the law on gender equality, the development of the national strategy for gender equality, CEDAW reporting, and responsibilities related to Beijing +15, the gender department of MOLISA faces "significant challenges, some of which are simply related to the quality of the government generally and the gap between policy and implementation as well as having too many sets of policies" (Anon., UN Gender Expert, UNCT, pers. comm., 20 October 2009).

The reliability of government data also remains an issue. For example, education and Vietnam's MDG achievements reflect an overall lack of gender disparities in education. However, as one UN gender expert noted:

The government likes to put a very positive spin on the education data and gender figures. When you look more closer, for some data, the government will sex-disaggregate and for others, they will not. And generally when things are bad, they will not disaggregate. So we need to take a critical eye (Anon., UN Gender Advisor, UNCT, 20 October 2009).

The same approach to all government data must be taken with regard not only to the education indicators but to all the MDGs.

Although progress has been made, Vietnam lacks a body at the domestic level, either

within an existing ministry, or a separate government body or independent entity, such as an ombudsman or commissioner, with sufficient political influence to champion women's rights beyond the status quo (see generally Vijeyarasa 2009). For such a body to successfully build greater accountability, a level of probing is required that surpasses the barriers created by the government's adverse reactions to criticism and its tight control over media and civil society more generally, and its reluctance to distribute sex-disaggregated data in all instances.

Monitoring of the MDGs by the international community

With five years until the 2015 deadline, it is essential that we reassess how best to use the MDGs in guaranteeing accountability for women's rights. Vietnam has ratified the CEDAW (although not the Optional Protocol), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination, and in doing so has made a number of key international commitments not currently being met, as the example of sexual and reproductive health illustrates.

For example, in 2007, the CEDAW Committee recommended that Vietnam give priority attention to the sexual and reproductive health needs of adolescent and young women and men, and that it provide age-appropriate sex education, including in-school curricula, with particular attention to the prevention of early pregnancies and STDs, HIV and AIDS (CEDAW Committee Concluding Observations, Viet Nam, 2007: ¶25). The Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended in 2003 that Vietnam prevent stigmatization and discrimination against children living with HIV/AIDS (CRC Concluding Observations, Viet Nam, 2003: ¶46), while the CEDAW Committee expressed concern about the increasing number of HIV infections in women (CEDAW Concluding Observations, Viet Nam, 2007: ¶24), as well as the very high rates of abortions among adolescent and young women (CEDAW Concluding Observations, Viet Nam, 2007: ¶25).

Criticism from the international community, including the CEDAW Committee and the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) by the Human Rights Council in May 2009, is taken seriously by the Vietnamese government: "They do often talk about what the CEDAW Committee said, so it is definitely an awareness-raising tool, and possibly a way of prioritising issues" (Anon., UN Gender Expert, UNCT, 20 October 2009). Ceri Hayes advocates the use of human rights principles, and CEDAW in particular, to guide national-level monitoring of the MDGs in a way that addresses the root causes of gender inequality and discrimination (2005, 77).

The next five years are crucial, with the Beijing +15 review having been undertaken by the Commission on the Status of Women in 2010. There also exist further opportunities for highlighting the gender gaps in Vietnam's MDGs progress and the failure to implement the abovementioned recommendations in future reports of the government of Vietnam to the CEDAW Committee (Vietnam having last reported in January-February 2007 and previously July 2001) and the CESCR (Vietnam having only submitted on report in 1993, despite having acceded to the Covenant in 1981).] It is also essential that monitoring at the national level involves measuring progress against not only the MDGs but all of Vietnam's international commitments. The question remains, however, of how

to ensure national-level monitoring by government stakeholders, given a lack of adequate understanding, will, resources and voice in regard to gender equality.

Conclusion

Where to for reproductive health in Vietnam? Success in moving towards the MDGs, and beyond 2015, to ensure government accountability for women's reproductive and sexual health, requires continued advocacy and implementation from the grassroots level to the international stage. In the lead-up to 2015, significant and justifiable attention will be paid to the MDGs. While progress on the MDGs must be monitored globally, it is important that the MDGs are not considered in isolation, but that monitoring takes place at both the national and international level of Vietnam's global commitments. This will be complemented by stronger national-level gender machinery to champion women's rights and by monitoring the implementation of recommendations to guarantee Vietnamese women's right to sexual and reproductive health.

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Title: Development of Linear Matrix Model: Application of Ecological Model for Longitudinal Study of Bosnian Refugees' Adaptation

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Abstract

A linear matrix model is constructed to predict Bosnians' cross-cultural adaptation over time. A conventional method to collect longitudinal data in social science is to conduct a panel study, studying the same set of subjects over time. Although researchers are able to develop methodologically sound panel study designs, it is difficult to execute a design in practice for many reasons. This study seeks to construct mathematically a predictive model, using two data sets collected at two time periods during the three-year project, in order to overcome such difficulties. From suitable sets of subjects, matrices are derived which map the data from the first time period to that from the second. Consistency of the matrices from set to set could suggest a universal law of adaptation for this population. In that case the matrices could be used to predict long-term adaptation trends. 'Spectral analysis' of the matrices---decomposition into eigenvalues and eigenvectors---could reveal hidden features of the subjects' long-term adaptation process. This approach, new to this area, is akin to one used by ecologists to study the evolution of biological populations. Construction of the adaptation matrices requires a number of *linearly independent* data vectors (subject responses) equal to the number of data variables collected for each subject. Understanding the significance of linear independence--mathematically, that no subject's data vector be a linear combination of the other subjects'-- could be an important contribution of this research to the field of Social and Behavioral Sciences.

Short Description: A linear matrix model is used to predict Bosnians' cross-cultural adaptation over time in place of a panel study.

Key Words Set: longitudinal study, a linear matrix model, ecological model, cross-cultural adaptation of Bosnian refugees

Background

Problems Associated with Longitudinal Data

There is an increasing number of studies which use a longitudinal approach in the past 20 years. Willett and Singer (2003) report that while many longitudinal studies in Social and Behavioral Sciences have collected data at two or more data points, data analysis techniques are not appropriate for longitudinal data sets. They argue that many studies use Repeated Measures ANOVA or wave-to-wave regression analysis, simplify analyses by setting waves aside, or ignore age-heterogeneity in their samples. They identify two types of questions to be addressed in longitudinal studies; questions about systemic change over time, and questions about whether and when events occur. The present paper addresses issues associated with the first question.

Individual Growth Model (IGM) and Frequency Domain Analysis (FDA) are appropriate data analysis techniques to explore systemic change over time. For example, Vinokurov, Trickett, and Birman (2002) used FDA in their longitudinal study of the impact of stress on refugee adaptation. IGM and FDA require data collection at multiple time points, which assumes a larger sample size in the wave one data collection than other time points due to attrition. Although Spectral Analysis is an alternative statistical technique, it requires symmetric matrices for calculation. This paper explores the possibility of the use of asymmetric matrices.

Adaptation of Immigrants

Socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants has been studied by many researchers. Vinokurov et al. (2002) studied impact of stress on Soviet Jewish refugee adaptation, using an ecological perspective of life domains of school, family, peers, and language. Schwarzer, Jerusalem, and Hahn, (1994) explored psychosocial changes (employment, social support and health) among refugees with a sample of 235 East Germans in West Berlin after 1989. They recruited 1,036 participants for the first wave data collection and reported a 78% attrition rate by the third wave data collection in two years. Lie (2002) conducted a 3 year follow up study of post traumatic stress disorder (psychosocial functioning) and general symptoms among refugees from Africa, Bosnia, and Kosovo who resettled in Southern Norway. They reported a 48% attrition rate in the second wave data collection. These studies report problems in data collection at different time points. This paper uses the sample of Bosnian refugees who resettled in Midwest region of the United States. The data were originally collected to explore socio-cultural adaptation process of this group.

Model development

The model obtained from the data consists of the mapping matrices obtained from each segment of the subject sample. Consistency of these matrices from group to group will itself indicate general laws of adaptation, a major advance in understanding in this area, regardless of the success or failure of the model's long term predictions. The matrices

can then be used to make longitudinal predictions, which may be tested by subsequent investigations. The mathematical features of the matrices may identify hitherto unknown but general characteristics of the long-term adaptive process. Although simple, this use of matrix algebra to analyze the adaptation process represents the application of techniques familiar in very different fields, e.g., physics, mathematics, and biology, to a social science problem in a novel way.

Method

Data vectors consist of the values of three variables, for each subject. From each of the segments emerging from the cluster analysis of the data collected during Wave 1, three sets of four people are drawn. In other words, if there are four segments, a total of 48 subjects ($4 \times 3 \times 4$) will be necessary for the Second Wave data collection. (The fourth person in each set allows for the removal of data vectors that prove to be unsuitable.) For each segment, there are 5775 ways to group 12 subjects into three sets of four; this should make it easy to identify sets of (three) linearly independent data vectors, and even to compare the 3×3 mapping matrices obtained from different groupings. The Second Wave cross-sectional data collection with 48 subjects was conducted using the mobile unit described above. Ultimately, the preliminary analysis is conducted with three continuous variables with 24 subjects. Dependent variables used for the analysis are 1) functional fitness, 2) psychological health, and 3) intercultural identity, which constitute the three-dimensional vectors of the linear analysis. The Wave 1 data set consists of 316 subjects, with 24 subjects randomly selected as the Wave 2 data set.

Results

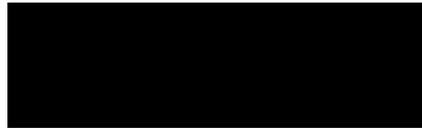
The values of the Socio-cultural Adaptation, Ethnic Identity, and Psychological Health variables were arranged in 3×1 column vectors for each subject, one vector for time T1, and a second vector for time T2. The subjects were collected in groups of three, essentially randomly in the first trial, by age in the second trial. (Of course larger numbers of variables and subjects in each group can be used; the choice of three here simplifies the algebra for this initial exploration.) The time-T1 vectors for each group formed a 3×3 matrix X , the time-T2 vectors for the same group a second matrix Y . The *transfer matrix* for each group, describing the adaptation process from T1 to T2, is given by

$$Z = YX^{-1}.$$

(Because of the nature of the data, it was occasionally necessary to change the subjects in a group to avoid duplicate columns, i.e., singular X matrices.) For example, for the first trio grouped by age, we have



giving transfer matrix



Note that this matrix does not appear to describe a Markov process: The columns do not sum to unity (the sum of the variable values for any subject is not fixed), and the matrix has negative entries. Since negative values of the variables at any time are not meaningful, some form of data conditioning may be necessary to exclude data vectors which ultimately evolve such values.

Because there is no principle governing the ordering of subjects within the groups, we should not expect to see entry-by-entry identical matrices for different groups. One possible signature of a "universal adaptation process" would be the appearance of identical eigenvalues for the transfer matrices of different groups. For four groups of subjects selected by age, we obtain the four sets of eigenvalues

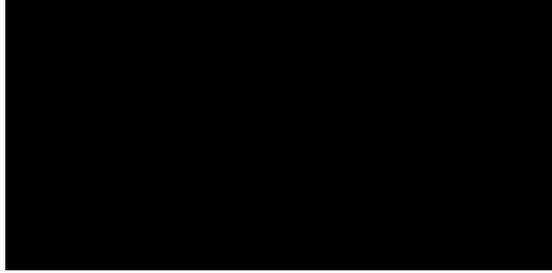


and ,

where $i = -1$ is the imaginary unit.

The second set appears to be anomalous, as the large first eigenvalue would quickly give rise to meaningless data values as the adaptation process proceeds. This suggests that the data for this group are "ill conditioned": The initial-value matrix X_2 is very nearly singular, i.e., the subjects used to construct this matrix are insufficiently independent of one another. The other three sets are different—given the preliminary nature of this analysis, finding a near-identical match would be a truly spectacular result—but share common features: a largest value near unity, with two other values of smaller magnitude.

For seven groups of subjects not selected by age or other demographic factors, we obtain the following sets of eigenvalues:



Of these, the seventh set again looks "ill conditioned," the very small second eigenvalue suggesting that the matrix Y_7 is nearly singular, i.e., again the subjects in this group are insufficiently independent. The fourth and sixth sets are also problematic, as the eigenvalue of largest magnitude in each is negative. This might again engender meaningless negative variable values in the course of the adaptation process, unless some unknown mathematical mechanism intervenes to prevent it. The remaining four sets (first, second, third, and fifth) are not identical, but they are intriguingly similar: Each has an eigenvalue of largest magnitude near unity, and other eigenvalue(s) of smaller magnitude. Sets one and three are conspicuously similar in this regard. Perhaps the examination of a large number of demographically heterogeneous groups of subjects might reveal a broader commonality among the transfer matrices.

These results suggest the possibility that a linear model of this sort could describe interesting aspects of the adaptation process over the long term. If the initial data vector for some subject is \mathbf{x}_0 and the relevant transfer matrix is A , then the expected data vector for this subject after n time intervals (years, say) would be $\mathbf{x}_n = A^n \mathbf{x}_0$. The nature of this evolution can be examined by considering the eigenvalues and eigenvectors of A . As long as the eigenvalues are distinct, it is guaranteed that the corresponding eigenvectors are linearly independent, hence, that any data vector can be written as a linear combination of the eigenvectors. Denoting the eigenvalues of a transfer matrix λ_1, λ_2 , and λ_3 , and the corresponding eigenvectors $\mathbf{v}_1, \mathbf{v}_2$, and \mathbf{v}_3 , the initial data vector can be written

$$\mathbf{x}_0 = \alpha_1 \mathbf{v}_1 + \alpha_2 \mathbf{v}_2 + \alpha_3 \mathbf{v}_3,$$

with suitable (fixed) coefficients α_1, α_2 , and α_3 . The evolved data vector after n years is then

$$\mathbf{x}_n = \alpha_1 \lambda_1^n \mathbf{v}_1 + \alpha_2 \lambda_2^n \mathbf{v}_2 + \alpha_3 \lambda_3^n \mathbf{v}_3.$$

If one of the eigenvalues is (essentially) unity and the others are of smaller magnitude, the data vector will approach the eigenvector corresponding to the first value as the adaptation process proceeds—as n becomes large—while the other terms diminish to insignificance. The appearance of complex eigenvalues does not by itself invalidate this description, but it does introduce a rather novel feature. Suppose λ_2 and λ_3 are (necessarily) complex conjugates of each other. If we write λ_2 in polar form,

$$\lambda_2 = r e^{i\theta},$$

then the evolved data vector takes the form

$$\mathbf{x}(t) = \mathbf{x}(0) e^{\lambda t} + \frac{1}{\lambda} (1 - e^{\lambda t}) \mathbf{b}.$$

The exponential factor in the second term introduces an oscillatory behavior: If λ is unity and ρ is less than unity, then the data vector asymptotically approaches (a multiple of) $\mathbf{x}(0)$ as the oscillating term diminishes. If such behavior is possible for a subject, a model of this sort is capable of describing it.

Note that for the second set of eigenvalues for the demographically heterogeneous groups given above, the complex eigenvalues have magnitude near unity while the real eigenvalue is substantially smaller. With this transfer matrix, the constant term in V_n would diminish away, while the oscillation persisted "forever." However, in this case again the appearance of negative data values would have to be excluded in some way.

Conclusion

Since the matrices are asymmetric, the features obtained here do not constitute a full spectral analysis. The linear matrix model, a conventional method in Natural Science, is still a novel way to study human behaviors in Social and Behavioral Sciences. The results demonstrate the potential for the use of such a model—an ecological perspective—in a study of human adaptation to a new environment.

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Meta-Analysis of the Critical Success Factors for the Students' Game-Based Learning
Efficiency

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Methods

Meta-Analysis of the Critical Success Factors for the Students' Game-Based Learning Efficiency

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Abstract

Over the last ten years, game-based learning (GBL) is one of the new technologies that are having on new learning and teaching practice in and out of formal educational environments. Reviews of the research, however, revealed that there has never been a comprehensive review of the research on the effectiveness of game-based learning used in schools. The purpose of this study is to examine the critical factors that influence students' game-based learning efficiency using meta-analysis. An extensive search for relevant published and unpublished studies found 40 studies from year 2001 to 2009 meeting the criteria that impact on game based learning efficiency, including 22 researches written in English and 18 in Chinese. Based on these researches, five major dimensions that contributed to the game-based learning efficiency of the students are identified as: learning environment, learner, pedagogy, context, and teacher. The learning efficiency was divided into three domains: affective, cognitive, and psychomotor. These studies yielded 140 independent effect sizes representing learning efficiency. The analysis results indicated that the design strategies of the learning environment is the most significant factor that affects the game-based learning effectiveness. The experience and play time of the learner are also important factors. Furthermore, the tasks and presentation strategy of pedagogy also affect the learning efficiency of the learners.

Keywords: game-based learning, critical success factors, meta-analysis

Introduction

Game-based learning has gathered great importance in recent years. Prensky (2001) has pointed out that motivation is a sine qua non for successful learning. Numerous studies (Eck, 2006; Papastergiou, 2008; Russell, 2008; Tuzun, 2009; Vogel, 2006) showed that GBL can promote learners' engagement and academic achievement, but not to mention the critical success factors for GBL comprehensively. The study we present in the present paper is an attempt to supplement the findings of these previous studies.

Definition of Learning Efficiency

Bloom (1956) designated that the learning objectives can be divided into three domains: affective, cognitive, and psychomotor. The learning efficiency can be defined by the changing in the knowledge base, skills, and attitude of the students

after receiving instructions (Piccoli, Ahmad, & Ives, 2001).

Critical Success Factor

Critical Success Factors (CSF's) refer to the vital elements which will ensure successful competitive performance for the individual, department, or organization. The term was widely used in the world of data and business analysis with various definitions (Martin, 1982; Kenichi, 1985). This study defines what the critical success factors are and how they affect the learning efficiency of the students.

CSF's for GBL efficiency

Freitas & Oliver (2006) proposed a framework for teacher to evaluate effective educational games that considered four main dimensions: context, learner, internal representational world and processes of learning. Killi (2005) addressed an experiential gaming model that is based on experiential learning theory, flow theory and game design. The model can be used to analyze educational computer game. In light of these concerns, this study presents a framework to address the factors influencing the GBL efficiency based on the following dimensions: learning environment, learner, pedagogy, context, and teacher.

Method

The method employed to carry out this study used meta-analysis, which derives and tests overall factors from the empirical results of individual studies, to obtain a quantitative estimate of the overall effect for the purpose of integrating the findings (Blimling, 1988; Chang, 2007; Glass, McGaw, & Smith, 1981; Ma, 2007; Tsai, 2006)

Data Sources

Multiple search criteria, e.g. learning achievement, learning effectiveness and learning performance, were used to collect literatures that are related to the GBL efficiency. Relevant studies were identified from the following databases: Science Direct Database, ERIC, ProQuest and Electronic Theses and Dissertations System from year 2001 to 2009. Forty treatment outcome studies (22 published journal articles and 18 theses/dissertations) were located. We derived a conceptual framework to guide this review. We identified 5 dimensions and 15 associated features (Table 1).

Data abstraction

The following details were coded for each outcome study: independent variables, dependent variables, sample size (N of effect sizes) and quantitative data on the means, standard deviation, F values, γ value, t values, to calculate the effect size. Microsoft's Excel spreadsheet program was used to assist in the coding of studies. From the 40 studies selected, we retrieved 140 original data records. Because each feature needs to contain more than two treatment condition, any feature with less than two treatment conditions was eliminated from the study. A total of 139 records were used in this study.

Coder reliability

Coder reliability was typically based on the consistency of a single coder from different occasions and the consistency between different coders. In this study, coder reliability was checked by applying double-coding on a sample study, the two sets of result are compared side by side.

Quantitative data synthesis

Statistical values were computed and analyzed by calculating each Meta quantitative values, including Fail safe N, Heterogeneity Q test, significant weighted average Zc value, True population effect size, 95% confidence interval, and explained variance.

Analysis

The meta-analysis was conducted using methods outlined by Rosenthal (1991) and Wolf (1986). A Fisher's r to z transformation was performed before analyses were undertaken. Meta-analysis, effect size is concerned with different studies and then combines all the studies into a single analysis. For all Stouffer's combined probability effect sizes Zc were reported as indicators of significance. The r's based on three or more correlation coefficients were interpreted as follows. The magnitude of r was interpreted using Cohen's (1988) guidelines: $r = .1$ (small effect), $r = .3$ (medium effect), and $r = .5$ (large effect). Cochran's Q was used to test for heterogeneity. The calculated Q (χ^2) value should be smaller than the degree of freedom: $K-1$ (K = numbers of the independent research) in the chi-squared distribution table. A significant Q statistic indicates heterogeneity of the individual study effect sizes, which poses a threat to a reliable interpretation of the results. 95% confidence interval (95% CI) was calculated based on the method defined by Hunter et al. (1982). If the confidence interval does not include zero, the effect is said to be statistically significant. Explained variance was used to account for the variation (apparent randomness) of a given data set. According to Hunter et al. (1982), a large amount of unexplained variance among studies suggests the presence of potential moderator variables.

Publication bias

To control for the possibility that some results are missing from the database, the fail-safe N (FSN) was calculated. Rosenthal (1991) offered a simple solution to the 'file drawer' problem, and offered the arbitrary guideline of $FSN \geq (5 \times \text{the number of research articles} + 10)$. A fail-safe number of studies estimates the number of non-significant, unpublished studies that would need to be added to a meta-analysis to reduce an overall statistically significant observed effect to non-significance. The FSN statistic permits estimation of the robustness of the results of a meta-analysis.

Results

Five dimensions of GBL efficiency

Learning Environment.

Table 2 shows the breakdowns of the effect sizes that were found for game environment, design strategies, learning of thematic, and technology. The design strategies have large effect size 0.92 (95% CI: 1.50, 1.75) with significant Zc value ($p < .001$) which indicated that design strategies have a significant effect on GBL efficiency. The game environment also has large effect size 0.56 (95% CI: 0.06, 1.06) with significant Zc value ($p < .001$), but is heterogeneous ($\chi^2(21) = 58.51, p < 0.05$). It revealed the importance of moderating and mediating effects. While the effect size on learning of thematic, technology was small with insignificant Zc value which implicated that learning of thematic, technology have no impact on GBL efficiency. The FSN of learning environment revealed only game environment and design strategies were higher than the tolerance ($5K+10$). It implicated that publication bias can be neglected, and there were no significant deviation. The rank of the explained variation was: design strategies (85.42%) > Game environment (31.21%) > technology (4.21 %) > learning of thematic (3.55%). The results showed that “design strategies factors” is a critical success factor of learning environment domain.

Learner.

The effect sizes for gender, play time, learning style, experience and playfulness are shown in Table 3. The experience and play time have two large effect size (0.90, 95% CI: 1.36, 1.66; 0.72, 95% CI: 0.12, 1.32), and are homogeneous indicating that the various studies were similar enough to be combined. The Zc values of all the variables were significant and indicated that learner factors have a significant effect on GBL. Further, the FSN of learner revealed play time and experience have no publication bias. While playfulness has medium effect size with significant Zc value ($p < .001$), but has a publication bias. Gender and learning style have no significant linear relationship existed with GBL efficiency. The rank of the explained variation was: experience (81.88%) > play time (52.11%) > playfulness (14.58 %) > gender (7.40%) > learning style (6.45%). The results showed that experience is the most crucial factor; followed by play time and playfulness, while gender and learning style are not critical success factors of GBL efficiency.

Pedagogy.

The results of pedagogy factors reflected in Table 4 that were found for presentation strategy, alternative goal structure, and tasks. The tasks have large effect size 0.73 (95% CI: 0.25, 1.21) while presentation strategy has medium effect size 0.42 (95% CI: 0.03, 0.81) with significant Zc value ($p < .001$). The heterogeneity of all pedagogy factors were significant which indicated that there were inconsistencies among studies, and need to further explore. The FSN of tasks and presentation

strategy revealed that publication bias can be neglected. As for the alternative goal structure, the confidence intervals include 0 which implicated that no significant linear relationship existed between alternative goal structure and GBL efficiency. The rank of the explained variation was: tasks (52.66%) > presentation strategy (17.49%) > alternative goal structure (0.02 %). The results showed that the tasks are the most crucial factor, follow by presentation strategy, while alternative goal structure have no impact on GBL efficiency.

Context and teacher.

The effect size on context factor was small 0.29 (95% CI: -0.01, 0.60) with significant Z_c value ($p < .001$). Due to the confidence intervals include 0, context factors have no impact on GBL efficiency (Table 5, row 1). The effect size of teacher's experience and gender were listed in row 2 and row 3 of Table 5 . As for teacher's experience and gender, due to various factors, such as small effect sizes, publication bias, and heterogeneous, exploration of potential moderating and mediating effects will be needed to determine the true effects of these two factors. The results showed that context, teacher's experience and gender factors are not critical success factors of GBL efficiency.

GBL efficiency

Cognitive domain.

Table 6 shows the numbers of studies on learning environment factors (23), learner factors (19) and pedagogy factors (24) which indicated that sufficient studies are available for cognitive analysis. The learner and learning environment have two large effect size (0.69, 95% CI: 0.09, 1.29; 0.56, 95% CI: 0.02, 1.10), but are heterogeneous which showed inconsistency among studies. The effect size of pedagogy factors are higher than medium effect size 0.39 (95% CI: 0.06, 0.71). The learner, learning environment and pedagogy have significant Z_c values ($p < 0.01$), and no publish bias. The rank of the explained variation was: learner factors (47.47%) > learning environment factors (31.51%) > pedagogy factors (14.87%). The results suggested that "pedagogy factors" is a critical success factor of cognitive domain.

Affective domain.

As shown in Table 7, separate analyses for affective domain were carried out for five dimensions: learning environment factors (10), learner factors (19), pedagogy factors (10), context factors (16) and teacher factors(7). The learner factors have small effect size (0.19, 95% CI: 0.03, 0.34), but have publish bias which indicated unpublished studies would need to be added. Furthermore, learning environment factors, pedagogy factors, context factors and teacher factors showed a statistically insignificant effect. The rank of the explained variation was: learning environment factors (31.99%) > context factors (8.63%) > pedagogy factors (8.30%) > teacher

factor (4.23%) > learner factor (3.51%). Results of the statistical analysis revealed that “learner factors” have influence on affective domain of GBL efficiency.

Psychomotor domain.

Table 8 presents the numbers of studies on learning environment factors (2) and pedagogy factors (8) in psychomotor domain. The learning environment factors have small effect size 0.29 (95% CI: 0.25, 0.34) with significant Z_c value ($p < .01$), while the FSN is lower than the tolerance which suggested that there were some publication bias. The pedagogy factor has insignificant effect. The rank of the explained variation was: learning environment factors (8.63%) > pedagogy factors (0.22%). The results showed that pedagogy factor was not a critical success factor of psychomotor domain.

Discussion

The results support the conclusion that design strategies of the learning environment is the most prominent CSF affecting the GBL proficiency. While learners' experience and play time also play a critical role in the success of the GBL efficiency of the students. We interpret this to mean that game design strategies should inspire the experiential learning to generate a positive affect in players, and students can be engaged and motivated through direct experiences with the game world. These findings are in accord with the results of the previous studies which Angyal (1993) identified that games satisfy the basic requirements of learning environments and can provide an engaging environment for learning. Kiili (2005) argued that facilitating experiences of students is important which can maximize the impact of educational games. The study will provide some contribution to the development of GBL. First, design strategies of the learning environment is the most prominent CSF affecting the GBL proficiency. Second, learners' experience and play time are the major factors that affects the learning efficiency of the students. Third, the tasks and presentation strategy of pedagogy also affect the learning efficiency of the learners. Fourth, pedagogy factor is a critical success factor of cognitive domain. Although the present study has yielded findings that both theoretical and pedagogical implications, it is not without flaws. Due to the inconsistency among the studies, publication bias, and insufficient numbers of studies, as the results may reflect in part the way in which the data were collected. The study points to new possibilities for future research. Design strategies of educational games should correspond better with students' “experience” and provide suitable “tasks”. Much remains to be done, but we anticipate that future research need to balance the published bias by adopting unpublished studies, and exploration of potential moderating and mediating effects to determine the true effects.

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Table 1		
Definition of Critical Success Factors for the Students' GBL Efficiency		
Dimension		References
Learning Environment(X_1)	X_{101} Game environment	Lu(2008); Tsai(2008); Hung(2008); Wu(2006); Lin, F. W. (2006); Lennon(2007); Papastergiou(2008); Huang(2005); Tuzun(2009); Lo. (2006); Lin(2005); Chang(2008); Lin, L. C. (2006). Sedig(2008).
	X_{102} design strategies	
	X_{103} learning of thematic	Sung(2006).
	X_{104} technology	Vogel(2006); Schaik(2006); Chu(2007).
Learner(X_2)	X_{201} gender	Tsai(2008); Qiu(2006); Papastergiou(2008); Russell(2008); Alkalai(2007); Lin, L. C. (2006).
	X_{202}^{**} play time	Tsai(2008); Gentile(2008); Cohen(2005).
	X_{203} learning style	Tsai(2008); Sohng(2006); Gentile(2008); Lin, L. C. (2006).
	X_{204}^{**} experience	Tsai(2008).
	X_{205} Playfulness	Chien(2008); Lin, L. C. (2006).
pedagogy(X_3)	X_{301} presentation strategy	Hung(2008); Chen(2007); Qiu(2006); Lee(2004); Fisher(2009); Warren(2008); Cheung(2008); Anderson(2005); McDonald(2003); Yu(2004); Kelly(2008); Kim(2009).
	X_{302} alternative goal structure	Qiu(2006); Ke(2008); Anderson(2005); Ngai(2005).
	X_{303}^{**} tasks	Alkalai(2007).
context (X_4)	X_{401} context	Eck(2006); Ngai(2005); Russell(2008); Yu(2003).
teacher (X_5)	X_{501} gender	Ho(2009).
	X_{502} experience	Ho(2009).

Table 2

Meta-Analysis Results of Learning Environment Factors

dimension	N of studies	N	True population effect size	Zc	Heterogeneity Q test	FSN	95%CI	explained variance
X ₁₀₁ Game environment	22	1668	0.56	0.12***	58.51*	223.80	0.06 1.06	31.21
X ₁₀₂ design strategies	3	59	0.92	0.53***	0.14	94.58	1.50 1.75	85.42
X ₁₀₃ learning of thematic	4	240	0.19	0.09	0.45	11.08	0.09 0.29	3.55
X ₁₀₄ technology	6	253	0.21	0.08	1.17	18.62	0.03 0.38	4.21

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 3

Meta-Analysis Results of Learner Factors

dimension	N of studies	N	True population effect size	Zc	Heterogeneity Q test	FSN	95%CI	explained variance
X ₂₀₁ gender	17	2007	0.27	0.07**	33.06*	75.51	-0.08 0.62	7.40
X ₂₀₂ play time	5	1007	0.72	0.32***	6.20	57.78	0.12 1.32	52.11
X ₂₀₃ learning style	11	1903	0.25	0.08***	20.28*	44.89	-0.13 0.64	6.45
X ₂₀₄ experience	3	180	0.90	0.52***	0.50	87.66	1.36 1.66	81.88
X ₂₀₅ Playfulness	3	436	0.38	0.22***	2.12	19.91	0.21 0.55	14.58

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4

Meta-Analysis Results of pedagogy Factors

dimension	N of studies	N	True population effect size	Zc	Heterogeneity Q test	FSN	95%CI	explained variance
X ₃₀₁ presentation strategy	26	2528	0.42	0.08***	79.59*	191.49	0.03 0.81	17.49
X ₃₀₂ alternative goal structure	14	2552	0.01	0.00	94.92*	-10.36	-0.44 0.46	0.02
X ₃₀₃ tasks	2	40	0.73	0.51***	5.70*	27.03	0.25 1.21	52.66

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5

Meta-Analysis Results of context Factors and teacher Factors

dimension	N of studies	N	True population effect size	Zc	Heterogeneity Q test	FSN	95%CI	explained variance
X ₄₀₁ context	16	2397	0.29	0.07***	49.49*	78.00	-0.01 0.60	8.63
X ₅₀₁ gender	2	1446	0.08	0.06*	0.03	1.38	0.07 0.10	0.71
X ₅₀₂ experience	5	3615	0.25	0.11***	85.60*	20.41	-0.10 0.61	6.46

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 6
 Cognitive Correlation of the Five Dimensions

dimension	N of studies	N	True population effect size	Zc	Heterogeneity Q test	FSN	95%CI	explained variance
Learning Environment factor	23	1359	0.56	0.12***	53.92*	235.21	0.02 1.10	31.51
Learner Factors	19	1795	0.69	0.16***	132.69*	242.82	0.09 1.29	47.47
pedagogy Factors	24	2057	0.39	0.08***	21.85	161.07	0.06 0.71	14.87

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 7
 Affective Correlation of the Five Dimensions

dimension	N of studies	N	True population effect size	Zc	Heterogeneity Q test	FSN	95%CI	explained variance
Learning Environment factor	10	697	0.57	0.18***	35.24*	103.11	-0.07 1.20	31.99
Learner Factors	19	3650	0.19	0.04**	16.92	52.18	0.03 0.34	3.51
pedagogy Factors	10	1856	0.29	0.09***	51.90*	47.64	-0.12 0.70	8.30
context Factors	16	2397	0.29	0.07***	49.49*	78.00	-0.01 0.60	8.63
teacher Factors	7	5061	0.21	0.08***	92.11*	21.79	-0.10 0.51	4.23

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 8
 Psycho Correlation of the Five Dimensions

dimension	N of studies	N	True population effect size	Zc	Heterogeneity Q test	FSN	95%CI	explained variance
Learning Environment factor	2	164	0.29	0.21**	0.04	9.75	0.25 0.34	8.63
pedagogy Factors	8	1207	0.05	0.02	132.13*	-0.55	-0.70 0.79	0.22

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

**AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH OF MATCHING AND NETWORKING
IN INTERNATIONAL ENTRY PROCESS TO CHINA**

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to investigate the role of matching concept applied by Western retailers during the international entry process to the Chinese market. Guanxi is a particularly special emerging theme which occurs in the Chinese market. The international entry strategy of IKEA entering to China is examined. In-depth face-to-face interviews with various managers and suppliers are collected in the local market. Data is also collected by store visits, suppliers visit, observation and secondary research. This qualitative research is analysed by N*Vivo software, which assisted in managing and encoding data. The finding of the research indicates the importance of matching and networking with different actors during the entry process. The local government is a crucial actor at the macro level as it has an impact on regulations and policies. At the micro level, the relationship with local suppliers assist companies in managing effective operations and achieving low cost production, which allow the retailer to enhance better relationships with local consumers as well as provide to local customers needs. Two ways relationships help retailers and suppliers to support each other in the business. The western firm learns the importance of guanxi when they do business in China.

Article type: Case study

Keywords: International Retailing, International Entry Process, Networking, Matching.

AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH OF MATCHING AND NETWORKING IN INTERNATIONAL ENTRY PROCESS TO CHINA

1. INTRODUCTION

Retail is a rapidly growing industry and expands aggressively to the emerging markets. The retailing literature pays attention to how retailers expand into international markets and their methods and strategy (Alexander and Myers 2000; Dawson 1994; 2003; McGoldrick and Davies 1995; Whitehead 1992). Networking plays a crucial part in the retail industry because retailers do not produce anything themselves and rely on supplier network relationship. Bianchi and Ostale (2006) found that lack of strong social network could lead to unsuccessful international expansion. The previous matching concept studies have been focused on international expansion to Baltic States (Ghauri and Holstius 1996), and to Eastern European countries (Rogers et al. 2005). In the case of Eastern Europe, The retailer achieves market orientation and better performance in Slovakia and Hungary through using matching such as networking with suppliers to supply Tesco's own brand. *The existing gap in the literature on which this research aims to focus, is to study matching concept during the international expansion of the retail sector, mainly in China.* This paper takes the matching concept to apply further in the retail industry in the Chinese market context. The objective of this paper is to investigate the role of matching concept applied by Western retailers during the international entry process to the Chinese market. The main research question in this paper is "How western retailers apply matching and network concept during international entry process into Chinese market?"

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 MATCHING CONCEPT

When retail businesses enter foreign markets, they are faced with barriers in terms of differences in cultural, political, legal and economic environment. As a result, matching is seen as a way of reducing or eliminating those obstacles (Holstius 1991; Ghauri and Holstius 1996).

Ghauri and Holstius (1996) identify matching as “...a key concept for understanding how the development of successful business relationships can be facilitated – by means of appropriate adaptation – between two countries...” (Ghauri and Holstius 1996). Matching is even more crucial, as retail businesses’ problems are more pronounced during the earlier stages of the process. Consequently, it is necessary to study the role of matching in supporting the foreign market entry process (Ghauri et al. 2004). According to Ghauri and Holstius (1996), matching creates specific requirements prior to entering a new foreign market, as well as determining the process required to achieve a successful market entry, therefore, contributing positively to the performance of retail businesses.

Matching implies a high capacity of adaptation from the firm; for instance, the adjustment between Western and Asian countries, which have different environments (political, culture, legal and economic). It is important to build relationships with the right type of people, activities and resources in different market. Matching may be recognized as the processes that facilitate the development of business relationships between firms in dissimilar countries, at the global, macro and micro levels (Holstius 1991). *At the global level*, the company might benefit from the international trade organization such as World Trade Organization (WTO), European Union (EU), International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF and the World Bank provided assistance to the Baltic States in 1992, so their financial system illustrates matching at

the global level. The European Union giving economic aid to each of the Baltic countries is another example of matching at the global level. *At the macro level*, matching refers to activities of the firms and governments, where they try to match with each other to gain mutual benefits. Companies try to match governments (home and host) to get preferential treatment to facilitate their entry into the particular market. For instance, there might need to be an understanding between two countries to facilitate the business between firms from each one. For example, finance matching at the macro level could be in the form of measures such as financial help, export credits, soft loans, investment benefits, investment protection, and agreements avoiding double taxation. *At the micro level*, matching is about building relationship with the local customers, suppliers, associations and local stakeholders. This level of matching is thus quite similar to the network approach. The sharing of cultural knowledge could be achieved through personal contact, education, learning the language and the media (Meyer and Skak 2002). As a result, mutual respect and good relationships can emerge from matching at the micro level. Companies can gain ownership advantages by building a network in order to access understanding of the business environment.

Matching at the micro level is closely related to networking. Welch and Luostarinen (1988) mentioned the importance of personal contacts and networking in the field of market expansion. The buyer and seller network might initially face a lack of knowledge about each other, physical distance and cultural differences. These gaps could be reduced by a regular two-way communication and by learning from each other, which can lead to the development of strong relationships and commitment. The market-orientated companies are more active in gathering local market research in order to understand the market, including their customers, competitors and the

market environment (Rogers et al. 2005). Matching is one of the methods used to assist a company to access its customers' and competitors' information. Holstius (1991) suggested that matching could facilitate international market entry, and overcome the differences between market environments. In this research, the focus is on the matching at the macro and micro level.

2.2 NETWORK APPROACH

Johanson and Mattsson (1987) introduced a network approach to explain the international production process. The network approach looks at the inter-firm relationship, rather than the network itself. Also, it enhances the understanding of the strategies used in different markets. Different types of relationships exist between companies in the network; one is the member of a group or network. In contrast, a company also plays the role of the competitor to provide products to consumers. Companies in a network create competitive advantages by developing relationships with other companies. As long as each partner benefits from each other, the relationship will be pursued and grow stronger (Johanson and Vahlne 2006). This approach contrasts with the internalisation theory (Dunning 1993, 92). That is because companies in the network theory do not internalise their ownership advantages but become a part of the network or alliances. In effect, they will have access to external resources and benefit from a direct relationship with the customers and partners. Companies could use their network relationship to pursue their operations abroad and maintain a degree of control over their intangible resources (Johanson and Mattsson 1987, 47).

There is a high degree of risk and uncertainty during international expansion. Networking is a fundamental strategy used for managing the internationalisation of

markets (Elg and Johansson 1996, 61). It involves a combination of flexibility, independence, high degree of control, and efficiency achievement.

It is important to recognise that companies are involved in a broad network of relationships. Therefore, a specific relationship cannot be understood in isolation. Each relationship should be reviewed in the connected network relationship context. This also includes the activity of exchange, whereby each connected company shares trust and knowledge, and depends on each other through mutual commitment. A relationship can be viewed as an asset where each party benefits from each other. Also, the notions of learning, as well as building trust, emerge in a network relationship (Johanson and Vahlne 2006). However, the drawback is that those actors are dependent on each other.

Elg and Johansson (1996) suggested that a company in the network could reduce its risk and uncertainty and create a more efficient network. In the home market, a company initially has established relationships with the other actors in the network. However, when a firm expands abroad, the relationship will change and new actors will be involved. There are two dimensions of network activity (Elg and Johansson 1996, 62). In the first dimension, a company will create relationships with new suppliers, customers and competitors when it operates internationally. At the same time, the company will meet new competitors in its home market. Thus, it is important to maintain its home market position, as well as focus on international expansion. The second dimension is that the company should concentrate on managing both vertical relationships (with suppliers) as well as horizontal relationships (with other stakeholders, companies) because of the impact that the internationalisation process has on them. Bianchi and Ostale (2006) suggested that

lack of local adaptation to consumer's preferences and lack of local suppliers could lead to the failure of international expansion of retailers.

3. METHODOLOGY

Exploratory research intends to observe trends, ideas or hypotheses, rather than prove a hypothesis. Case studies and observation are often used to gather data (Ghauri and Grønhaug 2005; Yin 1989). The methodological approach is based on qualitative research, using single case study and in-depth interviews to allow an in depth study of the role of matching when retailer entering the Chinese markets. Conducting case studies with organizations allows the researcher to study the relationships, behavior and operations in the organizational context (Berg 2006). The case selection relies on the time, resources, and accessibility of the company and the suitability of the research questions. This research problem involves describing and analyzing the impact of matching and networking on the firm's international expansion. Case study is an appropriate technique for conducting research (Yin 1989, 18) in order to answer the research problems.

This research examines the furniture retailer in China because there is a trend towards modern living, influenced by Western culture. Therefore, there is a high growth in the sector of imported furniture in China. In addition, there is a heavy investment in property, including condominiums in Shanghai, leading to a rise in furniture demand. A case study of IKEA is appropriate to illustrate the retail internationalization process, expanding into China. The company focuses on its overseas expansion to Central Europe and Asia as it faces market saturation in Europe. Ingvar Kamprad was strongly interested in the Chinese market and willing to invest there, so it shows the commitment of the company to the market. The growth of local production has been extremely rapid in China because of the cheap labor there.

Twelve face-to-face semi structure interviews were conducted with senior, middle and frontline managers at IKEA subsidiary in China and its suppliers. The growing interest in semi-structured interviews may be explained by the fact that the interviewees' viewpoints are more likely to be expressed in a relatively openly designed interview situation rather than during a standardized interview or questionnaire (Flick 2002). Semi-structured interviews are used in this research because they provide the interviewee with the opportunity to express and discuss the topic widely. The expatriate managers, local managers, local employees are interviewed to gain opinions. Due to the rule of anonymity, the author avoids stating the name and specific position of respondents in this paper. All interviews were conducted in English. Follow up telephone interviews and emails are used. The company data, secondary data, store and supplier visits and observation (Miles and Huberman 1994) are also conducted in this research. The interviewer has the opportunity to observe non-verbal behavior and how the respondents react when answering the questions. It allows the interviewer to interpret and understand the interviews better. N*Vivo software is used in this qualitative research in order to assist in managing, encoding and data analysis (Sinkovics et al. 2005).

4. IKEA CASE STUDY

IKEA is a Swedish based furniture retailer, which was founded by Ingvar Kamprad. He started as an entrepreneur with "IKEA", which was a small business in 1943, and initially traded in matches, pencils and nylon. Ingvar Kamprad decided to be involved in the furniture industry in Sweden in 1947 and established the first IKEA furniture outlet in 1953 at Almhult (IKEA Corporate Website 2008). The global objective of the company is "*to provide well designed, solidly built furniture for working*

people”. The company wants to convey the message that IKEA products are of good quality, have trendy Swedish design and that the price is affordable to everyone.

4.1 MATCHING

Majority of the respondents agree about the importance of matching and network relationships when doing business, especially in China. There are many stakeholders who play important roles in retail operations, including the local authorities, local government, central government, suppliers and local employees. A senior manager expresses the importance of network relationships, and how these can assist in terms of laws and regulations. “I think after nearly two years now...I feel that I have a basic understanding of how things work and the importance of relationships compared to laws and regulations and the methods needed to secure, build up and establish contacts. That has been for me the biggest learning” (Senior manager, IKEA China)

Matching at the macro level plays a significant role in IKEA’s operations in China. The company needs to build up a relationship with the local authorities. The central government and district authority are considered as the most important actors. “We rely very heavily on the government in China when it comes to our retail operations. The district government, municipal government and obviously the central government.” (Senior manager, IKEA China) However, IKEA feel uncomfortable about using matching at the beginning. The manager feels that they do not manage their relationships strongly enough and that this is something that could be improved. “We made use of contacts and existing relationships, but, we did not work closely enough together and that is a very high priority because we really want to do it.” (Senior manager, IKEA China)

The purpose of matching is to get information and to discuss what might be of common concern. The team managers mostly build contacts and maintain a

relationship with the local government. For example, the President, expansion manager and property manager will network with the district government and local authority to find new store locations.

IKEA establish relationships and maintain these contacts. In Chinese culture, people need to get to know each other individually in order to build relationships and trust. The company learns and adapts itself to building relationships with its local partners. IKEA also use local managers to network. “You must have Chinese people; Western individuals never come in.” (Middle manager, IKEA China)

Managers feel that matching and building relationships are very time consuming but crucial tasks. Hence, they will probably dedicate a separate function for IKEA just to maintain those relationships. “I am learning and getting used it. It could be formal meetings... you have this row of officials down the side...I would sit and talk for forty-five minutes but would not have a clue about what really happened, if that was good or not; but now I really see the value of those types of meetings and I see how efficient it is as a system.” (Senior manager, IKEA China)

The company has a positive image and is seen as a retailer responsible for significant employment through its local supplier network and retail network. The company shows commitment and contributes clearly to the Chinese market, which enhances the relationship between the government and IKEA. “We have a good relationship, and I think we need to be part of the community here.”(Store manager, IKEA China)

“We make an enormous contribution in China today; there are hundreds of thousands of people who rely directly on IKEA for their employment in our supply network.” (Senior manager, IKEA China)

Matching at the micro level, IKEA has learnt the importance of the Chinese business network relationship - called “guanxi” - with external partners, such as the local authorities, and suppliers. Western and Chinese firms conduct business differently. Western firms, for instance, conduct business directly and follow procedures step by step. However, Chinese firms prefer to work with people whom they trust. Therefore, building a network relationship is a crucial factor when doing business in China. The relationship might be built on a regular basis, at the individual level and extended to the company level. It takes a lot of resources, time and experience to develop guanxi. “The most important concept to apply, when you have a relationship with Chinese people, is really the Guanxi. Numerous people failed here because they wanted everything straightaway, and thought they knew it all. In China, it is crucially important to learn how to deal and to talk to people, and it may mean people will say yes sometimes, just to be polite, but never intended to sign the contract. It is about personal feelings and relationships. Relationships are very important, so there are a lot of relationships that need to be built at IKEA.” (Middle manager, IKEA China)

From the interviews, some Western managers feel uncomfortable with guanxi. It is because the way business is done is different. The company, therefore, needs to adapt to the local business. IKEA’s senior managers network with the local stakeholders. The local property manager also deals with the local authorities and other stakeholders. IKEA is not familiar with the guanxi system but accepts that guanxi has an impact on doing business in China. Nevertheless, some managers feel uncomfortable with that, especially guanxi within the IKEA store. Some managers try to stop guanxi within the organisation and promote a system based on meritocracy. The store manager believes that the IKEA system and development should be based

on individual ability or achievement rather than using individual relationships (Store manager, IKEA China). IKEA choose to maintain the IKEA position rather than follow the guanxi concept, in terms of doing business.

Network relationship with the local retailers

IKEA has less corporate relationships with other retailers, compared with the relationship it has with its suppliers and the government. The contacts and collaboration are mainly about sharing views of the current situation, and discussing any government regulation issues (Senior manager, IKEA China). They often meet through government forums. Local retailers and entrepreneurs could be challenged for copying IKEA products and selling them at cheaper prices (Middle manager, IKEA China).

Network relationship with the suppliers

There is a strong focus on long-term relationships with the suppliers "The IKEA Group believes in long-term relationships with suppliers who share our commitment to promoting good practices, and who want to grow and develop with IKEA." (IKEA Corporate Website 2008).

IKEA uses micro matching and strong network relationships with the media, other retailers, and particularly suppliers. The IKEA group builds long-term relationships with their suppliers who share their commitment to be socially and environmentally responsible and who want to grow and develop with IKEA. IKEA has 43 trading service offices that work with approximately 1,500 suppliers in 55 countries. These offices develop relationships with the suppliers, monitor production, test new ideas, negotiate prices, check quality and work towards ensuring that the supplier lives up to IKEA's policies (IKEA Corporate Website, 2008). The advantage of network

relationships with the suppliers benefits IKEA in terms of purchasing products at a low price, therefore allowing IKEA to offer low priced goods to customers. Import taxes and duties add up to a higher price. Hence, the company switched to local production in order to reduce the import duties cost. Also, the main suppliers are located along the coast, due to the better transport access. IKEA uses the right networking approach with its suppliers which provides the right price. It could help to reduce the production costs, and resolve the high prices and copycat issues that IKEA currently faces. If you find the right supplier, you will find the right market price.” (Middle manager, IKEA China)

Suppliers can also transfer their knowledge on new product development back to IKEA, as they are more specialised. “Numerous products are developed in collaboration with the supplier...we are working very closely with the supplier, where you can use the supplier’s idea, also the supplier’s experience in making products more efficient, and to use the right material, helping in getting a low cost product and more efficiency in production.” (Senior manager, IKEA China)

Contacts with the local suppliers are managed through the trading office team in the Central, Southern and Northern part of China. IKEA gives considerable importance to the relationship with its suppliers. A good relationship with the suppliers assists IKEA to purchase merchandise at a lower price. The approach IKEA uses to build and maintain its relationships relies on the concept of keeping its word for what has been promised to be ordered. IKEA’s aim is to build a long-term relationship with the suppliers based on reliability, transferring IKEA’s knowledge to suppliers in order to improve performance and maintain relationships. The company provides assistance to its suppliers and helps them to achieve better performance. IKEA trains its suppliers to achieve minimum standards of health and safety,

corporate social responsibility, including no child labour, and standard working hours, as well as good working conditions.

IKEA also has invested in their suppliers in order to develop and educate them to meet the standard required by IKEA. It is called the “**IKEA investment programme**”. For example, IKEA educate their suppliers about their warehouse system. IKEA also provides financial assistance for high standard suppliers to help them with further investments. The author had the opportunity to visit one of IKEA’s supplier and its factory, which is located outside Shanghai. This supplier has provided sofas to IKEA for several years, but initially they did not meet their standards. IKEA helped them to improve their standards and develop their business. IKEA even helped them financially to build a second sofa factory.

“The investment programme helps suppliers do their best... helping and working with suppliers to invest in machines, more efficient ones... it can be machinery, it can be money, it can be raw materials.” (Middle Manager, IKEA China)

Network relationship with the local employees

Employees’ satisfaction could influence market orientation effectiveness. In order to work well, the staff and employees have to be well treated. The IKEA concept is to treat the staff well so they can deliver a good service to the customers. The company **recruits** people fitting the IKEA values; the new recruits should be willing to learn, willing to share knowledge, creative, motivated, humble and able to adapt quickly. The recruitment of the right people who fit with IKEA culture stimulates the degree of market orientation. This is because people in the organisation are willing to share information within the organisation.

“They should be hard working because I think IKEA always has some physical work to do...and I think they should be very humble, simple, and not too complicated.”

(Frontline manager, IKEA Shanghai)

Training and **motivating** people are seen as an important tool to encourage employees to work their hardest for the company. IKEA has a **training and development programme** for its employees, depending on their role. Each employee will have a training schedule, for instance in interior design training, or visual merchandising training. As it is costly to train people abroad, IKEA has created a training facility in Shanghai and hoped to set it up as the Asian training hub. It shows commitment towards investing in people.

“New employees receive around one week’s training, describing the IKEA concept, HR procedures, and customer behaviour, how to communicate with customers is reviewed with all co-workers, and product knowledge, as well as sales skills being provided. If you do not have that, you cannot serve customers well and you cannot answer questions very well.” (Frontline manager, IKEA China)

IKEA in China conducted “**employee opinion survey**” to determine whether employees are satisfied with their current work. 99% of employees participated at this survey. It showed that salary rate satisfaction was quite low. However, the co-worker feels positive and proud to work for IKEA because of the positive Western brand image, personal development opportunity and good employee treatment. Some people apply to the job because they like IKEA’s products. Staff turnover at IKEA is quite low, compared with other retailers, because the company treats its employees well and is honest with them. They provide a high standard working environment.

“When co-workers leave for another retailer, they soon phone up and say that they want to come back to IKEA, and that is a very positive thing as well. Of course you

can get more money somewhere else, with any position for another company, but I mean there is a lot of soft value in IKEA that you miss quite quickly.” (Store manager, IKEA China)

In China, the central and local government played a crucial role because they are the decision makers regarding policy and regulation. The local manager plays a crucial role in representing IKEA and communicating with the stakeholders, especially with the local government and suppliers. Matching at the macro and micro level supports IKEA in its operation and obtaining approval. The results confirm Ghauri and Holstius (1996) and Rogers et al (2005) studies that matching has been seen as facilitating factor during international entry process.

5. CONCLUSION

IKEA success comes from the ability of applying matching with the right actors while entering the Chinese market. It is crucial to build a relationship with the Chinese government when entering the market and maintaining this network. IKEA uses local employees to network with the government, together with the positive “create employment opportunity in China” image that are the keys to successful matching with the government. In 1998, IKEA was seen as an expensive Western brand. The brand image has changed to lower prices and affordable products. This is because the company has switched to producing locally and emphasizing their supplier network, resulting in a reduction of imported products and duties (China Daily 2004), and therefore providing cheaper products. Suppliers helped IKEA to gain low cost production and prepare for further expansion to other cities in China.

My study agrees with Ghauri and Holstius (1996) that matching and network relationship could facilitate the company activities to get the right location and to run

their retail operations. In these cases, the author found that the crucial network with the right actors, such as suppliers and associations allow the company to access the market and customer information which enhanced their market orientation. This research further confirms that the ability to understand customers, which can be done through market orientation and matching, are the main factors that influence performance in international operations.

This research also takes matching concept (Holstius 1991; Ghauri and Holstius 1996) further by applying them to the international retail context. This research contributes towards theory development in this field by providing a framework that could be a basis for future empirical investigations of international expansion. The findings also suggest how foreign market operations can be managed, thereby providing a way to improve our understanding of the internationalisation process.

The matching concept (Holstius 1991; Ghauri and Holstius 1996) can be applied to the international retail context. The crucial actors might be different in different countries, depending on the market environment. In this case, suppliers are important for IKEA China to bring the production costs down. Furthermore, different actors have an influence at different stages. For example, IKEA relies on the government heavily in the search and project phases for getting permission. The company later relies on suppliers during the establishment, when the company decides to increase local sourcing. Matching at the global level does not apply in this study. Retailers should devote more effort to macro and micro matching, rather than matching at the global level.

Guanxi shares a similarity with matching in terms of focusing on building and maintaining a business relationship. Guanxi has a major influence on the decision making process, as the Chinese do business and select partners based on personal

relationships and trust. Understanding guanxi is useful for Western managers who plan or currently conduct business with their Chinese partners.

As a recommendation, further research could explore the role of matching in other Asian markets. Moreover, it is interesting to conduct further in-depth study regarding the impact of guanxi on Chinese business and how Western companies cope with it.

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State Weakness and Corruption: A Direct Test

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Abstract

We directly test the argument made by Shleifer and Vishny (1993) that a weak state, defined as the state in which the ruler does not control government officials effectively, experiences a high level of corruption. By using a newly collected index to measure state weakness, we find that a greater conflict intensity, more political instability, and incidence of coups increase corruption. Even more gross human rights abuses tend to increase corruption, too. However, empirical results also suggest that more “portion of a country affected by fighting in ethnic and revolutionary wars” reduces corruption. This finding seems surprising, but reflects a classical thesis in the sociological literature that external threat increases internal solidarity, which in turn increases the strength of the state particularly in response to ethnic wars.

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1. Introduction

In a seminal contribution, Shleifer and Vishny (1993) argue that a weak state, defined as the state in which the ruler does not control government officials effectively, experiences a high level of corruption. Their underlying logic is that centralized rent-seeking is more efficient than decentralized rent-seeking due to the tragedy of commons in uncoordinated rent seeking, and the weakness of a weak state likely leads to decentralized rent-seeking. This insightful argument, which fostered a fairly large theoretical literature, has a strong intuitive appeal in developing countries. For example, in an influential review article, Bardhan (1997) presents a detailed discussion on the role of state strength/weakness in determining corruption in relation to the theoretical framework of Shleifer and Vishny (1993). In particular, Bardhan (1997, p 1325) states: *“This may be relevant in a comparison of corruption in, say, Indonesia with that in India. Table 2 in the Appendix suggests that in the perception of foreign businessmen the two countries are about equally corrupt; and yet the economic performance by most accounts has been much better in Indonesia. Could it be that Indonesian corruption is more centralized (controlled largely by the first family and the top military leadership in cahoots with the ethnic Chinese-run conglomerates) and thus somewhat more predictable, whereas in India it is a more fragmented, often anarchic, system of bribery?”*

However, there appears to be little empirical literature that directly tests the insight of Shleifer and Vishny (1993). Such an empirical endeavor is challenging because, for example, it is hard to measure state weakness/strength, which may take the form of multiple dimensions. Recently, the Brookings Institution published a report of Index of State Weakness in the Developing World, which provides a rare opportunity to examine the relationship between state strength/weakness and corruption. In particular, this Index consists of five security indicators, Conflict Intensity, Political Stability and Absence of Violence, Incidence of Coups, Gross Human Rights Abuses, and Territory Affected by Conflict, which describes the strength or weakness of a state from different aspects. For example, the intensity of violent conflicts is an indication of the state’s ability to control local officials in maintaining basic rule of law; states

that have experienced extraconstitutional or violent overthrow are likely to have a weak ruler; widespread perceptions of political instability in a country are likely associated with a weak control of the central government over local governments. Moreover, the Index has a variable that measures “scaled portion of a country affected by fighting in ethnic and revolutionary wars” and “Revolutionary wars are defined as "episodes of violent conflict between governments and politically organized groups (political challengers) that seek to overthrow the central government, to replace its leaders, or to seize power in one region"; ethnic wars are defined as "episodes of violent conflict between governments and national, ethnic, religious, or other communal minorities (ethnic challengers) in which the challengers seek major changes in their status.”” Clearly, this indicator, named Territory Affected by Conflict, reflects well for a state’s ability to exercise its sovereignty.

In this paper, we will use the newly collected Index to measure state weakness and examine its impacts on corruption. Indeed, to our knowledge, this Index provides the first direct measure of state weakness/strength, which is hard to quantify. Moreover, this Index provides measures of state weakness/strength that are largely related to exogenous factors (e.g. Besley and Persson (2010)), which facilitates the empirical estimation of its impact on corruption.

The data of corruption used in this paper are obtained from the dataset of the World Business Environment Survey (WBES), which surveys responses of businessmen and citizens in particular countries about their own (or close associates’) concrete experiences with corrupt officials.¹ The World Business Environment Survey interviewed managers from more than 20,000 firms in 2006-2009. We focus on two questions. Respondents were asked: “Is it common for firms in your line of business to have to pay some irregular ‘additional payments’ to get things done?” and “On average, what percent of total annual sales do firms like yours typically pay in unofficial payments/gifts to public officials?” The first question provides an indicator of

¹ Triesman (2007) and Fan, Lin, and Triesman (2009) explain the advantages of using experience-based data of corruption such as WBES over perception-based data of corruption such as those collected by Transparency International.

the frequency of bribery, while the second aims to estimate its scale. Besides permitting us to focus on experience-based rather than subjective indicators of corruption, the WBES makes it possible to control better for individual characteristics of survey respondents (which may vary systematically across countries). Specifically, we can control for the size, ownership structure, investment level, and level of exports of firms in analyzing their managers' responses on corruption.

Our regression analysis yields the following findings. First, a greater conflict intensity, more political instability, and incidence of coups are all found to increase corruption. In addition, even more gross human rights abuses may tend to increase corruption. These findings are clearly in support of the insight of Shleifer and Vishny (1993). Second, it is consistently shown that more "portion of a country affected by fighting in ethnic and revolutionary wars" actually reduces corruption. This finding is somewhat surprising, and at first sight, appears to contradict the argument of Shleifer and Vishny (1993). However, a careful reflection indicates that this result is precisely consistent with Shleifer and Vishny (1993). Indeed, it is a classical thesis in the sociological literature that external threat increases internal solidarity, which in turn increases the strength of the state particularly in response to ethnic wars. In a series of theoretical analyses, Besley and Persson (2009, forthcoming 1, forthcoming 2) show that fighting external wars is conducive to building state capacities. For example, Besley and Persson (2009) states: "...political historians (see, e.g., Charles Tilly, 1990) holds that state capacity evolved historically over centuries in response to the exigencies of war. War placed a premium on sources of taxation and created incentives for governments to invest in revenue raising institutions" Also, it is a classical thesis in sociology and political science that an increase in external threat increases internal solidarity and state capacity (e.g. Coser (1964), Andrew (1975)). Thus, while an increase in political violence weakens state capacity and hence increases corruption, a grand scale of political violence that leads to large scale wars may in fact strengthens state capacity and hence decreases corruption.

Clearly, a civil war almost always brings disaster to the society (e.g. Easterly and Levine

(1997)), and we are definitely not claiming that an increase in internal wars will be beneficial to the country. However, it often does increase state capacity, for example, due to the increased centralization of power in response to the mounting military pressure. Consequently, in the single aspect of corruption, it may have the effect of reducing corruption by the logic of Shleifer and Vishny (1993). In other words, this empirical findings provides additional support for the insight of Shleifer and Vishny (1993) from an unusual angle.

Finally, we provide a number of robustness checks, including considering endogeneity and conducting instrumental variable (IV) estimations. In a series of papers, as described earlier, Besley and Persson note that political violence is often caused by exogenous and historical events, which suggests that endogeneity is not a serious problem in the current empirical study. To further mitigate this problem, we follow the literature in constructing ethnic fractionalization, the absolute value of a country's latitude, and the length of time it has been independent to predict cross-country variation as the instrumental variables. We obtain consistent empirical findings as reported above. The remaining of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the data and the empirical methodology and results described in Section 3. Section 4 discusses robustness checks and Section 5 concludes.

2. Data and Variables

2.1 The Sample

The dataset used in this study is compiled from two main sources: (1) the World Business Environment Survey (WBES) on firm-level corruption data; and (2) the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World published by Brookings Institution. The WBES survey is conducted in 2006-2009 by a team from the World Bank. Over 20,000 firms from over 80 countries answered a standard questionnaire, which covers a series of questions regarding firm ownership, regulation, institution environment and corporate corruption, etc. After we match the WBES dataset with the Index of State Weakness, we have a fairly large sample of over 13,000 firms from 62 countries

in the analysis. In addition to these two datasets, we also include the World Development Indicator (WDI, 2004) published by the World Bank and the World Governance Indicator (WGI, 2006) compiled by Kaufmann, Kraay and Massimo in our robustness checks to control more macroeconomic and institutional factors that could also affect the corporate corruption within a country.

Recently there are a number of organizations that have attempted to quantitatively rank and assess weak countries according to country level of performance (e.g. see the survey by Rice and Patrick (2008)). For the purpose of this paper, the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World most recently collected by Rice and Patrick (2008) are most suitable. First, this dataset has a wide coverage of virtually all developing countries (141 in total). Note that the theoretical argument for the correlation between state weakness and corruption by Shleifer and Vishny (1993) appears to have empirical relevance in developing countries only. Thus, Rice and Patrick (2008) provide us with the largest dataset available. Second and more importantly, The dataset of Rice and Patrick (2008) consists a category of index that are based on the assessment of a state's "security", which as explained in the introduction are largely determined by historical and exogenous reasons. Thus, the potential problem of double causality between the measure of corruption and the measure of state weakness/strength is a relatively less serious problem by using this "security index".

Specifically, as will be described in detail in Section 2.3, there are five security indicators measuring the occurrence and intensity of violent conflicts, political instability, human rights abuses and political violence ranging from civil war.

2.2 Measures of Corruption

The corporate corruption measure is the dependent variable in our analysis. We construct two different measures of corruption using data from WBES. The first measure is the amount of unofficial payment as a percentage of total sales (*Bribe Amount*) to government officials. The second measure is the incidence of unofficial payment with a dummy variable taking value of 1 if a firm claims it needs to pay unofficial payment to public officials and 0 otherwise. Overall, 31% of the firms in the sample report that they need to pay informal payments or gifts to public officials to get things done. The average size of the unofficial payment is about 2.37% of total sales. For firms reporting positive graft, the average size of the unofficial payment is about 7.67% of the total revenue sales. Table 1 presents incidence and magnitude of bribe payments across different countries in the sample. The pervasiveness of bribery payments also vary significantly across countries. For example, in Croatia, Madagascar and Tajikistan, firms report that on average over 10% of their revenue sales will have to be used for unofficial payments to get things done. In contrast, in Cape Verde and Nepal, the average firm that makes such unofficial payments is less than 0.5% of their annual sales. In addition, in Peru, Uganda, Turkey and Uruguay, less than 1% of firms reported that they actually need to make the unofficial payment, however, in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Mongolia, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan, all the interviewed firms claim that the informal payment is necessary to get things done.

[Insert Table 1 Here]

One advantage of the corruption measurement in our study is that it is based on a survey question, “We’ve heard that establishments are sometimes required to make gifts or informal payments to public officials to ‘get things done’ with regard to customs, taxes, licenses,

regulations, services etc. On average, what percent of total annual sales, or estimated total annual value, do establishments like this one pay in informal payments or gifts to public officials for this purpose?" To encourage responses to this question, the WBES uses "establishments like this" rather than "your firm" to solicit honest answers. Furthermore, the interviewers have also assured the respondents that they will not distribute the information back to the company.

2.3 Measures of State Weakness

The key explanatory variables in our study are measures of **security** basket of state weakness. These five indicators are Territory Affected by Conflict, Conflict Intensity, Political Stability and the Absence of Conflict, Incidence of Coups and Gross Human Rights Abuses. They are standardized with scores ranging from 0.0 (worst) to 10.0 (best).

The following table, which is taken from Rice and Patrick (2008), provides an explanation about how these variables are measured.

Indicator	Description
Conflict Intensity	This variable measures the destructive magnitude of the violent episode during the period 1993-2007. It is based on such factors as interactive intensity (means and goals), area and scope of death and destruction, population displacement, and episode duration, which aims to be an indicator of all forms of major armed conflicts in a country.
Incidence of Coups	This indicator was obtained by tracking the "entry" and "exit" of political leaders for the period 1992-2006. A coup is defined as that a new leader assumed power through "regular means," "irregular means," or "was imposed by another state," and the incumbent leader was removed by domestic rebel

	forces, or by domestic military actors, or by other domestic government actors. But this indicator does not include cases where the leader was removed by foreign force or where the leader was removed through assassination.
Political Stability & Absence of Violence	Political Stability and Absence of Violence measures the “perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism.” This indicator draws on data from 12 different sources.
Territory Affected by Conflict	
Gross Human Rights Abuses	

The first measurement of the security indicator is the *Territory Affected by Conflicts (v3)*. It measures a state’s ability of maintaining peace and security across the entire territory when the state is affected by fighting in revolutionary wars or ethnic wars. The indicator ranges from 0.0 (worst) to 10.0 (best). Higher score indicates the state’s more monopoly power on the use of armed force across the entirety of the territory when the central government is threatened by the overthrown or replacement of its leaders.

The second measurement of the security indicator is *Conflict Intensity (v1)*. This indicator measures the presence of intense violent conflict. This indicator ranges from 0.0 (worst) to 10.0 (best). Higher score reflects the state’s more ability to provide physical and human security to

maintain peace within its borders. The difference of *Conflict Intensity* from *Intensity Affected by Conflict* is that the latter measures more intensified conflicts and contradictions between central government and the politically organized groups, national, ethnic, religious or other communal minorities, which are characterized by revolutionary wars or ethnic wars. Such intensified conflicts not only threaten the existence of the central government, but also threaten the safety of the entire human being within the country.

We hypothesize that the more small conflicts the state involves, the more corporate corruption the state may suffer. However, when the state experiences conflicts are so severe which could threaten the territory security, this state tends to have more central power to repel outside threats and also control corporate corruption.

The third measurement of the security indicator is *Incidence of Coops (v4)*. This variable measures how political leaders assume and lose powers. For example, it includes incidents whether the leader lost power by domestic rebel forces, domestic military actors, or by other domestic government actors. It also captures whether the leader assume power through regular, irregular means or was imposed by another state.

The fourth measurement of the security indicator is *Political Stability & Absence of Violence (v5)*. This indicator measures the “perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism.”²

The last measurement of the security indicator is *Gross Human Rights Abuses (v2)*. This indicator is defined based on the definition of “Level 4” and “Level 5” on the Political Terror Scales. “Level 4” is defined as “civil and political rights violations have expanded to large

² Source: World Bank, Governance Matters VI, 2007. Available at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=999979

numbers of the population. Murders, disappearances, and torture are a common part of life. In spite of its generality, on this level terror affects those who interest themselves in politics or ideas.” “Level 5” is defined as the “terror has expanded to the whole population. The leaders of these societies place no limits on the means or thoroughness with which they pursue personal or ideological goals.”³

2.4 Firm Characteristics and Other Macro Controls

In our regressions, we include dummy variables to identify firm industry classification. The variable *Manufacturing* equals 1 if the firm belongs to manufacturing industry, 0 otherwise. The excluded category consists of firms in the service industry. We also include dummy variables for firm ownership. The variable *Government* equals 1 if any government or state body has a financial stake in the ownership of the firm, and 0 otherwise. *Foreign* ownership equals 1 if a foreign company or individual has a financial stake in the ownership of the firm, and 0 otherwise. The excluded category is *Domestic Private*, which consists of firms that are owned by domestic private businesses or individuals. We also control for the firm size, which equals the natural logarithm of firm annual sales. Finally, we control for whether the enterprise is an exporter (*Exporter* equals 1 if firm exports, and 0 otherwise).

Previous literature has found that certain aspects of country characteristics are significantly related to perceived corporate corruption (Ades and Di Tella, 1999; Fan, Lin and Treisman, 2009; La Porta et al., 1999; Svensson, 2005; Treisman, 2000). Following previous practice, we include the natural logarithm of a country’s GDP per capita (*GDP per capita*) and imports of goods and services as a share of GDP (*Openness*) as country level control variables. In our robustness checks, we also control for democracy of the country from 1950 to 2000

³ The definition is from www.politicalterroryscale.org. The data source is compiled from Mark Gibney, University of North Carolina at Asheville, Political Terror Scale, 2007. Also available at <http://www.politicalterroryscale.org>.

(*Democracy*), status as a British colony (*LegalOrigin_UK*), and proportion of protestants in the population (*Protestant*). In addition, we also include a proxy variable for court fairness (*Court Fairness*) to measure the institution environment of a court in resolving business disputes. This indicator ranges from 1 to 4, a higher values indicates more court fairness. Furthermore, Torgler and Schneider (2007) find that institutional quality such as regulation quality, government effectiveness, voice and accountability, and rule of law tend to reduce the shape of the shadow economy. We therefore further include the World Governance Index (Kaufmann et al., 2006) to capture more macro country level institutional environment. The World Governance Indices (WGI) are constructed from 276 individual indicators taken from 31 different resources and produced by 25 different organizations. These indices measure six different dimensions of governance, which are Government Effectiveness, Absence of Violence, Regulation Quality, Rule of Law, Control of Corruption and Political Stability.⁴

[Insert Table 2 Here]

The detailed data sources and summary statistics of key variables are presented in Table 2. The correlation matrix for the key dependent variable (*Bribe Amount*) and the five security indicators are presented in Table 3. The variable *Security* takes the average value of the five indicators. As shown in Table 3, all the security basket variables are negatively correlated with the unofficial payments except the *Territory Affected by Conflicts* indicator. This correlation matrix suggests that the worse of *Conflict Intensity*, *Gross Human Rights Abuses*, *Incidence of Coops* and *Political Stability & Absence of Violence*, the more perceived corporate corruption. However, the worse status of *Territory Affected by Conflicts*, the less perceived corporate corruption within the state.

[Insert Table 3 Here]

⁴ The detailed explanation for these six indicators can be found in Kaufmann et al., 2006.

3. Empirical Results

To explore the impact of state security on corporate corruption, we assume a firm's latent responses can be represented as follows:

$$DEPVAR_{i,j} = \alpha + \beta' Security\ Measures_j + \alpha_1 Manuf\ acturing_{i,j} + \alpha_3 Government_{i,j} + \alpha_4 Foreign_{i,j} + \alpha_5 FirmSize_{i,j} + \alpha_6 Exporter_{i,j} + \theta' Country\ Controls_j + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

Where $DEPVAR_{i,j}$ is $\{Bribe\ Amount_{i,j}, Bribe_{i,j}\}$, where $Bribe\ Amount_{i,j}$ is the percentage of total annual sales and $Bribe_{i,j}$ is a binary variable equals to 1 if there the firm reports the unofficial payment and 0 otherwise. The i and j subscripts indicate firm and country, respectively. In the basic model, we use $Bribe\ Amount_{i,j}$ as our dependent variable. We first use OLS to estimate the regression coefficients. Since the $Bribe\ Amount_{i,j}$ is polychotomous variable with a nature order that ranges from 0 to 100. We therefore also use the tobit estimation. In both of the two models, we use the standard maximum likelihood estimation with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors and cluster the standard errors by country. Specifically, the clustering allows the errors to be correlated across firms within the same country while still requiring them to be independent across countries.

We use stepwise regression that just includes *Territory Affected by Conflicts* as the key explanatory variable. We then run regressions by including other explanatory variables one by one associated with particular arguments discussed in Section 3. In all of these, we control for firm characteristics and country level variables. Finally, we show a model that combines all the variables using principal component methodology into the aggregate regression. More specifically, we choose four security indicators except for *Territory Affected by Conflicts* to calculate one principal component. *Territory Affected by Conflicts* was excluded because this variable is expected to affect perceived corruption in an opposite way. We present the OLS

regression results in Table 4 and tobit regression results in Table 5. Note that the number of observations falls slightly in the last two regressions for *Bribe Amount_{i,j}* because of the missing measurement for *Gross Human Rights Abuses* in Mauritius.

[Insert Table 4 Here]

Bearing in mind that the coefficients in the tobit model do not measure the marginal effects of a one-unit change in the explanatory variables on the dependent variable, although the signs and statistical significance of the coefficient can be interpreted in the same way as in linear regressions. To give a sense of the magnitude of the estimated effects, we compute the marginal impact of state security (from worst to best) in Table 5. Compared with the marginal effects shown in Table 4, those in the tobit model appear a much larger impact for almost all the explanatory variables.

[Insert Table 5 Here]

The most important finding concerns the impact of *Territory Affected by Conflicts* on corporate corruption. Among firms in this survey, those located in countries with more conflicts that suffers territory security report that they pay less bribery money than those in countries with less territory security concerns. The coefficient for *Territory Affected by Conflicts* is positive significant in almost all regressions. The magnitude of the impact is quite large. For example, a decrease of the score by one (more conflicts) decreases the amount of unofficial payments relative to sales (less corruption) by about 4 percentage points. This effect is substantial given that the average annual sales of the firms are over \$600 million dollars.

Consistent with our expectations, the coefficients for *Conflict Intensity*, *Incidence of Coops* and *Political Stability & Absence of Violence* are negative and statistically significant, which indicates that more intensified small conflicts, more incidence of coops, less political

stability and more presence of violence can increase the likelihood of bribery payment. This finding confirms the view that corporate corruption is less pervasive in a society in which business disputes are fairly settled in politically stronger states. The sign for *Gross Human Rights Abuses* is negative but not statistically significant, indicating that human rights abuses are less relevant in corporate corruption control.

The firm and country control variables also yield some interesting results. In all specifications, manufacturing firms pay less bribery money than firms in the service industry. Firms in countries with higher GDP per capita report less exposure to bribes. The other controls do not enter the models significantly.

4. Robustness Tests

4.1. Interaction Effects

We further look at the interaction effects between security indicator and more corrupted country dummies. We first calculate the average of the bribery amount in each country, and then we calculate the average of the average bribery amount for all the countries. We define a country is more corrupted (*Corrupt=1*) if its reported average bribery amount is larger than the whole country average. The results in column 1 Table 6 suggest that *Territory Affected by Conflicts* can reduce corruption more significantly in less corrupted countries. Furthermore, in column 2 Table 6, we explore the interaction effects between the rest of the security indicators by using principal component methodology and corrupted country dummies. The results suggest that more intensified small conflicts, more incidence of coops, less political stability and more presence of violence can increase the likelihood of bribery payment more if the country itself is more corrupted.

We also look at the interaction effects between security indicator and less open economies. More specifically, we use *Territory Affected by Conflicts* interacted with dummy variable indicating countries that are less open to trade. The negative and statistically significant coefficient suggests that the effect of *Territory Affected by Conflicts* in reducing corporate corruption is more pronounced in countries that are more open to trade.

[Insert Table 6 Here]

4.2. More Micro Control Variables

We further check the robustness of the findings by including more macro control variables. We first include the *Court_Fairness*. This variable takes the value of 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (tend to disagree), 3(tend to agree) and to 4 (strongly agree) from the survey question to the firm, “The court system is fair, impartial and uncorrupted?” Therefore, higher value of *Court_Fairness* indicates a more fair and uncorrupted court system. The negative and statistically significant coefficient as shown in Table 7 suggests that a fair court system has a positive impact on corruption reduction. Consistent with Treisman (2000) report, we also find that protestant religion is significantly linked to lower perceived corruption.

[Insert Table 7 Here]

We also include a series of institutional environment macroeconomic controls in our regressions. Including these variables do not change the signs of our important explanatory variables, although *Political Stability & Absence of Violence* becomes statistically insignificant.

4.3. Incidence of Unofficial Payments

For further robustness check, we produce a comparatively balanced sample of responses for the unofficial payment to the government officials and employ a probit estimator. More specifically, we designate the firm *Bribe_{i,j}* variable as equal to zero if the firm claims zero unofficial

payment amount and give $Bribe_{i,j}$ variable a one for all other responses. The results for probit estimation are shown in Table 8. Again, all our important explanatory variables stay at the same sign which reinforce our earlier argument.

[Insert Table 8 Here]

4.4 Endogeneity and Instrumental Variable (IV) Estimation

Because this paper employs firm level responses on bribery amount, it is less likely to be subject to the endogeneity issue than in a pure cross-country study, since it is unlikely that an individual firm's views about corruption will influence a country's security issues. Nonetheless, there may be a feedback effect from the private sector to government regulations that a high level of corporate corruption may induce political conflicts and violence. We use instrumental variable and maximum likelihood estimation to address this issue. Table 9 shows the instrumental variable Tobit analysis. We choose instrumental variables based on the theory and empirical work in Barth et al. (2004, 2006), and also used by Beck et al. (2006). In particular, we use ethnic fractionalization, the absolute value of a country's latitude, and the length of time it has been independent to predict cross-country variation in conflict intensity ($v1$), incidence of coups ($v4$) and political stability and absence of violence ($v5$). We also use these three variables to predict the principal component we construct in Section 3. Note that these three instrumental variables are used when studying the country differences in determining bank supervisory and regulatory policies. It is reasonable to use them for the security basket measurement because of the following reasons: (1) As Beck et al. (2006) have argued that European's tendency of extracting natural resources generates more powerful administrative structures which reinforce country security. Since Europeans usually do not settle in tropical climates, more temperate climates are usually associated with more European settlers and more egalitarian policies. Thus

we include the absolute value of a country's latitude; (2) Including ethnic fractionalization is necessary because there is evidence that more ethnically diverse economies tend to choose policies to expropriate resources from each other and generate more state's conflicts and violence; and (3) The basic idea to include the length of independence years is that countries that are independent earlier are less likely to have security threats. These three instruments are not necessarily the best exogenous explanations of the territory security basket. However, these variables are reasonably exogenous, and previous theoretical work has suggested that these instruments can partially explain the country policy today.

Be more specific, in Table 9 column 1-3, we use the Tobit model with IV to instrument for variation in conflict intensity (*v1*), incidence of coops (*v4*) and political stability and absence of violence (*v5*). In these three regressions, we control for firm level characteristics and country level GDP per capita and openness. In column 4-5, we further confirm the regressions by using the Tobit model with IV to instrument for the principal component (*p1*) we constructed earlier based on all the four security indicators except for the territory affected by conflict (*v3*). Note in column 5, we particularly include the country level control of democracy, legal origin, protestant and court fairness. In sum, even when we use instrument variables, and change model specifications, the results are still consistent with our previous findings.

[Insert Table 9 Here]

5. Conclusion

Former United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan declares that “if states are fragile, the peoples of the world will not enjoy the security, development, and justice that are their right.”⁵

⁵ In 2005 report *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security, and Human Rights for All*.

We use a newly collected index to measure the state weakness. In particular, we use five security indicators that measure occurrence and intensity of violent conflicts, political instability, human rights abuses and political violence ranging from civil war to gross human rights violations. These indicators focus not only on the present, but also capture recent historical trends of state responsibility. But using these indicators, we directly test the argument made by Shleifer and Vishny (1993) that a weak state, defined as the state in which the ruler does not control government officials effectively, experiences a high level of corruption. We find that a greater conflict intensity, more political instability, and incidence of coups increase corruption. Even more gross human rights abuses tend to increase corruption, too. However, empirical results also suggest that more “portion of a country affected by fighting in ethnic and revolutionary wars” reduces corruption. Although this finding seems surprising, it reflects a classical thesis in the sociological literature that external threat increases internal solidarity, which in turn increases the strength of the state particularly in response to ethnic wars.

Table 1. Perceived Unofficial Payment Amount, Incidence of Bribery and the Security Basket

country	Average % Bribery Amount to Sales	% of Firms that Report Bribery	Security Basket	Conflict Intensity (v1)	Gross Human Rights Abuses (v2)	Territory Affected by Conflict (v3)	Incidence of Coups (v4)	Political Stability Absence of Violence (v5)
Albania	3.75	42.50	8.30	9.88	6.21	9.50	10.00	5.92
Angola	3.19	40.33	6.14	5.09	3.52	6.49	10.00	5.59
Argentina	1.40	18.99	8.80	10.00	7.28	10.00	10.00	6.71
Armenia	4.93	100.00	8.54	9.80	6.85	10.00	10.00	6.07
Azerbaijan	6.57	100.00	7.57	9.33	6.23	8.87	9.12	4.29
Belarus	4.17	100.00	8.55	10.00	5.59	10.00	10.00	7.15
Bolivia	2.54	29.28	8.16	10.00	6.18	10.00	10.00	4.61
Bosnia-Herzegovina	5.12	100.00	8.24	9.33	7.46	8.85	10.00	5.56
Botswana	1.30	19.69	9.42	10.00	7.46	10.00	10.00	9.63
Brazil	6.40	100.00	7.79	10.00	2.37	10.00	10.00	6.57
Bulgaria	4.64	100.00	8.85	10.00	6.82	10.00	10.00	7.45
Burkina Faso	7.20	86.36	8.60	10.00	6.66	10.00	10.00	6.34
Burundi	4.60	55.04	4.17	4.84	1.47	3.23	7.69	3.64
Cameroon	5.26	75.28	7.97	10.00	3.61	10.00	10.00	6.25
Cape Verde	0.27	8.16	9.58	10.00	9.06	10.00	10.00	8.84
Chile	0.51	5.82	9.53	10.00	8.88	10.00	10.00	8.76
Colombia	1.69	15.11	3.21	2.58	0.46	0.00	10.00	3.02
Croatia	10.91	100.00	8.73	9.67	7.46	8.66	10.00	7.85
Dominican Republic	5.62	80.08	8.50	10.00	5.34	10.00	10.00	7.17
Ecuador	1.41	14.13	7.91	9.96	4.91	10.00	10.00	4.67
El Salvador	1.66	18.24	8.46	10.00	5.99	9.69	10.00	6.60
Gambia	4.68	50.37	8.59	10.00	6.77	10.00	8.97	7.19
Georgia	5.33	100.00	7.65	9.87	4.91	9.42	9.25	4.78
Ghana	2.00	29.72	8.71	9.96	6.30	10.00	10.00	7.31
Guatemala	1.72	10.36	7.24	9.19	4.18	8.83	9.12	4.86
Guinea	5.70	82.01	7.88	9.79	6.82	10.00	10.00	2.78
Guinea-Bissau	3.57	53.92	6.66	9.69	6.30	8.72	3.21	5.40
Honduras	1.90	19.12	8.08	10.00	4.70	10.00	10.00	5.70
Hungary	7.73	100.00	9.19	10.00	7.46	10.00	10.00	8.47
Kazakhstan	6.27	100.00	8.62	10.00	6.21	10.00	10.00	6.91
Kyrgyzstan	6.55	100.00	7.96	10.00	5.84	10.00	10.00	3.98
Latvia	8.75	100.00	9.55	10.00	9.07	10.00	10.00	8.66
Lithuania	4.00	100.00	9.70	10.00	9.66	10.00	10.00	8.84
Madagascar	10.36	96.43	8.06	10.00	7.10	10.00	6.21	7.01
Malawi	2.32	33.64	8.44	10.00	5.37	10.00	10.00	6.82
Mauritania	4.61	80.10	7.01	10.00	5.12	10.00	3.83	6.10
Mauritius	8.50	100.00	7.78	10.00	--	10.00	10.00	8.90
Mexico	0.88	9.41	8.04	9.81	4.57	10.00	10.00	5.83
Moldova	3.76	100.00	8.29	9.78	6.11	9.89	10.00	5.65
Mongolia	5.09	100.00	8.99	10.00	6.36	10.00	10.00	8.58
Mozambique	1.63	13.39	8.64	10.00	5.30	9.90	10.00	7.98
Namibia	0.83	11.55	9.12	10.00	6.89	10.00	10.00	8.71
Nepal	0.46	6.51	4.16	7.12	1.01	1.17	10.00	1.52
Nicaragua	2.49	21.03	8.46	10.00	6.56	10.00	10.00	5.75
Panama	3.19	24.62	9.21	10.00	9.08	10.00	10.00	6.99
Paraguay	8.87	63.45	8.35	10.00	6.09	10.00	10.00	5.66
Peru	0.36	0.07	7.73	9.33	5.63	9.00	10.00	4.67
Poland	2.43	100.00	9.16	10.00	8.51	10.00	10.00	7.29
Romania	3.96	100.00	8.69	10.00	6.39	10.00	10.00	7.06
Russia	6.19	98.52	5.74	4.45	2.37	6.80	10.00	5.06

Rwanda	2.78	19.71	7.21	8.86	4.73	7.94	8.97	5.53
Senegal	1.57	22.47	8.31	9.62	6.63	9.16	10.00	6.16
Serbia	5.45	100.00	7.85	9.39	5.97	8.71	10.00	5.18
Slovak Republic	4.29	64.29	9.44	10.00	8.46	10.00	10.00	8.75
South Africa	0.62	9.33	8.12	9.51	4.91	9.56	10.00	6.62
Swaziland	1.26	40.21	8.58	10.00	6.48	10.00	10.00	6.44
Tajikistan	10.39	100.00	7.01	9.12	5.55	8.15	8.51	3.74
Turkey	0.90	0.15	6.56	7.90	4.10	7.21	8.32	5.25
Uganda	3.80	0.48	5.78	6.29	2.07	6.50	10.00	4.03
Ukraine	5.45	100.00	8.27	10.00	5.20	10.00	10.00	6.14
Uruguay	0.55	0.05	9.53	10.00	9.18	10.00	10.00	8.48
Uzbekistan	4.32	100.00	7.24	10.00	3.94	10.00	10.00	2.26

Table 2. Variables, Sources and Summary Statistics

Variable	Source	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variable</i>						
Bribe Amount	WBES	13299	2.3729	6.6934	0	100
Bribe	WBES	13299	0.3093	0.4622	0	1
<i>Key Explanatory Variable</i>						
Security Basket	Calculation	13299	7.2247	1.9188	1.78	9.67
Conflict Intensity (v1)	Rice and Patrick (2008)	13299	8.9561	2.0126	2.58	10
Gross Human Rights Abuses (v2)	Rice and Patrick (2008)	13293	5.2792	2.1543	0.46	9.66
Territory Affected by Conflict (v3)	Rice and Patrick (2008)	13299	8.6544	2.6842	0	10
Incidence of Coups (v4)	Rice and Patrick (2008)	13299	9.7101	1.0454	3.21	10
Political Stability & Absence of Violence (v5)	Rice and Patrick (2008)	13299	5.9389	1.7497	1.52	9.63
<i>Firm Level Control Variable</i>						
Manufacturing	WBES	13299	0.5634	0.4960	0	1
Service	WBES	13299	0.2341	0.4234	0	1
Firm Size	WBES	13299	12.2142	3.6917	0.05	29.23
Exporter	WBES	13299	0.1986	0.3990	0	1
Private Domestic	WBES	13299	0.8815	0.3052	0	1
Foreign	WBES	13299	0.1072	0.2923	0	1
Government	WBES	13299	0.0048	0.0592	0	1
<i>Country Level Control Variable</i>						
GDP per capita	WDI 2006 (World Bank)	13299	3501.0190	2856.2220	120.84	11220.49
Openness	WDI 2007 (World Bank)	13299	39.9585	16.9371	11.46	91.79
Court Fairness	WBES	12848	2.1480	0.9994	1	4
Democracy	Treisman (2000), Przeworski et al. (2000) Treisman (2000), with additional information from various sources	13184	3.2012	2.9191	0	10
Legalorigin_uk	sources	13250	0.2709	0.4444	0	1
Protestant	Barro and McCleary (2005)	13240	9.1917	14.1387	0	64.2

Table 3. Correlation Matrix

	Bribe Amount	Security	Conflict Intensity (v1)	Gross Human Rights Abuses (v2)	Territory Affected by Conflict (v3)	Incidence of Coups (v4)
Security	-0.0321*	1				
Conflict Intensity (v1)	-0.0186*	0.9113*	1			
Gross Human Rights Abuses (v2)	-0.0294*	0.9085*	0.7796*	1		
Territory Affected by Conflict (v3)	0.0083	0.9392*	0.9230*	0.7858*	1	
Incidence of Coups (v4)	-0.0777*	0.1940*	0.0261*	0.0631*	0.0500*	1
Political Stability & Absence of Violence (v5)	-0.0534*	0.8070*	0.5860*	0.7470*	0.6623*	0.0855*

Table 4. OLS Regressions on the Unofficial Payments

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Territory Affected by Conflict	0.0380 [0.0787]	0.5832*** [0.1151]	0.5826*** [0.1128]	0.7026*** [0.1129]	0.7032*** [0.1129]	0.4092** [0.1605]
Conflict Intensity		-0.7827*** [0.1713]	-0.7808*** [0.1667]	-0.7989*** [0.1524]	-0.8111*** [0.2009]	
Incidence of Coups			-0.2856* [0.1457]	-0.2965** [0.1410]	-0.2977** [0.1408]	
Political Stability & Absence of Violence				-0.2904** [0.1325]	-0.3061 [0.1839]	
Gross Human Rights Abuses					0.0248 [0.2315]	
p1						-0.7846*** [0.2749]
firmsize	0.0064 [0.0569]	0.0032 [0.0569]	0.0118 [0.0534]	0.0235 [0.0483]	0.0234 [0.0502]	0.0279 [0.0551]
manufacturing	-0.3044* [0.1667]	-0.3590** [0.1616]	-0.3174* [0.1654]	-0.3135* [0.1643]	-0.3050* [0.1698]	-0.3606** [0.1678]
exporter	-0.1988 [0.2020]	-0.0937 [0.2021]	-0.1222 [0.2054]	-0.1736 [0.2232]	-0.1844 [0.2054]	-0.1870 [0.2241]
foreign	-0.2063 [0.2804]	-0.2803 [0.2791]	-0.2731 [0.2708]	-0.1847 [0.2695]	-0.1744 [0.2740]	-0.1594 [0.2747]
government	1.2244 [1.0837]	1.1138 [1.0720]	1.0833 [1.0698]	0.7903 [0.9987]	0.7916 [0.9985]	0.7998 [1.0290]
gdp_per_capita	-0.5339*** [0.1915]	-0.6141*** [0.1705]	-0.5467*** [0.1701]	-0.4340*** [0.1605]	-0.4391** [0.1668]	-0.3911* [0.2023]
openness	0.0187 [0.0144]	0.0211 [0.0143]	0.0200 [0.0142]	0.0232 [0.0148]	0.0226 [0.0142]	0.0255* [0.0150]
Constant	5.5267*** [1.7995]	8.3917*** [1.5915]	10.5599*** [1.8420]	10.3806*** [1.8371]	10.5160*** [2.2939]	0.7133 [2.7511]
Observations	13299	13299	13299	13299	13293	13293
R-squared	0.0154	0.0233	0.0251	0.0279	0.0280	0.0220

Robust standard errors in brackets

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5. Tobit Regressions on the Unofficial Payments

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Territory Affected by Conflict	0.3595 [0.3835]	3.2552*** [0.6406]	3.3449*** [0.6279]	3.9025*** [0.5941]	3.9694*** [0.5880]	2.6883*** [0.7156]
Conflict Intensity		-3.9540*** [0.9725]	-4.0534*** [0.9486]	-4.0582*** [0.8394]	-3.7419*** [1.0796]	
Incidence of Coups			-1.1221** [0.4472]	-1.2168*** [0.3888]	-1.2027*** [0.4022]	
Political Stability & Absence of Violence				-1.6449** [0.6719]	-1.4183* [0.8263]	
Gross Human Rights Abuses					-0.6671 [1.0870]	
p1						-4.9602*** [1.3370]
firmsize	0.1948 [0.2951]	0.1640 [0.2942]	0.1969 [0.2719]	0.2611 [0.2247]	0.2753 [0.2362]	0.2935 [0.2529]
manufacturing	-1.4918** [0.6844]	-1.7486*** [0.6593]	-1.5425** [0.6633]	-1.4399** [0.6521]	-1.5710** [0.6387]	-1.7324*** [0.6546]
exporter	-0.7386 [0.8905]	-0.1449 [0.9006]	-0.2123 [0.8962]	-0.4920 [0.9540]	-0.4224 [0.8658]	-0.6100 [0.9644]
foreign	-1.2892 [1.1955]	-1.5956 [1.1913]	-1.5819 [1.1468]	-1.1096 [1.0512]	-1.1596 [1.0464]	-0.9727 [1.0667]
government	4.1245 [3.4573]	3.9373 [3.4366]	3.9280 [3.5560]	1.7321 [2.4443]	1.6293 [2.4948]	1.0293 [2.4091]
gdp_per_capita	-2.4868*** [0.8817]	-2.8093*** [0.7926]	-2.4825*** [0.8330]	-1.7956** [0.7693]	-1.7333** [0.8597]	-1.5890* [0.9126]
openness	0.0788 [0.0597]	0.0964 [0.0596]	0.0907 [0.0595]	0.1113* [0.0599]	0.1201** [0.0531]	0.1323** [0.0564]
Constant	2.7319 [7.8126]	15.0981** [7.1709]	23.3081*** [6.6732]	22.2387*** [6.4237]	19.8715** [9.1184]	-27.8465** [12.4130]
Sigma	14.8668*** [0.9910]	14.7196*** [0.9932]	14.6938*** [0.9922]	14.6418*** [0.9842]	14.6483*** [0.9878]	14.7334*** [0.9974]
Observations	13299	13299	13299	13299	13293	13293

Robust standard errors in brackets

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6. Interaction Effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Territory Affected by Conflict	0.5950	0.7135	3.7975***	3.7943***
	[0.5931]	[0.5304]	[0.7786]	[0.7772]
p1	-1.8306	0.0115	-5.8703***	-5.8953***
	[1.1522]	[1.1693]	[1.4137]	[1.6394]
Territory Affected by Conflict *corrupt	1.3736***	1.5182***		
	[0.2500]	[0.2274]		
p1*corrupt		-2.8377***		
		[0.9214]		
Territory Affected by Conflict *less_open			-1.0232***	-1.0250***
			[0.3370]	[0.3420]
p1*less_open				0.0455
				[1.1839]
firmsize	-0.2290	-0.2898*	0.2931	0.2931
	[0.1846]	[0.1505]	[0.2335]	[0.2330]
manufacturing	-1.2919**	-1.2693**	-1.8526***	-1.8518***
	[0.5448]	[0.5155]	[0.6494]	[0.6472]
exporter	-0.2182	0.0588	-0.4578	-0.4555
	[0.6818]	[0.6680]	[0.8742]	[0.8821]
foreign	0.3007	0.0807	-0.7441	-0.7469
	[0.8301]	[0.8329]	[1.0195]	[1.0137]
government	1.6781	1.0904	2.3002	2.3072
	[2.3666]	[2.3259]	[2.5566]	[2.5184]
gdp_per_capita	-0.1633	-0.0949	-0.7645	-0.7611
	[0.6898]	[0.6297]	[0.8569]	[0.8687]
openness	0.0126	0.0291	-0.0506	-0.0507
	[0.0630]	[0.0611]	[0.0766]	[0.0765]
Sigma	14.2266***	14.1868***	14.5881***	14.5879***
	[0.9752]	[0.9759]	[1.0124]	[1.0127]
Constant	-15.7262*	-18.6392**	-32.2848***	-32.2650***
	[9.4790]	[8.7809]	[12.2557]	[12.2058]
Observations	13293	13293	13293	13293

Robust standard errors in brackets

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7. Tobit Regressions on Unofficial Payments with More Macro Controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Territory Affected by Conflict	3.8503*** [0.6221]	4.2635*** [0.7452]	4.4617*** [0.8237]	4.6494*** [0.7125]	3.6925*** [0.6669]	3.4157*** [0.7163]	3.1946*** [0.6801]	3.4278*** [0.7579]
Conflict Intensity	-3.7788*** [1.1058]	-4.1834*** [1.1762]	-4.2178*** [1.2500]	-4.4560*** [1.0943]	-3.6791*** [1.0274]	-3.4943*** [1.0676]	-3.1144*** [1.0474]	-3.1380*** [1.0391]
Incidence of Coups	-1.1976*** [0.4376]	-1.2793*** [0.4432]	-0.9416* [0.5251]	-0.9867* [0.5349]	-1.1501** [0.5691]	-1.1041** [0.5628]	-0.8255 [0.5199]	-0.6643 [0.5142]
Political Stability & Absence of Violence	-1.2299 [0.8642]	-1.2412 [0.8756]	-0.8697 [0.9997]	-0.5236 [1.0433]	0.3870 [1.1218]	0.7040 [1.1095]	1.1357 [1.0413]	0.6950 [1.0356]
Gross Human Rights Abuses	-0.5927 [1.0743]	-0.6414 [1.0828]	-1.0950 [1.1404]	-1.1586 [1.1455]	-1.0558 [1.1092]	-0.9265 [1.0829]	-0.7186 [1.1447]	-1.0881 [1.2274]
gdp_per_capita	-1.8752** [0.8658]	-2.2478** [0.9243]	-2.7623** [1.0789]	-2.6928** [1.0483]	-1.5103 [0.9853]	-1.3139 [1.0260]	-1.5504 [1.0467]	-1.2530 [1.1196]
openness	0.1139** [0.0539]	0.1182** [0.0569]	0.1503** [0.0645]	0.1511** [0.0639]	0.1300** [0.0594]	0.1093 [0.0693]	0.0959 [0.0674]	0.1074 [0.0687]
court_fairness	-1.9122*** [0.4642]	-1.9360*** [0.4852]	-1.5927*** [0.3879]	-1.5280*** [0.3895]	-1.4272*** [0.3921]	-1.3612*** [0.4011]	-1.6080*** [0.3831]	-1.6994*** [0.3902]
democracy		0.2823 [0.4057]	0.4737 [0.4212]	0.5286 [0.3976]	0.4968 [0.3385]	0.4806 [0.3354]	0.6504* [0.3667]	0.6183* [0.3512]
legalorigin_uk			-4.4557 [2.7836]	-1.7432 [2.5199]	0.6000 [2.4472]	1.1062 [2.4837]	0.5404 [2.6586]	-0.8828 [2.7945]
protestant				-0.1575** [0.0716]	-0.2110*** [0.0709]	-0.2069*** [0.0693]	-0.2207*** [0.0774]	-0.2035*** [0.0739]
regulatoryquality					-1.8987** [0.8095]	-1.0342 [1.4941]	-0.6647 [1.3324]	-1.2002 [1.4647]
goveffectiveness						-1.1491 [1.5954]	-0.1565 [1.5806]	-1.0172 [1.8012]
voiceofacc							-1.9447** [0.8299]	-1.9527** [0.8366]

ruleoflaw								2.1125 [2.0323]
firmsize	0.3120 [0.2427]	0.3264 [0.2513]	0.4481* [0.2719]	0.4808* [0.2584]	0.5705** [0.2648]	0.5812** [0.2580]	0.6393*** [0.2317]	0.6963*** [0.2356]
manufacturing	-1.6365*** [0.6290]	-1.4038** [0.6391]	-1.3331** [0.5745]	-1.2959** [0.5561]	-0.9857* [0.5167]	-0.9382* [0.5195]	-0.5441 [0.5128]	-0.4702 [0.4942]
exporter	-0.4899 [0.8585]	-0.7298 [0.8344]	-0.9913 [0.8328]	-1.0881 [0.8207]	-1.1369 [0.8195]	-1.0986 [0.7991]	-1.0800 [0.7717]	-1.1669 [0.7412]
foreign	-0.9910 [1.0125]	-1.1218 [1.0165]	-0.9724 [0.9521]	-0.8821 [0.9439]	-1.4330 [0.9429]	-1.5829* [0.9274]	-1.8462* [0.9462]	-1.8897** [0.9493]
government	2.9422 [2.5645]	3.2598 [2.5863]	3.3386 [2.5370]	3.5914 [2.5810]	2.0425 [2.5064]	2.5597 [2.4208]	0.6225 [2.1409]	0.2754 [2.1056]
Sigma	14.4909*** [0.9874]	14.5733*** [1.0031]	14.5205*** [1.0105]	14.5068*** [1.0175]	14.4799*** [1.0128]	14.4742*** [1.0119]	14.4487*** [1.0119]	14.4471*** [1.0108]
Constant	24.7460*** [9.2032]	27.2849*** [9.4151]	23.7289** [10.0682]	22.3321** [10.2400]	21.3514** [9.7809]	19.1836* [10.2664]	17.0356* [10.1478]	11.5499 [11.6327]
Observations	12842	12734	12734	12724	12724	12724	12724	12724

Robust standard errors in brackets

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8. Probit Regressions on Incidence of Unofficial Payment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Territory Affected by Conflict	0.0351 [0.0321]	0.2834*** [0.0725]	0.2961*** [0.0772]	0.3553*** [0.0709]	0.3601*** [0.0694]
Conflict Intensity		-0.3421*** [0.1041]	-0.3556*** [0.1080]	-0.3579*** [0.0938]	-0.3268*** [0.1082]
Incidence of Coups			-0.1316*** [0.0489]	-0.1384*** [0.0425]	-0.1381*** [0.0410]
Political Stability & Absence of Violence				-0.1646** [0.0683]	-0.1403* [0.0826]
Gross Human Rights Abuses					-0.0643 [0.0976]
firmsize	0.0221 [0.0247]	0.0202 [0.0250]	0.0237 [0.0225]	0.0303* [0.0184]	0.0318 [0.0197]
manufacturing	-0.1279** [0.0611]	-0.1515** [0.0599]	-0.1304** [0.0588]	-0.1261** [0.0579]	-0.1407** [0.0558]
exporter	-0.0372 [0.0714]	0.0131 [0.0716]	0.0040 [0.0705]	-0.0238 [0.0763]	-0.0161 [0.0686]
foreign	-0.1210 [0.0978]	-0.1515 [0.0985]	-0.1499 [0.0940]	-0.1096 [0.0831]	-0.1162 [0.0829]
government	0.3590 [0.3932]	0.3329 [0.3952]	0.3252 [0.4128]	0.1543 [0.2938]	0.1456 [0.2949]
gdp_per_capita	-0.2023** [0.0790]	-0.2316*** [0.0725]	-0.1979*** [0.0763]	-0.1376** [0.0655]	-0.1309* [0.0748]
openness	0.0062 [0.0051]	0.0076 [0.0051]	0.0071 [0.0051]	0.0091* [0.0050]	0.0099** [0.0045]
Constant	0.2918 [0.6769]	1.3892** [0.6663]	2.3854*** [0.6424]	2.3105*** [0.5993]	2.0818** [0.8121]
Observations	13299	13299	13299	13299	13293

Robust standard errors in brackets

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 9. IV Estimation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Territory Affected by Conflict	0.9688 [0.8245]	4.1431*** [0.2054]	4.5376*** [0.2770]	3.0214*** [0.2814]	2.6443*** [0.2156]
Conflict Intensity	1.0811 [1.2995]	-3.8730*** [0.2491]	-4.2833*** [0.3009]		
Incidence of Coups	-1.2277*** [0.1459]	-6.8923*** [1.0913]	-1.2776*** [0.1457]		
Political Stability & Absence of Violence	-0.7481*** [0.2145]	-1.5036*** [0.1565]	-3.1970*** [0.7447]	-1.3741*** [0.1631]	-0.5664*** [0.1742]
Gross Human Rights Abuses	-1.7019*** [0.2999]	-0.6439*** [0.1557]	0.1876 [0.3830]	-0.9795*** [0.1696]	-1.4197*** [0.1776]
p1				-6.4239*** [1.1353]	-4.8440*** [0.7879]
firmsize	0.2988*** [0.0493]	0.4440*** [0.0604]	0.2900*** [0.0490]	0.3864*** [0.0527]	0.5151*** [0.0513]
manufacturing	-1.4134*** [0.3453]	-0.6397 [0.3892]	-1.2882*** [0.3505]	-0.9927*** [0.3589]	-0.9854*** [0.3539]
exporter	-0.8237* [0.4603]	-1.0891** [0.4760]	-0.8914* [0.4764]	-0.9920** [0.4507]	-1.4028*** [0.4542]
foreign	-0.9782* [0.5835]	-1.0153* [0.5962]	-0.5942 [0.6213]	-1.0147* [0.5786]	-0.7205 [0.5797]
government	2.2607 [2.5679]	1.0789 [2.6344]	0.3057 [2.5822]	1.2663 [2.5489]	3.1580 [2.5428]
democracy					0.2576*** [0.0738]
legalorigin_uk					-0.2412 [0.7316]
protestant					-0.1424*** [0.0196]
court_fairness					-1.7031*** [0.1765]
gdp_per_capita	-1.2959*** [0.2172]	-0.4131 [0.3178]	-1.3923*** [0.2379]	-0.8859*** [0.2185]	-1.5390*** [0.2180]
openness	0.1157*** [0.0108]	0.0939*** [0.0119]	0.1249*** [0.0111]	0.1011*** [0.0111]	0.1190*** [0.0120]
Constant	0.7189 [5.5128]	63.4967*** [8.3955]	23.3224*** [2.1404]	-23.0784*** [3.8760]	-15.3420*** [3.0119]
Observations	13244	13244	13244	13244	12724

Standard errors in brackets

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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Appendix

Var	Label	Rationale	Indicator Description	Data Coverage
v1	Conflict Intensity	The presence of intense violent conflict is an indication of the state's ability to maintain peace within its borders and provide basic physical and human security		
v2	Gross Human Rights Abuses	Regimes that rely on widespread oppression and terror to maintain power may, among other things, be susceptible to internal discontent and instability.	We define "gross human rights abuses" to include the definitions of "Level 4" and "Level 5" on the Political Terror Scale. "Level 4" is defined as practices of "imprisonment for political activity", "politically-motivated executions", "political murders, disappearances, and torture" that affect a "large portion of the population" and are a "common part of life"; unlimited detention, with or without trial, for political views is also commonplace. "Level 5" is defined as including all the terror characteristics of Level-4 countries and "encompass the entire population"; in addition, "the leaders of these countries place no limits on the means or thoroughness with which they pursue personal or ideological goals." The Political Terror Scale publishes a score based on State Department reports and a second score based on Amnesty International country reports, both score countries from 1 (rare) to 5 (widespread political terror). We average of the two scores to assign a score for this indicator.	
v3	Territory Affected by Conflict	In the absence of an authoritative measure of "ungoverned spaces" across countries, this is the best available indicator for a state's ability to exercise its sovereignty and maintain a monopoly on the use of armed force across the entirety of its territory.	The PITF's "MAGAREA" variable measures the "scaled portion of [a] country affected by fighting" in ethnic and revolutionary wars, ranging in score from 0 (less than one-tenth of the country and no significant cities directly or indirectly affected) to 4 (more than one-half the country directly or indirectly affected). Revolutionary wars are defined as "episodes of violent conflict between governments and politically organized groups (political challengers) that seek to overthrow the central government, to replace its leaders, or to seize power in one region"; ethnic wars are defined as "episodes of violent conflict between governments and national, ethnic, religious, or other communal minorities (ethnic challengers) in which the challengers seek major changes in their status." Both revolutionary and ethnic wars are included in the indicator. If there were multiple entries in a given year, we used the highest score available for each country.	1991-2005

v4	Incidence of Coups	States that have experienced extraconstitutional or violent overthrow are by definition highly unstable, and likely to lack the political mechanisms, characteristic of a strong state, that ensure peaceful transition of power.	1992-2006
v5	Political Stability & Absence of Violence	Widespread perceptions of political instability in a country are considered a good indication of a state's actual stability.	2006

Source: Index of State Weakness in the Developing World, Foreign Policy at Brookings, by Susan E. Rice and Stewart Patrick, 2008.

“Shakespeare” Among Many Englishes¹

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Stuart Hall noted that identity is not about the past but the future, especially in how to negotiate position. Then, Don Mitchell emphasized that identity exists as a nexus, a meeting point, not as an unchanging “thing” rooted to place,... identity itself is radically transformed (2000: 276). Though this notion was firstly addressed to the existence of migrant societies, it eventually becomes the up-dated fact in the at-present globalized world within which “local identity” should adapt to the new paradigm of the kind of world. The way of adapting (to the global identity) is surely characteristic, and its aim is not to “self-suicide and surrender” but to open “the communication” that the global world would not destroy, or even ignore the locality as part of the changing world since it stands still to resist the consequent changes of the “new world”. The communication opens any opportunities for those wishing not to be controlled by the hegemonic global world, which may be under some influential powers, but to take part on controlling the harmonious new world. In other words, the rapid and complex changes of the new world need a great commitment of all countries to build world communication in order to control it not to be destructive.

The urgent question is about how to create “tools” available to provide occasions and opportunities for the new world communication. English is the obvious example. This fact is understood to unite the world that the communication between nations and societies is facilitated because the nature of an individual, represented by a nation or society, can not stand by itself but it needs the others to live with. Otherwise, each would be threatened or threatening, and the world is in danger. If the English language can stand as the global identity, can the English literature do the same?

The English Language as the Global Identity

We may be proud, considering the fact that English now stands as one of the semiotic icons of the new world communication. Though the language was also known as the imperialist, that the postcolonial societies always strive to resist the imperialist hegemony², the interesting phenomenon happens due to the “development” of the language’s diversities. Today many Englishes exist³, such as Singlish, Taglish. Interestingly, some of those having “new English” were under the control of British Empire. Meanwhile, some territories (such as China, Russia, Germany, Spain, Egypt, and Brazil)⁴ apply English as the foreign language taught in schools. Indonesia itself also suggests that English is an important language that should be learned by students, despite the previous fact of colonialism by the Dutch.

¹ Presented in Asian Conference on Arts and Humanities (ACAH) 2010, Osaka, June 18-21, 2010.

² Stephen Slemon wrote, “The foundational principle for this particular approach to the field of postcolonial criticism is at heart a simple binarism: the binarism of Europe and its Others, of colonizer and colonized, of the West and the Rest, of the vocal and the silent”, Bill Ashcroft et al., 2006:104.

³ David Cristal listed that there are more than 76 territories using the English language (*English as a Global Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003: 62-65).

⁴ David Cristal, 5.

Especially related to the countries using the English language as the second language, they apply their own English, and those are usually the ex-colonized countries. For example, Singlish is from Singapore, Taglish from Philippines. For the kind of case, there are two approaches: postcoloniality and globalism. On the one hand, the spirit of postcolonialism flames them to establish identity which is not under the hegemony of the ex-colonizer. The English language of their own is the proof that their English is characteristic because those Englishes are different from the original stem, either British or American. During ESEA 2009 International Conference, Nov. 26—28, 2009, Poh Yi Foong, from National Institute of Education Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, uplifted the topic about “Singlish: Can or Not?”, and Marikit Tara Alto Uychoco, from Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines, about “Philippine Errors in English or Features of Philippine English?” Those speakers claimed that the Englishes are justified as the national identity. Therefore, there are also linguistic features which are “new”, such as vocabulary and grammar. Here, the idea of “father tongue”, given by Roland Barthes⁵, is transformed into the second language which may be finally the “mother tongue”.

However, on the other hand, globalism is another important aspect to consider due to their national identity. Since English is an icon of globalism, the fortunate cultural condition of having the English language, in spite of the fact of the historical accident of colonialism, is one step in advance in comparison with those having the language as the foreign language. To the latter societies, such as Indonesia, China, Russia, and Brazil, the need of the English language would be satisfied by different step, and perhaps they even may not establish their own English since the language is still foreign. Quoting Titone, Carola Suarez-Orozco wrote that bicultural and bilingual competence enables individuals to fluidly adapt themselves to evolving situations, and the ability to code-switch—to move fluidly between languages and cultures—has obvious social advantages⁶.

The English Literature as the Global Identity?

In the context of the world communication the position of the English language is surely different from that of the English literature. The nature of language is a tool to communicate, while the nature of literature is a “content” to be communicated. It means when Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* is told to the world its language can be understood and accepted but perhaps its content can not. The problem lies on the fact of its perspective or world view, rather than on its media. Universality of the language as media is easily perceived but that of the literature is unfortunately limited to the author’s identity. For example, in *Heart of Darkness* the view about underestimating “the African native” is obvious, and it is surely related to the author’s perception of the view. Therefore, in comparison with the English language, it seems the English literature must undergo many difficult chasms to be accepted as the global identity.

However, there will be different phenomenon since the English “Shakespeare” takes part in the context of globalism. Similar to the nature of the English language, as previously mentioned, Shakespeare is also “universal” in which all traditions suggest the person as the

⁵ ... that tongue which comes to us from our fathers and which makes us, in our turn, fathers and proprietors of a culture which, precisely, history transforms into “nature.” (Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, 1982: 6).

⁶ “Formulating Identity in a Globalized World” in *Globalization: Culture and Education in the new Millennium*, Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco and Desiree Baolian Qin-Hilliard (eds.), Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004: 174

greatest artist who is not confined by a certain identity anymore. The fact that Shakespeare came from British is gradually not an important item to consider in the literary context. People tend to claim that he belongs to the world literature rather than to the English literature. The debate about whether this person is colonialist or postcolonialist may be the proof that his position is universally accepted as the spirit of the world literature. Here, some prejudices that Shakespeare's existence is merely to signify and to strengthen the superiority of Western Literature, because he becomes the icon, or canon, of the British literature, as Ania Loomba stated,

“Shakespeare was made to perform such ideological work both by interpreting his plays in highly conservative ways (so that they were seen as endorsing existing racial, gender and other hierarchies, ever as questioning or destabilizing them) and by constructing him as one of the best, if not ‘the best’, writer in the whole world. He became, during the colonial period, the quintessence of Englishness and a measure of humanity itself. Thus the meanings of Shakespeare's plays were both derived from and used to establish colonial authority.”⁷

However, Loomba also acknowledged that by the different angle critics may position him in the realm of postcolonial study because of his ideas concerning with the racial problems.

“In yet other instances, they appropriated Shakespeare as their comrade in anti-colonial arms by offering new interpretations and adaptations of his work. In recent years, both Shakespearean scholars and critics working within postcolonial studies have increasingly begun to scrutinize the ways in which the colonial and racial discourses of early modern England might have shaped Shakespeare's work...”⁸

Also, in the world of literature the name of Shakespeare is unavoidable. Even, in the ordinary talk many people put some Shakespeare's quotations to pass any comments. For examples, the tragic love which kills the lovers is like the love story of Romeo and Juliet, the importance of not mentioning name is quoted by “what is a name?”, and also about no one is an island is the very famous proverb from Shakespeare. Meanwhile, none would question the greatness of Shakespeare related to his talents in producing so many great works, such as Hamlet, Romeo dan Juliet, Macbeth, Othello, As You Like It, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice, etc. To this greatness, even, people have questioned whether this person really existed or not. However, the fact is that this person is eventually the icon of the world literature. Mentioning the name of Shakespeare people would not hastily refer to literary canon owned by the imperialist, but to the great artist of literature. It means the world has acknowledged the universal values brought by Shakespeare's ideas.

Due to the previous phenomena, the globalized world should consider to position him in the context of the world communication. Like the English language, there should be also the diversities of “Shakespeare. Therefore, if the question is whether it is applicable or not, the answer is yes. There are at least two methods of applying “Shakespeare” into local traditions: from the form, i.e. tragedy, and the content, i.e. humanism. It means there will be collaboration

⁷ Introduction of *Post-colonial Shakespeares*, Ania Loomba and Martin Ortin (eds.), Routledge, 1998: 1.

⁸ Ibid, p.2

between the two, and from this deed the scope of audience will be broadened because it especially addresses the global world. This can be applied not only to literary works but also to other genres of culture, such as entertaining performance. In Indonesia it may be applied to *ketoprak* (traditional play), *wayang kulit* (puppet show), or also *tarian* (traditional dance). Here, the dialogue between the local and the global happens, and the outcome is that the local has the opportunity to voice through its aspect of the global perspective while the global signifies its universality rather than individuality.

Shakespeare and Universality of Identity

As the English language can pierce socially, not culturally, that the language becomes the main concern of the new world, “Shakespeare” may do the same. The importance of the English language is eventually to provide opportunities for the world relationship, and analogically the importance of Shakespeare is to open the broad paradigm of world literature covering Shakespearean tragedy and humanism. Therefore, let’s view some Shakespearean characteristics which may be more or less appropriate to be the universality of the world identity.

Shakespearean tragedy is famous not because of its structure but of its “characters”, such as Romeo, Juliet, Macbeth, Othello, Hamlet, etc. In this case, the success of Shakespeare as a matter of fact is in creating the very characteristic human representations through his characters of the plays. It means each character surely brings a very special value of the world universality within which the characters of Romeo and Juliet would be appropriate as the human representations of bringing “love story”, and Hamlet bringing “revenge story”. In other words, those kind of characters are having the standard of the universal human story, and this can be the reference of the other traditional “performance” in delivering the similar stories.

Possibly the second characteristic of Shakespearean tragedy is the use of some utterances in his plays. Those utterances are often reproduced again in our daily expressions. The reproductions are sure not to revive the figure of Shakespeare, but perhaps to unconsciously repeat the similar condition with that when Shakespeare produced them. Even, in the reproductions the reproducer/s may be ignorant of the original creator, who s/he was or where s/he came from or from what culture/background s/he came, of those expressions. In other words, the famous utterances, created by Shakespeare, through the plays have pierced socially and universally in the human lives and they finally belong to the universality.

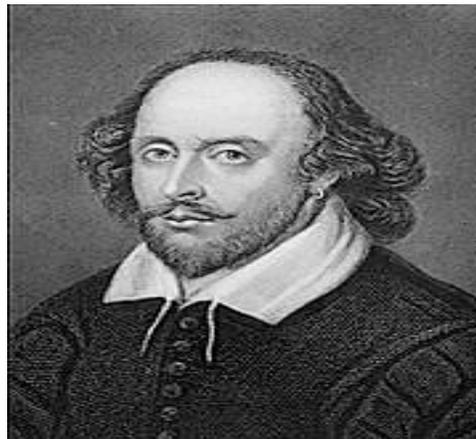
Besides those characteristics, “the content” of Shakespearean tradition may be viewed from his idea of humanism. This can be clearly seen by comparing Shakespeare’s works, which were in the spirit of Renaissance, with the tradition before him, i.e. Middle Ages. In the works Shakespeare treated man as the centre, while literature before the Renaissance had frequently offered ideal patterns for living which were dominated by the ethos of the church (Carter and McRae, 2001: 53). Thus, Shakespeare was the first figure who daringly put “man” as the focus of tradition, and not “man” as the complementation of living. Almost all his works discuss the problems of man as an individual, and because of this he could attract any kinds of audience, from the lower to the higher levels. Even, in the next generation the idea of treating “man’s problems” became common. And, it seems that finding the unique humanism characteristically owned by Shakespeare is not an easy task. There were many researches discussing this problem, but eventually those mounted on the outcome that Shakespearean humanism places or treats “man as the center”. Shortly, in Shakespearean tradition man is dignified, and it is the paradigm

that should be applied in the context of the globalized world. Man is not the complementation of technology, politics, economy, ideology, but is the center.

Closing Remarks

Quoting Kevin Robins, Kathryn Woodward noted the phenomenon of globalization as involving an extraordinary transformation, where the old structures of national states and communities have been broken up and there is an increasing ‘transnationalization of economic and cultural life’⁹. In the new paradigm it is an opportunity provided for all traditions to open the world communication in order to control the globalization together. However, to take part of controlling the “new world” there should be tools important to communicate. The English language has become one of the tools accepted as the global language, and it has spread into many traditions/societies socially through its diversities. Even, many societies also treat it as the important aspect of living that it becomes the compulsory subject for local students.

The appearance of the figure of Shakespeare seems important to consider as well as the tool of the world communication. It is not the idea of idolizing a foreign figure but adopting an identity for the new world. Shakespeare is nobody but a significant figure in the context of humanism. Shakespeare belongs to no tradition but the world tradition, because uplifting the person’s great talents is across local boundaries.



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⁹ “Concept of Identity and Difference” in *Identity And Difference*, Kathryn Woodward (ed.), Walton Hall: The Open University, 2002: 16

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Bok Choy and Peanut Butter: Food and Generation Gap in Leslie Li's *Daughter of Heaven*.

Paula Torreiro Pazo

Food is the only element from the outside world that enters our body and turns into “ourselves” by the biological process of digestion. “Ingestion is the physical act that mediates between self and non-self, native essence and foreign matter, the inside and the outside. [...] Until eaten and absorbed into one’s bodily system, food is no more than a substance ‘out there’” (S. Wong 26). However, once eaten, its meanings multiply.

Owing to its myriad varieties of symbolisms, meanings and connotations, food has also awakened the interests of literary critics and scholars, who believe that the trope of food is fundamental for the formation of the “self,” the building of communal identity, as well as the preservation of collective memory. However, it is particularly in the pages of Asian American literature where food acquires a greater significance, due to the intimate connection between food and both ethnicity and identity. In fact, as Wenying Xu argues, this has historical and social reasons, because, “the racialization of Asian Americans has been achieved prominently through the mainstream’s representation and appropriation of Asian foodways” (8)

Therefore, for the purpose of this paper, I will explore the metaphors and symbolisms that food entails in Leslie Li’s memoir *Daughter of Heaven*. In this autobiographical work, Li describes her inner conflicts and difficulties as a second generation Chinese immigrant in the United States, where she always felt trapped between two cultures: Chinese and American. This cultural clash between East and West goes hand in hand with the “Generation Gap” between father and daughter. I will deal with several passages of the memoir where their conflicts are connected with their respective behaviors towards Chinese and/or American

foodways. It is my contention that, by focusing on the eating habits exhibited in her memoir, it is possible to understand her identity conflicts, as well as making inquiries about wife-husband, mother-daughter, or father-daughter relationships.

In the chapter entitled “Food-Shame and Sand-Wishes” Li describes her identity conflicts as a child and adolescent caused by peer rejection and stereotyping. As the narrator mentions, Leslie’s unpopularity among her schoolmates has to do with all those factors that make her stand out as different; that is, her physical appearance – having to stand the other schoolchildren “pulling at the corners of their eyes” (12) – and also the kind of food that she brings in her lunch box. What Leslie and her sisters eat during recess does not go unnoticed among their - mainly white - classmates, who pull a face at anything that emerges from their lunch boxes. This makes young Leslie feel that her family’s Chinese eating habits are preventing her from feeling belongingness and empathy among her friends. Therefore, she starts to try and hide all those signs that revealed her Chineseness, and one of them is food: “Even though we tried to imitate our peers and sometimes had in our lunches the chemical additives we so admired in theirs, this follow-the-leaderism soon stopped. Instead of the Sno Balls and Twinkies from the local Shopwell or Grand Union, our desserts often came from faraway Chinatown” (Li 11). Interpersonal relationships among children in recess have to do with the sharing of their lunch, however, Leslie is kept out of this mechanism because she cannot even share her food with her best friend, Laurie, who, after trying one of Leslie’s Chinese lunches, “spat it out onto the waxed paper it was wrapped in. Her face was red; her expression horrible, a kind of seizure. Finally, she gasped: ‘Oh, it’s awful. It tastes like turpentine!’” (14). Spitting the food Leslie has offered her means much more than the dislike of that particular kind of food; for Leslie it means contempt, incomprehension and even racism on the part of her best friend: “I blinked at her and wondered if our friendship [...] would remain intact” (14). Episodes like this one affect Leslie’s self-esteem and she blames

her grandmother's food for making her feel awkward among her peers: "Nai-nai, [...] among other unforgivable embarrassments she caused us, filled our lunch bags with 'icky-looking tree bark', 'disgusting animal turds', and turpentine-laced 'poisonous' fruits" (20). Leslie wants to be accepted as a member of the "cool" cold-lunch people, those who "carried a sandwich, thermos of milk, apple, and cookies in a lunchbox, with Lassie, Roy Rogers, Hopalong Cassidy, Betty Boop, or some other much loved character on the lid" (15). From this it can be inferred that Leslie wishes to follow "food-fashion" at school, in order to assimilate and look more Americanized. Her contempt towards Chinese foodways and idealization of American ones reflect the identity conflicts and fluctuations that she suffers as a American born Chinese girl, whose life consists in juggling two different sets of values and habits: Chinese culture at home, and American culture outside.

Teenagers start to explore and discover the social implications of eating habits and they begin to choose, not only in terms of taste, but also bearing in mind social acceptance and integration. Therefore, food can also become an element of conflict and clash between immigrant parents and children. As Sau-ling C. Wong argues, "the American-born children often have reservations about the parents' food choices (and by implication their life choices)" (37). The generation gap between parents and children becomes obvious when dealing with food. For first generation Asian immigrants, S. Wong adds, food means "necessity"; that is, the hardships they had to endure to make a living in the host country; but it also represents the need to preserve their culinary habits in order to feel that they still belong somewhere, constituting a way to shape their identity in the diaspora. In contrast, for the second generation, born in the US, food means "extravagance," the possibility of choosing, of consuming what is beyond mere survival. Sometimes the culinary tradition of their elders is rejected for being primitive, for making them look different from the rest, and for preventing them from assimilating to the mainstream culture.

Along these lines, Li focuses on the bad relationship between her parents, and on her own complicated relationship with her father. Leslie's mother is a second generation Chinese American, whereas her father is a first generation Chinese immigrant with a "near-military sense of discipline" (Li 49), obsessed with what he has left behind, with his work, and with "face: its maintenance, its gain, its loss" (49). Leslie's father has migrated to the US, but he has left his mind and his love in China, where he thinks everybody will judge how he fends for himself in America: "These distant relatives, these people he didn't even know, mattered more to him than his own family because of what they would say. What we, his immediate family, said or thought didn't matter, precisely because we were immediate family. And we were American" (50). Her father's "face" is at stake in America, not because of what her wife or children may think or feel, but because of the idle talk and judgments about him that may take place in his native Guanxi province. Obviously, this creates tensions and problems in the couple that also affect the children, and eventually end up in divorce.

Bearing in mind Leslie's father's obsession with his previous life and home culture in China, it is not surprising that he openly manifests his loathing towards American food, and his devotion of a "real Chinese meal" (51). However, on those nights that Li's mother arrives late from work, and he is in charge of the cooking, he prepares American food for his four daughters. Therefore, even though it may seem contradictory, cooking and feeding his children American food seems to reflect his resignation and his awareness that, though he does not want them to become Americans, there is no other way. Nevertheless, his American cooking is horrible, which – establishing a parallelism between feeding and educating - could be a symbol of his incapability of educating and instilling in his daughters other values that those of his native China which, he starts to realize, are beginning to be rejected by his American-born children.

I [Leslie] hated those Friday dinners and, despite my best intentions, despite the knowledge that my father was watching, silent and disapproving, I picked sullenly at my food. [...] I tried not to chew but simply swallowed, or tried to. Instead I gagged. Out came the fish stick, nearly intact, back onto my plate (51).

Likewise, the fact that Leslie regurgitates the food that her father cooks for her, might be read as an indicator of her difficulties in digesting the strict values and attitudes that her father instills in her in America. Consequently, it is also a metaphor of the generation gap and the lack of understanding that exists between Leslie and her Chinese-born father. Being sick after eating her father's dinner becomes something usual. The innumerable fights between Leslie's parents normally take place during dinner while the children are eating. The tension and shouting gets mixed with the taste of the food, which makes Leslie associate the food she eats at home with continuous problems and difficulties. This constitutes another reason for her to reject her parent's foodways in favor of the food she can eat outdoors. "Dinner that evening had consisted of the detested trio – fish sticks, buttered noodles, and string beans. Detested but consumed. Now it out came, not just a mouthful, but the full meal" (52).

As time goes by, Leslie starts to realize that one of the reasons why her father acts so aggressively and intolerantly is because he feels isolated; drowning in "a well of loneliness" (61). Thus, one night, when everyone is already in bed, Leslie finds her father alone in the kitchen cooking Chinese food. This image makes her realize that what is really ailing her father is that he feels he cannot share his Chinese culture – including his foodways - with anyone. In fact, contrary to what happened when he tried to cook American food, when preparing Chinese dishes, he moves around the kitchen "with a practiced efficiency, and automatic sense of ritual" (62). Her father feels a searing unbelongingness in America, and he is deeply homesick. Thus, the reproduction of the smells and flavors of the foods he used to

eat during his childhood in China transport him back to his birth place in Guillin and help him alleviate his sadness and nostalgia. Indeed, according to Anita Mannur, “food becomes both intellectual and emotional anchor” for the immigrant, far from the homeland and family. Leslie approaches him, offering company, and he invites her to eat the food he is cooking. Father and daughter share Chinese food for the first time – and also for the last. Food is plentiful, but words, again, are scarce: “Our silence was broken only by the ambient noise of our vigorous mastication, [...]. The food in my bowl was originally destined for my father’s, and I knew I was depriving him of half his Chinese midnight supper” (63). If food can also symbolize love, and repentance, this is the most obvious example. By sharing with his daughter the Chinese food he had prepared for himself, Leslie’s father is apologizing for not being able to understand her, for being so near and so distant at the same time. Since he is unable to show affection to his daughter, he uses food as an act of love. Leslie, in turn, lets her father feed her in order to create an atmosphere of trust, to make him understand that she accepts his apologies, and also to apologize herself for not being the daughter he would have desired. Everything is said “without words,” and for the first and last time, father and daughter connect with each other by means of food: “if not communion exactly, then [it was] a rare and precious accord” (64). In this context food functions as an apology and also as a bridge between father and daughter, for they momentarily leave their differences aside, and come to feel close to one another while they are consuming the same food. However, this union vanishes once the meal is over, indicating the instability of their relationship: “For most of my life, my father and I inhabited two different continents over which we had constructed, each from our opposite shores, a stone bridge, unstable and unfinished” (69).

As a conclusion, I would like to emphasize the evocative and metaphorical power that food displays in *Daughter of Heaven*. In the context of the Chinese American community described in this memoir, food functions as a fundamental ethnic and cultural marker that is

embraced by the first generation immigrants, but rejected and even loathed by the second generation. This becomes the reason for family conflict. In the case of Leslie, her rejection of Chinese food comes as a real shock for her father, who finds it really difficult to observe how his daughter is growing up into an American stranger.

Borrowing Roland Barthes's words, it seems that "food has a constant tendency to transform itself into situation" (26). What we eat, how, with whom, why, when and where are not superficial details, because food can only acquire its communicative power and its multiplicity of symbolic meanings, when all those questions are answered.

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Exploring the Parallels of Eastern and Western Medicine

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Abstract

The difference between the Eastern culture and the Western culture is not only reflected in how people from the two cultures view things differently, the difference can be seen in many different areas. The Eastern culture puts more emphasis on looking at an issue holistically while people from the Western culture tend to analyze different objects independently. This point could be clearly seen from the practices of the Eastern and Western medicine. The development of medicine in Western nations follows the way of hypothetical deduction and the Eastern approach uses the inductive method. The Western approach clearly divides the health from the disease, yet the Eastern approach considers health as a balanced state versus disease as an unbalanced state. The Western approach tends to change the environment and the Eastern way is to prefer to adapt to the environment. The same terminology may apply to entirely different facts, the teaching and learning methods are quite different, and the evaluation of the treatment is almost not comparable. The Eastern medicine puts emphasis on "adjusting," "supplementing", and "resting upon" the body of the patient while the Western medicine talks about "treating" the body. Both Western and Eastern systems have their place. Some believe that the greatest strength of Western Medicine is in its trauma care and therapies for acute problems, while Eastern medicine excels in the areas of chronic problems and preventive medicine.

Keywords: Eastern, Western, Medicine, Mechanical, Holistic, *Yang* and *Yin*, Intervention.

Exploring the Parallels of Eastern and Western Medicine

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The difference between Western and Eastern medicine is very much reflective of the difference in philosophies of the two cultures. In the West, we rush and conquer, and this is as true of our medical model as any other facet of our lives. Our relationship to disease process is adversarial. Frequently we do not take more than minimal care of ourselves until medical disaster has overtaken us.

In the East, the pace is slower. There is still time for, and celebration of, nature. Flowing with the energy of the moment is a high value in the East, and that moment provides the key to healing. The medical models are worlds apart. But they do share one process in common: diagnosis and treatment begin with observation of the patient.

In the West, however, that observation is increasingly mechanical. Temperature, pulse, respiration, blood chemistry, and digestive processes can all be sampled mechanically. All these tests in their varying technological complexities are designed to clarify the workings inside the ailing body. That body's environment, including how the patient is nourished (physically, but spiritually and emotionally as well) is rarely considered. It was seen as having little bearing on the problem at hand. The body's systems were seen as a complicated machine, susceptible to mechanical and chemical intervention.

In the East, a far gentler and more holistic process is used. The problem is observed - in the East as well as the West, what the patient is able to tell the physician may not be the entire story - and the patient's flow of chi, energy, is assessed. The symptoms are viewed as caused by imbalance in this energy flow, and correcting that imbalance seen as the route to resolving the issue. The solution is as apt to lie outside the body as in. It may be a problem of environment or temperament. It is in treatment that the philosophical difference between East and West is most explicit.

Eastern medicine is far gentler. No nostrum in the Chinese or Japanese cabinet of medicinal herbs will kill us. The healing techniques of Reiki and shiatsu are never painful when performed properly. The patient's mind is seen as contributing to his bodily woes, and he is helped to return to his own center. Our friend with the incipient heart attack would be told to take up tai chi, discouraged from eating quite as much meat, and given herbs to help strengthen the cardiac line of energy flow. He would be given this advice many years before the disease first manifested itself to Western eyes. The heart attack would be shunted aside, gently. While Eastern medicine does have processes for trauma treatment, it is in avoidance of that trauma that the East excels. Purely Eastern medicine is not for emergencies; it is for avoiding them.

In an ideal world, all of us would have access to both schools of medicine. If we get in a car crash, we will need the forceful interventions of Western medicine to save our lives in the minutes after the crash, and to mend our bones and keep us breathing while the healing process establishes itself. When we are recovered sufficiently to leave the hospital, the Eastern medical world can offer us the herbs to gently strengthen our healing body and perhaps modify the hasty temperament that got us into that car crash in the first place.

Both Western and Chinese systems have their place. Some believe that the greatest strength of Western Medicine is in its trauma care and therapies for acute problems, while Chinese medicine excels in the areas of chronic problems and preventive medicine.

Western medicine has developed through hypothetical deduction. Every statement in Western medicine is a result of a series of fact probing. The hypothesis is usually derived from general observations of a phenomenon and a research plan is carefully designed. When enough data are collected, conclusions are drawn as a result of critical statistical evaluations. In contrast, Eastern medicine uses the inductive method. Oriental medical literature in general is a record of practical experience accumulated from millions of practitioners throughout thousands of years.

As a part of the long-lasting traditional Chinese culture, Chinese medicine was quite advanced in ancient times. A doctor of Chinese medicine uses four methods to diagnose a patient, looking, smelling, asking questions and checking the pulse of the patient. Comparing to today's western medicine which relies heavily on performing laboratory analysis and tests, Chinese medicine can be practiced in an easier and more straight-forward manner, and is able to cure the illnesses at their roots.

The splendid historical accomplishments of Chinese medicine had everything to do with the divine culture of ancient China. Ancient Chinese science put emphasis on "heaven and humans becoming one" and following the rules of the nature. For a human being, all his major organs are interconnected and form one body. If his inner organs are not functioning properly, the problems are reflected in his surface pulse, and in his facial expressions, his voice, and even his behavior. It is truly like what one Chinese saying state, "from the falling of a single leaf, one can tell what has happened in the world all around him."

There is an ancient Chinese saying, "a practitioner of medicine is also a scholar of *Yi*." It means that the inner meaning of the Chinese medicine is as intricate and unfathomable as the ancient book of *Zhou Yi*. Therefore, someone who really understands Chinese medicine can easily find the root cause of a person's illness from his surface symptoms. For example, if one knows that the *Yang* and *Yin* sides of the patient's inner organs have become unbalanced; curing it is a very easy thing.

Yin and yang are two basic fundamentals of ancient Chinese philosophy. First described in the I Ching, Book of Changes, they are opposite terms representing the duality of positive and negative power. Normally they are equal in value, in balance with each other, and cannot exist one without the other. In the classical Chinese medical literature, yin and yang are used to

describe the state of equilibrium within and around the body, its organs and functions, and the relationship to the environment.

When speaking of yin and yang, the exterior is yang, the interior is yin; when speaking of yin and yang in the human body, the back is yang, the front is yin; when speaking of yin and yang of the organs in the body, the solid organs are yin, the hollow organs are yang. Therefore, the heaven is yang and the earth is yin; the part of the body above the waist is comparable to the heaven while the region of the body below the waist is comparable to the earth. Since the meridians, functional tracts of the body, running on the outer surface of the extremities are called yang meridians and the inner surface are called yin meridians, the outer surface is yang and the inner surface is yin.

Yang represents the active, strong, fast and positive aspects of the body. Yin, on the other hand, describes the passive, weak, slow and negative nature of the being. As a matter of fact, all of the visible organs and structures of the body are described as yin because of their passive nature when they are not functioning. The organs classified as yang are so named because they exist only by activity. Yang results in spirit, yin gives the shape. Yin in the interior is the guardian of yang; yang in the exterior is the activator of yin. In yang diseases, treat the yin; in yin diseases, treat the yang.

Western medicine doesn't take this path. It studies the function of each organ through dissecting it. It studies what the illness is through looking at the structures of different parts and different cells of the body. Now it has progressed to performing research on molecular and genetic levels. But a human being is, after all, not a machine made up of different parts. Therefore using such a dissecting method makes it difficult to identify the illness at its root and curing it effectively.

In addition, Chinese medicine puts emphasis on "adjusting," "supplementing", and "resting upon" the body of the patient while the western medicine talks about "treating" the body. Therefore even if doctors are able to offer a patient effective western medicine to treat his illness, the medicine often has side effects that cause damage to normal cells and lead to other problems down the road.

With the passage of the time, today's Chinese medicine is very different from what it used to be in the ancient times. The change is resulted from a variety of factors. One major factor is that today's people look at the materialistic world and the human body science differently. Many modern doctors of the Chinese medicine simply copy herbal prescriptions that have been passed down for centuries to treat patients. But in reality, even if two patients have identical symptoms, because they are different individuals, the cause of their illnesses could be very different. Since the technique of using the same old prescriptions based on the symptoms exhibited is practiced widely in today's Chinese medicine, it is very difficult to achieve good results. Sometimes it might even have negative results.

The good thing is that in recent years, along with the practice of Qigong, more and more people are looking at the traditional culture in a different light. According to many media reports,

more and more people are practicing medicine. It will definitely lead to people gaining new understandings of Chinese medicine and other elements of traditional Chinese culture.

The format of recording is a result of direct observation. This makes difficult to compare the results of the two different approaches to medicine. The Western approach to medicine clearly divides health from disease, and the main emphasis is on the individual body. The environment is considered as only one factor that affects the body. Responsibility for various phases of health and disease care is shared by professionals in several disciplines. Physicians are trained mainly for the care of acute phases of disease, that is, disease detection and therapy. The areas of health promotion, disease prevention and rehabilitation are taken care of largely by other trained professions. This team approach gives the impression of being more community-minded than individual-based, yet the objective is still individual well-being.

The Eastern idea of health and disease is looked upon as the two sides of a coin. In other words, every individual person is in a state of balance between external insults and internal defensive mechanisms. If the insults are greater than one's defenses, one is ill; if not, one maintains good health. Since the individual person is considered merely a microcosm existing in a macrocosm, there are changes every minute, with constant readjustments. The causes of diseases are almost equally divided into six physical aspects and seven emotional factors, or outer and inner insults. The former are the wind, cold, heat, dampness, dryness and fire. The latter are happiness, anger, sorrow, anxiety, sadness, fear and shock. For instance, The vicious energies of wind and cold attack the upper half of the body, while the vicious energy of dampness attacks the lower half. The duty of a physician is to strengthen the internal defensive power and power of adaptation of each individual person and enable him to fight the environmental insults, or to adapt to external changes so that he can live in peaceful balance within himself and with his environment, thereby maintaining good health.

The definition of good health means the state of equilibrium within one's body and with one's surroundings, the way of maintaining health and promoting health is eventually to keep the balance of all the body functions, the body and the mind, the person and his environment. Within the body, there are two systems of circulation described in the classical Chinese literature: chi (air) and hsieh (blood). Chi represents the invisible circulation of the vital energy and, therefore, is classified as yang. This energy circulates along definite pathways within definite periods of the day and ceases to circulate when the organism dies. These pathways are called hsieh, and include all the visible circulations of the body, such as cardiovascular, lymphatic and even cerebrospinal fluid. Only when these two circulation systems maintain a constant balance, a person can be kept in perfect equilibrium. In order to keep balance between man and his environment, the meridians are the communication routes. Since meridians are supposed to connect nearly a thousand acupuncture points (skin receptors of acupuncture stimuli) of the body, skin is really the reactor of the body to the surroundings.

The Western approach to health care involves, among other things, changing the environment in which we live. For example, if the weather is not ideal for the body, a shelter is built with temperature control; if the atmosphere and humidity are not comfortable, other controls are added. Antibiotics are developed to counteract bacteria harmful to the body. Sterilization techniques are practiced to shelter from the bacteria. In therapy, the same principles

apply. Artificial limbs and organs are used to replace diseased or injured body parts. Synthetic hormones and vitamins are used for impaired bodily functions. These achievements mark the victory of science and wisdom of mankind. However, in spite of the fact that human life is being prolonged, and the handicapped and retarded are functioning, the majority of people may be free from serious disease but not from discomfort or pain, either physical or mental. In other words, people are still suffering and unhappy.

The Eastern approach may be passive toward the idea of converting the environment. Its emphasis is from the "within" to strengthen the enormous defensive and adaptive powers of one's body so that the latter may accommodate physical or mental stress. It may work slowly and appear to be less effective; but, if successful, the result usually is a balanced, comfortable body and a happy person. With all the dichotomies mentioned above, it follows naturally that the learning systems and the terminologies used must be different. Even if the same terms are used, they may have quite different meanings. The system of the body is classified in a way quite different from that of Western medicine. So too, are the other aspects of medicine. For instance, the body is divided into 12 anatomical, physiological and psychological units. The causes of disease are divided into six environmental insults and seven internal insults. All the diseases are represented by symptom groups or syndromes. This approach may appear oversimplified in matter.

The Western approach looks into every aspect of a person with great detail, from a microscopic to a macroscopic view of biology, embryology, histology and microbiology, studies the cellular level of chemistry and physics, then looks to the basic anatomy and physiology, and finally moves to the clinical practical aspects of internal medicine, surgery, pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology, psychiatry and public health. Eastern approach emphasizes knowledge in terms of environmental health, surface anatomy, functional physiology, neurophysiology and the psychosomatic aspects of medicine, although different terms are being used. After learning the differences, we may be able to make a fair judgment of the validity of either the Eastern or Western approach to medicine and take advantage of knowing both.

In Chinese medicine a human being is looked upon as a small universe. The anatomical structures and the physiological functions of the body are correlated with one another. They also correspond and react to the outside environment the large universe. When everything coexists in perfect harmony, a person is in excellent health. Since the physiological process is in continual change and balance, as are the environmental conditions, this delicate change and balance between the small and the large universe are constantly being readjusted in every respect. Once the balance is disturbed, illness sets in.

Eastern approach suggests the body can heal itself if the body, the mind and the spirit are working in sync or synergy with each other. If one part of the body is not working right, then a person will experience symptoms. These symptoms may manifest physically or emotionally. For example, someone experiencing chronic pain may actually suffer from depression, according to the Eastern model of medicine and healing. While treating the symptoms of pain may help alleviate the person's condition initially, an Eastern approach will dig deeper to find out what the emotional or underlying causes are for depression. Once the depression is treated fully, the body has the ability, according to Eastern beliefs, to heal itself.

Fortunately many Western doctors are realizing the benefits of adopting a well-rounded approach to healing. Because of this many recommend non-traditional approaches to healing diseases along with conventional therapy or medication treatments.

Nowadays many doctors practice both Western and Eastern medicine and they follow an open minded approach towards different diseases. By combining the two approaches, most people learn if nothing else, to live a healthier lifestyle. This lifestyle may involve changing one's diet and encouraging the practice of meditation or other relaxation techniques to relieve stress. Often a combination of traditional and holistic approaches results in the best possible outcome for patients looking to restore the quality of their life and inner joy.

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ECONOMY AND REPRESENTATION: SABRİ ÜLGENER

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Sabri F. Ülgener (1911-1983), descendent of a distinguished Ottoman family and a prominent economist, has published his major work in 1951, entitled as *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimizin Ahlak ve Zihniyet Meseleleri* (literally translated: The Moral and Intellectual Problems of Our History of Economic Decline) in which he examined the interrelation between Orient's medieval morality and the feudal mode of production. In this book, as he mentions, Ülgener uses Max Weber's method found in *Economy and Society* as well as in *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*, and applies it to a content different from that of Weber. In this paper, restricting my scope to basically two works of these authors, I shall attempt to make a critical comparison between the outcomes of both authors' researches.

The transition from Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic, which lasted for about two decades and officially was marked in 1923, can be observed in the sources of Ülgener. He mastered Arabic and Persian languages immediately through his father who was an eminent religious authority and a high-rank teacher, promoted to the private tutorship of Şehzade Şevket Efendi, the son of the empire's king Abdülaziz¹. Ülgener had knowledge of Western languages, chiefly German, during and after his secondary educations.²

Ülgener, graduating from the Faculty of Law of Istanbul University in 1935, became a research assistant at the same faculty. A year after, in December 1936, the Faculty of Economics was established at the university where Ülgener pursued his position of assistantship under the branch of General Economics and Theory of Economy chaired by Wilhelm Röpke.³ Ülgener acquired his Ph.D. from Faculty of Law by a dissertation entitled as "The Economic Morality and Mentality of Near East Turkish-Islamic World" ("Yakın Şark Türk-İslam Dünyasının İktisat Ahlakı ve Zihniyeti"). The acquaintance of Weber's and Sombart's thoughts had initiated in Ülgener's career during his academic research accompanied by the lectures of and conversations with the German scholars.

The book by Ülgener, the material that I included to this paper, was written following his research as a scholarship holder in Harvard University between 1947 and 1948, where he worked on "Weber's sociology of economics" under the supervision of J.A. Schumpeter and A.H. Hansen.

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¹ King Abdülaziz, the 32. emperor of the Ottomans, reigned between 1861-1876 and succeeded by King Murad V.

² Biographical informations are extraited from Ahmed G. Sayar's extensive work on Ülgener: *Bir İktisatçının Entellektüel Portresi: Sabri F. Ülgener* (The Intellectual Portrait of An Economist: S. F. Ü.), Eren Publications, 1998, Istanbul.

³ Prof. Röpke was among the German academics whose positions were cancelled by Nazi régime in 1933 and came to Istanbul to teach at (and found) various departments. 1933 was the year of "University Reform" realized by Turkish Republic by abolishing Darülfünun and restructuring the institution under the name of "Istanbul University".

One of the main hypotheses of Ülgener can be formulated as follows: Occident and Orient are in an inverse proportion with respect to the “modern times” of the former and “decline” of the latter in the same period. The word “decline” implies the end of a glorious era of commerce and of the related mentality. In the forms of enterprise there was a dominant “guild spirit”, a rigidity was observed in the “value production”, as well as a traditionalism in labour, and lastly a consciousness of “mastership” which was propagated by feudalism. Thus, in this work, Weber’s method is applied to the medieval mentality instead of the morality of capitalism⁴.

Ülgener was well aware of the difficulty in demarcating a certain period as it is the case in “Middle Ages”. Nevertheless, admitting that it is conventional, according to him, it is not entirely impossible to mention the continuity and rupture in certain practices and in the transformation of the value systems. Hence this era depends upon the common economic and mental traits, not to the all-encompassing chronological order. Briefly, it is “Orient’s middle ages”, from 12.-13. centuries until the end of 18. century that Ülgener put under spot. As obvious, this historical indication is completely different from the meaning of the medieval period in the history of philosophy, which begins in 3. century and lasts about a thousand years; philosophy’s late middle ages is the beginning of Eastern medieval in economics.

In terms of geographical domain, Ülgener’s field comprises Anatoly, northern parts of Syria and Iraq and West Iran. The picture that Ülgener attempted to construct is to define the behavioural attitude of the “typical subject of economics” together with the function of religious groups in forming a morality throughout the eras and various phases.

To begin with, Ülgener’s object of research concerns the mentality and morality of the middle ages in this sense, and its representation in certain Turkish-Islamic canonical texts. This point can be indicated as an initial impact of Weber’s work on that of Ülgener: Ülgener, in agreement with his predecessor, asserts that the economic modes of production and the mental domain influence each other mutually, and he opposes the idea that considers a unilateral cause-effect relationship between the former and the latter; the representation and that which is represented stand on equal foot. However, Ülgener was keen on avoiding a determinist approach, that is to say, by no means he claims that there exists a unique mentality for a mode of production and vice versa. Rather, both domains are complementary for each other. Quoting from Ülgener; “In the spirit of Oriental personality, an apathetical and disinterested attitude, whatever its origin may be, is completed by religion and Islam Mysticism (Sufism). By the same token, as Weber emphasized, despite the fact that Calvinism is not the sole condition of the birth of capitalism, it is this Christian order which inserted the capitalist way of life to the individuals’ minds within the framework of a methodological and calculated manner of duty morality.”⁵

Max Weber, in *The Protestant Ethic*, strictly rejects the idea (and somehow finds it “foolish”), which asserts that the spirit of capitalism could only have arisen as the result of certain effects of the Reformation, or that capitalist mode of production is a creation of the Reformation. “On the contrary”, Weber says, “we only wish to ascertain whether to what extent religious forces have

⁴ Sabri Ülgener, *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimiz*, Istanbul: Istanbul University Publications, 1951, p. 7.

⁵ Ibid., p. 6-fn 2.

taken part in the qualitative formation and the quantitative expansion of that spirit over the world”.⁶

The term “spirit”, *Geist* in German and *Ruh* in Turkish, might sound ambiguous. However, as indicated above, despite being an extra-economic domain, in the sense of both authors, the spiritual domain is nothing other than the textual context, i.e. the literary and linguistic expression of the domain of economics.

It should be stressed that none of these authors has an “essentialist” point of view since they both ascribe the term “spirit” to an individual as an outcome of certain historical, cultural and economic conditions. For Weber this historical individual “is a complex unity of elements associated in historical reality which we unite into a conceptual whole from the standpoint of their cultural significance”.⁷ Similarly, Ülgener always locates the eastern feudal personality in a historical framework; in short, the word “spirit” is not synonymous with “essence” but with “mentality”, there is no unhistorical eastern, western or anywhere else’s spirit.

Ülgener explains Oriental spirit in an allegorical way, using the metaphor of “surface”: Characteristics of this mentality over the surface are politically; “large-scale land ownership and sovereignty abiding to land”, “decentralized authority”, “land-based hierarchy of ranks”, and economically; “priority of exchange in kind and accidental situation of movable estates”, “agriculture as a basic form of enterprise in the roundabouts of the city”, “the artisan class and their guilds inside the city”.

Beneath the surface there lie “the dominance of the morality of the notables of the village”, “Essentialist claims and the overemphasis of genealogical origins” (Ülgener’s criticism in this kind of claim is a strong proof of his anti-essentialist position), “a stagnant and idle comprehension of wealth”, “guild morality”, and “traditional artisanship”.

The above mentioned characteristics, for Middle and West European (and a few Oriental) countries, according to Ülgener, are peculiar to 5.-15. centuries. From 13.-14. centuries onwards they began to fade away from Occident while in the Orient, especially in the Ottoman Empire, this mode of production, as well as the related mentality and morality were carried on, or from another angle, after a period of military occupations, there was a drastic return to the Middle Ages.

Rationality Principle

“The development of the spirit of capitalism is best understood as part of the development of rationalism as a whole, and could be deduced from the fundamental position of rationalism on the basic problems of life.”⁸

⁶ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. By T. Parsons, New York: Scribner, 1958 [1905], p. 91.

⁷ Ibid., p. 47.

⁸ Ibid., p. 76.

Departing from Weber's indication, as far as I can see, in both authors, the definition of "rationality" is closely linked to three elements which are interrelated among themselves:

- 1- Market regulations,
- 2- Consciousness of time, and
- 3- Moral values.

All these elements are knotted in one notion: "Calculation". Currently, I shall attempt to display their intersection points around this notion.

1- Market regulations

I assume that in the context of Ülgener, market regulations, despite being a complex structure, comprise three basic elements:

- a) Production and Exchange
- b) Wealth
- c) Acquaintance of commercial knowledge.

1-a) Production and Exchange: Ülgener defines "economic development" as "having larger domains of production by rational means".⁹ With respect to this development, Ülgener classifies the means of gaining profit from "normal" to "abnormal": Agriculture, small-scale retailers and commerce take place in the closest domain to the normal way of acquiring profit. Then comes the "relatively normal" domain which includes political benefits and rents. The outermost two domains are entirely abnormal ways to profit, which are criminality and "fantasies" (treasure digging¹⁰, magic, etc.).

Ülgener, affirming Weber, claims that the feudal east has been deprived of a rationalistic economy, that is, acquiring profit by means of calculation resting inside the domain of economics.¹¹ As long as the constitutive element of the market is the exchange-value, a definition which firstly appeared in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, redefined by political economists and criticized by Marx, there is a quantitative amount, a magnitude, a quanta, to be calculated. Whereas in the West, with the development of capitalism, this word signified a moral uprightness in work, in the East the notion of "profit" has been subject to debasement. Ülgener presents a striking example to this debasement: The word "*kârthane*", which originally meant "labour-ware", turned out to be the denotation of "brothel house" throughout the history.¹²

1-b) Wealth: Ülgener defines the level of welfare in eastern middle ages as has been measured up with the social status rather than labour, production and wealth. It has been a political category

⁹ *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimiz*, pp. 128-131.

¹⁰ The film *Umut* (The Hope) by Ş. Gören and Y. Güney, released in 1970, depicts this deviation from normality in profit-gain in an appropriate way. Cabbar (acted by Y. Güney), a carriage owner, blocked in the urban transformation of Adana, one of the biggest cities in the eastern Turkey, loses all his means for income and becomes obsessed in finding an imaginary treasure.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

rather than economic. And money, in the pointed time, was a means for maintaining and keeping, rather than being a means for payment and exchange.¹³

Exchange, according to Weber, is a compromise of interests on the part of the parties in the course of which goods or other advantages are passed as reciprocal compensation; the exchange may be traditional or conventional, which is not economically rational.¹⁴

For Ülgener as well, the origin of wealth is extra-economic, chiefly political, and used for glory and fancy. The mentality is consumptive and the economic regime adjusted to consumption was a result of a static and a traditional working manner.¹⁵ The role of money in feudal mode of production, according to this analysis, was being an instrument for socio-political rank and glory, rather than a means of economic-rational mentality.¹⁶

Ülgener excerpts two examples from literary texts of that time: Gülşehrî¹⁷ and Fuzuli¹⁸. In the verses of both poets wealth, specifically accumulation of gold and silver, is described not as an economical category but as a social symbol of glory.

1-c) Acquaintance of commercial knowledge: Despite the amendments over the “surface”, Ülgener claims, there lies an immovable reality beneath, which is “lordship consciousness” and folk literature is a representational outcome of this feudal mentality. Referring to *Diwan* poetry¹⁹ as an example, a literary genre, Ülgener mentions the hierarchical hailing (to God, prophet, kings, and so on) at the beginning of each text.²⁰

This “hierarchical order”, mentioned by Ülgener, is “traditional authority”, found among the classification of Weber: “The Three Pure Types of Authority”, according to Weber, obtain legitimate foundations on either rational grounds, or traditional grounds, or charismatic grounds. In relation to Ülgener, I shall quote Weber’s evaluations of the second one:

“Traditional grounds rest on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them... In the case of traditional authority, obedience is owed to the person of the chief who occupies the traditionally sanctioned position of authority and who is bound by tradition.”²¹

Ülgener’s expression, “traditional way of labour”, is immediately related to the “guild spirit”. In the medieval morality of artisanship, in Ülgener’s interpretation, going astray from the

¹³ Ibid., pp. 170-182. Ülgener mentions that the Turkish word *Kudret*, deriving its origin from Arabic language, means “effluence” alongside with “power” (which is common in the present usage).

¹⁴ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. by G. Roth, C. Wittic, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978 [1909], p. 72.

¹⁵ *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimiz*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 118-119.

¹⁷ Gülşehrî is a 14. century Turkish poet.

¹⁸ Fuzuli, a *Diwan* poet, lived in 15.-16. centuries.

¹⁹ *Diwan* literature appeared in 13. century under the influence of Persian and Arabic literatures and lasted until the end of 19. century.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 14-16.

²¹ *Economy and Society*, pp. 215-216.

commandments of a guild master was considered as heretical (*Bidat*), as a sort of blasphemy. Authority and hierarchy were two indispensable conditions of medieval life in Orient. Since, according to the sect morality, it is not possible to attain the truth without mediation of a religious master (*Şeyh, Mürşid*), it is equally impossible to be a mature artisan without the mediation of the guild master (*Pir, Usta*). Hence, the hierarchical stratification in the religious sects is observed in the artisans, guilds and crafts that are: Disciple (*Çırak*), Assistant-master (*Kalfa*) and Master (*Usta*). Or, as indicated in the canonical texts *Fütüvvetname*'s²², they correspond subsequently to Valiant/Courageous Person (*Yiğit/Heveskâr*-One who is inclined to the craft), *Ahi* (Junior Craftsman) and Sheikh (*Şeyh*-Senior).²³

This traditional hierarchical order is distinguished by other forms mostly by the fact that in this morality, there is found not the “autodidacts” (*Hüdai-Perver*), but the ones who are trained and raised by a master (*Pir-Perver*). Mastery is recognized only to ones who are capable of opening out the curtain of secrecy and thus participating the community. But once accepted to the community, possessing the knowledge of a mutual secret, this curtain should be closed down to the exterior world. Thus, rationalistic way of acquiring the knowledge of a craft and an artisanship is rejected by the medieval morality. In Ülgener's words, “The rationalistic way of acquiring the knowledge of a craft and an artisanship is rejected by the medieval morality.”²⁴

In Weber's account, this type of organized rule is based on personal loyalty which results from common upbringing. The person exercising authority is not a “superior”, but a personal master, his administrative staff does not consist mainly of officials but of personal retainers, and the ruled are not members of an “association” but are either his traditional “comrades” or his “subjects”. Personal loyalty, not the official's impersonal duty, determines the relations of the administrative staff to the master. In the pure type of traditional rule, a rationally based hierarchy and a technical training as a regular requirement are absent.²⁵

Şerif Mardin, a Turkish sociologist, in an article dated 1984, calls to mind a crucial distinction, that is between “literati” and “intellectuals.”²⁶ Mardin depicts “literati” as belonging to traditional societies and likens their way of conserving knowledge to a sort of “guild spirit.” Thus, the “*literatus*,” whose profession is “to know,” has the duty of both preserving and transferring the basic values of society to the future generations. In this sense, the acquisition of knowledge is supposed to be realized within the borders of a certain space and hidden from people who are foreign to that community. This definition of “*literatus*” can appropriately be attributed to Sufi orders, for example. According to Mardin, this situation of the “*literati*,” mastering the written material and controlling it for the stability of society's “essential culture,” is closely related to traditional societies' attitude of ignoring or never being aware of the “daimonic creative faculty” of the individual. Mardin, in his evaluation of Ülgener's account, asserts that this lack of

²² *Fütüvvet*, in Sufi literature, firstly signifies the virtue of an audacious young man (*fatâ*), that is basically courage, but then the virtues turned out to be generosity and abstinence from earthly pleasures. The struggle was first an inclination towards “fight and gain”, afterwards it began to signify “a combat with the necessities.” (*İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimiz*, p. 54).

²³ *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimiz*, pp. 82-83.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-86.

²⁵ *Economy and Society*, pp. 227-241.

²⁶ Şerif Mardin, “Aydınlık Konusunda Ülgener ve Bir İzah Denemesi” [Professor Ülgener and Turkish Intellectuals], *Toplum ve Bilim*, vol. 24, 1984, pp. 9-16.

“daimonic cult,” grasping the “daimonic” only in its external form, and taking it as an equivalent of “Evil” (*Şer*) and “Satan” (*Şeytan*) have been among the chief features of the Ottoman mentality, which also explains the absence of works on Fichte and Schelling, who sought the riddle of the cosmos in the human being, while the “*literati*” and the thinkers of the “enlightenment” searched for it in the universal picture. Mardin concludes, “One of the most evident features of Islamic culture, apart from Sufism, is not admitting -and even vehemently denying- that the daimonic side of men might be a creative faculty. Despite all our ‘modernism,’ I suppose that this belief has been recorded to the official theses of modern Turkey. In this respect, the most leftist, the most ‘radical’ thinkers of Republican Turkey are by no means different from the Ottoman ‘*literati*.’”²⁷

Returning to Ülgener, alike to Mardin’s grounds for distinguishing between “*literatus*” and “intellectual”, he draws three fundamental dichotomies concerning Occidental and Oriental “*ethos*”:

Rational/Irrational commercial activities

Juridical framework/Lack of security

Calvinism-Puritanism/Islam-Sufism. (The former has directed the earthly activities to definite targets.)²⁸

2- Consciousness of Time

Ülgener’s subject of “feudal orient”, depicted formally alike to Weber’s “ideal type”, had a “distance consciousness” with respect to time as well as to space. Medieval morality, based upon a religious and theological account, according to Ülgener, had a “distance consciousness” as its basic characteristic.²⁹ “Distance consciousness”, peculiar to medieval morality, has spatio-temporal boundaries. Spatially, it is bound by the communitarian relationships; temporally merely by “today”, the present time, which lead the member of the community to an indifference to the future, to “tomorrow”: It is not only unnecessary to be anxious about the future, but it is also harmful.³⁰ On the other hand, for Ülgener, the “disinterested individual” of medieval life is not a reality but an ideal type. And thus the ideal of “distance consciousness” has worked on the privilege of the upper classes.³¹

The concept of “time” and the imagination of this concept in consciousness together with its literary representation entail, as far as I can see, the consequences of a) Regarding “time” as a physical, measurable and hence a calculable quantity; b) Being a physical entity, considering this concept earthly and attempting to avoid it by establishing an opposition between temporal and spiritual domains; while the former, in this viewpoint, is subject to calculation and formed of units, the latter is indivisible, unique, atemporal and exempted from calculation.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 16. (This paragraph concerning Mardin’s work appeared in another article of mine: “The Reception of Kierkegaard in Turkey”, *Kierkegaard’s International Reception*, vol. 3, ed. J. Stewart, Surrey: Ashgate Publications, 2009.)

²⁸ *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimiz*, p. 126.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 58-59.

³¹ Ibid., p. 98.

This last point has a moral dimension which I shall argue below.

3- Moral Values

The basic characteristics of the “moral individual of the eastern middle ages” are depicted by Ülgener as the following:

Rational calculation, with respect to above-mentioned arguments, is regarded as a moral debasement and virtuous moral action is to abstain from it. On the other hand, as again mentioned above, because of the discrepancy between the real and ideal modes of living, and upper classes’ attitude of taking benefit from it, we encounter with this class’s glorification of earthly pleasures and an inclination to over-abundant consumption.³²

Weber, in *Economy and Society*, asserts that in the ethos and style of life of patrimonialism and feudalism, “luxury in the sense of rejecting purposive-rational control of consumption is for the dominant feudal strata nothing superfluous: it is a means of social self-assertion... Positively privileged feudal strata do not view their existence functionally, as a means for serving a mission, that is, an idea that should be realized purposively. Their typical myth is the value of their ‘existence’”³³.

Ülgener indicates that oriental mysticism, theoretically claiming and appraising the individual and the cosmic reality, practically was away from calculating the measurable elements of it.³⁴ And Weber enumerates the “typical measures of rational economic action” as:

- 1- The systematic allocation as between present and future of utilities, on the control of which the actor for whatever reason feels able to count.
- 2- The systematic allocation of available utilities to various potential uses in order of their estimated relative urgency, ranked according to the principle of marginal utility.
- 3- The systematic procurement through production or transportation of such utilities for which all the necessary means of production are controlled by the actor himself.
- 4- The systematic acquisition by agreement with the present possessors or with competing bidders, of assured powers of control and disposal over utilities.³⁵

³² Ibid., pp. 205-206.

³³ *Economy and Society*, p. 1106.

³⁴ *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimiz*, pp. 196-197.

³⁵ *Economy and Society*, p. 71.

Conclusion

For both Weber and Ülgener, formation of a systematic economic structure and developing an ethos according to it is a typical sign of the occidental rationality. While Weber traces the relationship between the birth of capitalism and the protestant ethic, Ülgener, by using Weber's method, examines the relationship between the feudal mode of production and the morality of the oriental middle ages.

It should be noted that, in the research of Ülgener, there are three relationships which are different in kind:

- 1- Between the mode of production and the morality,
- 2- Between the morality and its representation in the literary texts, and
- 3- Between the mode of production and its representation in the same texts.

The first one, methodically alike to Weber's analysis, draws a parallelism between the two sides of the relationship, that is to say, as indicated above, there is a mutual relationship between the morality (mentality or even "ideology" in the narrow sense) of a certain spatio-temporal framework and the economic infrastructure.

The second one enables the author to display the ideal type of the moral individual in distinction from the real individual. It can be said that this distinction of Ülgener corresponds to the dichotomy of "is" and "ought to" in the terminology of ethics.

The third one differs from the second for at this point the level of economics in the texts is elucidated in an "interpretative" manner: The verses in the poetry, at times appearing as moral dictums, are interpreted as the sublimation of the economic activities of the historical individuals' everyday lives.

Assuming this issue, I would like to raise the following questions: What kind of a relation can be assigned to this representational account? Is it legitimate to claim that there exists a causal power between economics and literature? If this is the case, is it -using the terminology of Kant and of the German Idealism- a mechanical causality or a free causality, or can we consider a third kind other than these? If this is not the case, what relates both domains to one another?

Although an attempt to reply these questions can be a subject of an entirely different research, Erich Auerbach's³⁶ major work *Mimesis* provides us firm ground on the legitimacy of asking them. In my concluding remarks, trying not to go astray from the focus of this paper, I would like to mention some hypotheses of Auerbach briefly.

In *Mimesis*, subtitled as "The Representation of Reality in Western Literature", Auerbach examines each form of representation as fictions of various conceptions of "time". Each style of literature, each form of "time", represents a differing aspect of conceiving history. As indicated above, Ülgener mentions the "hierarchical hailing" in *Diwan* poetry. And Auerbach, when comparing Homer's characters with those in *Old Testament*, states that Homeric characters are

³⁶ E. Auerbach (1892-1957), another German scholar, lived and taught at Istanbul University between 1936-1947 where he has written *Mimesis*.

more static and life is enacted only among the ruling class, which is an outcome of patriarchal, feudal aristocracy.³⁷ In a further chapter, Auerbach analyses a passage from *Chanson de Roland*, and claims that in the style of the French heroic, the separation of the realm of the heroic and sublime from that of the practical and everyday is a matter of course. Strata other than at the top of the feudal system do not appear.³⁸

As obvious from Auerbach's method, despite that mechanical time is the same for all individuals; in each social class, historical phase, and dominant mode of production we encounter with diverse representations of time. Weber and Ülgener were both well aware of this fact.

³⁷ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. by W. Trask, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957 (© Princeton University Press, 1953) [1946], Chapter I.

³⁸ *Mimesis*, p. 106.

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What is the Function of Press Council in Civil Society? (An Evaluation: Turkish Case)

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1. Introduction

People mostly face a lot of problems when they have to protect their rights, which in turn gives way to more serious problems such as violation of certain rights and difficulty in taking part in decision making processes. This negative situation naturally results in the emergence of civil collaborative mechanisms to ensure a life in a more democratic and freer environment. Such mechanisms, which represent civil society, defend human rights and freedoms and have a well-principled stand towards the established practices and governmental actions. When these civil collaborative mechanisms develop into more organized structure, they are called Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs).

The current roles of NGOs in the development of democracy can be listed as follows: defending democratic values among citizens; representing the neglected groups; creating opportunities for participatory democracy; contributing economic reforms; and mediating negotiations between the government and citizens. The most important functions of NGOs in this respect are creating public spaces by establishing bridges between conflicting groups as well as creating a democracy culture through decision making processes and more democratic structures in their organizations.

Press Council is a civil organization which consists of media employees and the representatives of certain organizations. The council plays an important role in defending the rights of aggrieved individuals and media employees due to biased news and unfair treatments and also verbalizes the discomfort that occurred accordingly. In short, it has an important function in establishing an organized stand against media, government and human rights violations in general.

In this study, press council will be examined as an NGO defending the rights of individuals and media employees, and the content of the applications made to the council in 2009 will be analyzed accordingly.

2. Turkish Press Council

Turkish Press Council, founded by media employees, is an independent organization defending the freedom of communication, work ethics and the established media principles. In this regard, it is the authority to apply in case of the discomfort due to untrue or biased news violating human rights of individuals.

Press Council practices audits to determine whether media operates appropriately or not. The organization does not have the authority to impose sanctions on media institutions; however, it has the right to publish or broadcast statements to public in order to warn or

denounce journalists or media institutions violating already established media ethics and principles.

In 1986, a group of journalists, namely Oktay Ekşi, Hasan Cemal, Güneri Cıvaoğlu, Yalçın Doğan, Teoman Erel, Orhan Erinc, Yurdakul Fincancı, Güngör Mengi, Rauf Tamer, presented a draft model to media employees in which they claim to bring solutions to unprincipled publishing due to depolitization and to establish certain work ethics for media and a self-audit system. A group of journalists, namely Uğur Mumcu, İlhami Soysal and Nail Güreli disagreed with the idea of council and some associations and unions, namely Turkish Union of Journalists, Association for Modern Journalists and Association for Reporters, decided not to be involved in this process.

Following the necessary procedures, Press Council was established on February, 6th 1988 with the participation of 627 journalists. The chairman of the council is Oktay Ekşi since the establishment.

Not having a legal (judicial) entity, Press Council is a voluntary organization based on Press Council Charter and aims at representing media and practicing self-audits. Its supreme Board is composed of elected individuals from media employees, readers, as well as the representatives of media organizations cited in the Press Council Charter. It evaluates the complaints regarding the violation of 16-item “Code of Professional Ethics of the Press” and Press Council Charter and publishes its decisions and opinions to the public. The decisions concerning the complaints are in the form of “warning” or “denouncement” depending on the degree of violation.

As of May 2009, Press Council lost most of its members from local and national media, only members left being from mainly Doğan Media group and a few local media institutions. The reason for this situation is mostly due to the decisions taken and the problems at the administration level in the Council

3. Non-governmental Organizations and Their Characteristics

NGOs are non-profit organizations which aim at meeting the demands of the society regarding certain issues. Financed by donations and membership fees, NGOs carry out various practices independently to voice the discomforts in social, legal, cultural and environmental issues and suggest some solutions accordingly. These organizations operate under different forms such as chambers, unions, foundations or associations and all the actions and activities are carried out by volunteers (Wikipedia, November 10th, 2009).

One of the indispensable components of democracy, NGOs today are quite influential on setting the political agenda and shaping public opinion; and therefore contributing to a better democracy. They work for the welfare of the society independently based on common goals.

According to their activities, NGOs can be classified into two main categories, namely as “Development NGOs” and “Aid NGOs”. The former aims at supporting social, economic and cultural development, while the later one provides disadvantaged groups with necessary humanitarian aid. Based on this classification, Press council can be considered “Development NGO”.

The roles of today’s NGOs in improving the local democracy mostly center on the following issues: defending democratic values; voicing the problems of the groups which are not represented; creating opportunities for a participatory democracy; and contributing to economic welfare. In addition, NGOs sometimes function as negotiators between the government and the regular citizens; therefore, creating “public spaces” by establishing

bridges between those having different opinions and demands. Finally, NGOs are perfect examples of an ideal democracy culture due to their decision making processes and their own democratic structures and practices.

4. The Functions of Press Council

As an NGO, Press Council has the following functions in its activities carried out in order to ensure a civil society and a more effective democracy for everybody:

- Helping to voice individual demands and to increase social awareness by creating public opinion,
- Playing an effective role in creating pluralist social structure,
- Functioning as a balancing system against the practices imposed by the government or market economy
- Being an intermediate mechanism by undertaking certain functions of the government,
- Voicing the demands of individuals by creating a public opinion for the welfare of the society,
- Assuming alternative or parallel responsibilities for government policies in certain issues such as education, social welfare and employment by preparing new projects and finding financial support for them,
- Having a balancing function against dominant market values by helping to the establishment of pluralist and participatory social structure,
- Contributing to social welfare by cultivating their own staff in a pluralist and participatory organizational culture environment and by equipping them with management experience
- Encouraging voluntary contributions in the activities of NGOs

5. Code of Professional Ethics of The Press

Published by Press Council, Code of Professional Ethics of the Press lists the following principles suggested for media organizations to follow:

1. No person shall be denounced or ridiculed in publications on the account of his/her race, sex, age, health, disabled condition, social status or religious beliefs.
2. Nothing that restricts freedom of thought, conscience and expression or is damaging or offensive to public moral, religious sentiments or the foundations of the institution of family, shall be published.
3. Journalism being a public function, shall not be used as a vehicle of immoral private pursuits and interests.
4. Nothing that humiliates, ridicules or defames private or public persons beyond the limits of fair criticism shall be published.
5. Private lives of individuals shall not be reported except when made necessary by the public interest.

6. Every effort shall be made to ensure that news stories that can be verified through normal journalistic channels shall not be published before investigation or shall not be put in print (broadcast) before a thorough assessment of its validity.
7. Information given on condition of confidentiality shall not be published (broadcast), except when made urgently necessary by public interest.
8. A media product produced by a medium of communication shall not be presented to the public by another medium of communication as its own, until its distribution process finalized. Attention shall be paid to cite the source of media products received from news agencies.
9. No person shall be declared "guilty" until he/she has been tried and convicted by judicial authorities.
10. Those actions deemed criminal by laws shall not be attributed to individuals without reasonable and persuasive evidence to that effect.
11. Journalists shall protect the confidentiality of their sources, except in the circumstances where the source is deliberately trying to mislead the public for personal, political, economic etc. reasons.
12. Journalists shall refrain from doing their duty with methods and manners that may be detrimental to the good name of the profession.
13. Publication of material that is conducive to violence, offensive to human values and use of force shall be avoided.
14. Paid announcements and advertisements shall be presented in such a way that leaves no room for doubt their true nature.
15. Embargoes on publication dates shall be respected.
16. The press (media) shall respect the right to reply and correction arising from inaccurate information (Press Council, 10.11.2009)

6. Non-governmental Organizations in Turkey

As for their locations of the total 1793 NGOs in Turkey, 708 are located in İstanbul, 444 in Ankara, 189 in İzmir and 453 in other 78 provinces in various locations in the country. This distribution clearly reveals that NGOs in Turkey are mostly located in big cities, which shows that they are not evenly distributed across the country yet.

Of these organizations, 949 are associations, 538 foundations, 93 unions, 32 cooperatives and 30 by individual initiatives. Of the associations, 392 are located in İstanbul, 182 in Ankara, 55 in İzmir and 116 in other provinces. As for the dates of their establishment, 106 NGOs were established before 1950, 104 between 1951-1960, 159 between 1961-1970, 194 between 1971-1980, 488 between 1981-1990 and 659 between 1991 and the present. The fact that two-third of the NGOs in Turkey were founded in the last 15 years shows that the importance of NGOs in social life is understood well by the public.

Of 1726 NGOs in Turkey, 234 (14 %) carry out activities at local level, 537 (31 %) at province level, 182 (11%) at regional level, 764 (44 %) at national and 13 (1 %) at international level.

The general problems of NGOs in Turkey can be summarized as follows:

- Inadequate introduction
- Communication problems
- Need for cooperation
- Lack of governmental support
- Lack of public awareness
- The difficulties due to “Law on Associations”

7. The Place of Press Council among NGOs

The official website of Press Council (http://www.basinkonseyi.org.tr/lang_tr/) presents data about the applications and the decisions made between 2002 and today. The following table displays the distribution of the applications to the Council in Turkey after 2002 according to years:

Year	Application numbers
2002	68
2003	74
2004	78
2005	61
2006	60
2007	51
2008	26
2009	10

Table 2 shows the topic of the applications and the decision taken in 2009.

READERS COMPLAINTS	5
Lie news	3
Lacking news	3
False news	2
Condemnation of journalist	4
Condemnation of the medium	1
ORGANIZATIONS COMPLAINTS	3
Lacking news	2
False news	2
Condemnation of journalist	2
MEMBER OF PRESS COUNCIL COMPLAINTS	2
Lie news	2

Lacking news	1
Condemnation of the action	1
Unwarranted complaints	1

In 2009, a total of 10 applications were made to the council to express some complaints. Five of these were by the readers, 3 by the directors of various institutions and 2 by the members of the council. Of these ten applications, 4 were complaining about untrue news and 6 about biased news or news with missing information. As for the decisions regarding the applications, 8 stated that the journalist should be denounced and one decision was for the denunciation of the action. One of the applications was labeled as “ungrounded”.

It is observed that there is a considerable decrease in the number of the applications regarding biased and untrue news in recent years, especially in 2009 in which only 10 applications were discussed and decisions were made about them in the council’s last meeting on September 30th 2009. This number is very low compared to previous years’ figures. However, it is also possible that there might be some applications after this date until early December 2009 which have not been discussed yet.

The main reason for the decrease in the number of applications is that the council has started to lose its unifying characteristics in Turkish Media. As of 2005, many media organizations ended their membership in the council, namely Sabah Newspaper, ATV, Show TV, Akşam Newspaper, SKY Türk TV, Yeni Şafak Newspaper, Star Newspaper, Tercüman Newspaper, Kanal 7 and Zaman Newspaper. With these resignations, the only national media group left in the council today is Doğan Media Group.

The reasons leading to resignations in the council can be listed as follows:

- As of 1994, Doğan Media Group founded or bought many television channels or newspapers and monopolized the sector which changed ownership balance in the sector. Such monopolization was not on the agenda in the late 1980s when the council was established.
- The Supreme Board of the Council is predominately composed of Doğan Media Group employees, which shed some doubt on the objectivity of the council. In addition, Oktay Ekşi is criticized for being the chairman of the council more than 30 years since the establishment and for writing columns for one of the leading newspapers of Doğan Media Group.
- Today many journalists and readers believe that Press Council has lost its unifying power and importance.
- Press Council is believed to have had double standards in its decisions and practices. For example, the council was silent when a reporter were left alone in a snowy mountainous area by being rejected to get into a military helicopter; however it made press conferences and published denunciations for even simpler events. The silence of the council for the above mentioned event received a lot of criticisms by the media and related organizations. Zaman Newspaper announced that it ended its membership from the council as a reaction to this silence.
- The chairman Oktay Ekşi has been criticized for making the decisions on his will and giving his friends the privilege to be a member of the Supreme Board (Memurlar.net November 10th 2009).

- The administrative staff is believed to be reluctant to make self-criticisms and most of the decisions are considered biased by the member organizations. This situation resulted in resignations from the council.
- The council was not successful in having a powerful stand for professional rights of journalists. Moreover, the chairman and supreme board members often published criticisms against their colleagues which even contain insults.

8. Discussion

Press Councils have an important role in creating a civil society, especially due to its effective role in evaluating the complaints made by readers regarding news contents. NGOs should have a principled structure ready to deal with different interests and demands. However, Press Council decisions do not have sanction power, being just suggestions for the parties involved, which weakens the effectiveness of the Council. In addition, the fact that only one media group is represented in the council increased the doubts about it to a great extent. In short, as a result of these negative developments, the reputation of the council deteriorated and the number of the applications decreased considerably in recent years.

The institutions such as Press Council are necessary for healthy democracies and civil societies. However, Turkish Press Council has not achieved its mission since it could not improve itself and adapt to new developments in the world. Therefore, the structure of the council should be renewed immediately.

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**Why Do Social Support Affect Prosocial Service Behaviors? The Moderating Role
of Service Climate**

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Abstract

Taking the multifoci perspective, the present study integrates social exchange and climate research to evaluate the effects of social exchange relationships (i.e., perceived organizational support [POS] and perceived team support [PTS]) on contact employees' prosocial service behaviors. A dyad data of 197 contact employees and supervisors in a large supermarket chain of Taiwan shows that POS and PTS are positively associated with the exhibition of extra-role customer service. However, only PTS contributes to role-prescribed customer service. This paper also demonstrates the relationship between POS and extra-role customer service is enhanced within a strong service climate. Through empirical examination, theoretical and managerial implications are discussed.

Key Words: perceived organizational support; perceived team support; role-prescribed customer service; extra-role customer service, service climate.

Introduction

Contact employees in service organizations often offer customers the first and the only impression of the service organization (Bowen & Schneider, 1985). As services are often intangible, customers will rely on employees' behavior to form opinions about the service offered (Clark, 1997). While role-prescribed behaviors are basic requirements for contact employees, extra-role customer service is an unexpected behavior that delights the customer through the provision of little extras and spontaneous exceptional service during the service encounter. Such service-related behaviors, which are going beyond simply meeting customer expectations, positively benefit the firm (Bettencourt & Brown, 1997). How employees behave in a service setting actually becomes part of the service and influences customer perceptions about a service

organization (Bitner, Booms, & Tetreault, 1990).

Since how employees treat customers is a reflection of how the organization treats its employees (Bowen, Gilliland, & Folger, 1999), internal social exchange within an organization must operate effectively and satisfactorily to have the organization achieve its goal of positive external exchange with customers (Yoon, Seo, & Yoon, 2004). Perceived organizational support (POS) (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchinson, & Sowa, 1986; Shore & Tetrick, 1991; Shore & Wayne, 1993) and perceived team support (PTS) are two essential components of the internal social exchange relationships associated with employee outcomes (Wayne, Shore, & Liden, 1997).

Despite the proximal difference between POS and PTS, employees are more sensitive to support from their teams than organizational support (Bishop, Scott, & Burroughs, 2000). The multifoci notion of social exchange suggests that employees can and do form multiple relationships at work with multiple parties (Cropanzano, Chrobot-Mason, Rupp, & Prehar, 2004). To advance understanding of this question, the current study examines the effects of POS and PTS on this prosocial service behavior by applying the multifoci perspective of social exchange.

Traditionally, service research has focused on identifying the individual attributes, such as personality or attitudes, that are associated with work behaviors in service settings (Bettencourt, Gwinner, & Meuter., 2001; Koys, 2001). There is a need to examine how service climate affects the relationship between multiple social exchanges and prosocial service behavior. As such, the other objective of this study is to examine the direct effect and the moderating effect of service climate when leveraging the impacts of POS and PTS.

Theoretical Background

Social Exchange Relationships

A pattern of mutually contingent social exchanges of gratification exists between two parties who support reciprocity under a generalized moral norm and two parties who conform to the norm of reciprocity to discharge their obligations in the future (Blau, 1964; Gouldner, 1960). Employees differentiate and react to the level of social exchange they perceive they have with the organization (as reflected in POS), their supervisors (as reflected in perceived supervisory support [PSS]), and their team (as reflected in PTS) (Bishop et al., 2000; Lavelle, Rupp, & Brockner, 2007; Rupp & Cropanzano, 2002).

From the multifoci perspective, an employee's perceived social exchange with a particular party should impact the behavior they direct toward that party (Masterson, Lewis, Goldman, & Taylor, 2000). POS and PTS are essential components of the social support associated with employee outcomes (Bishop et al., 2000; Wayne et al., 1997).

Prosocial Service Behaviors

Prosocial service behaviors includes both role-prescribed customer service and extra-role customer service (Bettencourt & Brown, 1997; Organ 1988). Role-prescribed customer service

refers to expected employee behaviors when serving a firm's customers (Brief & Motowildo, 1986). In contrast, recent marketing researchers stress the importance of contact employees "delighting" the customer by providing spontaneous and exceptional service that influences customer satisfaction and emotional responses in both internal and external service encounters (Bettencourt & Brown, 1997; Bitner et al. 1990).

POS and Prosocial Service Behaviors

According to the reciprocity rule, as employees perceive greater organizational support, their sense of obligation to the organization to reciprocate with helpful behaviors increases (Shore & Wayne, 1993). When a high-quality employment relationship exists, one way contact employees can reciprocate this social exchange is by performing the type of behavior valued in their work environment and extending that behavior beyond the normal role requirements (Coyle-Shapiro, Morrow, & Kessler, 2006). High-quality employment relationships will prompt contact employees to perform more prosocial service behaviors (Gakovic & Tetrick, 2003). Based on this discussion, the following hypotheses are thus proposed:

H₁: Contact employee perception of organizational support will positively relate to employee prosocial service behaviors.

H_{1a}: Contact employee perception of organizational support will positively relate to employee role-prescribed customer service.

H_{1b}: Contact employee perception of organizational support will positively relate to employee extra-role customer service.

PTS and Prosocial Service Behaviors

Team member exchange (TMX) is the quality of the exchange relationships that exist among coworkers in the work group (Seers, 1989). When individuals perceive team members as supportive and concerned for their welfare, they will reciprocate by carrying out activities that contribute to the effectiveness of their entire team (Griffin, Neal, & Parker, 2007). Although employees can distinguish between and reciprocate actions directed at co-workers versus those directed toward the organization, positive feelings about the team members can produce a spillover effect toward customers. As such, contact employees who feel supported by their team are likely to exhibit discretionary, extra-role service behaviors.

H₂: Contact employee perception of team support will positively relate to employee prosocial service behaviors.

H_{2a}: Contact employee perception of team support will positively relate to employee role-prescribed customer service.

H_{2b}: Contact employee perception of team support will positively relate to employee extra-role customer service.

Service Climate and Prosocial Service Behaviors

A service climate refers to a set of practices and procedures for service delivery and service quality that differentiates one organization from others. These practices and procedures influence the service-related behaviors of individuals in the organization (Kelley, 1992). Employees in these environments will receive stronger and more frequent demands related to the attainment of their goals for meeting customer expectations. As a result, employees in a stronger service climate are more likely to perform extra-role customer service behaviors. Based on this discussion, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H₃: Service climate will positively relate to contact employees' prosocial service behaviors.

H_{3a}: Service climate will positively relate to contact employees' role-prescribed customer service.

H_{3b}: Service climate will positively relate to contact employees' extra-role customer service.

Service Climate as Moderator

Social exchange theory predicts that if employees perceive that the organization is concerned with their well-being, employees will develop an implicit obligation to reciprocate by carrying out behaviors that benefit the organization (Blau, 1964). In particular, employees may reciprocate those positive experiences they have in the work environment by carrying out their core tasks to a high standard and performing citizenship activities (Tsui, Pearce, Porter, & Tripoli, 1997). In the service literature, Schneider and his colleagues (2005) argue that when employees work in an environment in which customer service is a concern and is a rewarded behavior, they are likely to follow suit and perform extra-role service behaviors as reciprocation for organizational support. Hence, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H₄: The positive relationship between POS and prosocial service behaviors will be moderated by service climate, such that this relationship is stronger when the service climate is strong.

H_{4a}: The positive relationship between POS and role-prescribed customer service will be moderated by service climate, such that this relationship is stronger when the service climate is strong.

H_{4b}: The positive relationship between POS and extra-role customer service will be moderated by service climate, such that this relationship is stronger when the service climate is strong.

Good social exchange relationships between team members does result in a positive effect on role-prescribed service behaviors as well as extra-role service behaviors. In addition, team support can enhance team cohesion and elicit more frequent interaction between coworkers (Dobbins & Zaccaro, 1986 ; Zaccaro & Lowe, 1988).When there is a strong service climate, contact employees who are supported by their team members are likely to understand the importance of customer service behaviors. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H₅: The positive relationship between PTS and prosocial service behaviors will be

moderated by service climate, such that this relationship is stronger when the service climate is strong.

H_{5a}: The positive relationship between PTS and role-prescribed customer service will be moderated by service climate, such that this relationship is stronger when the service climate is strong.

H_{5b}: The positive relationship between PTS and extra-role customer service will be moderated by service climate, such that this relationship is stronger when the service climate is strong.

Methodology

Procedure

The current study drew its sample from a large supermarket chain in Taiwan. The supermarket chain has 36 branch stores around Taiwan. We contacted each store manager to by telephone and then sent questionnaires to those store managers who agreed to distribute the study to their employees and supervisors. This effort produced a pool of 14 branches and supervisor-contact employee dyads. Overall, the effective response rate of branches was 33 percent.

The data were collected through the use of two separate questionnaires and two survey instruments: One for contact employees and one for supervisors. The contact employee survey included measures of POS and PTS. Employees completed their forms in a room during working hours. Supervisor surveys included measures of service climate and each employee's prosocial service behavior.

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of employee-supervisor dyads at 14 branches of Taiwan's largest supermarket chain. A total of 280 employee-supervisor dyads were surveyed. The data from the remaining 197 fully completed survey packets were analyzed. The effective response rate was thus 70 percent. The final sample of contact employees averaged 28.41 years old ($SD = 5.81$), and had been employed by the supermarket chain for an average of 3.82 years ($SD = 3.26$). Males represented 60 percent of the contact employee sample and 30 percent of these were married. The final sample of supervisors averaged 31.56 years old ($SD = 4.12$), and had worked for the organization for an average of 6.35 years ($SD = 2.89$). Males represented 76 percent of the supervisor sample and 45 percent of these were married.

Measures

Perceived organizational support (POS). To assess contact employees' perception of the organizational value of their contributions and care for their well-being, this study selected six high-loading items from the SPOS (*Survey of Perceived Organizational Support*; Eisenberger et al., 1986) with factor loadings ranging from .71 to .82.

Perceived team support (PTS). To assess employees' perceptions that their team members provide assistance and share information, this study adapted four items developed by Zhou and George (2001) with factor loadings ranging from .69 to .83.

Prosocial service behaviors. Prosocial service behaviors were measured, using the 10-item customer service scale by Bettencourt and Brown (1997). The 10 items had 2 dimensions, including role-prescribed customer service and extra-role customer service. In the present study, supervisors were asked to assess their subordinates' prosocial service behaviors on a five-point Likert scale.

Service climate. The branch's service climate was measured, using the seven-item Global Service Climate Scale (Schneider, White, & Paul, 1998). The supervisors responded to a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*poor*) to 5 (*excellent*) on the basis of their observations.

Control variables. Several control variables were included in our statistical analysis to reduce the possibility of spurious relationships based on unmeasured variables. Employee gender, age, tenure, and level of education are commonly specified control variables in studies of POS and job performance (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Hofmann, Morgeson, & Gerras, 2003). Participating contact employees reported gender (0 = female, 1 = male), age, level of education (0 = high school, 1 = college), and tenure (number of years).

Results

Table 1 shows the correlations between the major variables and their descriptive statistics. POS had statistically significant positive relationships with role-prescribed customer service and extra-role customer service ($r = .14, .18, p < .05$). PTS had a statistically significant positive relationship with both customer service behaviors ($r = .15, .16, p < .01$). Service climate was also correlated with role-prescribed customer service and extra-role customer service ($r = .28, .49, p < .01$)

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for Study Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Gender	0.60	0.48	-							
2. Age	28.41	5.81	-.03	-						
3. Tenure	3.82	3.26	-.07	.47**	-					
4. Level of education	0.64	0.47	-.07	-.03	-.07	-				
5. Perceived organizational support	2.97	0.61	.02	.09	.06	-.16*	-			
6. Perceived team support	3.49	0.60	.02	.07	.11	.01	.49**	-		
7. Role prescribed customer service	3.75	0.52	-.01	.27**	.17*	.15*	.14*	.15*	-	
8. Extra-role customer service	3.82	0.87	-.03	.34**	.17*	-.02	.18*	.16*	.52**	-
9. Service climate	3.70	0.60	.01	.22*	.11	-.03	.20*	.17**	.28**	.49**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

The regression analysis results are presented in Table 2. Hypothesis 1 predicted effects of POS and PTS on role-prescribed customer service. The results show that only PTS was positively

related to role-prescribed customer service ($\beta = .277, p < .01$). Only H_{1b} was supported. Hypothesis 2 predicted effects of POS and PTS on extra-role customer service. In support of this hypothesis, both POS ($\beta = .120, p < .05$) and PTS ($\beta = .274, p < .01$) were positively related to extra-role customer service. H_2 was thus supported. Hypothesis 3 predicted an effect of service climate on both forms of prosocial service behaviors. In support of this hypothesis, service climate was positively related to both role-prescribed customer service ($\beta = .200, p < .01$) and extra-role customer service ($\beta = .716, p < .01$). H_3 was thus supported.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that service climate would positively moderate the effect of POS on both dependent variables. As shown in Table 2, the interaction between POS and service climate was significant for extra-role customer service ($\beta = .085, p < .05$), but not for role-prescribed customer service. Only H_{4b} was thus supported. Hypothesis 5 predicted that service climate would positively moderate the effect of PTS on both forms of prosocial service behaviors. The interaction between PTS and service climate was not significant for either extra-role customer service or role-prescribed customer service. H_5 was thus not supported.

Table 2. Results of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Prosocial Service Behaviors

Step	Variable	Role-prescribed Customer Service			Extra-role Customer Service		
		Step1	Step2	Step3	Step1	Step2	Step3
1.	Gender	.020	.005	.066	-.023	.010	.008
	Age	.021**	.018**	.018*	.028**	.029**	.014**
	Tenure	.001	.002	.002	.001	.001	.002
	Level of education	.164*	.193*	.135	-.012	.010	.020
2.	POS		.066	.067		.120*	.119*
	PTS		.277**	.278**		.274**	.234**
	Service climate		.200**	.196**		.716**	.710**
3.	POS × Service climate			.132			.085*
	PTS × Service climate			.050			.011
	R^2	.094	.211	.218	.084	.700	.722
	Adjusted R^2	.076	.178	.183	.065	.687	.698
	ΔR^2		.117	.124		.616	.638
	F value	5.009**	6.322**	8.881**	4.419**	46.930**	42.584**

Note. The displayed coefficients are standardized beta weights at each step. One-tailed tests of significance were used to evaluate the significance of the beta weights for the main and moderating effects of POS and PTS.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

To explore the nature of the significant interaction noted above, this study conducted a simple slope analysis to graph the interaction and test differences between different levels of service climate (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). As shown in Figure 2, the simple slope for

the regression of extra-role customer service onto POS within high service climates was significant (simple slope = 0.45, $t=2.079$, $p<.05$). Within low service climates, the relationship between POS and extra-role customer service was non-significant (simple slope = 0.18, $t=1.15$).

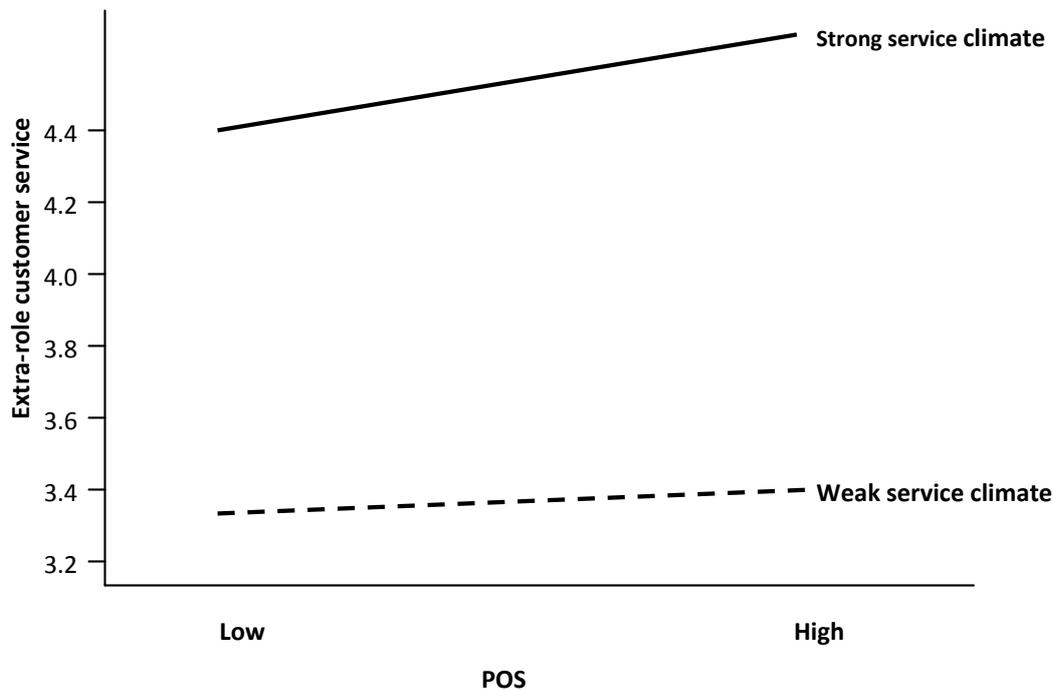


Figure 1. Plot of Simple Slopes of the Relation between POS and Extra-role Customer Service as a Function of High and Low Values of Service Climate

Discussion

Theoretical Implications

In this study, PTS was positively related to in-role customer service, whereas POS was not. These findings are consistent with a large body of prior research, indicating that social exchange with team members or supervisors are better predictors of in-role work behavior than social exchanges with an organizational focus. (Rupp & Cropanzano, 2002; Wayne et al., 1997). There may be an importance in taking a multifoci perspective of social exchange relationships at work when examining factors that contribute to in-role work behavior or in-role job performance. On the other hand, both POS and PTS were found to be positively associated with extra-role customer service. One possible explanation is that team member social exchange can predict organization- directed as well as individual-directed extra-role behavior.

As predicted, employees who belonged to groups with a strong service climate reported that they delivered more role-prescribed customer service and extra-role customer service. These findings are quite consistent with the literature. A growing number of service climate studies indeed show that employee perceptions regarding their organization's commitment to service excellence and delivery of clear service policies at the organizational level are linked to individual in-role service behavior (Schneider & Bowen, 1992; Schneider et al., 1998).

The most notable finding of the current investigation is that the organizational climate acts as a contextual moderator of the relationship between POS and extra-role customer service. In the study, the positive relationship between POS and extra-role customer service was strengthened by service climate. These findings are consistent with the view that organizational climate establishes a context that emphasizes certain extra-role behaviors as being important and that POS then predicts the degree to which contact employees integrate such extra-role behaviors within this domain into their prescribed work roles.

Managerial Implications

Given the importance of contact employee performance (both role-prescribed customer service and extra-role customer service) to service organizations, the results here can provide valuable feedback to managers and supervisors. In terms of role-prescribed customer service, the quality of the social exchange relationship between an employee and his or her work group is of critical importance, seemingly more so than the relationship with the organization. In contrast, both the social exchange relationship with the organization and co-workers positively relate to employee performance of extra-role customer service. These findings remind managers that the various sources of social exchange partners are not necessarily equivalent in their relation to prosocial service behavior. If the goal of management is to promote role-prescribed customer service, it will be necessary to foster social exchange with team members. If the goal is to promote extra-role customer service, it is necessary to foster social exchange relationship with the organization as well as team members.

This current study also highlights the importance of service climate. The climate can signal employees on the organization's expectations of certain prosocial service behaviors (Schneider et al., 1998). Organizational efforts to shape employee perceptions of the service climate – via detailed service codes, customer-related training programs, and strategic use of reward systems that signal to employees the importance of extra-role behaviors – can enhance the overall extent to which employees will deliver extra-role customer service (Schneider & Bowen, 1993).

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Despite the above-mentioned implications, several limitations of this study should be recognized. First, some possibility exists for response biases to occur, for example, social desirability. While subordinates might have inflated the exchange relationship, supervisors were also likely to rate subordinates' service behaviors higher than they were in reality. Previous research has convincingly demonstrated that observed levels of socially desirable responses do vary with the level of anonymity (Randall & Fernandes, 1991). To deal with the effects of socially desirable responses, the researchers assured respondents that their names would never be associated with the findings. It is hoped that emphasizing both confidentiality and anonymity alleviated response bias among the respondents. Another limitation is related to the sample used in this study. Our sample included 197 employees who had been with the organization three years or more. Because of the complexity of the hypothesized model, it is important that the model be

tested using a larger and more diverse sample. Future research is needed to examine how POS and PTS develop over time with new employees. Finally, the design was cross-sectional, circumscribing our ability to make causal inferences; thus, longitudinal inquiries would be extremely valuable.

The results of this study have a number of implications for future research. First, the researchers take the multifoci perspective here to examine the relationship between multifoci social exchanges and prosocial service behavior. Although we use the spill-over effect to explain why PTS is positively related to extra-role customer service, there is a lack of evidence to prove that employees reciprocate team support by exhibiting cooperation behavior toward co-workers and extra-role customer service toward customers. We did not assess the helping or cooperation behavior of employees in this study. Future studies might investigate the cross-foci or spill-over effects in terms of multifoci social exchanges that predict multifoci work behaviors toward different beneficiaries (i.e., the organization, co-workers, and supervisors).

Second, the results of this research show that service climate is actually a more dominating factor for predicting prosocial service behavior than are POS and PTS. Service climate does not strengthen the relationship between PTS and both forms of prosocial service behavior. Borrowing from the multifoci perspective, we propose that team service climate may play a key role in moderating the relationship between PTS and prosocial service behavior. Future research is suggested to measure team member consensus for team service climate as well as organizational service climate so as to examine further the proposed notion of multifoci climate.

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Elementary school teachers' attitudes and motivation toward web-based professional development

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Abstract

This study was conducted to investigate elementary school teachers' attitudes and motivation toward web-based professional development. Also, the relationship between teachers' attitudes and motivation toward web-based professional development was explored. In this study, the teachers' attitudes and motivation toward web-based professional development were assessed with the Attitudes toward Web-based Professional Development Survey (AWPD) and the Motivation toward Web-based Professional Development Survey (MWPD) respectively. The AWPD was consisted of four scales, including "Perceived usefulness", "Perceived ease", "Affection", and "Behavior", while the MWPD was consisted of six scales, including "personal interest", "practical enhancement", "social stimulation", "social contact", "occupational promotion", and "external expectation". By gathering questionnaire data from 356 elementary school teachers, this study revealed that the teachers showed positive attitudes toward web-based professional development, and the teachers attained highest scores in the "personal interest" scale, followed by "practical enhancement", "social stimulation", "social contact", "occupational promotion", and "external expectation". No gender difference on teachers' attitudes and motivation was found in this study ($p>0.05$). However, the significant differences in age were found to be related to the motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development. More importantly, this study also showed that, in general, the teachers' attitudes and their motivation toward web-based professional development were significantly positively correlated with each other ($p<0.05$). It indicated that the higher motivation teachers have the more positive attitudes toward web-based professional development they may show.

Keywords: attitudes, motivation, web-based professional development

1. Introduction

In the past decade, the rapid diffusion of the Internet has not only generated a renewed interest in the role of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) in educational contexts, but it has also affected the ways people teach and learn (DeLacey & Leonard, 2002). With the rapid development of the Internet, teachers have more opportunities to employ the Internet and Web for their practices and advance their professional development (Park, Lee & Cheong, 2007). Recently, the advantages of web-based learning have been widely recognized and accepted. Research suggests that technology-mediated learning environment affords more study flexibility, broader accessibility and improves students' performance (Alavi, 1994; Lee, Cheung & Chen, 2005).

Moreover, the relevant studies about learner's acceptance and usage toward web-based learning have been highlighted (Liaw, Huang, & Chen, 2007; Kao & Tsai, 2009). Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) has been widely used to predict user acceptance and usage behavior (Davis, 1989). In TAM, an individual's belief determines the attitude toward using the system and, in turn, the attitude develops the intention to use. This intention influences the decision of actual technology usage. These causalities are broadly studied and accepted (Suh & Han, 2002; Morris & Dillon, 1997). The TAM has shown that motivation formulates the mechanism of human behavior and action. And, the motivational model was adapted by Davis et al. (1992) employs two key constructs: extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. Motivation theorists argue that the reason individuals perform actions is not only because of external interests but for their intrinsic needs (Agarwal & Karahanna, 2000; Davis, Bagozzi & Warshaw, 1992).

With the proliferation of the Internet and convergence technologies, researchers have modified TAM to demonstrate the empirical evidences of it in the web-based learning context (Shin, 2007). Some recent studies have empirically investigated learners' acceptance in the web-based learning environment (Lee, Cheung & Chen, 2005; Raaij & Schepers, 2006). In other words, teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development can be an important issue for investigating. Therefore, this study aimed to incorporate the extrinsic and intrinsic motivators to explore the explanation and prediction of teachers' acceptance and usage toward web-based learning.

Many pervious Internet technologies related behavioral studies have used the belief-attitude-intention-behavior chain represented by the TAM formulation to successfully predict learners' online acceptance behavior (Heijden, 2003; Saade & Bahli, 2005). In addition, past studies that have investigated the role of motivation in Internet use also confirm that motivation has a positive impact on new technology adoption and use (e.g., Lin, 1998; Stafford & Stern, 2002). Also, instrumental use of media and technology with greater motivation has been found to produce stronger attitudinal and behavioral effects on the use of media and technology (Rubin, 2002; Windahl, 1981). Hence, it is plausible to hypothesize that teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development may affect their attitude toward web-based professional development. To examine this perspective, this study aimed to examine the

relationship between teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development.

In sum, the major purpose of this study was to probe teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development. To this end, two questionnaires for assessing teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development were developed in this study. In addition, teachers' Internet self-efficacy was also examined. Then, the possibility of using teachers' Internet self-efficacy in predicting their motivation toward web-based professional development was examined. By gathering questionnaire responses from 356 elementary school teachers in Taiwan, this study addressed the following questions:

1. Will the teachers' background characteristics, such as gender and age, make any difference to their motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development?
2. What are the relationships between the teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development and their attitude toward web-based professional development?

2. Method

2.1 Sample

The participants of this study were randomly selected from 20 elementary schools in north region of Taiwan. The final sample included 356 Taiwanese elementary school teachers of which 151 (42.4%) were male and the remaining 205 (41.3%) were female. Among these teachers, 101 (28.4%) were less than 30-years-old, 147 (44.8%) were 31-40 years-old, 108 (30.3%) were more than 41-years-old.

2.2 Instruments

To assess the teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development, two instruments were implemented in this study.

The Motivation toward Web-based Professional Development Survey (MWPD) administered in this study was developed on the basis of some relevant studies (e.g., Boshier, 1991; Mulenga & Liang, 2008). As a result, the initial pool of items in the survey included a total of 36 items, which were presented by using a seven-point Likert mode (ranging from 1, "strongly disagree" to 7, "strongly agree"). Six scales were designed for MWPD. The details of the six scales are as follows:

1. Personal interest: People who score high on this scale participate in web-based professional development for its own interest. That is, they care about the inherent joy of web-based professional development that impels their participation. A sample item of this scale is "I learn for the joy of it while participating in web-based professional development".
2. Occupational promotion: People who score high on this scale participate in web-based professional development mainly because of maintaining current job or getting a new job.

That is, web-based professional development is a way to advance professionally. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in web-based professional development for getting a better job”.

3. External expectation: People who score high on this scale participate in web-based professional development because of the expectation from someone at work. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in web-based professional development to be influenced by colleagues’ encouragement”.
4. Practical enhancement: People who score high on this scale are committed to "doing good" in education. That is, they think web-based professional development helps them do good work in education. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in web-based professional development to help me acquire better instructional ways for students”.
5. Social contact: People who score high on this scale participate in web-based professional development because of the joy of interacting with others. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in web-based professional development to make more friends with the same interest”.
6. Social stimulation: People who score high on this scale are usually lonely or bored in regular life or teaching and they participate in web-based professional development to meet others and to grapple with problems in their social life. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in web-based professional development to take break from routines”.

The Attitudes toward Web-based Professional Development Survey (AWPD) implemented in this study was adapted from Kao and Tsai’s (2009). We modified some items from their questionnaire. As a result, the 24 items were presented by employing a seven-point Likert scale (from 1, “strongly disagree” to 7, “strongly agree”). The details of the four factors (scales) are as follows:

1. Perceived usefulness scale: assessing perceptions of the extent to which teachers perceive that the impact of web-based professional development are positive and useful.
2. Perceived ease of use scale: assessing perceptions of the extent to which teachers perceive that the web-based professional development are easy to use.
3. Anxiety scale: measuring perceptions of the extent to which teachers experience the anxiety about web-based professional development. The scale score is scored in reverse.
4. Behavior scale: measuring perceptions of the extent to which teachers perceive actual practice and willingness to use web-based professional development.

2.3 Data analysis

To fulfill the main purposes of this study, factor analysis, T test, ANOVA and correlation were conducted as the statistical methods in this study. The factor analysis was utilized to reveal the scales of the instruments on the teachers’ MWPD and AWPD. In addition, this study also gathered teachers’ information about gender and age. By t-tests, gender differences on teachers’

MWPD and AWPD were analyzed. Also, the scales were examined via analysis of variance (ANOVA) to analyze age differences. Moreover, correlation analysis was utilized to examine the relationship between teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development.

3. Results

3.1 Factor analysis

Through the factor analysis, the final version of the MWPD consisted of 29 items with six scales. The reliability coefficients for the scales respectively were 0.91 (personal interest, 5 items), 0.84 (occupational promotion, 4 items), 0.89 (external expectation, 6 items), 0.90 (practical enhancement, 5 items), 0.91 (social contact, 5 items) and 0.90 (social stimulation, 4 items). The factor loadings for the retained items are shown in Table 1. The alpha value of the whole MWPD questionnaire is 0.94 and these scales explained 75.39% of variance totally. Therefore, these scales were deemed to be sufficiently reliable for assessing teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development.

Table 1. Rotated factor loadings and Cronbach alpha values for MWPDP scales

Scale	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Factor 1: External expectation, $\alpha=0.89$						
Expectation 1	0.820					
Expectation 2	0.821					
Expectation 3	0.611					
Expectation 4	0.852					
Expectation 5	0.682					
Expectation 6	0.682					
Factor 2: Personal interest, $\alpha=0.91$						
Personal 1		0.804				
Personal 2		0.896				
Personal 3		0.674				
Personal 4		0.847				
Personal 5		0.832				
Factor 3: Social contact, $\alpha=0.91$						
Social 1			0.771			
Social 2			0.814			
Social 3			0.767			
Social 4			0.649			
Social 5			0.666			
Factor 4: Practical enhancement, $\alpha=0.90$						
Practical 1				0.558		
Practical 2				0.613		
Practical 3				0.837		
Practical 4				0.770		
Practical 5				0.795		
Factor 5: Occupational promotion, $\alpha=0.84$						
Occupational 1					0.780	
Occupational 2					0.689	
Occupational 3					0.859	
Occupational 4					0.668	
Factor 6: Social Stimulation, $\alpha=0.90$						
Stimulation 1						0.696
Stimulation 2						0.782
Stimulation 3						0.678
Stimulation 4						0.617
Percentage of variance	41.22	10.69	8.73	7.13	4.01	3.61
Overall $\alpha=0.94$ Total variance explained is 75.39%						

In addition, the aforementioned method was adopted to clarify the structure of attitude toward web-based professional development (AWPD). The factor loadings for retained items are presented in Table 2. The latest version of the AWPD consisted of 18 questionnaire items with four scales and the reliability coefficients for each scales of the AWPD respectively were 0.92, 0.93, 0.93 and 0.87. The alpha value of the whole AWPD questionnaire is 0.90 and these factors explained 79.73% of variance totally. Therefore, these scales were deemed to be sufficiently

reliable for assessing teachers' attitudes toward web-based professional development.

Table 2. Rotated factor loadings and Cronbach alpha values for AWPDP scales

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1: Ease of use, $\alpha=0.92$				
EASE 1	0.718			
EASE 2	0.852			
EASE 3	0.732			
EASE 4	0.860			
EASE 5	0.822			
Factor 2: Behavior, $\alpha=0.93$				
Behavior 1		0.820		
Behavior 2		0.882		
Behavior 3		0.870		
Behavior 4		0.815		
Behavior 5		0.840		
Factor 3: Perceived usefulness, $\alpha=0.93$				
Perceived use 1			0.775	
Perceived use 2			0.857	
Perceived use 3			0.730	
Perceived use 4			0.691	
Perceived use 5			0.709	
Factor 4: Anxiety, $\alpha=0.87$				
Anxiety 1				0.879
Anxiety 2				0.889
Anxiety 3				0.866
Percentage of variance	47.14	16.93	9.77	5.89

Overall $\alpha=0.90$. Total variance explained is 79.73%

3.2 Background differences on MWPD & AWPDP scales

In this study, t-test and ANOVA tests were employed to examine the background differences such as gender and age on the MWPD and AWPDP scales. First, a series of t-tests were performed on the gender differences of teachers' mean scores for the MWPD and AWPDP. The result of this study indicated no significant differences were found on the scales of teachers' motivation and attitude of participating web-based professional development between two genders.

Moreover, in order to compare the possible differences derived from age, we categorized the teacher respondents into three major groups: <30 years, 31-40 years, and >41 years. The ANOVA tests, presented in Table 3, indicated that age differences played a statistically significant role in three of the MWPD scales ($p < 0.05$) and two of the AWPDP scales ($p < 0.05$). A series of Scheffe tests indicated that <30 year-old teachers tend to express stronger personal interest, external expectation and social stimulation of motivation toward professional development than 31-40 year-old and more 41 year-old teachers. Moreover, the Scheffe tests further indicated that <30 year-old teachers tend to express more positive attitude toward professional development than 31-40 year-old teachers. These comparisons indicated that younger teachers had higher

confidences such as personal interest, external expectation and social stimulation and more favorable attitudes such as usefulness and ease of use toward web-based professional development than elder teachers.

Table 3. Teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development among different age groups

Age Group	(1) Less than 30 years (mean, SD)	(2) 31-40 years (mean, SD)	(3) 41+ years (mean, SD)	F(ANOVA) Scheffe Test
Motivation toward web-based professional development				
Personal interest	6.06(0.74)	6.03(0.71)	5.72(0.97)	2.95*(1 > 3, 2 > 3)
Occupational promotion	5.42(1.02)	5.36(1.10)	5.31(1.30)	1.65(n.s.)
External expectation	5.08(1.23)	4.69(1.32)	4.75(1.21)	2.76* (1 > 2)
Practical enhancement	5.80(0.90)	5.74(0.93)	5.88(0.81)	1.06(n.s.)
Social contact	5.52(0.96)	5.40(1.13)	5.45(1.12)	0.82(n.s.)
Social stimulation	5.59(1.17)	5.38(1.33)	5.20(1.57)	3.48* (2 > 3)
Attitude toward web-based professional development				
Perceive usefulness	5.97(0.82)	5.82(1.00)	6.09(0.74)	2.63*(1 > 2)
Perceive ease of use	5.78(0.86)	5.55(1.13)	5.70(0.98)	2.85*(1 > 2)
Anxiety	4.39(1.56)	4.29(1.50)	4.41(1.38)	0.42(n.s.)
Behavior	5.02(1.11)	4.99(1.35)	5.05(1.34)	0.37(n.s.)

* $p < 0.05$

3.3 Correlation motivation toward web-based professional development and Internet self-efficacy

The Pearson correlation coefficients shown in Table 4 indicated that the scales of the MWPD and the AWPD were significantly positively correlated with each other ($r > 0.17$, $p < 0.001$), except the result that no statistical correlation was found between anxiety and external expectation and practical enhancement of MWPD. These results in general, supported that teachers expressing stronger motivation would display more positive perceptions, less anxiety, and frequent usage toward web-based professional development. In particular, teachers' responses on the social contact and social stimulation scales were relatively more highly correlated with those on the behavior scale ($r > 0.51$, $p < 0.001$). This implied that teachers with stronger motivation to learn for better social interaction may help they attain more positive attitude of web-based professional development particularly for promoting frequent usage.

Table 4. Correlation of the teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development and attitude toward web-based professional development

	Personal interest	Occupational promotion	External expectation	Practical enhancement	Social contact	Social stimulation
Perceive usefulness	0.44***	0.23***	0.32***	0.47***	0.44***	0.45***
Perceive ease of use	0.37***	0.22***	0.40***	0.38***	0.41***	0.44***
Anxiety	0.18***	-0.25***	-0.01	-0.04	-0.17***	-0.19***
Behavior	0.32***	0.37***	0.24***	0.45***	0.53***	0.51***

** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the relationship between teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development. To this end, two questionnaires to assess teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development (i.e., the MWPD) and attitude toward web-based professional development (i.e., the AWPD) were used in this study. The results showed that the MWPD and AWPD implemented in this study were sufficiently reliable to assess elementary school teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development.

Gender and age differences in Internet related issues have always been highlighted by researchers (e.g., Colley & Comber, 2003; Kadijevich, 2000; Kao & Tsai, 2009). The previous research concerning gender differences in motivation and attitude, in general, has shown that male learners had stronger motivation or more positive attitude than female learners (Corpus & Lepper, 2007; Warburton & Spray, 2008; Wu & Tsai, 2006). However, in this study, with the MWPD and AWPD, no gender difference in teachers' motivation and attitude on web-based professional development were found. It seems that both male and female teachers perceived similar levels of motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development.

Besides, in this study the age differences were found on teachers' motivation and attitude toward web-based professional development. And the result is consistent with those of previous studies concerning age differences in technology and Internet related perceptions (Vandenbroeck, Verschelden & Boonaert, 2008; Wu & Tsai, 2006).

It seemed that younger teachers expressed more positive attitude and stronger motivation toward web-based professional development. Therefore, educators should pay more attention to enhancing senior teachers' motivation and attitudes toward web-based professional development.

In this study, teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development was positively correlated with their attitudes toward web-based professional development. Teachers with stronger motivation would express more positive attitude of better perceptions, less anxiety and frequent usage for web-based professional development. It suggests that, to improve

teachers' attitudes toward web-based professional development, teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development should be highlighted.

In addition, researchers have proposed that the positive effects of training programs on learners' belief regarding the Internet (e.g., Lagana, 2008; Markauskaite, 2007). The results probably suggest that educators should try to find some effective ways to improve teachers' Internet-related capabilities and learning confidences in the web-based environments. It may be practicable for educators to enhance teachers' motivation toward web-based professional development by utilizing useful training programs. This study is quite helpful to facilitate the understanding of teachers' motivation and attitudes toward web-based professional development. By using the MWPD and AWPD questionnaires, educators and researchers can assess and review teachers' motivation and attitudes toward web-based professional development in a more effective way, with possibly higher validity.

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Factors Influencing Moral Behavior of Ministry of Social Development and Human Security Officials in Songkhla Province

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Abstract

The objectives of this study were to investigate moral behavior, and factors related to moral behavior of Ministry of Social Development and Human Security Officials in Songkhla Province. The subjects of 193 were selected using the simple proportional random method. The instrument was a questionnaire on personal factors, officials' attitudes towards working in social development and moral behavior. The statistics used in analyzing the data were frequency, percentage, average, standard deviation, and Person's coefficient.

The findings revealed that the overall moral behavior of officials of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in Songkhla Province was at a high level. The hypothesis testing revealed that personal factors had no relationship with government officials' moral behavior while their attitudes towards social development work had statistically significant positive relationship with moral behavior.

Keywords: moral behavior, officials' attitudes towards working in social development

Introduction

The Ministry of Social Development and Human Security was established in 2002 to promote social development and create public equity and social justice. Its operation aims to encourage and develop quality of life and social security, family and community institutes. These responsibilities are to meet the government policy on social development for all target groups, especially children, youth, women, the underprivileged, the disabled and the elderly so that they have security in their living and their rights are protected according to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand. Therefore, government officials working in social and human development should develop themselves so that they are high-minded, kind-hearted, with virtue and morality leading them to be dedicated in helping people solve their problems employing good governance and equity.

Purposes of the study

This study aims to investigate:

1. ethical behavior of government officials working for the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in Songkhla Province
2. factors related to moral behavior of Ministry of Social Development and Human Security officials in Songkhla Province

Hypotheses of the study

1. Personal factors are related to moral behavior of government officials
2. Attitudes towards social development are related to moral behavior of government officials

Research methodology

Population and subjects

The population for this study consisted of 231 government officials, permanent employees and government employees working for 9 agencies attached to the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security except for the head of each agency. Krejcie and Morgan table was used to determine the sample size of 193 persons.

Research instruments

The research instrument was a questionnaire consisting of 4 parts: part 1. Personal data, part 2. An attitude measurement form to measure attitudes towards social development, part 3. A moral behavior assessment form to assess government officials' moral behavior according to the 5 core values specified by the Office of Civil Service Commission (OCSC), part 4. An open-ended questions (3 items) asking opinions on moral behavior development, problem and obstacles to development, and suggested solutions to problems in developing moral behavior of government officials by their agency (organization).

Data collection

The researcher distributed the revised version of the questionnaire to the government officials who were the subjects to answer and collect the questionnaires back in 10 days. All the 193 or 100 percent copies of the questionnaire were returned.

Data analysis

The statistics employed in analyzing the data were as follows. The data on personal factors were analyzed using frequency and percentage. The data on attitudes towards social development work and moral behavior of the government officials were analyzed using average and standard deviation. The relationships between personal factors and attitudes towards social development work and moral behavior were analyzed using Pearson's product moment correlation.

Results of the study

Attitudes towards social development work

The results of the study on attitudes towards social development work revealed that the overall belief in the characteristics related to social development work of the subject group was high ($X=2.43$). Overall, the subject group's assessment on the characteristics related to social development work was at a

moderate level ($X=1.81$), as a result, their attitudes towards social development work were at a moderate level.

Levels of ethical moral behavior

From the study on ethical moral behavior according to the 5 core values, it was found that the overall level of the subject group in terms of ethical moral behavior was high ($X=4.09$). When considered by item, it was found that all items of the ethical moral behavior were at a high level with the highest average for Result orientation followed by Nondiscrimination. The lowest average was on Moral courage.

Results of hypothesis testing

1. Personal factors are related to moral behavior of government officials

The results of the study revealed that personal factors, namely, gender, education, length of service, work position and additional training related to moral did not have a statistically significant relationship with moral behavior.

2. Attitudes towards social development are related to moral behavior of government officials

The results of the study revealed that attitudes towards social development work had a positive relationship with the government officials' moral behavior and the relationship was statistically significant at 0.01 with a coefficient (r) of 0.331.

Discussions and conclusion

It was found that attitudes towards work had a positive relationship with moral behavior of the government officials and the relationship is statistically significant at .01 ($r = .331$). This indicates that government officials have good attitudes towards their work and they, therefore, have moral behavior in their work. This is in line with Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) who claim that attitude is a component of a belief. Generally, people who believe that performing the behavior will lead them to a positive consequence have positive attitude toward their performing of that behavior. Likewise, people who believe that performing the behavior will lead them to a negative consequence will have a negative attitude towards performing that behavior. This is also in accordance with the study by Amarit Sawatdikun (1998) which found that the work attitude of government officials of the Department of Customs, Ministry of Finance had a significantly positive relationship with their moral behavior, and also in accordance with that by Penprapa On-thong (2005: abstract) which found that attitude towards profession had a significantly positive relationship with moral behavior of professional nurses at 0.01 ($r= 0.235$).

In conclusion, the subjects made the following recommendations for officials' moral behavior development: activities to promote officials' moral behavior should be organized continuously and rewards should be provided to give moral support to officials who work on the basis of virtue and morality.

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The Marketing Strategies of Servitization Performance in Manufacturing-An Example of Giant manufacturing Co. Ltd.

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ABSTRACT

Confronting the sweeping impact of knowledge-intensive economy, most of industry structure needs to follow the global shift and economy structure to adjust the business operation for enhancing the competitive advantages in the market. For the manufacturing, purely mass production and low-priced operation cannot break the paradox of the market. Therefore, the industry's transformation becomes the crucial project for the manufacturing in the global market. Servitization is the perspective advocated by the economic researchers and experts. From the product to the service oriented operating and combine the high-quality products themselves, the manufacturing can create extra value-added business. Recently, Taiwan manufacturing positively transform their business to the servitized style, such as Giant, Asus etc. They make effort to develop their service to extend their business successfully. As the servitization performance of Giant Manufacturing Cooperation the example, the framework of the research will adapts documentary analysis and in-depth case study. It would help for the analysis the service innovation success and deeply realize how a purely bicycle manufacturing becoming a well-known global enterprise. The purpose of this research expects to diagnose the integrated operation strategies of the servitized manufacturing and find out the service innovation model as the suggestion to the other manufacturing or traditional industries.

Keyword: Servitization, service innovation

1. Introduction

Under the sweeping trend of globalization drift, service sector become the crucial element involved in the industry. The rapid growth of the service sector in the 1980s and 1990s was the main performance in the market (Luis, 2007). According to Luis mentioned, service represent around 70% of developed economies. For the competitiveness, the enterprises have to treat the service as the significant factor for winning strategies. Taiwanese orientation of economy structure worked in the past focused on the mass production with original equipment manufacturing style, and normally occupied the numerous market sharing. Karlsson indicated the companies nowadays rarely survive as purely manufacturing enterprises because of the era of the knowledge economy influence the industries structure movement. (Karlsson, 2007) Labour intensive advantage declined in the decade. Therefore, the industry orientation in Taiwan moved toward to the knowledge intensive development and service gradually turns into the mainstream of the developing perspective of the market. Therefore, except of the mass production and quality maintenance, the concept of servitization building and executing in the manufacturing is vital mission for creating adding value. In the generation of knowledge economy, customer demand has been driven. Manufacturing enterprise can blend service into the overall strategy and focus on two ends of “smile curve” toward to the high value chain.

Despite the literature and researches advocated the benefits of extended service business in the manufacturing, most manufacturing companies or traditional industry will still find it difficult to increase service revenues successfully. They may not ready to accept the changes in their business. How to implement the service efficiently and appropriately enough into the business and provide high-value solutions to their customers is crucial issue in the industry. Therefore, the research tries to adopt the case of famous bicycle manufacturing firm as the studying benchmark. A purely manufacturing makes an enormous shift to combine service into their product and become an international bicycle company. It attempts to provide a better understanding of servitization and the necessary changes in a firm's activities.

1.1. Research Purpose

The purpose would expect to discuss and observe the servitization situation operating in the manufacturing and the importance for the transformation. Different from the service industry, the marketing strategies for promoting servitization in the manufacturing need to discover how to apply the advantages of manufacturing to develop the service. The research will focus on the manufacturing enterprise which servitized successfully and analyze the marketing strategy. As the new service” Ride life, Ride Giant” cycling tour business promoted by the Giant Manufacturing Co. Ltd. in 2008 as the research target. It would be intensively related to the Giant manufacturing Co. Ltd’s business management.

Firstly, the research diagnoses the influence of the servitized operation in the manufacturing transformation. By analyzing the best practice, provide the perspective of the servitized marketing strategies and as the suggestion for the manufacturing enterprises or the goods-dominant companies in Taiwan which confront the transition performance.

1.2. Research Scope

Giant Manufacturing Co. Ltd. Divide their business structure into different sections. Cross-disciplinary business for the traditional manufacturing becomes new business trend in the market. The servitization of Giant includes four parts, brand management, athletic marketing, social marketing and the new business, cycling tour agent. Each part contains some factors which affecting the servitization performance. Therefore, the project of bicycle tour agent will become the focus of this research but will adopt the ideas and service value from the other three.

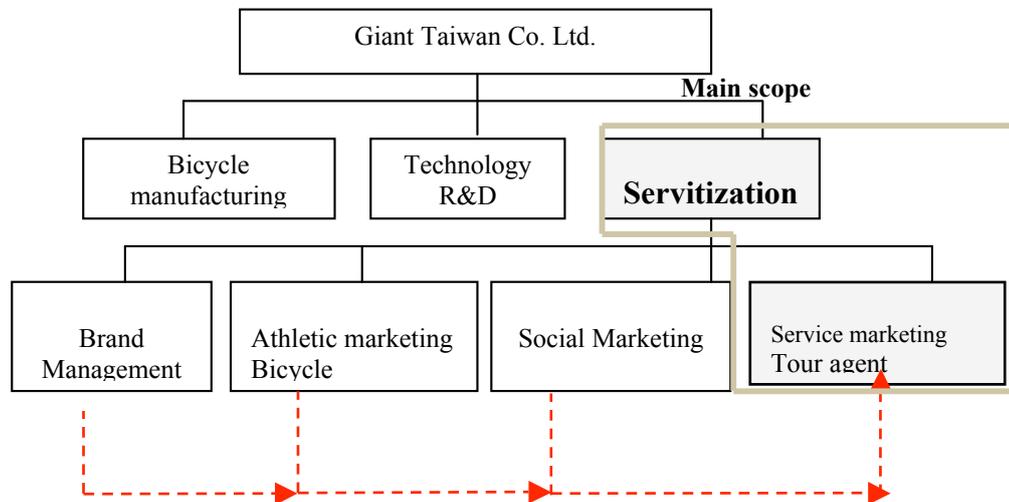


Figure 1. The research scope

2. Literature Review

2.1. Service-dominant logic

Kolter indicated the manufacturing produce the tangible products; however service be seen as offering something intangible (Kolter, 2003). The products become more complex with then generation movement, more service need to support them, pure manufacturing is difficult to survive.(Karlsson, 2007 and Neely, 2007) However, some findings indicated manufacturer becoming a service-focused business still existed some significant management challenges of the transferring process. The manufacturers can try to maintain the service logic while running the business. Products are usually accompanied by part of involved in service, and the services are facilitated by the products. Service activities have usually been customer-centric; nevertheless, customers would sometimes doubt about feasibility of the intangible service. The service looks to the manufacturing area for techniques support. Quality guaranty of products can enhance the service efficiency. (Grandall, 2008) The relationship between product and service gradually becomes closer. (Fitzsimmons, 2006, Ward & Graves, 2007)

2.2. Servitization in the manufacturing.

Servitization is the offer of integrated packages of product, service, support, self-service and knowledge to add value to the company's core business. (Vandermerwe & Rada, 1988) According to the mention from Vandermerwe and Rada about the idea of servitization, purely production gradually transformed. Service attached by the product such as basic post-sale

service was not enough satisfied the customers. Service needs to become the main support while promoting the products.

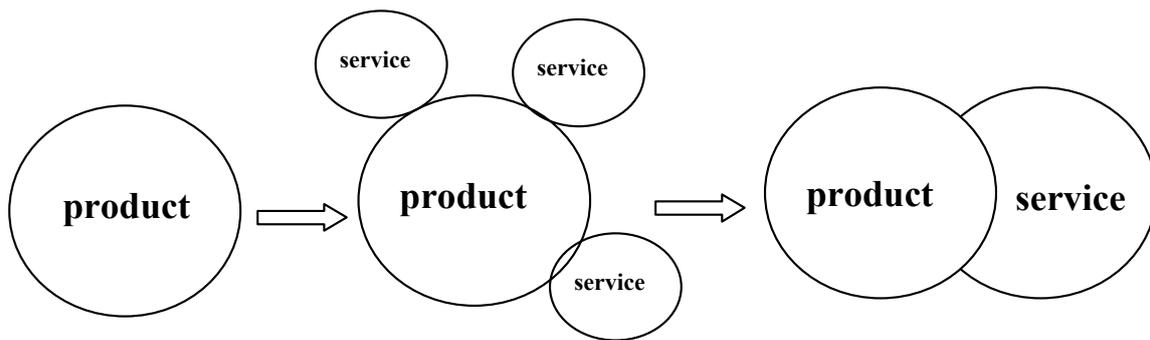


Figure 2. The relationship model between product and service

(Vandermerwe & Rada, 1988)

“Because of the economic impact, the manufacturing needed to think about how they add value to their customers’ outcome instead of merely focusing on the product transaction. They have to creating products that act like service systems. “(Morse, 2009) Different industries even the product-oriented manufacturing treat service appropriately as the customer-oriented strategy will create higher value in their business. Products represent only a small part of total creation, the main share of total value creation stems from services. However, because of the operation difference between manufacturing or traditional industry with the service industry, the company definitely need to the exploit the benefit of extend the service business with its own strategies. (Heiko, Thomas, and Elgar, 2006).

2.3. Boundary eliminated between manufacturing and service

Offering the appropriate service strategies is to satisfy the customer oriented market. For attracting the consumers’ attention, the service marketing definitely needs to be complete and emerge with its products. “A good manufacturer sees products sales as a single transaction, however, a service provider view and deals with a valued long-term relationship “(Morse, 2009) For promoting the service, the consideration should be multidimensional. For the customers’ diverse demand, the multidimensional service system can display the most effective function and outcome. Service design and offering is the action for creating the experience for the customers. Mange the service strategy well can create more impressive memory about the product to the customers. It will enhance the attention by recall the service touching (Audrey Gilmore & David Carson, 1996).

For the services supporting the core activities in the further business, integrating the manufacturing area with service can gain more advanced knowledge about customer's operations and demand.(Oliva & Kallenberg, 2003) As a successful service strategy, it needed to understand the market comprehensively for respect of the customer needs, market potential and future trends. The service position also needs to be defined because positioning is basic on the customers. The company must figure out what the perspective of product promotion and service operation to the customers and how to achieve the business goal (Young Zhu Lin, 2003). In the figure 3, Dr. Lin in his book, “Service Marketing “quoted Regis Mckenna’s positioning

model for explaining the service operation. From the model, it can extend and advance the Vandermerwe and Rada’s idea of servitization. Except the product quality and design, clear service position and operation will influence the enterprise, the market and crucial relationship with their customers.

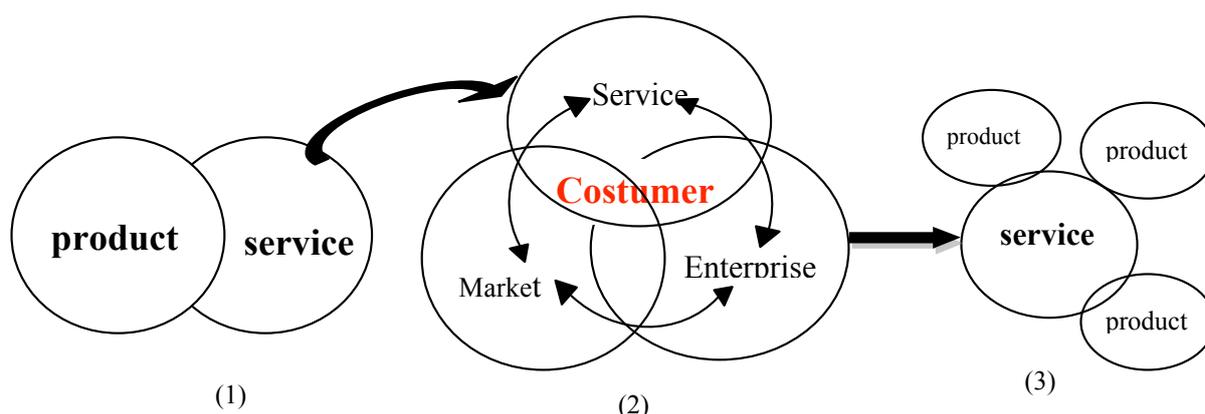


Figure 3. Service positioning(2) (Regis Mckenna, 1992)

Therefore, building up a network for sales, technical staff and external experts can systematically collect current and future customers’ needs. (Heiko, Thomas, and Elgar, 2006) The service mission is not just to make the product work, but to help the customer to maximize all different processes, actions and strategies that are able to associate with a supplier's product. (Heiko, Thomas, and Elgar, 2006)

3. Servitization-Giant tour agent

3.1. Giant Manufacturing Co. Ltd

Since 1972, Giant was an original bicycle-equipment manufacturing. During 1980s, Giant earned the brand and dedicated to build the reputation across other continents and countries. Till now, Giant bicycle company occupied fifty-odd countries cyclists with over ten thousand retail outlets still make efforts to work on the growth of cycling and cycling culture. The Giant headquarter is in Taiwan and the manufacturing factories is set up in both China and Netherland and produce around 5 million various bicycles per year. The business extends to the Europe, America, Japan, China, Canada, Australia and Taiwan. The Capital till now is around two billion eight hundred million dollars.

1986-1992	Own Branding & Manufacturing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *OEM management is hard to sustain the long-term management and survive for a company * strengthen the R&D skill and product quality for enhance the brand image. * Establish branch company in the Europe, America then to other countries to learn the know-how of local market.
1992-2002	Global Management&	*Expand the business to China and set up

	Globalization	global production station
2002~	Global Marketing and Expanding	*Create the value chain of GIANT: From R&D, S/Chain planning, procurement, manufacture, distribution, marketing, customer/dealers, service management, GIANT manage all the sections and integrate them to create more advantages.

Except of the technological innovation and design, the Servitization was another focus while running business. Giant notice the economic shift, they have to upgrade their business from purely mass production to the service-orientation till now total customer orientation.

It would be beneficial for winning the customers' attention. Jing-Yi Lin, the author of "Giant Legend-global brand management" (Jing-Yi Ln, 2008) indicated from the figure 4 that Giant places importance on creating the value with customers. Professional production and servitization enhance the highly potential business opportunities and positive customer experience.

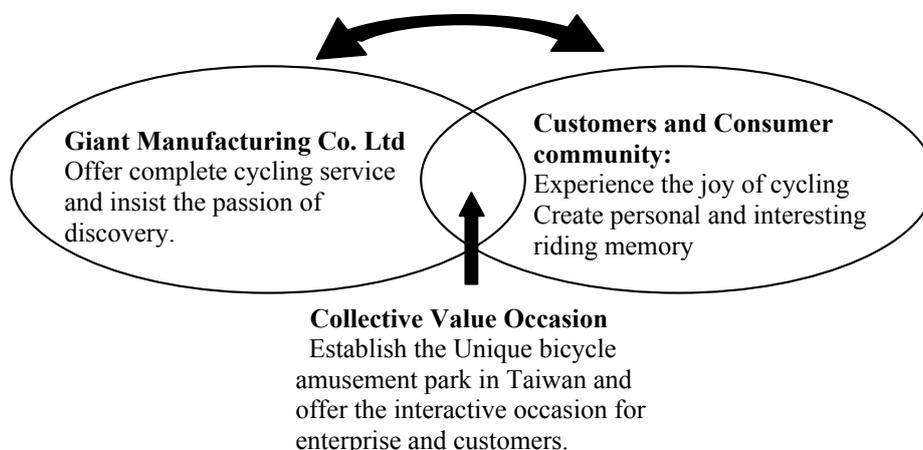


Figure 4. Collective Value Creation between Giant and Customers
 (Jing-Yi Lin,2008 and Giant Manufacturing Co. Ltd.)

GIANT not only develop their products and brand successfully, they do pay more attention on their customers. They have Industry art manufacturing skill and diverse product management system. The central faith they have is Total Customer Orientation (TCO) and be a total cycling solution provider. Merely a producer or manufacture would handle difficultly the diverse customers' demand and enormous market shift.

3.2. Bicycle Tour Agent-“Ride Life, Ride Giant”

Giant promoted the new business branch, Giant bicycle tour agent in 2008. It is brand new service for the manufacturing company. Because of the green issue springing up, people gradually pay attention on the environmental and health problems. Therefore, Giant manipulated their product advantages to offer more service and create more purchasing experience for the customers. Giant Bicycle Tour Agent will customize the route of bicycle travelling for different demand. Not only travelling round-the-Taiwan but Mainland China and

Japan customers can experience the complete tour service in anytime. Fifteen bicycle tourists will experience the Giant customized service including:

- Before the trip: Customized cycling tour design, professional cycling training and cycling tour class.
- During the trip: During the trip, The agent will assign a group of experts to maintain bicycle and offer repairing service, guiding the tour, and recording the tour processing for the customers.
- After the trip: Mailing the tour record and edited video to the customers, share more cycling tour information to the customers, build complete consumer network for sharing the information and experience etc.

The position of Tour agent operation just would be similar with service industry. As a manufacturing company is probably too risky to run a tour agent, GIANT however combines the tour, pre- technique service, and post-sale service with their product, a convenient transportation with environmental protection concept. With their high quality products, they service they offer will be easier attract customers' attention and trust. Even if this is a new business for GIANT, the cycling tour project attracts more and more customers. Not only the tour of Taiwan, but they keep promoting cycling tours to Japan and China for their clients.

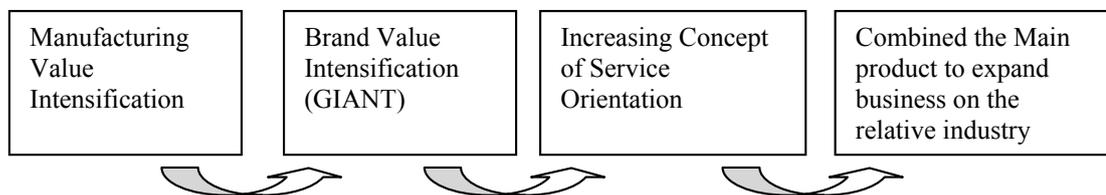


Figure 5: The servitization process of GIANT

GIANT establish their manufacturing value and brand image in the market. They add the service components into their physical object, the tangible products. Therefore, even they try to promote new business, the perspective of servitization apply well while running the business.

4. Concluding remarks

Servitization is the recognized concept that manufacturing business operation moved from purely producing and selling goods to extend integrated serviced-oriented or service-product operation. As the product-oriented business, manipulating the service strategy into the product is the challenge; however, if the manufacturing enterprise put effort to develop the new service strategy and service innovation for their customers, the value of the products will increase and be qualified to compete with the global market. Except delivering the core product, service supporting to the use of product and cooperate with the market trend would enhance the firms' industry value-adding. Manufacturing in Taiwan owns its advantage of quality and integrating production system. Combined the high-valued tangible product with customer-centric service design, it would be create more incredible business opportunities. The manufacturing, good-dominated company or traditional industry would still have chance to transform successfully.

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Performance Appraisal Process: Linkages of Fairness, Satisfaction and Commitment

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Abstract

Performance appraisal (PA) system presents valuable performance information to a number of critical human resource activities, such as the allocation of rewards (Holland et. al., 2005; Boxall & Purcell, 2003; Allen & Meyer, 1990); feedback on the development and assessment of training needs (Taylor et. al. 1995); and credentials for legal purposes (Jordan, 1990). Due to the paradox facets of performance appraisal system, major issues in related to an intricate dynamic relationship between employee satisfaction and perception of fairness are raised (Allen & Meyer, 1990). This study explores the relationship of the perception of fairness of and satisfaction with performance appraisal process using Greenberg's (1987, 1990) hypothesized four-factor of organizational justice as a theoretical framework. This study seeks to understand the linkages between perceived fairness and employee satisfactions towards the system on organizational commitment. Better understanding of the perceptions of the fairness based on the concepts distributive justice, procedural justice, interpersonal justice and informational justice of performance appraisal process and related employee reactions to such systems should provide decision makers with more specific information needed to improve the effectiveness of the system in achieving organizational goals. Data collected from companies in Malaysia were used to test these relationships. By using a structural equation modeling, it was found that certain type of justice may influence satisfaction and specific dimensions of commitment.

Introduction

Perceptions of fairness are important to almost all human resource practices including performance appraisal process. Employees' perception on fairness of evaluation process, the procedures used to evaluate performance, the way in which performance-related information is communicated likely played an important role in shaping their reactions to critical elements of the appraisal process. In turn, these perceptions will also affect employees' satisfaction towards the whole system and their commitment to the organization.

Performance appraisal systems remain one of the most intricate human resource techniques (Holland, De Cieri, Teicher, & Gough, 2005; Roberts, 1992) and serve as great paradoxes of efficient human resource management (Taylor, Tracy, Renard, Harrison & Carroll, 1995; Gibbons & Kleiner, 1994). Nevertheless, individual performance appraisal presume a questionable of measurement accuracy (Roberts, 1992; Allen & Meyer, 1990; Jordan, 1990), stimulates employee conflict and competition (Boxall & Purcell, 2003; Gibbons & Kleiner, 1994; Allen & Meyer, 1990), dispense an immoderate responsibility to individual employees while underestimate the magnitude of the general work process (Holland, De Cieri, Teicher, & Gough, 2005; Boxall & Purcell, 2003).

Previous studies focused more on psychometric of performance appraisal process. We need to understand the perception of employees on the fairness of the appraisal process as it will affect the effectiveness of the system. For example, Murphy and Cleveland (1995) argued that the reaction criteria of performance appraisal are almost always relevant, and an unfavourable reaction may doom the most carefully constructed appraisal system.

Significance of studying perception on fairness of PA

Overall, this paper attempts to examine the constructs of the perceived fairness and satisfaction within the performance appraisal processes, focusing on its effect on employee satisfaction with the systems and their organizational commitment. Specifically, this paper will; (1) Explore the

relationship between fairness of performance appraisal and employee satisfaction with the performance appraisal, (2) Explore the relationship between employees reactions towards performance appraisal with organizational commitment, (3) Explore the relationship between fairness of performance appraisal and organizational commitment, and (4) Explore the relationship of employees satisfaction towards performance appraisal system as mediating variable between fairness of the performance appraisal system and organizational commitment.

Applying Organizational Justice Theory to Performance Appraisal

The perception of fairness on performance appraisal would be analyzed and discussed in the light of Greenberg's (1986a, 1986b, 1987) theory of organizational justice. Greenberg (1986b) was one of the first to apply organizational justice theory to performance evaluation. He posed the basic research question as to what makes a performance appraisal appear to be fair. Further he considered whether it is what one receives or how the decision is made, or both, that makes performance appraisals seem fair (Greenberg, 1986b).

Specifically, what people deem to be fair depends on their experience upon endorsed opinions regarding suitable ways to distributive outcomes and to treat others (Greenberg, 2001). Constant exposure to these standards produces expectations that serve as the basis for assessment of fairness (Greenberg, 2001). Behavior in compliance with these expectations is translated as of fairness, while breaches of these expectations are translated as acts of unfairness (Greenberg, 2001). Fairness has long been considered one of the key predictors of employees' affective states and behaviours. When the employees feel that they are being treated fairly, they reciprocate through satisfaction and commitment.

Fairness consists of three types of subjective perceptions, typically referred to as distributive justice, procedural justice and interactional justice (Adams, 1965; Leventhal, 1980; Bies & Moag, 1986).

Literally, **distributive justice** relates with the fairness of allocation of resources (Milkovich & Newman, 2005). In other words, distributive justice refers to the amount of resources or rewards that is distributed to employees (Milkovich & Newman, 2005). Folger and Greenberg (1985) suggest that distributive justice refers to the perceived fairness of the contents and the consequences. On the other perspective, Deutsch (1985) defines distributive justice as perceived fairness on the distribution of outcomes including conditions and goods that will affect individual wellbeing. Perception of fairness of distribution may lead to emotional feelings and emotional behaviors as it relates to individual's cognitive decision (Greenberg, 1987). According to Greenberg and Cropanzano (2001), unfair treatment of individuals tends to produce negative attitudes and behaviors than those who are treated fairly.

Distributive justice has been expansively studied over the past few decades since the equity theory was first developed by Adams (1963). Early research (Adams, 1965) paid attention to distributive justice based on social exchange theory, which suggests that employees perceive unfair treatment when they receive less returns than they expected (Greenberg, 1990).

According to Adams, people were not concerned about the absolute level of outcomes per se, but whether those outcomes were fair. Adams suggested that one way to determine whether an outcome was fair was to calculate the ratio of one's outcomes (e.g., compensation, promotions, and development) to their contributions or inputs (e.g., effort, time, education, intelligence, and experience) and then compare that ratio with that of a comparison other.

On the other hand, **procedural justice** refers to the process used to make pay decisions (Brockner, Leung & Skarlick, 2000), the fairness of the means that an organizations uses to determine outcomes (Milkovich & Newman, 2005), or the process of decision making for the distribution (Folger & Konovsky, 1989). Procedural justice proposes that the way a pay decision is made maybe as significant as the results of the decisions to the employees (Milkovich & Newman, 2005). Hence, procedural justice concentrates on employee attention in related to the procedures in making decisions (Milkovich and Newman, 2005; Folger and Konovsky, 1989). The employee is concerned about whether the decision process is fair and the process used to determine the outcome was just (Folger and Greenberg, 1985). These procedures should be constant, bias free and include the concerns of all groups and be morally acceptable (Leventhal, 1980).

The most recent studies in the justice literature focuses on the importance of the quality of the interpersonal treatment people receive when procedures are implemented or interactional justice. Feedback discussions which include a review of past performance, acknowledgements of strengths, and identification of areas for future development are crucial in performance appraisal process. Thus, perceptions of interactional justice are likely positively linked to satisfaction with performance appraisal feedback. **Interactional justice** is defines as the quality of interpersonal treatment received during the enactment of organizational procedures (Bies and Moag, 1986). Interactional justice is fostered when decision makers treat people with respect and sensitivity and explain the rationale for decision (Bies & Moag, 1986). More recently, interactional justice has come to be seen as consisting of two specific types of interpersonal treatment: interpersonal and informational justice (Greenberg, 1990).

Interpersonal justice refers to treatment with politeness, dignity, and respect by those who execute procedures or determine outcomes. Interpersonal treatment includes interpersonal communication (Folger and Cropanzano, 1998; Greenberg, 1990). Interpersonal justice reflects the degree of which people are treated with politeness, dignity, and respect by authorities. **Informational justice** refers to the explanations of why procedures were used in a certain way or outcomes were distributed in a certain fashion. Informational justice focuses on the enactment and explanation of decision making procedures (Greenberg, 1990)

Satisfaction with Performance Appraisal Systems

Depending on the perceived fairness in related to the organizational justice, there are many reactions towards the performance appraisal. Andrews, Witt and Kacmar (2003) argue that inappropriate distribution of organizational outcomes leads to jealousy and resentment. It creates a perception of unfair treatment and use of unauthorized behaviors in a manner that is negative to others (Andrews et. al., 2003). Greenberg and Tyler (1987) strongly suggest that when there is a perception that the procedures have been used unfairly or rewards and resource have been distributed is an unequal conduct, it establishes a perception of injustice, thereby leading to an erosion of trust in the organization. Additionally, the interpersonal treatment one receives also influences trust. Ironically, a negative interpersonal treatment can amend the perception of justice even though rules and procedures had been applied fairly (Saunders and Thornhill, 2003).

Many authors suggest that organizational fairness in decision-making processes may encourage employees' acceptance of and positive reactions to many types of organizational decisions. Tremblay, Sire and Balkin, (2000) add that procedural justice would affect in stronger attachment to the organization particularly for people who being respected by group or organization. Furthermore, constructive and positive working arrangements influence a greater

willingness to exert productive effort and to provide a high standard of customer service (Ichniowski 1986). Overall, the perception of fairness subsequently leads to an experience of higher organizational commitment, psychological well-being, and increased job performance (Samad, 2006; Tremblay et al. 2000; Ichniowski, 1986).

Organizational Commitment

A large number of previous research states that there is a significant relationship between work related factors (example; job satisfaction, fairness towards performance appraisal) with organizational commitment (Samad, 2006; Aycan & Kabasakal, 2006; Rivai, 2005; Samad, 2005; Roberts, Coulson & Chonko, 1999; Sweeney & McFarlin, 1993; Cropanzano & Folger, 1991; Alexander & Ruderman, 1987; Reichers, 1985). Generally, organizational commitment has varied explanations and measures in the academic literature. Many authors agreed that organizational commitment is acknowledged to be a bond or linking of the individual to the organization (Samad, 2006; Samad, 2005; Rivai, 2005; Cropanzano & Folger, 1991). Based on the literature, there are two major views of organizational commitment; behavioral approach (Allen & Meyer, 1990) and attitudinal approach (Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982). The attitudinal approach defines commitment as an approach in term of nature and quality in related to the linkage between an employee and an organization; a firm conviction in and recognition of the organization's goals and values; a willingness to exercise substantial effort on behalf of the organization; and a strong desire to maintain attachment to the organization (Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Mowday et al., 1982).

On the other hand, the behavioral approach to organizational commitment is concerned mainly with the process by which individuals develop a sense of attachment not to an organization but to their own actions (Oliver, 1990). In describing the major constructs of this approach, Allen and Meyer (1990) proposed three components namely: affective, continuance and normative commitment. They state that the affective component of organizational commitment refers to employees' emotional attachment to, identification with and involvement in the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990). The continuance component refers to commitment based on the costs that employees associate with leaving the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990). Finally, normative commitment reflects an employee's feeling of obligation to remain with the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990). To exemplify, persons with a strong sense of normative commitment remain in organizations because they feel they ought to remain with the organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990).

Meyer and Allen's three-component conceptualization of organizational commitment includes affective commitment, continuance commitment, and normative commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991). **Affective commitment** is referring to employees remain because 'they want to'. Affective commitment develops due to personal involvement, identification with relevant target, and value congruence (Becker, 1992; Becker et al., 1996). **Continuance commitment** is referring to employees remain because 'they need to'. Continuance commitment develops as the result of accumulated investments, or side bets (Becker, 1960), that would be lost if the individual discontinued a course of action or chose an alternative to present course (Powell & Meyer, 2004). **Normative commitment** is referring to employees remain because 'they ought to'. Normative commitment develops as a function of cultural and organizational socialization and the receipt of benefits that activate a need to reciprocate (Scholl, 1981; Wiener, 1982).

Research shows that affective commitment has the strongest and most favourable correlations with job performance, organizational citizenship behaviours, attendance and turnover. Normative commitment had moderate correlations. Most interestingly, continuance commitment tends to be

unrelated, or negatively related, to these behaviors (Meyer, Paunonen, Gellatly, Goffin & Jackson, 1989).

In related to the organizational justice, many previous researches suggest that both procedural and distributive justice perceptions were positively related to organizational commitment (Samad, 2006; Pare & Tremblay, 2007; Fields, Pang & Chiu, 2000; Cropanzano & Folger, 1991; Loscocco, 1989). The authors agree that the level of organizational commitment and job satisfaction will increase if employees experience high level of procedural and distributive justice (Samad, 2006; Pare & Tremblay, 2007; Cropanzano & Folger, 1991; Loscocco, 1989). Both Samad (2006) and Martin (1981) report that the feelings of satisfaction and commitment are most likely to occur when there is a belief that the rewards employees received are equitable in comparison to others. Fields et al. (2000) add that procedural and distributive justice affected both job satisfaction and evaluation of supervision.

Additionally, some authors argue that distributive justice had more effects on both job satisfaction and organizational commitment than procedural justice (Samad, 2006; Roberts et al., 1999; Tang & Sarsfield-Baldwin, 1996; Alexander & Ruderman, 1987). It is reported that quitting intent or disloyal to organization exhibited a much stronger relationship with distributive justice than procedural justice (Alexander & Ruderman, 1987). Moreover, distributive justice has been an influence factor in determining variance in pay satisfaction and personal level evaluation than procedural justice (Tang & Sarsfield-Baldwin, 1996; Sweeney & McFarlin, 1993).

In another stream of opinions, some authors believe that procedural justice would be a better predictor of job satisfaction, satisfaction to the organization and loyal behavior than distributive justice (Sweeney and McFarlin, 1997; Scarpello & Jones, 1996; Yoon, 1996; Folger & Konovsky, 1989). A study by Sweeney and McFarlin (1993) conclude that distributive justice predicted pay satisfaction while procedural justice predicted organizational commitment. In another study by Cropanzano and Folger (1991), it is found that procedural justice influenced the evaluation of the organization and its authorities in related to trust in organization and organizational commitment. Consequently, if employees can be guaranteed of fair procedural treatment, they may likely to be loyal, which is a sign of organizational commitment (Tang & Sarsfield-Baldwin, 1996; Cropanzano & Folger', 1991). Interestingly, Yoon (1996) concludes that procedural justice and equity status had more effect on job satisfaction than distributive justice in the Asian context. In Asian collective societies, which value relational norms and social harmony, they would prefer the equality principle and need-based distribution rule of rewards while individualistic oriented societies prefer the contribution-based equity principle (Yoon, 1996; Rivai, 2005).

Based on the literature, this paper proposes a conceptual model of the relationship between organizational justice, employee satisfaction with the performance appraisal and organizational commitment as shown in Figure 1. Parallel to the objective of this paper and conceptual model, and consistent with the relevant literature, this paper proposes to test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Organizational justice will be positively related to satisfaction towards to the performance appraisals.

Hypothesis 1a: Organizational justice which consists of procedural justice and distributive justice will be positively related to satisfaction towards the last PA and satisfaction to the PA system.

Hypothesis 1b: Organizational justice which consists of interpersonal justice and informational justice will be positively related to satisfaction towards the last PA and satisfaction to supervisor.

Hypothesis 2: Organizational justice will be positively related to organizational commitment.

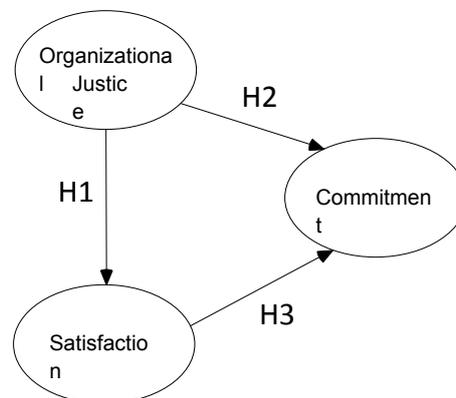
Hypothesis 2a: Organizational justice which consists of procedural justice and distributive justice will be positively related to organizational commitment.

Hypothesis 2b: Organizational justice which consists of interpersonal justice and informational justice will be positively related to organizational commitment.

Hypothesis 3: Satisfaction with performance appraisal will be positively related to organizational commitment.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between organizational justice and organizational commitment will be mediated by satisfaction with performance appraisal.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model of relationship between organizational justice, employee satisfaction with the performance appraisal and organizational commitment.



Methodology

Data were obtained from full time employees of seven public listed companies in Klang Valley of Malaysia. A survey with non-probability sampling method was administered. 300 surveys were distributed and 229 employees returned completed questionnaires with response rate of 76%. The selection of the companies and respondents were based on convenience and willingness to participate. Survey questionnaire consisted of the demographic characteristics of the respondents and multiple-item (positively and negatively worded) survey instruments.

Measurements of Distributive justice, procedural justice, interpersonal justice, interactional justice, satisfaction with current appraisal, satisfaction with the supervisor, satisfaction with the appraisal system, affective commitment and normative commitment were adopted and developed on the basis of established existing variable from previous studies. All variable were measured with 7-point Likert-type scale with anchors of 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree.

Data analysis was conducted in two stages. Firstly, checking for data entry includes validity and reliability of variables, identification outliers and normality of the data. Secondly, testing of a fit model was conducted using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). AMOS 17.0 statistical package was utilized to run data from questionnaires. Goodness-of-fit model were assessed by

three criteria: absolute fit measure, incremental fit measure and parsimonious fit measure (Refer to Table 1).

Findings

The majority of the sample were middle management (39.2%), followed by lower management (35.4%), non-managerial employees (23.1%) and top management (2.2%). The educational level reported was 61.6% at baccalaureate or first degree, 28.8% at SPM/MCE/O level, 8.7% master level and 0.9% PhD level. The majority of respondents were female (51.1%). The average employment with the company is 7.12 years ranging from 1 to 32 years. While the average the processthehe respondents were in the age group of 30 – 39 years old (47.6%), followed by age group of 20 – 29 years old (35.4%), 40 – 49 years old (15.7%) and 50 years old and above (1.3%). Demographic data were summarized in Table 2.

The reliability of composite variables is presented in Table 3. Hair et al. (1998) suggested that usual lower limit for Cronbach alpha is .70, but in exploratory research, as being conducted in this study, this limit may decrease to 0.6. The Cronbach alpha of all the variables for this study is above 0.6.

The subsequent analysis for testing the overall model and developed hypotheses utilized SEM by operating AMOS program. The objective of the test is to assess the goodness of fit between the model and the sample data. Models 1 through 4 were used to test the hypothesized relationship between organizational justice, satisfaction with the performance appraisals, and organizational commitment. Based on justice theory and research, procedural and distributive justice should be related to satisfaction with appraisal systems, and interactional justice composed of interpersonal and informational components should be related to satisfaction with supervisor and satisfaction to the last appraisal.

To assess model fit, various fit indices were used. Chi-square is an index of absolute model fit. Incremental fit index (IFI) and the comparative fit index (CFI) compare the fit of a given model to a baseline model in which there is no covariance among the variables (Bentler 1990). The normed fit index (NFI) indexes the incremental fit of the tested model from a baseline model. The values of IFI, CFI and NFI range from 0 to 1. The closer the value to 1, the better the fit, and the value of 0.9 is regarded as good fit (Anderson and Gerbing, 1998; Williams and Anderson 1994). Root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) is an index of the discrepancy between the observed covariance matrix and the population covariance matrix expressed relative to the degrees of freedom. According to Browne and Cudeck (1993), RMSEA values between 0 and 0.05 indicate good fit and value exceeding 0.10 indicate poor fit (Refer to Table 1).

Table 1: Evaluation of SEM with Goodness-of-fit Measures

Types of Measures	Goodness-of-fit Measures	Level of Acceptable
Absolute Fit Measure	Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA)	0 – 0.05 – Good fit 0.05 – 0.08 Reasonable fit 0.08 – 0.1 Mediocre fit > 0.1 Poor fit
Incremental Fit Measure	Normed Fit Index (NFI) Incremental Fit Index (IFI) Comparative Fit Index (CFI) Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)	Greater than 0.90 – Good fit Greater than 0.90 – Good fit Greater than 0.90 – Good fit Greater than 0.90 – Good fit
Parsimonious Fit Measure	Normed Chi-square (χ^2/df)	Lower limit 1.0 Upper limit 2.0/3.0 or 5.0

Source: Tabachnick and Fidell (2001); Hair et al. (1998); Byrne (2001); Browne and Cudeck (1993)

Table 2: Demographic Data

Position	%	Highest Education	%	Age Group	%	Gender	%
Top Management	2.2	SPM/MCE/O Level	28.8	50 and above	1.3	Male	48.9
Middle Management	39.2	Bachelor Degree	61.6	40 – 49 yrs.	15.7	Female	51.1
Lower Management	35.4	Master	8.7	30 – 39 yrs.	47.6		
Non-managerial	23.1	PhD	0.9	20 – 29 yrs,	35.4		

Table 3: Cronbach's Alpha, Mean, and Standard Deviation of all variables

Variables	α	Mean	SD
1 Procedural	0.914	5.00	0.749
2 Distributive	0.854	4.80	0.745
3 Interpersonal	0.876	4.87	0.831
4 Informational	0.945	4.79	0.760
5 Satisfaction with last PA	0.841	4.80	0.886
6 Satisfaction with Supervisor	0.894	4.93	0.936
7 Satisfaction with the PA System	0.668	4.64	0.702
8 Affective	0.770	4.24	0.568
9 Normative	0.661	4.14	0.485

Table 4: Correlations of all variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Procedural								
2 Distributive	.586**							
3 Interpersonal	.499**	.541**						
4 Informational	.545**	.476**	.507**					
5 Satisfaction with last PA	.285**	.449**	.341**	.542**				
6 Satisfaction with Supervisor	.379**	.455**	.463**	.625**	.591**			
7 Satisfaction with the PA System	.388**	.542**	.452**	.518**	.431**	.460**		
8 Affective	.208**	0.088	0.049	.228**	.169*	.214**	-0.062	
9 Normative	0.096	.249**	0.058	.222**	.171**	.210**	0.084	.270**

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

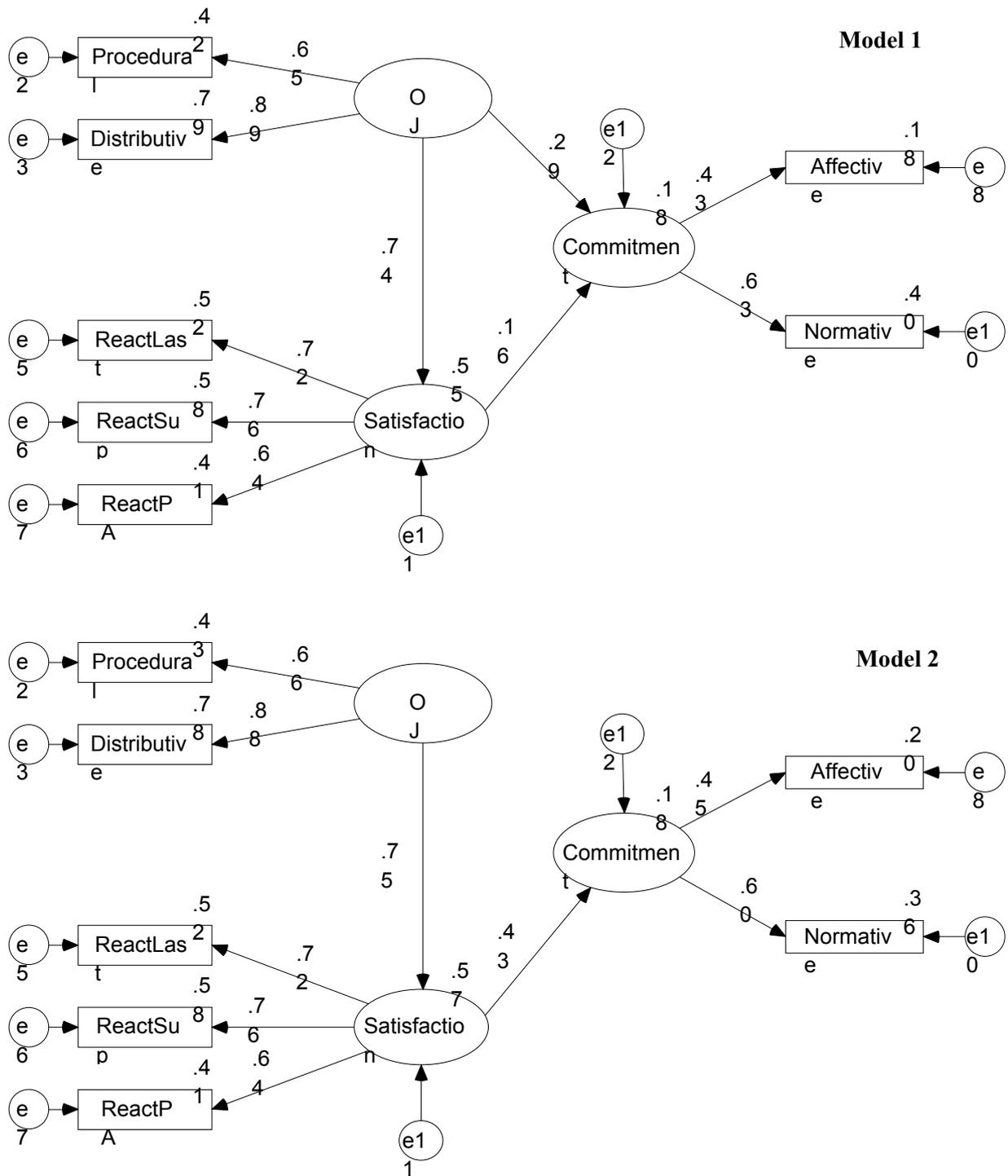


Figure 1: Results of structural modeling of relationship between organizational justice, satisfaction with performance appraisals and organizational commitment for Model 1 and Model 2.

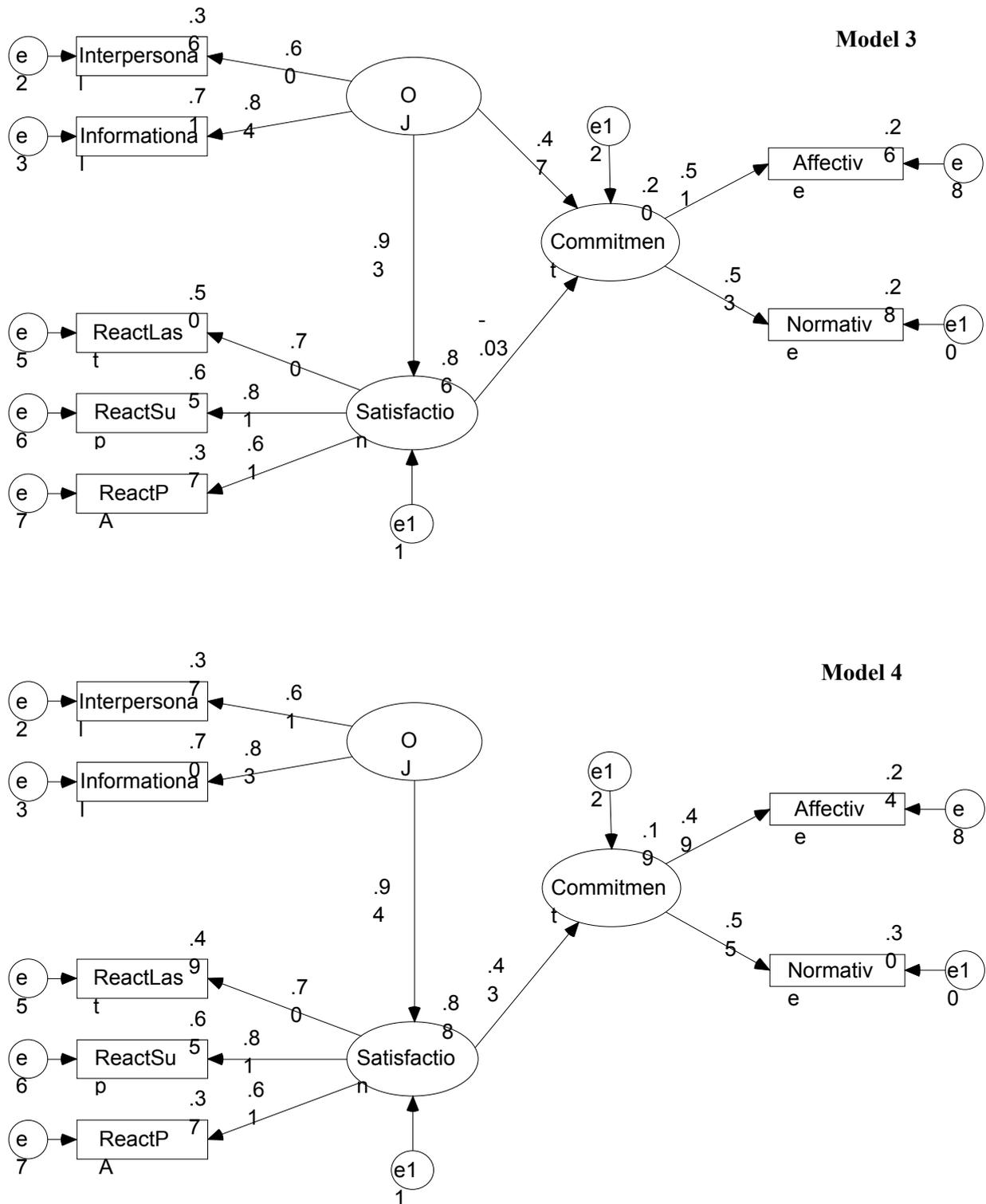


Figure 2: Results of structural modeling of relationship between organizational justice, satisfaction with performance appraisals and organizational commitment for Model 3 and Model 4.

Table 5: A Comparison of Factor Structure of Organizational Justice, Satisfaction to Performance Appraisals and Commitment

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	NFI	IFI	CFI	TLI	RMSEA
1	47.394	11	4.309	0.883	0.908	0.904	0.755	0.095
2	49.495	12	4.125	0.878	0.905	0.901	0.769	0.092
3	32.334	11	2.939	0.925	0.949	0.947	0.866	0.073
4	32.831	12	2.736	0.924	0.950	0.949	0.880	0.069

Table 6: Structural Model Equation Results

Path	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	SWR	CV	SWR	CV	SWR	CV	SWR	CV
OJ(P/D) → Satisfaction	0.74	6.808**	0.75	6.853**				
OJ(I/I) → Satisfaction					0.93	7.121**	0.94	7.149**
OJ(P/D) → Commitment	0.29	1.425						
OJ(I/I) → Commitment					0.47	0.688		
Satisfaction → Commitment	0.163	0.798	0.43	3.433**	-0.03	-0.038	0.43	3.254**

** Significant at $\rho < 0.01$. SWR = Standardize Regression Weight; CV= Critical Value

Table 7: Summary of Hypotheses Testing

	Hypotheses	Findings
1	Organizational justice will be positively related to satisfaction to the performance appraisals.	Accepted
1a	Organizational justice which consists of procedural justice and distributive justice will be positively related to satisfaction towards the last PA and satisfaction to the PA system.	Accepted
1b	Organizational justice which consists of interpersonal justice and informational justice will be positively related to satisfaction towards the last PA and satisfaction to supervisor.	Accepted
2	Organizational justice will be positively related to organizational commitment.	Rejected
2a	Organizational justice which consists of procedural justice and distributive justice will be positively related to organizational commitment.	Rejected
2b	Organizational justice which consists of interpersonal justice and informational justice will be positively related to organizational commitment.	Rejected
3	Satisfaction with performance appraisal will be positively related to organizational commitment.	Accepted
4	The relationship between organizational justice and organizational commitment will be mediated by satisfaction with performance appraisal.	Accepted

Results from Table 5 clearly indicate that Model 1 through Model 4 provide the fit to the data as indicated by the fit statistics; Model 1, $\chi^2=47.394$, $\chi^2/df= 4.309$, NFI=0.883, IFI=0.908, CFI=0.904, TLI=0.755 and RMSEA=0.095; for Model 2, $\chi^2=49.495$, $\chi^2/df=4.125$, NFI=0.878, IFI=0.905, CFI=0.901, TLI=0.769 and RMSEA= 0.092; Model 3, $\chi^2=32.334$, $\chi^2/df=2.939$, NFI=0.925, IFI=0.949, CFI=0.947, TLI=0.866 and RMSEA=0.073 and Model 4, $\chi^2=32.831$, $\chi^2/df=2.736$, NFI=0.924, IFI=0.950, CFI=0.949, TLI=0.880 and RMSEA=0.069.

Test of statistics for parameter estimates is assessed by critical ratio (c.r.). It represents the parameter estimate divided by its standard error. Critical ratio values which are larger than 1.96 prove the path coefficient to be statistically significant at level $p < 0.05$. The results support the hypotheses 1a that organizational justice which consists of procedural justice and distributive justice, will be positively related to satisfaction to performance appraisals. In Model 1, $\beta = 0.74$; significant at level $p \leq 0.01$, in Model 2, $\beta = 0.75$; significant at level $p \leq 0.01$, and in Model 4, $\beta = 0.94$; significant at level $p \leq 0.01$. The result also supports hypothesis 1b that organizational justice which consists of interpersonal and informational justice, will be positively related to satisfaction to performance appraisals. In Model 3, $\beta = 0.93$; significant at level $p \leq 0.01$ (Refer to result summary in Table 6)

However, the results do not support hypotheses 2a (Organizational justice which consists of procedural justice and distributive justice will be positively related to organizational commitment) and 2b (Organizational justice which consists of interpersonal justice and informational justice will be positively related to organizational commitment) as shown in Model 1 and Model 3 (Refer to Table 6).

The results clearly support hypothesis 3, satisfaction with performance appraisals will be positively related to organizational commitment. In Model 2, $\beta = 0.43$; significant at level $p \leq 0.01$ and Model 4, $\beta = 0.43$; significant at level $p \leq 0.01$ as well (Refer to Table 6).

The results also support hypothesis 4, the relationship between organizational justice and organizational commitment will be mediated by satisfaction with performance appraisal. In Model 1 and Model 3 there are no to show significant direct relationship between organizational justice and organizational commitment. Furthermore, β value increased significantly from 0.93 to 0.94 for justice \rightarrow satisfaction path (i.e. from Model 1 to Model 2) and -0.3 to 0.43 for satisfaction \rightarrow commitment path (i.e. from Model 3 to Model 4).

Discussion and Conclusion

Theory and research on justice perception and appraisal reaction as well as their relationship to organizational commitment were integrated to test specific hypotheses in this study. As predicted, organizational justice is significantly positively related to satisfaction to performance appraisals and in turn, satisfaction to performance appraisals is significantly positively related to organizational commitment. This study also found that the relationship between organizational justice and organizational commitment is mediated by satisfaction to performance appraisals.

Future research should investigate the relationship between specific organizational justice (distributive, procedural, interpersonal and informational) and specific satisfaction to performance appraisals and how they relate to specific organizational commitment (affective and normative). Perceptions of interactional justice might matter more when outcome (appraisals rating) are perceived as unfair and the procedures used to evaluate performance are perceived as unjust. Raters who doubt their ability to act in an informationally fair manner may be evaluating leniently to elicit favourable reactions from rates during their appraisals feedback session.

In conclusion, this paper has explored the literature detailing the linkage between perception of fairness, satisfaction in performance appraisals and organizational commitment. The reactions of the performance appraisal resulted from the perception of fairness have been also discussed. A review of theoretical and empirical research appears to indicate that an individual or group perception of fairness and reactions would normally have a spillover effect, which most likely to affect both organizational commitment. Hence, an in depth understanding in the dynamic relationship of the linkage is highly vital in facilitating and enabling performance appraisal to be a potent medium for both organizational and employees' goals.

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Influence of Limited-Edition Strategy on Consumers' Purchasing Intention

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ABSTRACT

Nowadays, plenty of products are in the market and lots of information blowing up on the Internet. Under this kind of keen competition, rational information can not touch people's heart anymore. What people want is not only a product, they also eager about concept, attitude, style, value, or life style related to the product. In addition, people are trying to purchase things that can represent themselves. To satisfy the potential needs of human, limited-edition strategy plays an important role. Limited-edition strategy is a kind of marketing strategy which takes scarcity's effect into practice. This research aimed to find out how scarcity effect of limited-edition strategy influences the consumers' purchasing intention. Besides, how scarcity effect influences consumers' purchasing intention through consumers' perceived symbolic benefits and loss-avoidance is also the object that this research trying to discover. Questionnaire and quantitative analysis were employed in this research. Before designing the questionnaire, a pretest was conducted to select a product suitable for the formal survey. The formal questionnaire would be designed to investigate the relationship between the different dimensions which this research refers to. The result of this research may help companies understand how limited-edition strategy

influence on consumers' purchasing intention and how customers feel and think toward the marketing strategy. And also help companies understand how customers evaluate their products when they use the limited-edition strategy.

Keywords: *limited-edition strategy, consumers' purchasing intention, scarcity effect, Perceived symbolic benefits, loss-avoidance*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 MOTIVES AND RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Nowadays, plenty of products are in the market and lots of information blowing up on the Internet. Under this kind of keen competition, rational information can not touch people's heart anymore. In traditional way of promoting products, companies just keep repeating how good their products are again and again. Or list out the advantages of their goods to catch people's attention. But this kind of marketing strategies can not arouse people's interest in this era. Useful functions and advantages are becoming basic things of goods. People are chasing things more than these. What they want is not only a product, they also eager about concept, attitude, style, value, or life style related to the product.

To make products into popular items, marketing strategy plays an important role. Good marketing strategy not only able to add extra value to the products, but also can arouse people's purchasing impulse. There is a marketing strategy has been widely used on the market, that is "limited edition" strategy.

Limited-edition strategy is a practice of scarcity's effect which many industries often use. (Lin, 2007) It can almost use on every kind of products. This strategy can apply on products from daily commodities to luxury goods. Remember that when Taiwanese baseball player—Chien-Ming Wang plays baseball in America and have very good performance, many companies start to release some limited-edition goods related to Chien-Ming Wang, such as Chien-Ming Wang limited-edition dolls, Chien-Ming Wang limited-edition EASYCARD. Take the Chien-Ming Wang limited-edition dolls as an example, the company only offer 1000 dolls to the consumer. After 4 minutes of releasing, the dolls had been sold out. It is not only because of Chien-Ming Wang's charisma, but also because of people's eager of

owning the product and worrying about unable to get it.

Besides, luxury brands such as LV, Gucci, Hermes also would release some limited-edition products. The Birkin bag of Hermes is a famous example of it. Because good materials of Birkin bag (skin of alligator or lizard) is hard to get and the work of making the bag is complicated, they only can offer a few bags on the market. Due to this, owning a Birkin bag is very hard and the price is extremely high.

Customers tried to purchase things that can represent themselves. And people also eager to make some difference between themselves and other people. Snyder and Fromkin (1977) had said that consumer's need for uniqueness "arises when individuals feel a threat to their identity, as occurs when they perceive that they are highly similar to others." When people are chasing uniqueness, they tend to purchasing something that different from others. They even willing to pay more money to buy it. Motorola discover this situation. Motorola cooperate with D&G and release a gold version of cell phone called V3i. They only release 1000 of it in the world. The price of limited-edition V3i (gold) is much higher than the regular version.

Although the limited-edition strategy had been widely used on the market, but the researches about it is seldom. Brock(1968) trying to discover the psychological effects of scarcity. And he also trying to find out the relationship between personality and scarcity effect. Fromkin (1968) and Lynn (1992) are trying to find out the unique perceived value created by the scarcity effect. Some researchers in Taiwan research about how limited edition effect on brand equity(Lin, 2007). And some discover from the psychological aspect of consumers who would like to purchasing limited-edition products. There are still other researchers trying to understand limited-edition strategy from information aspect (Lin, 2007), limited-edition strategy with internet auctions (Peng, 2007) and limited-edition strategy's extension effect and reciprocal effect (Chang, 2007).

LIMITED-EDITION STRATEGY AND CREATIVE INDUSTRY

Creative industry is a kind of industry that contains plenty of innovation, creativity, original idea, fresh design and etc. Compare to the mass production goods, products of creative industry offer people some more deep feelings and satisfy people's deep demand of their hearts, such as need of uniqueness. Take LIULIGONGFANG(琉璃工房) as an example, most of their works are limited-edition. They carve number on the bottom of every limited-edition products to ensure that they are exclusive works. In the process of making works, they use gypsum model to make their products. In order to make sure their works are limited-edition ones, they even destroy the gypsum model after producing the limited amount. No matter how popular the works are, they

insist to produce limited-edition of them. They said that producing limited-edition products can encourage them keep creating new works. This spirit applies on their motto: "To forever create that which is good for the human heart." Compare to the mass production products, producing limited-edition products is more related to the spirit of creative industries and can bring more profit to them.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

This research aimed to find out how scarcity effect influences the consumers' perceived symbolic benefits, and how it influences the loss-avoidance. Also, how consumers' perceived symbolic benefits and loss-avoidance impact on the consumers' purchasing intention. Besides, scarcity effect can straightly influence consumers' purchasing intention or not is also the object that this research trying to discover.

The result of this research may help companies understand how limited-edition strategy influence on consumers' purchasing intention and how customer feel and think toward the marketing strategy. And also help companies understand how consumer evaluates their product when they use the limited-edition strategy. Finally, according to the result of the research, some suggestions about the marketing strategy will be made to companies.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 LIMITED-EDITION STRATEGY

To marketers, limited-edition strategy plays an important role of marketing. "Limited-edition strategy is a practice of scarcity's effect which many industries often use." (Lin, 2007) "Limited-edition strategy means that firms manipulate scarcity effect to let their products become hot product. Producing limited editions of products, having exclusive distribution outlets for products, prestige pricing of products and restricting maximum order size for products are all common practices that make products unavailable." (Chang, 2007)

In the traditional economic aspect, the definition of resources refers to land and some other visual resources. These are scarcity resource. In the 18th century, Adam Smith (1776) point out a kind of situation called "the paradox of water and diamond" in his book – "The Wealth of Nations". He said that "water" which is a useful

resource don't have the value to exchange goods with other people. But "diamond" which is not a useful resource contains the high value to exchange goods with other people. Smith (1776) thought that the value of diamonds is extremely high due to the scarcity of it. (Peng, 2007) Limited-edition strategy is a kind of strategy which trying to take the scarcity effect into practice and make the same effect of diamond.

Famous brands such as Nike, Apple, Swatch had designed and released some limited-edition products to enhance the unavailability of their products. They attract customer's attention and enhance the desire of owning the product. (Brannon & McCabe, 2001)

Products of Sony—Playstation 2 became a popular item soon in America when it just released. Everyone tried to have one during that period of time. Too many demands make the product hard to get. And the same situation happened when the Playstation 2 on sale in Japan. Many researchers think that this is Sony's marketing strategy. They create the unavailability to stimulate the demand. Similar situation happened on the game cartridge of Nintendo. The unavailability of the product make it became a hot product. These examples are how companies use limited-edition strategy on the market. (Stock & Balachander, 2005)

Brock (1968) also provides operational definitions of "unavailability" by presented several hypotheses in the "commodity theory". They are as "(a) limits on the supply, or the number of suppliers, of a commodity, (b) costs of acquiring, of keeping, or of providing a commodity, (c) restrictions limiting possession of a commodity, and/or (d) delays in providing a commodity." There are many marketing actions can make the effect of unavailability. For instance, producing exclusive distribution outlets for products, making or designing limited editions of products, limiting maximum order size for products, and prestige pricing of products are some common ways which companies often use to make products unavailable. (Brock, 1968) (Lynn M., 1991)

2.2 SCARCITY EFFECT

The meaning of scarcity in economics is that the existing resources can not satisfy human's desire (Bade & Parkin, 2004). Due to this, people have to make a suitable decision among lots of choices when facing the scarcity problems.

Brock (1968) takes psychological effect of scarcity into consideration. This is the famous "Commodity theory" (Brock, 1968) The principle of this theory claimed that "any commodity will be valued to the extent that it is unavailable". In order to understand the principle completely, extended definition of its three concepts – commodity, value, and unavailability are required. (Brock, 1968) (Lynn M., 1991)

“Commodities” means that any things (such as messages, experiences, or objects) that are useful, transferable and have the potential to be possessed. According to the definition, commodities have to be useful. Only if a thing has some utility to a person, it can be defined as commodity. Commodities also have to be transferable between people. If things cannot be transfer from one people to another, it is not commodities by definition. Commodities also need to have the potential to be possessed. The definition offers the commodity theory a broad domain. Almost all services and marketable products can be defined as commodities. (Brock, 1968) (Lynn M., 1991)

“Value” can see as a commodity’s “potency for affecting attitudes and behavior” (Brock, 1968, p.246) (Lynn M., 1991). Commodities must have some positive utilities. To increase a commodity’s value would enhance its perceived utility and would make people more desired to have the commodity. Due to this, “value” can be seen the same as “desirability” or “utility.” (Brock, 1968) (Lynn M., 1991)

“Unavailability” means that “scarcity and other limits on availability.” (Brock, 1968) (Lynn M., 1991) Brock (1968) also provides operational definitions of “unavailability” by presented several hypotheses in the “commodity theory”. They are as “(a) limits on the supply, or the number of suppliers, of a commodity, (b) costs of acquiring, of keeping, or of providing a commodity, (c) restrictions limiting possession of a commodity, and/or (d) delays in providing a commodity.” There are many marketing actions can make the effect of unavailability. For instance, producing exclusive distribution outlets for products, making or designing limited editions of products, limiting maximum order size for products, and prestige pricing of products are some common ways which companies often use to make products unavailable. (Lynn. M., 1991) (Brock, 1968)

One possibility that Brock (1968) suggested is – “that people may desire scarce commodities more than comparable available commodities because the possession of scarce commodities conveys feelings of personal distinctiveness or uniqueness.” (Brock, 1968) (Lynn M., 1991)

2.3 PERCEIVED SYMBOLIC BENEFITS

According to Holman and Keller’s research, symbolic product benefits can be seen as how a product helps consumers to develop his or her unique, visible, and personal representation. (Holman, 1980; Keller, 1993) There is scale developed by Bhat and Reddy (1998) can clearly measure symbolic concepts. And it also showed that symbolism has two dimensions which are personality expression and prestige. The personality expression dimension involves the symbolic conferring of status, and

other statements. The prestige dimension consists of uniqueness, prestige, distinction, and some other related qualities. Due to this, consumers may see the status-conferring powers of a product, self-expression, and uniqueness as meaningful symbolic benefits. (Wu & Hsing, 2006)

To see scarcity from the psychological aspect, scarcity intimates that only a few people can have the chance or access to own a product. And owning a scarce product gives symbolic benefits. When scarce products are referred to symbolic benefits, consumer would enhance more value to it.

2.4 LOSS-AVOIDANCE

“Loss-avoidance” is mentioned by Cachon and Camerer in 1996. They use a game called “coordination game” to make an experiment. They found that participants tend to choose the strategy which could avoid loss.

Dan Ariely (2008) had also do some interesting experiments about loss-avoidance. He used a computer program to do the experiments. And he took students study in Massachusetts Institute of Technology as participants. When the program starts, the screen would show 3 doors which are red, blue and green to the participants. They can click on each door to get into each room. After get into the room, participants can gain a certain amount of money of every click of your mouse. During the experiment, the screen would show them how much money they have already gain. (Dan, 2008)

Different doors have different range of the profit. Every time participants change the doors, they would waste one click (They can only click 100 times). The best way to earn the most money in this experiment is to find out the door which offers the most profit as soon as possible and stay there clicking. The result of the first experiment is that participants are doing so to gain the most money. (Dan, 2008)

In the second experiment, they change a little bit of the rule. This time, if the participants click 12 times continuously and didn't click on a door, the door will permanently vanish. Dan (2008) found that participants are working very hard to avoid the door vanished, even after they found out the door which profits the most. (Dan, 2008)

In the third time, they told the participants the exactly profits they can get in each door. In this situation, participants are still working very hard to keep the door open. In addition, Dan also allows some participants to practice hundred times before the main experiment. He supposes the participants would find out how good if they don't keep chasing the closing door. But Dan still found that students chasing the closing doors and keep them open. (Dan, 2008)

At last, they tried another rule in the experiment. If the participants click 12 times

continuously and didn't click on a door, the door will vanish, but not permanently. They just have to click on the vanished door once then the door will show up again. In other words, participants would not exact loss a door even they ignore the vanished door. Surprisingly, participants still keep wasting their click on chasing the vanishing doors, even the vanishing doors could easily show up again. Participants could not bear the current loss, so they try their best to avoid the door closed.(Dan, 2008)

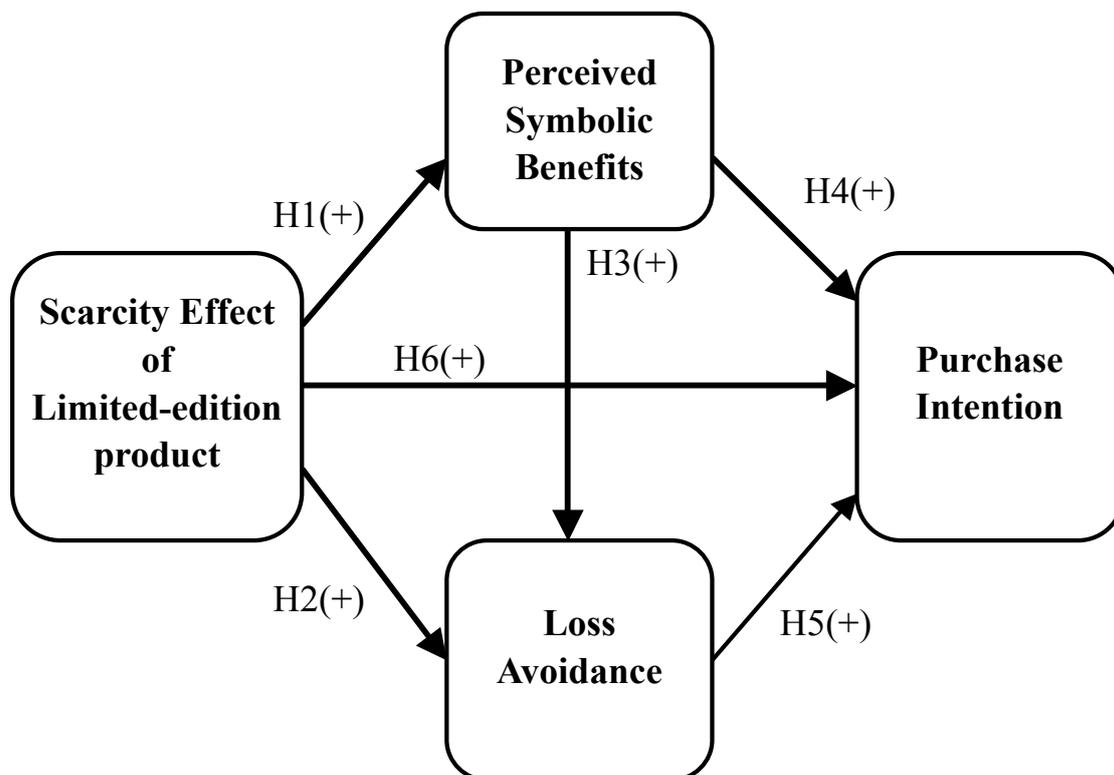
2.5 PURCHASE INTENTION

Purchase intention means that the possibility of consumers willing to purchase the product. External messages such as price, brand, and image of the store can affect consumers' purchasing intention. Usually price and purchasing intention have negative relationship. But about the popular brand or store, price and purchasing intention may have positive relationship. (Dodds, Monroe & Grewal, 1991) (Chang, 2007)

Customers' purchasing intention is also a personal subjective attitude toward the products. Such attitude may be affected by many external factors. (Chang, 2007)

3. RESEARCH CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL of THE RESEARCH



Hypothesis 1:

Scarcity effect of limited-edition product has a positive effect on perceived symbolic benefits.

Hypothesis 2:

Scarcity effect of limited-edition product has a positive effect on loss-avoidance.

Hypothesis 3:

Perceived symbolic benefits have a positive effect on loss-avoidance.

Hypothesis 4:

Perceived symbolic benefits have a positive effect on purchase intention.

Hypothesis 5:

Loss-avoidance has a positive effect on purchase intention.

Hypothesis 6:

Scarcity effect of limited-edition product has a positive effect on purchase intention.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

Questionnaire and quantitative analysis were employed in this research.

First, a pretest was conducted to select a product suitable for the formal survey. Prior studies suggested that scarcity effects are more readily discerned when the product is visible (Lynn, 1989)(Wu and Hsing, 2006) and appealing (Verhallen, 1982; Brannon & McCabe, 2001))(Wu and Hsing, 2006), and when there is significant uncertainty about its intrinsic quality. (Wu and Hsing, 2006) The pretest is trying to find out a product which can best evaluate the dimensions in this research.

According to the result of pretest, a suitable product would be found. This suitable product will be used to design the formal questionnaire of survey. The formal questionnaire would be designed to investigate the relationship between the different dimensions which this research refers to. In addition, one or a few scenario would suppose to be designed in it. After designing the questionnaire, a survey would be employed.

LISREL will be use to analysis the relationship between the dimensions which referred in this research. And also use it to test the hypotheses and the whole conceptual model.

4. Conclusion

Limited-edition information can successfully arouse people's purchasing intention. People tend to buy things that can represent themselves, such as things that can represent their social status, uniqueness, personality, image, characteristic, and so on. The scarcity effect of limited-edition products satisfies these deep needs. Due to this, people would choose the limited-edition products when seeking something special to represent them. The scarcity effect also makes people worry about not able to get it.

Because limited-edition products are scarce, they become precious and not easy to own. This situation would arouse people's purchasing impulse and push them to purchase the limited-edition products. And this situation sometimes would push people to make purchasing decision immediately. Because limited-edition products have limited amount of it, consumers would be afraid of being unable to get it. Due to this, people would decide to buy it immediately in order to avoid losing it. If companies could make good use of the limited-edition strategy, they can achieve the win-win situation--make profits for the company and make consumers happy and satisfied.

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Japanese Kamishibai:
Using Traditional Storytelling for Cross-Cultural Narratives and Learning

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Relevant Submission Topics
English; Ethnic Studies; Folklore

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The soul...never thinks without a picture.

Aristotle

Who we are and how we make sense of the world are the narratives played in our minds. It is the stories we are told and we tell ourselves through which we interrupt the world, and in this inner realm of sense making, our culture exists. In the modern era conscious and cultures are being challenged with globalization and instant messaging exchanges. As technology drives communications around the world instantaneously, we are increasingly more removed and oddly isolated. This paradox serves the application of a personal and very old communication strategy: a good story. It is a good story to which billions in all currencies are spent in advertizing. It is a good story from which leaders inspire (Denning, 2005; Spears, 1998; Tichy, 1990). And as a teaching tool, a good story has been used to motivate learning for eons. This paper will discuss the merits of a story genre, Japanese traditional folktales told as *kamishibai*, for learning and describe applications used for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and international culture classes at a Japanese university.

There are thousands of stories about learning with tales of triumph and tribulations. Due to the variety of methods, measurements, results and accounting for individual differences, it is difficult if not impossible to predict how an individual learner will succeed. But one thing seems clear: it is the job of the teacher, *to create a learning environment in which more learners can be successful...* (Lightbrown & Spada, 2005, p. 75). In answering this challenge, storytelling is one way to provide a successful situation for learning.

Storytelling is an ancient art and is fundamental to all nations, societies, and cultures. Stories communicate and transmit knowledge, weaving threads of meaning from the imagination to the fabric being. And in this mechanism, stories are transformational. As Canilo Jose Cela said in his 1989 Nobel lecture, *storytelling has been a decisive tool in every era and in all circumstances*

(2007, p. 17). Stories can lead learners to knowledge, values, and understandings which are explicit or implicit: as it is the nature of narratives to allow the listener to internalize information. However meanings are derived, the journey is grounded in a medium fun and familiar to all. There are as many examples as there are cultures. From the parable tool used by religious teachers to the Aborigines of Australia whose entire culture was preserved through oral traditions, storytelling is a powerful communication.

It is fitting that there is a story behind this pedagogic path of Japanese traditional *kamishibai* in the EFL and international culture classrooms. The story of how I became fascinated by *kamishibai* began with a two woman team: a small Japanese lady and a tall redhead American who taught about Japanese culture in the U.S. at the Japanese Cultural Center and Museum, Mukogawa Fort Wright Institute. Central to my teaching tenure was storytelling (Pendell, 1999). Thousands of children and adults learned about Japanese culture framed by traditional *kamishibai* stories. An interactive dialogue prompted the audience to think about themselves as much as what they were watching. The audiences were so engaged that during call and response directed to children answers were often blurted out by adults. Although a compliment to my storytelling, what is far more relevant is the power of telling stories as *kamishibai*.

My story is also one of admiration of the Japanese and Japan with its layers of ancient and contemporary, archaic and ultramodern cultures. So when I had the opportunity to work in Japan, I did so with enthusiasm. As an EFL and culture instructor I seized the chance to explore a fresh slant to a very old tradition: Japanese traditional storytelling, *kamishibai* as the springboard to learning in EFL classes and cross-culture narratives.

Japanese storytelling has a long history. As early as the tenth century, Buddhist priests used picture scrolls and narration to teach their lessons. From this tradition, storytelling in the form of story-card theatre or *kamishibai*, developed in the late 1920s. Especially during World War II, driven by economic hardships, *kamishibai* offered a means by which the unemployed could earn a small income. *Kamishibai* was one of the most popular forms of entertainment for young and old. The tradition was largely replaced by television in the late 1950s but has recently enjoyed a revival in Japan as well as countries worldwide in libraries and schools (Clouet, 2009; Geier, 2006; Ko, Schallert & Walters, 2003; Lee, 2003, McGowan, 2009, Paatela-Nieminen, 2008; Tamaki, 2009). Even in a modern setting, Japanese remain very familiar with *kamishibai*.

Japanese *kamishibai* are fun, provocative, and in an educational setting, provide a tool to transport learners into an application of language acquisition or into another culture. This approach launches learners into a world of humor, irony and entertainment, which allowed risks including call and response to the stories, discussions, comparisons, creating their own stories, or just using a foreign language to convey a familiar story. Learners are motivated and actively contribute to their understandings.

Interestingly, a paradox again in-play, the primary goal of the class, EFL or culture, remains secondary to storytelling. Imaginations on fire, students use what they learned to communicate in English or convey cross-cultural comparisons. Storytelling as a means-to-an-end permits the primary goals of the class to become a skill-set put to use. Perhaps best of all, the exercise can transform learners into leaders who are able to share a new language and/or cultural perspectives.

What makes *kamishibai* particularly useful is the unique format. Large cards with colorful illustrations and the text written on the back allow the storyteller to present the visual component clearly to the audience. Additionally, how the cards are revealed, i.e., half a card at a time and the speed of the reveal adds to the drama. Although not required, the story is usually told in a wooden frame that resembles a theater. This further focuses the audience. There are numerous sources listed in the references of this paper for *kamishibai* making, teaching, and purchasing. In summary, *kamishibai* offers simple English, sound effects, humor and irony capable of transporting the viewer into another world and culture which can illuminate meanings whether familiar or foreign.

***Kamishibai* in the College EFL Classrooms**

Let's Learn English Through Kamishibai was the title of two EFL classes which are described. The classes were formatted into two workshops: I; II. Participants in both workshops were all female; who volunteered to participate; ranging in age from 19 to 20; university students; and were in training to become nursery and kindergarten teachers. In both classes the following format was applied. First a brief overview of *kamishibai* history and its application to Japanese educational contexts was explained. Students were then told the Japanese folktale, the *Marriage of the Mouse, Nezumi no Yomeiri*, as a *kamishibai*. The *kamishibai* was performed using the storyteller's voice to affect the audience's imagination as well as meaning. Students were encouraged to participate in the story and were asked questions about content and meanings. Because of the inherent interest of the students to this genre, we discussed some of the benefits to young learners and ideas to enhance learning with hands-on activities.

Workshop-I was a ninety-minute workshop offered with fifteen second-year students. The story was read several times and students provided the English dialogue including simple vocabulary and sentences. The students participated in discussions about the language, vocabulary and the story. Student responses were positive with comments like *I could understand English. I could really enjoy the story. I wish we had time to do more kamishibai.*

Workshop II was a two-and-a-half day retreat at the Karuizawa Kinjo University facility with nine third-year students attending. Students visited the Karuizawa Picture Book Museum and Children's Center Muse in the Forest Museum. The *kamishibai* lesson began like Workshop I. After hearing the story, we reviewed storytelling techniques and the students were asked to create their own *kamishibai* in groups of three. Students were asked to be creative, present and teach simple English, have a title page; employ storytelling voices and *kamishibai* techniques in narration; be able to discuss the story's meaning; and have a question ready to ask the audience. These activities gave students the opportunity to produce original written work, practice simple English sentence structure, and practice presentation skills. Because of the familiar format students were also able to experiment with word combinations and expand their vocabulary (Kistler, 2008).

The original *kamishibai* made by the students were remarkable and provide a variety of learning opportunities. Speaking and writing for expression, students produced imaginative content that was inventive and layered with plot, ideas, vocabulary and text structure. Students employed irony, moral lessons, moving parts, sliding cards, voice inflection and English in ways which had

the audience shouting out answers and participating in discussions. Each group had questions to further engage the audience. In preparing *kamishibai* students communicated through the visual medium and organized elements and forms into a creative work which was refined after presentations and feedback. The transformation of learner into teacher was palpable as the students commented: *I thought it was great to study English while having fun. I would like to perform kamishibai in English to children.*

The benefits of the workshops were multiple. First, students were able to interact with each other to build meanings. By focusing on the stories, it was possible to reach students in a personal way which was not confusing or offensive. *Kamishibai* also helped build relationships and motivate students in such a way to get around reluctant learners. Students were relaxed and happy-enjoying a story with friends and feeling somewhat nostalgic. The connection to Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis (Krashen and Terrell, 1983) is obvious. Second, students felt the workshop was good for their English studies. They commented that they understood English and became interested in learning more English. Because students could handle narrative both as a teller and listener, they became more proficient in English. Third, since the students were studying to become teachers, presentation skills and the interactive dialogue of the lessons were useful. The use of *kamishibai* has seen a revival in Japanese schools as teachers often perform a *kamishibai* on topics such as seasonal events, moral lessons and Japanese folktales at least as often as regular picture books (Mizuide, 2003). Finally, the experience gave students a renewed interest in their major. Since the study of English will be mandatory at the elementary level in all Japanese schools in 2011, there is greater interest even at the pre-school level to teach English. Students remarked that this experience motivated them to perform English *kamishibai* to children.

***Kamishibai* in the College International Culture Classrooms**

Many universities have active recruitment programs to attract international students. Motivations vary, but by nature, these students share an interest in cross-cultural learning. Arriving in Japan, one of the richest and most modern countries in the world, the international visitor soon recognizes the intimate links to seasons and traditions which mold Japanese culture into layers of old and new, ancient and modern, archaic and ultramodern. Rather than approach the topic head-on, the use of Japanese traditional folktales, *kamishibai*, provided a way for cross-cultural comparisons as students view a foreign story while examining their own narratives. *Kamishibai is a creative way to integrate reading, writing, speaking, listening, research, and art* (Paatela-Nieminen, 2008, p. 42).

Storytelling across cultures shares characteristics of entertainment, explanation for natural phenomena, and moral lessons. All of these elements have application to illuminate cross-cultural learning. Additionally, a good old fashion story creates a comfortable environment. Again, *kamishibai* establishes trust such that students were ready to look deeper into their own culture as well as the foreign one they found themselves in. From this the common ground, we shared traditional stories from their countries then examined Japanese traditional stories and some cultural elements.

A 90-minute class called *Japanese Culture and Traditional Storytelling* was taught in English to nine women students, ages ranged from 19 to 24 who were from Australia, France, Great Britain,

Japan, New Zealand, and the U.S. Students were asked to first think about and share a traditional story from their culture. From this personal narrative the class departed into traditional Japanese stories told as *kamishibai*.

A brief summary of the related content and discussions follows. Since the class was in December we began with *Sedge Hats for Jizo*, *Kasajizou* and a discussion of New Year traditions, including preparing a special meal, *osechi ryori*. *Urashima Taro* continued a discussion of the seasons as well as the concept of gratitude and obligations. In *Why the Sea is Salty*, *Umi no Mizu wa Naze Karai*, we discussed themes of kindness rewarded and the mysterious stranger or the powerful disguised as weak and dirty (Blacker, 1990). In the *Marriage of Mouse*, *Nezemi no Yomeiri* we discussed the theme of size and the power of the weak.

Culture, celebrations and related traditions were discussed after each story. Students were asked to write a one-to-two page comparison paper about a Japanese tradition and/or story contrasted with a tradition and/or story from their own culture. The student papers were a joy to read. Students based their discussions from their personal narratives. Meaning, relevance and the universal themes of folklore were elements in confident discussions, but moderated by an appreciation of the differences and similarities. Excerpts of some of their papers are as follows.

On *Sedge Hats for Jizo*:

I think folklore is a very important part of any culture for a number of reasons. It carries forward traditions and teaches children about their ancestors and heritage, as well as about cultures other than their own. On top of all of these benefits, folklore is also something that, from generation to generation, has been regarded as highly entertaining.

And,

Stories, although they appear simple, are quite complicated. Stories convey everything; history, beliefs, and culture. They provide the link to connect generations which allows this information to be re-taught and carried on to future generations.

On *Urashima Taro*:

Why is our curiosity even more triggered when we are told not to do something? There are many questions and I think the answer blanks don't necessarily have to be filled in.

And,

Although there are many factors which contribute to making a country unique, even in this day-and-age, folklore and tales which have been passed down through the generations contribute to making a country's culture even that more bewitching.

An Australian student compared the Aboriginal story *How the Water got to the Plains* which explains the origin of billabongs, waterholes in the desert, to the Japanese story *Why the Sea is Salty* from Japan saying,

It's natural for the people who regard something so important, to question its existence and how it came to be. Through these stories, it is easy to see how

human nature is ultimately the same, no matter what culture you come from. Our most simple ethics and values tend to be similar even though our ways of thinking and living may be different. These stories also show that the curious human mind had answers for things long before we had a scientific way of proving them.

On the *Marriage of the Mouse*:

I think that this story has the value of not being ashamed of who you are, and also to not judge people or things by their exterior.

Kamishibai lessons for the culture class involved the international students in comprehending, interpreting and critiquing imaginative narratives. From personal experience and knowledge to understand the story, students recognized the social, historical and cultural features of the stories. As cross-cultural narratives the class discussed the elements of character, point of view, and culture and compared these features to stories from their own lives in class and in their essays. Additionally, the cultural topics and examples which accompanied the stories were relevant as students gained a deeper understanding of Japanese culture.

Conclusion

Japanese folktales told as *kamishibai* provides a number of benefits to the EFL and international learners. First the format and subject are attractive. The colorful pictures augment the narrative such that all can understand. The large, illustrated cards (15 x 11) can be manipulated to produce a variety of dramatic effects. Second, *kamishibai* uses simple linguistic structures so that learners can *learn how to articulate characters and incidents* (Tirrell, 1990, p. 124) which provides EFL students the opportunity to develop proficiency as language learners. The lively dialogue adds to the drama and further engages students both emotionally and intellectually. Additionally because the Japanese students are familiar with the form and stories, they have confidence to create, practice and perform stories as a process in EFL learning. Third, the inherent cultural component of Japanese folktales provides an introduction for cross-cultural discussions which illuminate Japanese culture as well as the cultures represented in an international classroom. Additionally, Japanese folktales convey wisdom through humor and irony, which as Ziv (1976) comments provides *laughter, accepted and shared in the classroom can free less conventional forms of expression on the part of the students* (p. 321). Another feature is simple and obvious: a fun story builds trust so that students are confident in their learning environment and will venture into the unfamiliar. Transformations are possible as students make sense of the story and add the narrative to their world and beyond. Finally, *kamishibai* is meant for groups and makes it possible for an entire class to enjoy the story rather than individuals (Tamaki, 2009). Additionally, group assignments are easy to do whether it is presentations and/ or creating original stories.

Overall the application of Japanese traditional storytelling seemed successful. Students said they enjoyed the classes, learned English and learned about culture. A Japanese folktale may have been especially suitable for the students who were pre-service infant and kindergarten educators as well as the international exchange students, but I believe that students of all disciplines and children of all ages enjoy storytelling. Very affordable, versatile, easy to carry, and effective, *kamishibai* seems to have great potential in college level EFL and culture classes.

Storytelling can inspire and provide the frame upon which effective teaching environments can be created. A good story allows listeners to fill in the blanks, connect the dots: be it familiar or the mysterious. *Kamishibai* fires up the imagination to motivate students and their learning. In a *kamishibai* environment it is possible to simultaneously have students conceptualize purpose; develop ideas and techniques; organize forms and content into a creative work; reflect for self-evaluation and elaboration; refine their work based on feedback; and present it to others (Bassett, 2008; Nakatani, 2006; Tarvin, 1991).

The power of *kamishibai* is clear. *Kamishibai* applied to the EFL or culture classrooms can be transformational: in the moment as a revelation revealed, or in a classroom assignment, or as skills acquired and applied in new narratives. The potential to empower is plain and to participate a pleasure.

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The use of paralinguistic cues in high and low context cultural communication.

An examination of the language of Japanese and English weblogs.

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Introduction

Hall's (1976) high context v low context cultural distinction places cultures in relation to each other through the ways they communicate. High context cultures are described as being more reliant on combining the verbal and non-verbal to convey the entire meaning of the message. In contrast low context cultures rely on the explicit, where words alone make up the majority if not the entire message. Countries on top of the high context list consist of countries such as Japan with America and Germany heading the low context culture ranking (Hall, E. and M. Hall (1990).

The paper will aim to examine these contrasting types of communication styles through online communication. As the internet is largely a low contextual form of communication how do high context cultures such as Japan communicate on the web that is high in text and content but low in context?

Using Hall's (1976) and Hofstede (1980, 1991) individualist V collectivist cultural framework this paper will attempt to examine high and low context cultural online communication through the language of Japanese and American weblogs looking specifically at representations of communication through paralinguistic cues such as the manipulation of grammatical markers, logographical depictions of laughter, vocal spellings and emoticons.

High context communication styles

Hall (1976) suggests that in a high context culture such as Japan, meanings are internalized and there is a large emphasis on non-verbal codes. Within this high context culture the internal meaning is embedded deeply within the context which results in not everything being explicitly stated in writing or within spoken speech. It is therefore expected that the listener is able to read between the lines or to read the context to grasp the unstated meaning.

The Japanese buzzword of recent years, KY or 空気が読めない *kuuki ga yomenai* (Lit: cannot read the air), points to a person that cannot read the context of a situation, someone who cannot adequately judge the atmosphere of a particular interaction. Such a person is likely to be accused of lacking discretion if this reading between the lines is not met. Lewis (2005) calls cultures such as Japan as 'listening cultures' that listen and react to the person's action verbal or physical. Yamada (1997:38) supports this notion by suggesting "For the Japanese, the responsibility of communication rests with the audience, making listener interpretation not only the key but the main mode of communication". Hall (1976;79) emphasizes that "a high context communication or

message is one in which most of the context is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, or transmitted part of the message”.

According to the Hofstede Individual V Collectivist dimension (1980, 1991) collective cultures, paralleling high context cultural descriptions, take for granted that a lot of the information is latent in the structure of the message and assumes that the listener understands what the speaker wants to express without being told directly. He suggests collective cultures are more reliant on face to face communication in which the context can be read and understood.

Low context communication styles.

Low context communication suggests Fussel , Qiping & Setlock (2008) is explicit to the point that one’s true feelings are rarely masked and that such speakers are likely to disagree outright as opposed to their high context counterparts who may use indirect speech to express disagreement. America is an example of a low context culture and Yamada (1997:38) comments that “For the American responsibility of communication rests with the speaker”. Supporting this notion low context cultures are described as using more direct and explicit forms of communication to ensure the listener receives the message precisely as it was sent, hence placing the responsibility on the shoulders of the speaker rather than the listener as in high context cultures.

Within the online environment would CMC users from such backgrounds therefore rely on verbal language to express their opinions and thoughts and would their cultural opposites rely more so on non-verbal language to convey their message?

The language of CMC

Computer Mediated communication (CMC) is a process of human communication through the medium of connected computers over the internet. The modes of communication are generally divided into the two categories, asynchronous and synchronous communication. The former includes text based communication through weblogs, internet forums and e-mails where communication is not conducted in real time. Synchronous communication such as chat rooms and instant messaging is however carried out in real time. Both modes of communication can be transmitted from one user to many or a more personal one user to another as in e-mails. Common to all forms of CMC is that the expression of non-verbal communication is greatly limited in comparison to physical face to face communication.

Harris & Paradice (2007) suggest recipients of messages will interpret the senders’ emotional intentions using paralinguistic cues contained and sent within the message. Paralinguistic cues refer to message characteristics in text –based CMC used to convey meanings normally achieved via tone of voice, body gestures, and other non-verbal communicative behaviors in face to face communication. Paralinguistic cues used in text based CMC according to Harris & Paradice (2007) and Carey, (2001) can consist of vocal spellings, lexical surrogates, spatial arrays, and the manipulation of grammatical markers. Carrey (2001:67) suggests vocal spellings contain features that include

“non-standard spellings of words which bring attention to sound qualities. The spelling may serve to mark a regional accent or an idiosyncratic manner of speech”. Such examples can be found in vocal spellings such as Type back soon!!!! (Danet; 2001) and in Japanese 読みたいでう ~~~ ! ! ! *Yomitai desuu~~~!!!* ‘I really want to read it’ (Nishimura; 2003)

Harris & Paradice, 2007 suggest Lexical Surrogates such as ‘yuk yuk’ or lol (laugh out loud) or vocal spellings such as “weeeeeell” are intended to imitate vocal communication or provide a tone to the communication. Japanese examples include the use of logographical representations of laughter such as the Chinese character 笑 *warau* ‘to laugh’ at the end of messages.

Spatial arrays are techniques often employed by CMC users to draw pictures using the features available on the keyboard. Examples of this are emoticons such as :-) smile and :-(frown. The upright (^_^) is the basic smiley of Japan. Online emoticons, a phenomena going back over 25 years were also explicitly created with the goal of clarifying the writers intended meaning within their messages.

The manipulation of grammatical markers such as the use of capital letters and exclamation marks used by CMC users are intended to express emphasis and towards lexical items as well being a representation of tone of voice. Substitutions such as punctuation marks for emphasis (eg; ??? or !!!), the use of capital letters as in GREAT or AWESOME, bold or italicized parts of the message, the repetition of words for emphasis as in ‘*really really cool*’, and the deliberately use of different fonts within single online communication messages are often seen in online communication.

High and low context communication in CMC

Groups that communicate in a high communication style combine the verbal and non-verbal message to convey their entire meaning. How is this therefore transmitted within a low contextual CMC environment? Low context cultures in contrast rely on words to convey their message. Groups that adhere to this type of communication style do not need to include the subtleness of non-verbal communication. Would these traits therefore be transmitted into cyberspace communication?

A glance of the literature would suggest that cultural factors do indeed shape how people use CMC. Specifically, suggest Fussell et al (2008) auditory and visual cues appear to have more importance for members of collectivistic, high context, relationship-orientated cultures than they do for members of individualistic, low context, task orientated cultures. Pflug (2008) found that Indians (India is defined as a High context country) used more emoticons in internet forums than their German low context counterparts, reflecting the higher importance of non-verbal communication in high-context cultures. Kayan, Fussell, & Setlock, 2006 found that within instant messaging North Americans rated emoticons significantly lower in importance than did Indians and East Asians.

Würtz (2005) found that in her examination of McDonalds' websites, graphical design features and the visual effects offered by the internet are more likely to be adopted and used by high context cultures to convey their messages more effectively than their low context counterparts consistent with Hall's distinction between High Context (HC) and Low Context (LC) cultures.

In high context cultures communication places a strong emphasis on the personal relationship of the interlocutors. Therefore could we possibly see paralinguistic non-verbal and verbal communication used in an attempt to create a human presence in cyberspace? As the internet stemmed from low context cultures could we expect high context cultures to emphasize the use of these paralinguistic aids of communication to provide the context or physical atmosphere that online communication with words alone cannot possibly provide. Ironically the addition of these cues would paradoxically make the messages more explicit in an attempt to provide the reader with the paralinguistic cues required to read between the lines and discover the intended meaning of the message by providing a context. Is this more important in high or low context computer mediated communication?

Methods and data

Weblogs can be categorized as an asynchronous mode of CMC communication derived from usually one writer whose thoughts opinions and description of events are written in diary like entries to a broad audience that may result in a selective readership. Blog entries are usually posted in reverse chronological order and invite comments from their readership after each article or entry and the author of the blog can respond to and interact with those who leave comments by responding accordingly. Online personal blogs or online diaries will form the background and the analytical target for this study.

A total of 60 blogs (30 from American blogs, 30 from Japanese blogs) were taken from a variety of blog trackers (Tecnocrati, Yahoo Japan, Blogumura) that contained blog directories of personal blogs or online diaries ranked according to popularity through the number of hits or readers the blog received. The first top 5 male and female authored blogs from these ranked lists were selected from the blog trackers. Gender of the blog was determined by blog profiles that stated author sex, blogs that were not or could not be categorized into gender were rejected. An equal balance of female and male authored blogs were selected, 30 per gender (15 in English, 15 in Japanese).

Within each weblog topic 5 blogs were selected and 5 entries from each blog were taken for analysis. This gave a total of 300 blog entries, 150 from the Japanese corpus and 150 from the English corpus. As the counting of paralinguistic cues formed the basis of this research to create valid figures the number of sentences per corpus was counted and the frequency of these paralinguistic cues were tallied and put into their percentage form. Sentences were defined as full grammatical sentences as well as single word sentences restricted to the use of adjectives such as Great! and すごい *sugoi* meaning great in Japanese. Lists, quotations of text other than the authors words, stand alone conjunctions such as 'but', blog entry dates, titles and links were not counted as sentences.

In addition to the above blog entries, comments from these blog articles were also taken and examined for paralinguistic usage using the same methodology for the blog entries. However, comments could not be divided into gender as the blog entries were because the gender of the comment author could not always be determined. The tables below show how the data was divided and counted within the two sets of corpora.

Table 1. The Japanese data

Japanese corpus	Total number of sentences	Total number of male authored blog sentences	Total number of female authored blog sentences
Blog entries	2934	1420	1524
Blog comments	8243	N/A	N/A

Table 2. The English data

English corpus	Total number of sentences	Total number of male authored blog sentences	Total number of female authored blog sentences
Blog entries	3205	1545	1660
Blog comments	6539	N/A	N/A

The paralinguistic cues examined within these blog entries and their comments fell into three categories and the cues examined for this particular paper are featured in the table below.

Table 3. Targeted paralinguistic cues.

	Frequency of Emoticon use	Frequency of Logographic representations	Frequency of Vocal spelling
Japanese	Examples (^_^) (^o^;>) (^^;) (*^o^*)	Representations of laughter 笑 Chinese character meaning <i>warau</i> to laugh Manipulation of grammatical markers (exclamation marks !!!!)	Examples 行きまーす Ikima-su (Will go) ありがとう Arigato u (Thank you) Unconventional spelling mimicking vocal speech by extending consonant and vowel sounds..
English	Examples :-) :-(:-)) :-o	Representations of laughter Lol (abbreviation meaning lot of laughs) haha, hehe Manipulations of grammatical markers (exclamation marks, capitalization) That movie is COOL!	Examples Greeeeeat! Sooooo Cooooo! Awwesome! Unconventional spelling mimicking vocal speech by extending consonant and vowel sounds.

Results

If CMC is an extension of interpersonal informal speech the use of logographical or vocal representations of written out laughter set the tone of the message and gives hints to the reader in how the message is to be interpreted.

The tables below show representations of laughter as found within the English blog entries and comments section.

Table 4. Frequency of representations of laughter.: Blog entries

English corpus	Total number of sentences	Total number of male authored blog sentences	Total number of female authored blog sentences
Laughter	23 (0.7% of the total of all sentences)	20	3

Table 5. Frequency of representations of laughter.: Blog comments.

English corpus	Total number of sentences	Total number of male authored comment sentences	Total number of female authored comment sentences
Laughter	107 (1.6% of all sentences)	N/A	N/A

Examples of laughter within the English corpus were found to increase within the comments section and their usage.

Example from the English data's comments section:

I would agree that some of my fondest memories involve good food-dessert being the best ☺ lol. Have a blast!

Here the claiming of common ground, and the use of laughter to show agreement with the blog writer as illustrated here is an example of a positive politeness strategy that attends to the hearers desire to be appreciated thus reducing the social distance between commentator and blog writer and aiding in the cementing of solidarity.

Below shows the Japanese data divided into the frequency of representations of laughter found within the blog entries and comments section to these entries.

Table 6. Frequency of representations of laughter.: Blog entries

Japanese corpus	Total number of sentences	Total number of male authored blog sentences	Total number of female authored blog sentences
Laughter	15 (0.5% of the total of all sentences)	10	5

Table 7. Frequency of representations of laughter.: Blog comments.

Japanese corpus	Total number of sentences	Total number of male authored comment sentences	Total number of female authored comment sentences
Laughter	355 (4.3% of the total of all sentences)	N/A	N/A

*Gender of blog comments could not be determined with 100% accuracy and therefore should be treated as mixed in gender.

When comparing the two sets of data the use of these representations of laughter are used in greater percentage (4.3% compared to the English 1.6%) by Japanese blog commentators, a fact that can perhaps suggest that these auditory and visual cues appear to have more importance for members of collectivistic, high context cultures or within this sample of Japanese data

Like the English data representations of laughter within the Japanese blogs were to be found in the majority in the comments section. The comments section is usually reduced to communication between two people, the blog writer and the commentator.

In addition to the Chinese character representations of laughter (笑 *warau*) that were found and documented in tables 6 and 7 above, Japanese blog users also employ emoticons to express written out laughter in a variety of ways and levels of laughter as in:

すごく美味しそう～～*^^*

私もたらこの冷製パスタは作った事ないので作ってみたい！！

娘もたらコスパ大好きなので挑戦してみよっと^^

(*^^)/ポチ☆

Wow! Looks really delicious!

I too have never tried frozen cod egg pasta before, would like to give it a go!

My daughter loves cod egg pasta so I will try and cook it!

(Clicks masterpiece button)

Here the use of representations of laughter within the above example enforces a sense of solidarity and rapport within this social online interaction. The positive politeness strategy here shows a shared interest between the two interlocutors and the promoting of positive face is further supported by the use of compliments here. The ‘masterpiece’ button mentioned at the end of the interaction is a device used on these weblogs that allow the reader of the blog to press the button if they consider the blog to be interesting or funny and by doing this the blog can rise up the rankings depending on how many times the button is hit. This also acts as a notion of support and solidarity between the two CMC users.

Emoticons

Emoticons were divided into 2 parts, character based as in :-) or ^_^; and graphical emotions such as 😊 when the data was collected and analyzed.

Within the English blog articles both genders exhibited very few occurrences of emoticons (14 in all).

Table 8. English Data: Emoticon frequency within blog entries

Gender of blog author	Character based Emoticons (Article)	Graphic emotions (Article)
Male	0	0
Female	9 (0.5% of the total of all sentences)	5 (0.3% of the total of all sentences)

Table 9. English data: Emoticon frequency within blog comments

Character based Emoticons (Comments)	Graphic emotions (Comments)
347 (5% of the total of all sentences)	42 (0.6% of the total of all sentences)

Again with these representations of paralinguistic cues the frequency of use increases when CMC blog users speak directly to each other within the comments section.

Examples found include:

Awesome! I am very impressed that he (blog authors child) played in the nursery with you! :) All three of mine (commentator's children) are at different ages and do things at their own pace, which I guess what makes it so fun :)

Here two blog users are discussing their children and what they do at nursery school. A shared camaraderie is felt and the use of these emoticons aids in the support and bond that the writer wants to create.

Other users add a sense of humor to the message with the emoticon aiding in the messages intention as being funny. Talking about children, toilet training and the art of flushing the toilet, one commentator writes:

We've gotten lucky so far. Our son flushes like crazy, but has yet flushed anything but water. I'm sure our time is coming... 😊

The Japanese data provided much greater emoticon usage in both the blog articles and more significantly 25% of sentences within the comment corpus used character based emoticons which would suggest an importance is attached to these emoticons as visual aids in the promotion of the message and the creation of a context for Japanese blog users.

Table 10. Japanese Data: Emoticon frequency within blog entries

Gender of blog author	Character based Emoticons (Article)	Graphic emotions (Article)
Male	139 (9.7% of the total of all sentences)	89 (6.2% of the total of all sentences)
Female	161 (10.5% of the total of all sentences)	4 (0.2% of the total of all sentences)

Table11. Japanese data: Emoticon frequency within blog comments

Character based Emoticons (Comments)	Graphic emotions (Comments)
2074 (25% of the total of all sentences)	115 (1.3% of the total of all sentences)

長いも美味しい(○σ・ω・●・ω・○・ω・)σYO!!ね
 私も今回は長いもでチャレンジしてみましたw
 わーい♪ヽ(。ん`ヽ)(ノ`ん。ん)ノわーい♪
 ~(=^..^)。傑作 フチッ&TBさせてねw

Yam potatoes are delicious aren't they?
I will also give yam potato a go!
Wai wai (Onomatopoeic Expression of excitement)

The above example shows examples of positive politeness through the complimenting of the blog author, expressing an interest in the cooking and expressing a wish to try the recipe themselves. The example also includes vocal spelling わーい accompanied by emoticons to promote a sense of excitement and rapport with the blog writer.

Manipulation of grammatical markers: Exclamation marks.

When considered in relation to gender, exclamation points are often described as "markers of excitability," a phrase that implies instability and emotional randomness. Exclamation points are typically reported to be used by females significantly more than by males (Colley & Todd, 2002; Rubin & Greene, 1992; Scates, 1981; Winn & Rubin, 2001).

The table below shows the occurrences of exclamation marks within the English data.

Table 12.English data. Exclamation mark frequency within the blog entries.

Exclamation marks	Male	Female
Blog articles	770	155

Table 13.English data. Exclamation mark frequency within the comment entries.

Exclamation marks (Comments)
2901 (44% of the total of all sentences)

It was men who used more exclamation marks than women within the blog articles in contrast to studies in English written communication that states that women use such markers more.

Within the blog comments 44% of sentences had exclamation marks attached which as the comments are dialogues between 2 people could perhaps suggest an increased level of excitability or interest in their dialogues within the blog community that they are writing in. However a closer analysis will be required to breakdown how these exclamation marks are used and to divide these comments into gender as not all the comments could be categorized as such and should be treated as mixed in gender here.

English had multiple !!!! more than Japanese, usually followed by CAPITALIZED words

For emphasis as in (Examples from blog comments)

LOVE your newsletter...LOVE your blog...LOVE your kids...I would say I LOVE your handy husband, too...but that just seems WRONG!!!

Harper looks SOOO ADORABLE!!!

The Japanese data showed similar results albeit on a much smaller scale. This is perhaps not surprising as the exclamation mark is not usual used in written Japanese although in informal writing it can often be seen. In total it was men who used more exclamation marks than women.

Table 14. Japanese data. Exclamation mark frequency within the blog entries.

Exclamation marks	Male	Female
Blog articles	85	71

Table15. English data. Exclamation mark frequency within the comment entries.

Exclamation marks (Comments)
332 (4% of the total of all sentences)

Japanese users tended to use the more visual and friendly *kaomoji* instead of exclamation marks which can perhaps account for the differences in frequencies of occurrences with the English and Japanese blog data.

Example from blog comments section

1. す・すごい迫力(ノ°°)ノ 材材オオオオオ-
Gr Great force! Wow!

Example from blog comments section

2. 私も子供の頃にシマリスを飼ってたよお(*^ー^*)
I too had a chipmunk when I was a Kid!!

Vocal spelling

Vocal spelling definitions within the Japanese data were analyzed as those with deliberate vowel or consonant lengthening to duplicate the sounds of vocal speech. For example, the verb inflections まーす *ma-su*, as in ありがとうございまーす! *arigato gozaimas-su* (Thank yoou!) and words and expressions that had long vowel length with the inclusion of the smaller hiragana vowel font of え (e), あ (a), う (u), and い (i). as in 終わりましたかあ *owarimashitaa* I finished or やったあ! *yattaa* I

did it! which give emphasis to speech articulation, in which the phrase-final vowel is stressed.

The inclusion of these smaller sized fonts give the viewers a more vivid picture of how this expression / phrase might be pronounced in face to face communication and the readers of these interactions or monologues can interpret the atmosphere of the dialogue in the nature it was intended to be sent in. Nishimura (2003) implies that the writers intention is to convey the speakers' articulation as accurately as possible, and through this the writer or sender of the message can convey a high degree of affect and closeness, as if sharing the same physical space and time of conversation with the viewer. These assertions can be linked to the high context framework of trying to establish a context to be read within this low context medium. Nishimura (2003) continues that when the gap between pronunciation and conventional writing is highly noticeable, users seem to be more tempted to capture the spoken language in expressing their message, because they feel their voice can be more directly conveyed through such unconventional orthography.

Within the Japanese corpus 1392 or 17% of sentences within the comments section were found to have vocal spellings compared to 303 or 7% of sentences within the blog articles themselves. This it would seem, parallels high context cultures need or reliance on auditory or visual aids in the conveying of their message as if as already mentioned to share the same physical space with their reader.

The following are of some examples found in female written personal blog comments section.

1. わあ～！ ミニサイズっていいですねえ～！！

Wow! Mini size is good hey!

2. こんにちは！ 金メダル欲しい (>▽<) 種目出来ないかなあ...(^_^;)

Hello! I wanna gold medal! Wonder if I can do it???

Within the English data fewer examples of vocal spellings could be found. The same examination was applied where the lengthening of vowel and consonant sounds were looked for as in sooo, coolor, and greeeat. There were however relatively few instances of such cases. In total there were 34 (1% of the total of all sentences) within blog articles and an increased count of 241 (3.6%) found within the blog comments.

Examples from the comments section

1. Meagan said... Oh my goodness - she looks **sooo much** like your mom in the first picture.

2. I was laughing my ass off. faaaabulous film!!!

Conclusion

Across the paralinguistic categories examined within this sample of data here, there were more notable and frequent occurrences of emoticons, vocal spellings and logographical representations of laughter in comparison to the English data.

Only in exclamation mark frequencies did the English data rate higher occurrences and explanations have been give as to why this may be the case.

English Weblogs can perhaps be described as being more formal in tone than their Japanese counterparts with much fewer occurrences of paralinguistic cues. Cultural reasons and frameworks have been put forward to distinguish communication styles between high and low context communication styles, such as the ability to read between the lines to ensure smooth communication in high context cultures. This research has attempted to examine how these cultural frameworks and theories are applicable to communication online.

It has been shown that CMC users from High context cultures like Japan are more likely to adopt visual effects through emoticons and paralinguistic cues to convey their messages more effectively, than their low context American counterparts, especially within the comments section of these blogs where interaction was reduced to 2 people.

The American blogs here although employing the use of paralinguistic cues were more reliant on the spoken word to convey their messages within the data here. However across both cultural styles the use of these paralinguistic cues were similar in the way they were used as politeness strategies for promoting the positive face and acting as devices of solidarity and rapport within the social interaction which took place with the comments section of these blogs.

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Title: *Japanese Novel Meets Western Genre*

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Topic: literature

Japanese Novel Meets Western Genre

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Even a cursory glance at *Brave Story*, the recent novel of the Japanese writer Miyuki Miyabe, reveals its affinity with *The Neverending Story*, a modern classic of fantasy for young readers.

The Neverending Story was originally published in 1979. It is the best known work of Michael Ende (1929-1995), a distinguished contemporary German author of books for children, translated into 40 languages. Over the next few years the novel achieved the already mentioned status of a modern classic. It has been published in several countries (it is worth noting that the Japanese publication preceded the American by one year¹ – 1982 and 1983 respectively).

Although the book's popularity owes much to its famous film adaptation², its literary merit seems to be unquestionable, which has been commented by several critics.³ Ende's novel is also archetypal in the way that it has introduced a certain set of motifs widely used by subsequent authors.

Miyuki Miyabe is an acclaimed Japanese author of, primarily, mystery novels, set in contemporary Japan and frequently undertaking crucial social issues. They also sometimes, but not as a rule, contain various fantastical elements. *Brave Story* is her recent venture into Secondary World Fantasy⁴. It conforms to all the defining conventions of this, so far predominantly Anglo-Saxon genre, and at the same time explores the essential motifs of Ende's novel which seems to have been the main source of its inspiration.

In the present article I will try to compare both novels with the emphasis laid on how Miyabe's novel reinterprets motifs introduced in *The Neverending Story* and adopts the conventions of Secondary World Fantasy (SWF) genre.

The main protagonist of Ende's book is a young, "ten or twelve" years' old boy, Bastian Balthazar Bux. Bastian is a rather unhappy, friendless child who faces problems both at school (other children constantly make fun of him) and at home (his father neglects him after the death of his wife).

Bastian's life changes after an accidental visit to an antique-shop, led by a Mr. Coreander, where he seeks refuge from the school-bullies pursuing him. He steals from the shop a curious-looking book entitled *The Neverending Story* and starts reading it.

The book tells the story of an alternative fairy-tale-like world called "Fantastica" inhabited by various creatures and races. This world is endangered by "Nothing", by which it is being gradually disintegrated. At the same time, the ruler of Fantastica (or more properly, the centre of its life), the Childlike Empress is suffering from an inexplicable illness. She chooses and sends on a quest a young warrior boy named Atreyu to find a cure for her, and simultaneously save the whole Fantastica. From now on, Bastian will follow Atreyu on his journey, witnessing his adventures and becoming more and more involved in the story.

Finally, Atreyu returns to the Childlike Empress feeling his mission has failed as almost whole land has been devoured by Nothing by now. The Empress reveals him, however, that

his real task was to bring to Fantastica a child from another world. This child is going to give her a new name and thus save both her and Fantastica. Reading this, Bastian realizes that he has actually himself become part of the Neverending Story. He transcends the border between the worlds, meets the Childlike Empress in person, gives her the new name “Moon Child” and begins the renewal of Fantastica. At this point ends the first part of the book.

The second part, describing Bastian’s adventures in Fantastica, is much more ambiguous. The boy is bestowed by the Moon Child a powerful artifact, Aurnyn, with whose help (and also by using his own imagination) he is supposed to rebuild Fantastica. Aurnyn gives the boy power to fulfill all his wishes, with each wish, however, one memory of his previous life is taken. In the meantime, Bastian meets and befriends Atreyu and his companion, dragon Falcor and is also joined by some other characters on his quest. As he loses more and more memories and gradually - his own self - he transforms into a sort of an anti-hero. He also becomes suspect to the plottings of the evil sorceress Xayida. As a result, he betrays the mission the Moon Child entrusted him and resolves to take the place of the Childlike Empress and himself become the ruler of Fantastica. After a bloody battle he is defeated by the rebels led by Atreyu and forced to escape, lonely and bereft of all his memories. At the end of the book, however, with the help of Atreyu and Falcor Bastian manages to find one true wish; he drinks the Water of Life and returns to his own world. Symbolically he also brings the Water of Life to his father and the relationship between those two can be restored.

As it can be easily observed, the literary formula invented by Ende creates unique opportunities for writing a modern novel of apprenticeship of highly metaphorical quality. Its core idea is the juxtaposition of the two worlds – the “real” (mimetic) or the primary one, where the protagonist experiences some serious problems of personal nature, and the secondary one, to which he is mysteriously transferred at some point of the narration. This alternate reality exhibits fantastical qualities and directly refers to human imaginative powers but, nevertheless, reflects the first one on several levels. Thus, protagonist’s adventures in the alternate world parallel the more mundane but very vital dilemmas he encounters in his everyday life – and – ultimately - lead him to a sort of maturity that enables facing them.

This formula has been efficiently executed and further developed by Miyuki Miyabe in *Brave Story*. The novel successfully explores its cognitive potential by depicting a highly convincing and suggestive presentations of both the contemporary life and the secondary world.

The title of Miyabe’s book already indicates Ende’s work as its principal source of inspiration. This suggestion is confirmed by further reading, on several layers of the text’s structure.

The main protagonist of the book, eleven years’ old Wataru Mitani resembles Bastian in the way that, from the very beginning of the book, his family problems are in the centre of the narration. They are also instrumental for the development of the plot of the novel.

The book has two distinctive parts (in which it is similar to many “translation” fantasy novels)⁵ – a mimetic introduction, and the main part, which takes place in the world of Vision. For the first 200 pages of the book, the mystery of the Daimatsu building, which hides a portal to another world, and the enigma surrounding a new student, Mitsuru Ashikawa, are carefully backgrounded against a typical routine of a Japanese schoolboy and a growing tension in Mitani’s home. During the course of the action, Wataru’s father abandons his wife and son to live with another woman. Ultimately, this is Wataru’s mother suicidal attempt that

makes him resolve to follow Mitsuru's advice and enter the world of Vision in order to change his destiny.

The main difference with *The Neverending Story* at this stage lies in the treatment of the "realistic" passages in the primary world. In Ende's text the mimetic introduction is very sketchy; it comprises, save for Bastian's reflections while reading the book, only a few pages and only two other characters appear in person (Mr. Correander and Bastian's father). In contradistinction, Miyabe delivers a detailed presentation of life in modern Japan from the perspective of a young boy. What is notable, unlike many fantasies for young readers, the text does not refrain from introducing difficult or even drastic situations (the split in Mitani family, the story of the murder of Ashikawa little sister and mother by his jealous father). As a result, Wataru with his average schoolboy's life, his typical interests and entertainments and, unfortunately, problems not uncommon in modern world, to a larger extent appears as a three-dimensional character, and, obviously, is easier to identify with. Although firmly rooted in Japanese reality, Wataru may be regarded as a figure of a really universal appeal, as his everyday life (school, friends), his passions (3D video games) and his problems (the impending divorce of his parents) could become a part of almost every contemporary boy's experience.

As the very names of the secondary worlds in both texts suggest – Fantastica and Vision respectively – their existence and condition is directly related to human imaginary powers, and they are subtly interlinked with our own world. As Mitsuru states while prompting Wataru to set out on his quest: "We created the Vision – us the people in this world – with our imaginations. Our thoughts create the energy that makes Vision what it is" (223).

However, even if Vision is an imaginary world by definition, it is also a very vast and complex one. Here again, major differences between the two novels in the construction of their secondary worlds are clearly visible. Describing Bastian's adventures in Fantastica, the text employs many of the conventions typical for the magical fairy tale.⁶ Time and space are not completely autonomous but similarly as in the traditional fairy tale seem to be subordinated to the movements of the protagonists. The descriptive names such as "the Desert of Colors", "The Land of the Dead Mountains" or "Childlike Empress" prevail in the narration. Characteristic for the fairy tale is also the role of the magical artifacts (the jewel Aurnyn, the magical sword Sikanda wielded by Bastian in the second part of the book) which on numerous occasions prove more instrumental for the development of the plot than the protagonist himself.⁷ Many of the characters, especially secondary ones, are typical stock characters or types rather than fully depicted individuals – here the hero Hynreck or Princess Oglamar could be mentioned. Thus, the reader is at all times made aware of the conventionality of the presented world and is hardly ever prompted to suspend his/her disbelief.

Unlike Ende's text, *Brave Story*, apart from using some fairy tale motifs, in the construction of its plot and the presented world relies primarily on the conventions of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon genre of Secondary World Fantasy. The Vision is a full-fledged alternate reality, a precisely defined spatial-temporal continuum with its specific geography (similarly as in a typical American fantasy novel, a map of Vision has been included in the volume), social and racial structure and a political system.

The world of Vision consists of two principal lands, occupying two respective continents separated by the sea: the multiracial and democratic United Southern Nations, and the

tyrannical Northern Empire. USN, where Wataru arrives first, is a loose federation of several cities and territories inhabited by humans (here called “ankha”) and non-human races (such as catkin, beastkin, intelligent giant birds - karulakin or resembling giant lizard waterkin). The harmony of this land is endangered by the racial prejudice spread by the refugees from the Northern Empire where humans have effectively exterminated “non-ankha” and by the religious turmoil caused by the rising followers of the Old God (the official doctrine of the Northern Empire sanctioning violence against non-ankha species) who oppose the traditional faith of the South in motherly and tolerant Goddess, the Creator. Almost immediately upon his arrival, Wataru is involved in the impending conflict and has to decide for himself what is right and wrong. He quickly makes friends with a young lizard-man Kee Keema and a cat-girl Meena who will accompany him on his quest, and also joins the ranks of Highlanders, the traditional peace-keepers of the South.

Contrarily to Bastian, whose adventures focused on his personal problems, ambitions and characterological failures, while most of the time safely remaining within the conventionality of a magical fairy tale, Wataru from the very beginning is confronted with the intricacy and ambiguity of the modern world (as it is metaphorically reflected in the construction of the world of Vision) and he is also made aware of the importance of ethical choices in social and personal life alike. Even if Vision is, partly, the emanation of himself, the way *Fantastica* was Bastian’s emanation, this is also the world of other beings; probably the most important lesson Wataru has to learn on his quest is that of empathy, the understanding of mutual interconnectedness of all living creatures and the world they inhabit.

Wataru’s primary purpose, when, acting on Mitsuru’s advice, he enters Vision, is to find the way to the mythical Tower of Destiny where the Goddess resides, and ask her to grant his one wish. Thus, both boys want to change their fate and miraculously undo misfortunes that befell to them in “real” life; Mitsuru is determined to save his little sister while Wataru wants to make his family reunite or, rather, to make the split never happen.

The boys set on their individual quests (although their ways will later cross on several occasions), each equipped with a “brave’s sword”, searching for five magical gemstones for sword’s hilt that would help to transform it into “demon’s blade” capable of opening the way to the Tower of Destiny.

Echoes of *The Neverending Story* surface continually in Miyabe’s book. Vision, similarly to *Fantastica* is affected and shaped by human dreams and feelings. The benevolent Goddess, creator and guardian of Vision ontologically resembles the Childlike Empress. Bastian’s successful temptation by Xayida is paralleled by Wataru’s encounter with Lady Onba who tries to coax him into destroying the Goddess and taking her place in order to fulfill an unlimited number of wishes. The Old Emperors of *Fantastica* - human visitors who could not find their way back to the real world- in *Brave Story* find their equivalent in failed Travelers who abandoned their quest and were subsequently confined in Dela Rubesi.

Yet, at the same time, those motifs are constantly reinterpreted and reworked. Bastian’s strength in the second part of *The Neverending Story* basically relied on the magical power of the already mentioned sword Sikanda, whereas Wataru’s Brave’s Sword grows together with its wielder, being only the expression of his inner ability and preparedness. Tempress Onba is not just another literary realization of the archetype of an evil sorceress like Xayida, but a manifestation of everything that is unwanted and rejected – including the negativity buried deep in Wataru’s own heart.

Brave Story's psychological complexity exceeds not only that of Ende's work, but also goes beyond what is generally expected from a fantasy book for children or teenagers. In this respect it again, once more, follows the tradition of Secondary World Fantasy. It offers several dark and disturbing scenes – for example the encounter at the Swamp of Grief when the revengeful side of Wataru literary separates from the boy and slays merchant Yacom and his pregnant lover Lily who seem to be Vision's alter-egos of Wataru's father and his friend Rikako for whom Akira Mitani has abandoned his family in the real world.⁸

The dilemmas of the protagonists are difficult and sometimes tragic. Wataru's friend Mitsuru, who has saved him on numerous occasions, ultimately becomes his rival, as it is revealed that only one of the two travelers can finish his quest while the other is doomed to become "the half" - part of the sacrifice, necessary in order to renew the universe of Vision. Mitsuru is also probably the most tragic and ambiguous character in the book. He is so determined to bring back to life his little sister that in order to reach the Tower of Destiny he is capable of committing several atrocities and of destroying everything and everyone that stands in his way. His dramatic end is one of the most moving and sad moments in the book.

Mitsuru's death is not the only loss Wataru has to suffer as the book draws towards its culmination. *Brave Story* consequently abstains from a conventional happy ending which prevails in the traditional magical fairy tale (and most of the fantasy for children stemming from it)⁹ and its messages are not simple. After helplessly witnessing his friend and rival's failure, overcoming his own hatred and evading temptress Onba, Wataru finally arrives before the Goddess of Destiny. However, as the whole world of Vision faces now complete annihilation, Wataru faces the most difficult of his dilemmas. Contrarily to Mitsuru, the boy abandons his personal cause for the sake of his friends and the world he has become involved in. At the end of book he returns to real life, aware of the fact that he will never be able to see again his friends and the world he has saved, and that the problems he has left behind will be still waiting for him. Yet, with a new maturity he also realizes that, ultimately, he is the only one who can change his own fate - now and in his future life as well.

Brave Story is an original, metaphorical and educational book that may be enjoyed by young and adult readers alike. Due to the already mentioned complexity of the presented world, the message of *Brave Story* moves far beyond a simple, fairy tale-like apotheosis of friendship and self-reliance into a more sophisticated morality on justice, empathy, loyalty, compassion, overcoming one's hatred and following "one's true path".

From the point of view of a more textual analysis, the novel's strength lies primarily in its ability to use various literary conventions and successfully combine them in its own specific way. This is a novel written by a Japanese author whose extensive parts describe Japanese reality, yet its primary sort of inspiration seems to have been a book by a German writer. The literary genre to which the text shows most affinity is contemporary Anglo-Saxon Secondary World Fantasy¹⁰ – all the defining elements of the genre – the motif of quest, the motif of initiation and spiritual transformation of the protagonist, the motif of the struggle between good and evil on the transcendental scale in which the fate of the whole world is to be determined – are present in Miyabe's book. At the same time, the book does not follow western conventions slavishly but uses them purposely to create its own textual paradigm. Originality can be seen, especially, in the creation of Vision, which does not simply imitate innumerable variations of feudal post-Arthurian or post-Tolkienesque worlds, so common in contemporary SWF sagas.

Such books as *Brave Story* illustrate also a very interesting and important literary and cultural phenomenon – the progressive process of the globalization of contemporary literature. This is especially visible in the case of the genres of popular literature, such as fantasy, in which texts, conventions and motifs quickly cross national, language or ethnic borders. Thus, the genre gradually becomes a cosmopolitan creation, continually enriched by various influences coming from the West and the East alike.

¹ Ende apparently maintained a special relationship with Japan, especially in the last 20 years of his life. His novels were warmly received in this country and sold in big numbers. He visited Japan on several occasions, and in 1989, four years after the death of his first wife, he married Mariko Sato, his Japanese translator.

² Ende highly disapproved of Wolfgang Petersen's 1984 movie, and even unsuccessfully sued the producers.

³ It is, however, worth noting that in the Anglo-Saxon world *The Neverending Story* remained much of a connoisseurs' book, whose popularity among average readers could never challenge that of American fantasy sagas. This, obviously, provokes a question whether a non-American (or non-English) writer can successfully enter the world's biggest and most influential popular literature market, or perhaps he/she is doomed to become, at best, a sort of niche literary curiosity. In this respect, the recent Miyabe's book might prove a very interesting case study.

⁴ As indulging in a theoretical-literary debate is not my present objective, let me just state that by "Secondary World Fantasy" I mean a popular contemporary genre which attempts to create an alternative, "secondary" world in the plot is set. The text focuses on making this world relatively concrete and complete, achieving this aim by the detailed description of spatial-temporal setting and the social and ontological order of the presented model as well as conferring to it a certain specific causality, unusual from the point of view of the empirical reality but logical and coherent within the created world. As a rule, the reader is initiated into the world gradually, together with the protagonist (who, in some peculiar cases, comes from "our" or "primary" world). The plot is shaped by the motifs of quest, the main character's initiation and spiritual transformation as well as the struggle between good and evil on a transcendental scale in which the protagonist is engaged and frequently plays a vital role. Thus described genre will include the exemplary works of J. R. R. Tolkien (*The Lord of the Rings*), Ursula Le Guin (*Earthsea cycle*) or such authors as Stephen Donaldson or Patricia McKillip, but not, by the way of example, the famous Harry Potter cycle, whose action takes place in the "primary" world or texts of the so called "urban fantasy" as represented by works of Neil Gaiman or Charles De Lint. See also Trębicki (2007).

⁵ By "translation fantasy" I mean the variation of SWF in which the main character or characters are, in some initially mysterious but ultimately explainable way, "translated" (transferred) to a secondary world, where they subsequently experience their adventures. They are usually appointed an important mission by some transcendental force, and after accomplishing it, they return to the primary world. The texts are usually divided into two distinct parts – the mimetic introduction, and the text proper. Among the most notable examples of this genre variation I will count such works as *The Chronicles of Thomas Covenant*, *Unbeliever* or *The Summer Tree* by Guy Gavriel Kay. It is also worth noting that a

similar convention can be found in the works of contemporary Japanese pop-culture, namely anime movies or manga books targeted at teenagers – here I mean such productions as *The Vision of Escaflowne* or *Fushigi Yûgi*.

⁶ On the genological differences between fairy tale and fantasy see: Lasoń (1990), Trębicki (2007) and Zgorzelski (1997).

⁷ See Lasoń (1990).

⁸ The motif of Wataru's double, the materialization of his hatred, the struggle that ensues between these two and its unexpected resolution is highly reminiscent of a classical fantasy novel *A Wizard of Earthsea* by Ursula K. Le Guin, whose protagonist, Ged, has to come to terms with the Shadow, symbolizing dark side of his own personality.

⁹ Once more, a close resemblance to many Secondary World Fantasy works manifests itself, especially those belonging to the epic fantasy subgenre. The endings are often marked with the pervasive feeling of sadness and personal loss, whereas the final victory over evil is often not complete and redeemed with sacrifice. Again, such titles as *The Farthest Shore* by Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Lord of the Rings* by J. R. R. Tolkien or *Chronicles of Thomas Covenant, Unbeliever* by Stephen Donaldson could be mentioned.

¹⁰ This is also what distinguishes *Brave Story* from many other Japanese novels that might be possibly labelled as “fantasy”. Two popular (and translated into English) texts will serve as an example: *Dragon Sword and Winter Child* by Noriko Ogiwara and *Moribito, Guardian of the Spirit* by Nahoko Uehashi. Plots of both books take place in imaginary realities but conventions characteristic for Anglo-Saxon fantasy are not used here, and the models of presented worlds are almost exclusively based on Japanese history and mythology.

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East Meets West in Pursuit of a Sustainable World

The Liquid Strangers in David Mitchell's *Ghostwritten*

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Living in an era of uncertainty, no one can escape from the state of constant anxiety about the dangers that could strike unannounced and at any moment. The dangers of uncertainty then brings to light the risk one has to take in dealing with unpalatable and undesirable consequences, of which one's capacity to calculate probability is very often tested or even diminished. The feeling of being unable to foresee probability jeopardizes one's configuration of the manageable and therefore evokes the most compelling feeling of human emotions, that is, fear. Fear is the name we give to our uncertainty in the face of dangers, and the fear of uncertainty, whether it is the fear of natural disasters, the fear of environmental catastrophes, or the fear of frantic terrorist attacks, characterizes what Zygmunt Bauman terms as the "liquid modern age," at which one's ignorance of what the threat is and one's incapacity to determine what can or cannot be done counter to the controlling forces of the socio-political world of the modern era. This paper aims to extend the discussion of the stranger to that of the liquid stranger implied in David Mitchell's debut novel *Ghostwritten* (London: Sceptre, 1999). To present a clearer picture of the "liquid stranger," I would begin with Zygmunt Bauman's elaboration on "liquid modernity" so as to explicate how "liquid" can a stranger be in a global cultural scenario. In *Ghostwritten*, David Mitchell creates a genre-bending collage of nine inter-linked short stories to unravel the frailty of human bounds and the "liquid fear" it generates. The story starts with the narrative of Quasar, a Japanese Aum *Shinrikyo* cult who has released poisonous Sarin gas on the Tokyo subway and is now a fugitive running around from Tokyo to Okinawa and later prompts liquid strangers to transmit fear globally from Hong Kong, Tibet, Mongolia, to Petersburg and, by the end of the story, London. The liquid fear spreads, thanks to the global migration of the liquid strangers, from East to West. How can the liquid strangers portrayed in *Ghostwritten* mediate and struggle against the "liquid fear" in the liquid modern time? To what extent can the liquid strangers confront and tackle the chaotic turbulence which they are themselves responsible for? Do they, as the compromising and chaotic situation eases off, remain as elusive figures in the landscape of the liquid modernity, or, one way or the other, reconcile with the frail human bounds so as to find a mind at ease in a world where all that is

solid melts into air?

In an interview conducted by Keith Tester, Bauman reiterates the essentiality of terming the time of uncertainty “liquid modernity.” He starts with an explication on how the word “postmodernity” hinders our understanding of the “discontinuity in continuity” (Bauman and Tester 97). Postmodernity, Bauman points out, is generally accepted as the end of modernity, “leaving modernity behind, being on the other shore.” But what we are encountering goes flagrantly counterclockwise. According to Bauman, we are “as modern as ever, obsessively ‘modernizing’ everything we can lay our hands on” (Bauman and Tester 97). We then have come to a dilemma: what seems the same turns out different, and what is supposed to continue as a whole is ruptured as discontinuous segments. Although Anthony Giddens has figured a way out of this predicament by suggesting the term ‘late modernity,’ Bauman finds it difficult to adopt. He bluntly tells Tester that:

I never understood how we know that this modernity here and now is ‘late,’ and how we would go about proving or refuting this. Besides, the idea of ‘late modernity’ implies the same as the concept of postmodernity: one cannot speak of a ‘late’ phase of a process unless one assumes that the process has fizzled out and that therefore you can eye the ‘whole of it.’ (Bauman and Tester 97)

In contrast, Ulrich Beck’s “second modernity” is considered a better term, but it says “nothing about the difference between the ‘second’ modernity and the ‘first,’” and therefore, the term itself is brandished as “an empty container inviting all sorts of contents” (Bauman and Tester 97). On the other hand, George Balandier’s “*surmodernité*” seems more acceptable to Bauman, though the English translation is not as solid as it is in its original French version. To such an extent, Bauman maintains that the term “liquid modernity” would cause less semantic confusion about the contemporary trends under the trope of “postmodernity” because liquid modernity “points to what is continuous (melting, disembedding) and discontinuous (no solidification of the melted, no re-embedding) alike,” which he finds “suitable and useful” for the time being (Bauman and Tester 97-98, emphasis original).

Bauman has tried to make explicit the idea of “liquid modernity” in the book under the same title *Liquid Modernity* (2000), so he says in the conversation with Tester. Bauman examines one by one some cardinal and topical social issues which have been widely attended to in modern times in order to “find out what has been changed and what has remained unscathed because of the advent of the ‘liquid’ phase”

(Bauman and Tester 98). The concept of liquid modernity, asserts Bauman blatantly, helps to “‘make sense’ of the changes as well as of the continuities” in a world that is inclined to be free of fences, barriers, fortified borders and checkpoints (Bauman and Tester 98), because what is happening at present is, Bauman emphasizes, “a redistribution and reallocation of modernity’s ‘melting powers.’” The solids bond individual choices in collective projects and actions, while the liquids, one variety of fluids, undergo a continuous change in melting the patterns of communication and co-ordination between individually conducted life principles as well as political actions of human collectivities. Likewise, while bonding signifies “the stability of solids,” melting indicates the changeability of solids which denies the solids to resist liquefaction. “Melting the solids” then casts off the “‘irrelevant’ obligations standing in the way of rational calculation of effects” and leaves the complex network of social relations “unstuck, . . . bare, unprotected, unarmed and exposed,” incapable of resisting the progressive untying of bonds from the traditional political, ethical and cultural entanglements. “Melting the solids” also precipitates a new order that is to be “more solid” than the orders it replaced, because the new order renders whatever might have happened in a world emphasizing the totality of human life “irrelevant and ineffective” as long as the “relentless and continuous” reproduction of that order is concerned (Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* 2-6).

The “melting of solids” has therefore been redirected to a new target. What is happening at the present time, the time of liquid modernity, is “a redistribution and reallocation of modernity’s ‘melting powers’” (Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* 6). “Configurations, constellations, patterns of dependency and interaction” are all thrown into the melting pot in order to be subsequently recast and relocated. The liquid modernity is the “breaking the mould” phase in the history of the inherently “transgressive, boundary-breaking, all-eroding modernity” (Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* 6). Undoubtedly, Bauman continues, when a mould is broken there will always be another one to replace it. By the same token, people are released from their old cages only to be cautioned “in case they fail to relocate themselves in the ready-made niches of the new order.” The task free individuals have to confront, therefore, is to utilize their new freedom to “find the appropriate niche and to settle there through conformity” by steadfastly following the rules and modes of conduct identified as “right and proper” for the location (*Liquid Modernity* 7).

Liquid modernity is an epoch of disengagement while solid modernity an era of mutual engagement and entanglement. It is its lightness of being that liquid modernity frees the individual from the cage of solidity and makes the most elusive

call the shots. While the most elusive rule the patterns of communication and co-ordination between individually conducted life principles and political actions of human collectivities, one would possibly fall prey to an endless facile escape and its pertaining hopeless chase. This free floating life strategy seems appealing to the liquid modern inhabitant for its flexibility and expansiveness, but it adversely causes his or her fear of dangers—the danger of uncertainty and the danger of insecurity. The dangers one is afraid of in a liquid modern society, Bauman points out, are of three kinds. Some put the body and the possessions in jeopardy, while others threaten “the durability and reliability of the social order on which security of livelihood (income, employment), or survival in the case of invalidity or old age, depend.” Then there are dangers that threaten one’s place in the world—“a position in the social hierarchy, identity (class, gender, ethnic, religious), and more generally an immunity to social degradation and exclusion” (*Liquid Fear* 3-4). One’s vulnerability to dangers in the liquid modern time haunts him or her with no visible reason when the dangers one should be afraid of can be detected everywhere but are nowhere to be found for sure. Life in the liquid modern time, therefore, is anything but “fear-free,” and the liquid modern setting in which it is bound to be conducted is “anything but free of dangers and threat.” The struggle against fears in the liquid modern setting has turned out to be “a lifelong task,” while fear-triggering dangers are widely believed to be “permanent, *undetachable* companions of human life” (Bauman, *Liquid Fear* 8, emphasis original). Succinctly put, life in the liquid modern society has become a long and intense struggle against the potentially devastating impact of fears, and against the dangers, whether they are genuine or suppositional, that make one fearful. Even so, Bauman suggests, one had better to see the struggle as a continuous search for maneuvers and expedients allowing one to delay or postpone, even if temporarily, the imminence of dangers. Or better yet, to “shift the worry about them onto a side burner where they might, hopefully, fizzle out or stay forgotten for the duration.” What one should delay is “*frustration*, not *gratification*” (*Liquid Fear* 8, emphasis original).

There is, however, a possibility that one cannot get what he wants and gets instead something “different and utterly unpleasant,” something he would rather stay clear of (Bauman, *Liquid Fear* 10). These undesirable consequences come “unanticipated,” and catch one unprepared. But it is precisely the consequences which one can predict that makes one worried, and it is those same consequences that one can struggle to escape. Likewise, it is exactly the undesirable consequences of such a “pre-visible” kind that can be filed in the category of ‘risks.’ Risks, according to Bauman, “are the dangers whose probability we *can* (or believe that we can) calculate:

risks are the *calculable* dangers. Once so defined, risks are the next best thing to . . . certainty” (*Liquid Fear* 10, emphasis original). That “calculability,” however, does not mean predictability. As Bauman reminds us:

What is being calculated is only the *probability* that things go wrong and disaster strikes. Calculations of probability say something reliable about the spread of effects of a large number of similar actions, but are almost worthless as a means of prediction when they are (rather illegitimately) used as a guide for one specific undertaking. Probability, even most earnestly calculated, offers no certainty that the dangers will or will not be avoided in *this* particular case here and now or *that* case there and then. But at least the very fact that we have done our computation of probabilities . . . can give us the courage to decide whether the game is or is not worth the candle, and offer a measure of reassurance, however unwarranted. Getting the probabilities right, we have done something reasonable and perhaps even helpful; now we “have reason” to consider the probability of bad luck too high to justify the risky measure, or too low to stop us taking our chances. (*Liquid Fear* 10-11, emphasis original)

Confronting the risks of dangers shares a similar line with living in the fog. Living in the fog, one targets and focuses precautional efforts on the discernable and imminent dangers—“dangers that *can* be anticipated and *can* have their probability computed.” Nevertheless, the most awesome and fearsome dangers by far are precisely those that are “*impossible*, or excruciatingly *difficult*, to anticipate: the *unpredicted*, and in all likelihood *unpredictable* ones” (Bauman, *Liquid Fear* 11, emphasis original). The most awesome and fearsome dangers hit blindly and indiscriminately and make everyone living in the liquid modern habitat fear of this kind of unprepared and defenseless dangers. There are, however, other fears even more “horrrifying”—the fears of being particularly singled out from the joyous crowd and “condemned to suffer *alone* while all the others go on with their revelries.” These fears, Bauman further exemplifies, are very much on par with the fears of falling out of a fast accelerating vehicle or being thrown overboard, while the rest of the passengers, with their seatbelts securely fastened, find the journey ever more entertaining. These fears are “horrrifying” not simply because they are unprepared and defenseless dangers but also fears of “a *personal* catastrophe,” of being “left behind,” of being excluded in the liquid modern scenario (Bauman, *Liquid Fear* 18).

The liquid modern fears of exclusion serendipitously characterize the traits of the liquid modern strangers. Exposed in the liquid modern milieu, everyone is a

stranger to most of the people he or she meets, Dennis Smith points out in his study of Zygmunt Bauman's exploration of the nature of modernity and postmodernity (161). Notwithstanding there are strangers described by Julia Kristeva as "strangers to ourselves" (182-83) and those depicted by Sara Ahmed as "bodies out of place" (39), which I have discussed elsewhere and termed the privileged homeless strangers portrayed in Kazuo Ishiguro's novels as "*stranger* strangers" (Wang 1-29),¹ the liquid modern strangers are neither neighbors nor aliens; instead, they have features of both (Bauman, *Life in Fragments* 88). They remain close by in space as neighbors, while remaining distant and unfamiliar as aliens. One way to respond to strangers, Bauman proposes, is to treat them as the "*flâneurs* or *strollers*," who roam along to enjoy human comedies. The *flâneur* is, as Smith observes in reading Bauman, a "stranger among *strangers*" who feels "no particular moral responsibility for those providing the entertainment" (161-62, emphasis original). The stroller in the liquid modern world has replaced the modern pilgrim, who strides purposefully towards a clear destination to fulfill a clearly defined mission, because the contemporary world is no longer "hospitable to pilgrims" (Bauman, *Life in Fragments* 88). Instead, we meet, together with the stroller, the tourist, the vagabond and the player in the liquid modern time.

The liquid modern tourist is chasing after new experiences in new places, while reducing the risks that new experiences bring on his way to enjoyment. He returns home after each excursion, although the sense of "home" becomes obscured by the feeling of being constantly on the move. His home sickness meets a strong challenge from "fear of *home-boundedness*" (*Life in Fragments* 97, emphasis original). In contrast to the tourist, the vagabond is a wanderer who has no home. He does not wander out of choice, although sometimes he may come to cherish his capacity to move on when necessary. Such a well-adept vagabond would become a tourist if he had no financial troubles. Finally, there is the player who regards life as a series of games, each with its own rules. To avoid being permanently disturbed by remorse, the player must be able to leave behind a game that is concluded, moving straight on to the next without grudges.

With their different strategies of living in the liquid modern time, these four characters do share something in common inasmuch as they all "tend to render human relations fragmentary . . . and discontinuous." They rebel against "'strings attached' and long-lasting consequences," and also militate against "the construction of lasting

¹ For an exhaustive analysis of the "*stranger* strangers," please consult my book-length study of the Ishiguroan strangers in *Homeless Strangers in the Novels of Kazuo Ishiguro* (2008).

networks of mutual duties and obligations.” What they all favor and promote is “a distance between the individual and the Other and cast the Other primarily as the object of aesthetic, not moral evaluation,” nor responsibility (Bauman, *Life in Fragments* 100).

The nine protagonists David Mitchell portrayed in *Ghostwritten* are liquid modern strangers who are intimidated by and tormented with liquid modern fears. In his “ambitious and weighty” first book, Mitchell creates an “intricately assembled Fabergé egg,” in which “a daisy chain of characters” wander through every time zone to go across “the gamut of individual experience” (Mendelsohn). When the Japanese fugitive desperately calls a secret number and says the encoded message, “*The dog needs to be fed*,” for “a wallet of crisp ten-thousand yen notes” from the treasury of the cult in the first chapter (Mitchell, *GW* 27),² it turns out in the second that he accidentally gets the line to the jazz-record store in Tokyo where eighteen-year-old Satoru works (*GW* 54). In the third part, an English financial scam, Neal Forbes, sits in a restaurant when a young couple asks to share the table. Although there is no more detail than a saxophone case the boy carries with him and the language they speak, the general description would suggest that they are Satoru and his girlfriend Tomoyo, a “half-Chinese” with a Japanese mother and a Hong Kong Chinese father (*GW* 55), reuniting in Hong Kong (*GW* 78). More complex and suggestive is that in chapter seven a womanizing Londoner, having an affair with Katy Forbes whose husband helps money laundry in the chapter titled “Hong Kong,” ghostwriting the autobiography of an artist who happens to be an old friend of the Petersburg forger in chapter six, saves an Irish female physicist named Mo Muntervary from being hit by a car after she has invented an all-powerful technology that can control all other technologies. The subtle connections between their narratives manifest “the cloaking devices of a system bent on keeping its elements present and foregrounded,” which forces the reader to “take on the role of the critical theoretician able to counter the illusionary masking of the text,” Philip Griffiths maintains as he relies on Jacques Derrida’s concept of *différance* and the trace structure of the sign to tackle the novel’s “numerous intratextual references” in order to examine “the postmodern world map and the plurality of postmodern voice” (Griffiths 84, 79). By referring to Zygmunt Bauman’s exploration of the nature of modernity and postmodernity, I would like to expand Griffiths’s observation and argue that a series of loosely interwoven individual experiences of the liquid strangers serendipitously put the liquid fear at large and bring to light the frailty of human bounds that is “present and foregrounded,” borrowing from Griffiths, in the postmodern world.

² The text *Ghostwritten* is referred to as *GW* with pagination in parentheses.

The main character in each episode seems to have found some kind of meaning in his or her life, but for a stranger inhabiting in the liquid modern world, “the casing of the human condition sometimes turns transparent, like a see-through Swatch.” One would “understand less” if one understands more, says David Mitchell when describing his experience of living in Japan as a *gaijin* (Mitchell, “Japan and My Writing”). Take the jazz aficionado Satoru for an instance. His experience in Tokyo melts the stability of the solids and leaves the complex network of social relations “unstuck, . . . , bare, unprotected, unarmed and exposed” (Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* 4). People he encounters with in Tokyo are figured as chameleons—changeable, fickle and inconstant—in order to conceal their fears of being singled out and left behind. An eighteen-year-old orphan adopted by a night-club Mama-san, whose Filipino mother was deported and Japanese father disappeared after he was born, Satoru is a liquid stranger who thinks he can determine what can be done or grasped, but in effect, his incapacity to foresee the probability of being excluded jeopardizes the theory of “seeing is believing.” “‘Seeing is believing’” means that ‘I’ll believe it when I see it,’ but it also means that ‘what I’ll see, I’ll believe.’ Nevertheless, in the liquid modern age, what we see is “*people trying to exclude other people to avoid being excluded by them*” (Bauman, *Liquid Fear* 19, emphasis original). The more Satoru sees through the dangers of being excluded implied in his ghost life, the less he understands the significance of his existence in Tokyo.

Tokyo is a city of uncertainty and insecurity because it “never stops rewriting itself.” By the time one street guide is printed out, “it’s already become out of date” (*GW* 37). For the days when Satoru immerses himself in piles of jazz records, he sometimes feels lonely, but mostly weird. Tokyo for him is a city beyond his grasp. In Tokyo, Satoru wanders as a tourist, a vagabond, and a player, because

Things are always moving below you, and above your head. All these people, flyovers, cars, walkways, subways, offices, tower blocks, power cables, pipes, apartments, it all adds up to a lot of weight. You have to do something to stop yourself caving in, or you just become a piece of flotsam or an ant in a tunnel. In smaller cities people can use the space around them to insulate themselves, to remind themselves of who they are. Not in Tokyo. You just don’t have the space, not unless you’re a company president, a gangster, a politician or the Emperor. . . .

No, in Tokyo you have to make your place *inside* your head. (*GW* 37, emphasis original)

What seems encouraging for Satoru is that his place “comes into existence through jazz” (*GW* 38). Jazz creates an appropriate place for him to, in words of Bauman,

“‘make sense’ of the changes as well as of the continuities” in a world that is prone to set itself free from solid bonds. The colors and feelings implied in jazz music “come not from the eye but from sounds. It’s like being blind but seeing more” (*GW* 38). The liquid modernity has melted the patterns of communication and co-ordination between individually conducted life principles and political action of human collectivities. Jazz, indebted to Bauman, has become Satoru’s “appropriate niche” where he can settle through conformity by following the modes of conduct seen as “right and proper” (*Liquid Modernity* 7) for his location in liquid Tokyo.

In the “Mongolia” chapter, the liquid stranger is transform into a disembodied entity that travels from one human host to another through touch. The unbearable lightness of being in the liquid modern world, as we can see in this episode, has made transparent fences, barriers, fortified borders and checkpoints to liquefy the traditional political, ethical and cultural entanglements. It is to this extent that the bodiless spirit in search of its origins identifies itself with trekkers like Caspar, a Swede businessman selling jewellery in Okinawa, and Sherry, an Australian girl working in a Hong Kong pub (*GW* 161), traveling from one spot to another to “understand the world”:

Backpackers are strange. I have a lot in common with them. We live nowhere, and we are strangers everywhere. We drift, often on a whim, searching for something to search for. We are both parasites: I live in my hosts’ minds, and sift through his or her memories to understand the world. . . . To the world at large we are both immaterial and invisible. We chew the secretions of solitude. My incredulous Chinese hosts who saw the first backpackers regarded them as quite alien entities. Which is exactly how humans would regard me. (*GW* 160)

The bodiless spirit, the ghost, spends its infancy “at the foot of the Holy Mountain” in China (*GW* 158) and finds for itself over a hundred hosts around the world, from East to West, possessing knowledge from those hosts but still “knowing nothing about my origins” until it inhabits the monks who live by the Holy Mountain side and finds companionship with an old Chinese woman who owns a tea shack and believes “I was a speaking tree” (*GW* 172). Thanks to the old woman that the ghost realizes how “alien” can a stranger be:

When I saw my first foreigner, I didn’t know what to feel! He—I guessed it was he—loomed big as an ogre, and his hair was yellow! . . . They had enslaved our people for hundreds of years until the communists, under the leadership of Mao Tse Dong, had freed us. They still enslave their own kind, and are always fighting each other. They believe evil is good.

They eat their own babies and love the taste of shit, and only wash every two months. Their language sounds like farting pigs. They rut each other on impulse, like dogs and bitches in season, even in alleyways.

Yet here was a real, living foreign devil, talking in real Chinese with a real Chinese man. He even complimented my green tea on its freshness. . . . After a few minutes my curiosity overcame my natural revulsion. “Are you from this world?” (*GW* 134-35)

For the old woman, to see is not to believe because it is beyond her imagination that a real entity can establish relationship with an “alien”:

While I was cooking the foreign devil and his guide carried on speaking. Here was another shock—they seemed to be friends! The way they were sharing their food and tea . . . How could a real person possibly be friends with a foreign devil? (*GW* 135)

In the liquid modern scenario, the liquid strangers are threatened by the fears of a personal catastrophe and of being excluded. Nevertheless, by struggling through their “strange” existence in a world rampant with liquid modern fears, the “alien entities” David Mitchell portrays eventually find themselves more secure and self-confident than they launch the journey to quest for the probability of making their ghost lives solid and sound.

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***China's Propaganda in the Information Age: The 50 Cent Party
(Internet Commentators) with Chinese Characteristics***

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Abstract:

Propaganda has since the Mao's era been the primary vehicle for indoctrination and mass mobilization of the citizenry. With the deepening of the reform policies and opening to the outside, China has to some extent experienced an unprecedented boom and liberalization of the media sector. While the propaganda regime continues to attempt playing the role of guiding and shaping public opinion, the old "in your face" style of propaganda is not as effective as it was before. This has given rise to the new governing mechanism that employs Internet commentators to direct cyber discussions create favorable online opinion that is in the direction of the Party-state line. Accordingly, this paper addresses the rising cyber phenomenon of web commentary and argues that the setup and increased utilization of Internet commentators has provided the Chinese government in Beijing a sophisticated governing tool with which to disseminate and solidify Party ideology in the information age. A case study of the Weng'an incident is investigated to reflect on the China's propaganda in the information age.

Keywords: Propaganda, Online Public Opinion, Internet Commentators, Weng'an Incident, Agenda-Setting, Public Opinion Channeling

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Don't think that a little spiritual pollution doesn't matter much, that it's nothing to be alarmed at. Some of its ill effects may not be immediately apparent. But unless we take it seriously and adopt firm measures right now to prevent its spread, many people will fall prey to it and be led astray, with grave consequences. In the long run, this question will determine what kind of people will succeed us to carry on the cause and what the future of the Party and state will be. (Deng Xiaoping, October 12, 1983)¹

Introduction

The Chinese media since the 1990s has been the rising tension between the greater degree of market competition and the media's political role—the propaganda.² Propaganda, according to Olive Thomson, refers to “the use of communication skills of all kinds to achieve attitudinal or behavioral changes among one group by another.”³ Following the increasing commercialization of the Chinese media, it has carved newer spaces of public expression both for journalists and ordinary people. Absolute media controls have given way to economic policies seeking to stimulate market competition and revenues. Press subsidies have been cut down or suspended and the media governing structures have been streamlined in accordance with the market demands. These changes in the media sector have resulted in the processes of de-centralization of media governance, specialization of media contents, and multiplication of media production and distribution.

There is a growing speculation that the emergence of a commercialized media sector in China, in particular the Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs), has been challenging the CCP's dominated information environment in that

¹ Xiaoping Deng, “The Party's Urgent Tasks on the Organizational and Ideological Fronts,” Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (October 12, 1983) *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Volume III, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol3/text/c1160.html> (accessed March 28, 2010).

² Joseph M. Chan, “Commercialization without Independence: Trends and Tensions of Media Development in China,” in *China Review 1993*, eds. Joseph Cheng Yu-Shek and Maurice Brosseau (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1993), 25.1-25.21.

³ Oliver Thomson, *Easily Led: A History of Propaganda* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 7.

the modernization and globalized media sector will ultimately transform the propaganda apparatus into an enabling social force for a more democratic political regime to emerge. This article disapprove this assumption by suggesting that the Chinese communist has been very adaptive to strengthen its propaganda regime through incorporating Internet commentators to achieve regaining the commanding heights in discourse power. In way of enhancing the agenda-setting capability and public opinion channeling has made the traditional propaganda authority reinvigorate into attaining a more sophisticated governing tool with which to disseminate and solidify Party ideology in the information age. Specifically, the research question poses: how and to what extent China's propaganda regime has evolved and adapted itself in the information age. The politics of Internet commentators is also discussed. A case of Weng'an incident is investigated to reflect the theme of the theory and practice of China's Internet commentators.

This article begins with a brief review of the literature on the media and ICTs in China's propaganda state. Since the theme of this paper is closely related to the agenda-setting and public opinion channeling, exploration about the relationship between media and political system in transitional China is presented, paving the way for discussion about China's propaganda in the context of information age. The Internet commentators are introduced prior to the case study of Weng'an incident. Weng'an incident under review is the primary empirical evidence to reflect on how and to what extent China's propaganda regime is adapting to the information environment for political maneuvering. The politics and implications of Internet commentators is discussed with concluding remarks that although the Internet commentators have achieved some success in reinforcing the traditional propaganda apparatus, yet, whether the public opinion and discourses may effectively be guided or directed within the context of globalization of information technology is itself a

matter of debate that requires to be further studied in the mid- to long term.

Media and ICTs in China's Propaganda State

In western literature, discussion of the mass media, ICTs, propaganda, and democracy has become interwoven with one another. In general, there are two dominant approaches in the literature about the media's democratic potential: economism versus politicism, viz the radical-Marxist (focusing on critiques of the state) and liberal-pluralist (focusing on critiques of capital), with each one demonstrating rather different political images and normative expectations.⁴ The liberal-pluralist approach usually suggests that free media/press can only exist in a free democracy and true democracy is possible only with a free media/press. In this sense, a free media is to promote as well as preserve democracy by safeguarding its watchdog's role in checking governmental policies. Thereby "media" are attributed the status of the fourth estate of the State. Meanwhile, it is held by several scholars that most Third World and former Communist countries fit into the liberal-pluralist perspective because those late-developing states lead the country's modernization process.⁵ In this sense, as the media are capable of molding the minds of people and influencing their decisions in private and public life, they are likely to endanger full democracy if either the government or private individuals exercise monopoly control over the media.⁶

Yet in Asia there is a greater variety of views. The function of the media serving as an independent check on government is being de-emphasized by a number of Asian

⁴ Chin-Chuan Lee, "Chinese Communication: Prisms, Trajectories, and Models of Understanding," in *Power, Money, and Media: Communication Patterns and Bureaucratic Control in Cultural China*, ed. Chin-Chuan Lee (Evanston, IL.: Northwestern University Press, 2000), 26-36.

⁵ See, for example, Martin Staniland, *What is Political Economy?: A Study of Social Theory and Underdevelopment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁶ Justice P.B. Sawant, "Media in Democracy," *Media Asia* 28, no. 1 (2001): 47.

governments. As a Singaporean scholar held, “In much of Asia, the justification for the media and for communications was instead to increase national unity and identity in nation-building.”⁷ In this view, unlike the western normative notion of the media checking the government, the media in Asia are instead supposed to “support” the incumbent government in fostering the grand vision of post-colonial process in nation-building or even consolidation of the political authority and regime. It is perhaps true that there are unique historical and political experiences in Asian countries. Such countries possess a longstanding tradition of developing political philosophy shaped by religious and social beliefs. This to a larger extent determines the process of democratization and in creating unique features of democracy whereby value loaded words like individual freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of expression and human rights including participation in political decision making are redefined.⁸

In contrast to its counterparts in the West, in many Asian countries there are “official” media. No matter whether they are state-run media or Party-controlled mouthpieces in nature, they chiefly act to monopolize news sources and serve the propaganda purposes of the state. The propaganda could be broadly viewed as disseminating what one (political Party leaders) believes to be true, with overtones of propagating an orthodoxy. This leads to further questions: what is propaganda and what are its relations with public opinion?

One view is that propaganda in the broadest sense is the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of presentations.⁹ In Jowett and O’Donnell’s

⁷ Simon S.C. Tay, “Democracy and the Media in ASEAN and Asia,” *Media Asia* 27, no. 4 (2000): 226.

⁸ Vinod C. Agarwal, “Information and Communication Technology Challenges to Democracy in Asia,” *Media Asia* 28, no. 3 (2001): 132.

⁹ Harold D. Lasswell, “Propaganda,” in *Propaganda*, ed. Robert Jackall (London: Macmillan Press, 1995), 13. For more discussions about propaganda and public opinion, see, for example, Leonard William Doob, *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, second edition (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1966).

words, “Propaganda is a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.”¹⁰ As we may observe, such pre-war techniques of mass propaganda still persist in many Asian countries, albeit they may have been reworked.¹¹ Admittedly there has been a substantial tradition and political culture in Asian countries of managing information flows to ensure that the state is the primary if not sole provider of information. From this aspect, holding the comparative advantage to release exclusive news in ways that serve their own interests, those governments or political parties can seek to represent themselves in a more favorable light through using tame news reporters as their conduits to publish news information as the authorities wish.

In fact, Rawnsley has, for example, in an article cautioned us that, a factual based propaganda raises further questions of selection: who is deciding which facts to report? Which facts are hidden, and why?¹² His reminders touch upon what will be addressed in the later sections on the present-day issue of “agenda-setting”,¹³ with particular reference on the Internet commentators in the People Republic of China (PRC). Obviously, where the state occupies and controls press and mass media, it can utilize them either through denying access to information or distributing it selectively, for propaganda purposes, as was commonly argued in the cases of Nazi Germany and

¹⁰ Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, second edition (Newbury Park, CA. and London: Sage Publications, 1992), 4.

¹¹ Norris, Curtice, Sanders, Scammell and Semetko identify three main schools of thought which have developed to account for the influence of political communications: pre-war theories of mass propaganda, post-war theories of partisan reinforcement, and recent theories of cognitive, agenda-setting and persuasion effects. See, Pippa Norris, John Curtice, David Sanders, Margaret Scammell and Holli A. Semetko, *On Message: Communicating the Campaign* (London and Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, 1999), 3-9.

¹² Gary D. Rawnsley, “Selling Taiwan: Diplomacy and Propaganda,” *Issues & Studies* 36, no. 3 (June 2000): 4.

¹³ See Alex Chan, “Guiding Public Opinion through Social Agenda-Setting: China’s Media Policy since the 1990s,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 16, no. 53 (November 2007): 547-559.

former Soviet Union.¹⁴ In short, it was in the totalitarian regimes of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany that propaganda was most visible as a weapon of the state for the purposes of political indoctrination and social control. Nonetheless this kind of technique does not distinctly differentiate between the communist system of communication/propaganda and the non-communist one. In practice, liberal western countries also do make use of propaganda for their own national interests. What makes the communist propaganda unique is probably that "...the principle of political intervention and co-ordination is accepted and proclaimed as a normal and central part of the day-to-day running of the mass media rather than as an exception to a more general rule of independence that would often be hotly contested and is usually justified by appeals to exceptional circumstances."¹⁵

In this sense, several Asian communications scholars demonstrate an ambition to construct "an Asian communication theory," in contrast to the western counterpart, based upon the supposed uniqueness of Asian culture, values and traditions that western models and theories fail to effectively apply.¹⁶ One of the shared beliefs among those proponents of the Asian-style communications theory is that while some of the western models and theories may be applied, there are unique factors that need to be considered for each culture.¹⁷ For example, Mary A. Kidd argues that Chinese communication practices are hugely influenced by centuries of interactions between

¹⁴ John Street, *Mass Media, Politics and Democracy* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 109. For more discussions about the relationship between communist states and propaganda, see, for example, Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1973); John C. Clews, *Communist Propaganda Techniques* (London: Cox and Wyman, 1964); and Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (Kino: The Russian Cinema Series, 1998).

¹⁵ Colin Sparks, *Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media* (London and Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998), 43.

¹⁶ See, for example, Georgette Wang and Vincent Shen, "East, West, Communication, and Theory: Searching for the Meaning of Searching for Asian Communication Theories," *Asian Journal of Communication* 10, no. 2 (2000): 24-41; and Xiaoge Xu, "Asian Perspectives in Communication: Assessing the Search," *Asian Communication Journal* 3, no. 3 (May 2000). <http://acjournal.org/holdings/vol3/Iss3/spec1/Xiaoge.html> (accessed February 24, 2010).

¹⁷ E.M. Rogers and W.B. Hart, "The Histories of Intercultural, International and Development Communication," in *Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication*, second edition, ed. W.B. Gudykunst and B. Mody (Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, 2002), 1-18.

different philosophies such as Confucianism, Taoism and I-Ching.¹⁸ Such arguments are to some extent comprehensible in hindsight because the major concern of the move is that they wish to de-centralize the prevailing discourses led by the West, particularly by the US, by means of creating its own identity/discourse within a grand post-colonial/post-war state-building project.

However, the flip side is also evident that Asia has found itself swept along in the global twin tides: on the one hand, there is a growing influence of economic and sociopolitical globalization,¹⁹ and on the other hand, the communications revolution is being pushed towards ever-increasing degrees of information and freedom as evidenced by the blooming of ICT infrastructures and media consumption.²⁰ From the 1990s onwards, the Internet and ICTs have emerged as a “new media” that arguably serve as one of the driving forces that allow the general public more latitude in expressing opinions throughout Asia and across the globe.²¹ The substantive potential and the strategic impact of ICTs are also frequently addressed to significantly promote transparency and accountability in governmental affairs, despite government resistance and attempts to control flows of information.²² Some have further suggested that “the most profound significance of media commercialization in the Asian political and social context is an alternative or indirect way to achieve media democratization, which is the first step towards political and social

¹⁸ Mary Anna Kidd, “Dialogues on Dichotomy: The East/West Dilemma in Communication Theory,” *The PACA E-Journal* 1, no. 1. <http://web.ku.edu/~paca/PDFs/Articles/PACApaper2.pdf> (accessed February 24, 2010).

¹⁹ See, for example, Dennis A. Rondinelli and John M. Heffron, eds., *Globalization and Change in Asia* (Boulder, Colo. And London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).

²⁰ See, for example, Sun Sun Lim, Raymund C. Sison and Dong-Yeob Kim, eds., *The Promise of ICTs in Asia: Key Trends and Issues* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2008); and Youna Kim, *Media Consumption and Everyday Life in Asia* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008).

²¹ See, for example, Isa Duce, ed., *E-democracy in East Asia? : How the Internet Affects Politics and Civil Society in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan* (Berlin: Deutsches Institute für Japanstudien, 2004); and David T. Hill and Krishna Sen, *The Internet in Indonesia's New Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005).

²² Shahid Akhtar, Mahesh K. Malla and Jon Gregson, “Transparency, Accountability, and Good Governance: The Role of New ICTs and the Mass Media,” *Media Asia* 29, no. 1 (2002): 10-16.

democratization.”²³ Whether this vision is in fact a reality or just a fantasy remains to be tested by more empirical evidence.

China’s Propaganda in the Information Age: Media Politics in Transition

In closed political systems like the PRC, propaganda could be seen unproblematic as the expression of an official ideology. Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes readily embraced official propaganda because they treated it as a positive and favorable force for mass persuasion as well as sociopolitical control. The expression of dissenting viewpoints through the Party and state-owned or controlled media was virtually unseen as a result of the stringent exercise of press and media censorship. The Chinese media have consequently never been the forum for serious public discussions or debates for decades mainly because of political and technological reasons.

By way of continuous use of classic media governing mechanism, the Chinese government has conventionally practiced a system of information control and censure, with an intricate grading process for whom at what level is allowed to see which kinds of information.²⁴ The media governing mechanism has also referred to informing (*xinxi*), guiding (*yindao*), harmonizing (*xietiao*), safeguarding (*baozhang*), and constraining (*yueshu*) in the media politics that can help effectively control the whole chain of news media from the news reporting to news production, and from product creation to product distribution. The Party-state has thereby long managed to channel information flows so that they are vertically linked, and in the meantime, has eluded any significant flow of horizontal information and mobilization as well as

²³ J. Hong and U.C. Hsu, “Asian NIC’s Broadcast Media in the Era of Globalization: The Trend of Commercialization and its Impact, Implications and Limits,” *Gazette* 61, no. 3/4 (July 1999): 225.

²⁴ Tony Saich, *Governance and Politics of China* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 306-307.

organization.

Institutionally speaking, the Chinese propaganda system (*xi tong*) is headed by a member of the Politburo Standing Committee who is in charge of news media with subordinate media institutions under the State Council, including the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, Ministry of Public Security, State Administration of Radio, Film and Television, General Administration of Press and Publication, and the State Information Office, Xinhua News Agency. The Central Propaganda Department under the Central Party Committee has also supervised the propaganda institutions at different levels that guarantee the news organizations adhere ideologically to the Party line, propagate the Party messages, and obey CCP's regulations.²⁵

Overall, prior to the launching of the opening and reform policies in the late 1970s, Chinese people were overwhelmed by official information and interpretations of reality in the media, in the workplace and even at home.²⁶ Mao Zedong made the role of media unequivocally clear in 1942 that he demanded "a comrade thoroughly conversant with the Party's correct line should read the gallery proof to amend its incorrect views before publishing."²⁷ After the open-door policies, particularly after 1992 when Deng Xiaoping called for "more opening, deeper reform", China has been witnessing an unprecedented media boom and liberalization, and in the meantime, undergoing the tension between rapid commercialization and continued ideological control.²⁸ The media sector needs to respond to the increased market pressures and

²⁵ See, for example, Anne-Marie Brady, "Guiding Hand: The Role of the Central Propaganda Department in the Current Era," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 3, no. 1 (March 2006): 58-77.

²⁶ Daniel C. Lynch, *After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics, and "Thought Work" in Reformed China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 3.

²⁷ Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong Xinwen Gongzuo Wenxuan* (Selected Writings on Journalism by Mao Zedong) (Beijing: Xinhua Press, 1983), 155.

²⁸ Joseph M. Chan, "Commercialization without Independence: Trends and Tensions of Media Development in China," in *China Review 1993*, ed. Joseph Cheng Yu-Shek and Maurice Brosseau (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1993), 25.1-25.21; Yuezhi Zhao, "From

competition when it is under-subsidized or even deprived of any governmental financial support.

In this context, the Chinese media have been argued to have transformed from being a mere tool of communist propaganda to a mixed agent of political stability, ideological control, economic growth and information provision.²⁹ Zhao puts that the significant shift of China's media's role is from propaganda instruments to an industry, from leading the masses to serving the consumers, and from tools to service providers.³⁰ In this sense, tight media controls seem have given way to policies seeking to stimulate competition, cut down subsidies, and streamline organizational structures. Through media marketization and commercialization, or in Chinese parlance, "media industrialization" (*meiti chanyehua*), the range of media issues under political control has been reduced. These changes have in turn resulted in the reinforcement of decentralization, specialization, and multiplication of production and distribution process in the media sector, which further weaken ideological control and increase operational autonomy.³¹ The Chinese mass media is thus argued to be "one head, many mouths," with a single head of the communist Party and many mouths and tongues of the media coverage.³²

Since the late 1970s, the Chinese media system has been steadily reorganized in order to integrate with a global communications system. Compounded by China's media integration in global communication systems, alternative and freer flow of

Commercialization to Conglomeration: The Transformation of the Chinese Press Within the Orbit of the Party State," *Journal of Communication* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 3-26; and Chen Huailin and Joseph M. Chan, "Bird-caged Press Freedom in China," in *China in the Post-Deng Era*, ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheng (HK: The Chinese University Press, 1998), 650.

²⁹ Yu Guoming, *Jiexi Chuanmei Bianju* (Interpreting the Transformation of Media Industry) (Guangzhou: The Southern Daily Press, 2002), 6-7.

³⁰ Zhao Yuezhi, *Media, Market, and Democracy in China: Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line* (Urbana, IL.: The University of Illinois Press, 1998), 47-51.

³¹ Eric Kit-wai Ma, "Rethinking Media Studies: The Case of China," in *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, ed. James Curran and Myung-Jin Park (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 21-34.

³² Wu Guoguang, "One head, Many Mouths: Diversifying Press Structures in Reform China," in *Power, Money, and Media: Communication Patterns and Bureaucratic Control in Cultural China*, ed. Chin-Chuan Lee (Northwestern University Press, 2000), 61.

information have had a profound impact upon reforming China and its media governance. The arguably “spiritually polluting” communications, together with the increasing diversity of information carried by transnational media corporations (TNMCs), may act as a visible political weapon to undermine the capacity of CCP’s media governance and propaganda thought work as China enters into the information age.

Yet, with the rapid media commercialization and globalization, the media entrepreneurs may still find them in the dilemma of operational autonomy and political compliance.³³ In essence, the media sector is predominately constrained by the logic of China’s media politics and the general political climate. Media politics logic has also associated with the aspects of one-party rule, centralized power over the economy and society, and a bureaucratic hierarchy, which may be summarized as the vogue term “Chinese characteristics”. Thereby, some argue that China cannot have any press freedom under the ruling CCP for its iron fist control over information and media outlets. This highlights the intense struggles between the press freedom and media control that have been recurring among media politics in the present-day China. China’s propaganda department has constantly re-affirmed that one of the chief tasks for them is to vigorously disseminate the core values of socialist China.³⁴ While the forces of internationalization, commercialization and pluralization have far-reaching impact on China’s mass media in the past three decades, the propaganda organ is also adapting itself to the new media environments to strengthen its effective exercise of political and ideological indoctrination through the adept use of institutional resources

³³ The row between Google and the Chinese government is the most recent example that underscores the unease over mounting tension between (foreign) ICT entrepreneurs and the Chinese authorities.

³⁴ Yuezhi Zhao, “Neoliberal Strategies, Social Legacies: Communication and State Transformation in China,” in *Global Communications: Toward a Transcultural Political Economy*, eds. Paula Chakravarty and Yuezhi Zhao (Lanham and Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 23-50.; and Wang Tianyi, *Wangluo Yulun Yindao yu Hexie Luntan Jianshe* (Guiding Online Public Opinion and Building Harmonious Online Forums) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2008), 103-104.

to manage media issues, affairs, activities and problems. In other words, the governing mechanism of propaganda is to set up an effective political framework in better and efficiently managing the mass media in the information age.

As a matter of fact, three decades of economic reform and dynamism have witnessed the official ideology continuously weakening.³⁵ A more pluralist and materialist value orientation is now emerging and increasingly shared among the general populace in Chinese society. By the same token, its liberalizing effect arising from economic reform was spilled over to the media sector that is observed by communication scholar Yuezhi Zhao, in which she argued, “Media commercialization [in China] from the 1980s onwards is part and parcel of the development of a market economy.”³⁶ However, the modernization and commercialization of media sector has not yet transformed China’s propaganda apparatus into an enabling social force for a more democratic political regime to emerge as this will be further explained in the later sections. The propaganda role in China’s media politics remains obvious and prominent despite China is now entering into information age. The Internet commentary is a carefully crafted mechanism geared towards achieving its steady propaganda purposes in the information age. The web commentator is further discussed in the ensuing section.

The Internet Commentator

In China the rising new cyber phenomenon is the mushrooming of the “Internet Commentators”, or in Chinese words, *wangluo pinglun yuan*, dubbed “Fifty Cent

³⁵ See, for example, Bruce J. Dickson, *Democratization in China and Taiwan: The Adaptability of Leninist Parties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Gordon White, *Riding the Tiger: The Politics of Economic Reform in Post-Mao China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); and Kalpana Misra, *From Post-Maoism to Post-Marxism: The Erosion of Official Ideology in Deng’s China* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998).

³⁶ Yuezhi Zhao, *Media, Market, and Democracy in China: Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 52.

Party” (*wumao dang*) or “Fifty Cent Army”, that addresses the creative techniques adopted by the PRC authorities to employ paid astroturfing Internet commentators to away and influence public opinion online.³⁷ They are paid 50 Chinese cents, or 5 mao, as per message they post online. Allegedly it was in March of 2005 when the Ministry of Education was on a national mission to clean up college bulletin-board systems (BBS), where at Nanjing University, for example, the school’s BBS “Little Lily” was shut down for the preparation of the launch of a university-run online discussion forum. The university there hired a group of willing and capable students to work part-time as web commentators to uphold and advance communist Party’s ideological positions.³⁸ This appeared to be the prototype for what has since become an ongoing sophisticated propaganda technique for central and provincial level publicity organs to manage the cyberspace and blogosphere.

The globalization and commercialization of media that accompanied deepening economic market reform has increasingly highlighted the gap between the official/Party media and traditional propaganda agencies. Nowadays China’s propaganda may not be as obvious and blatant as it was during the Mao’s era, yet its current capacity and effectiveness remains contested. While some may argue that the overall power and efficacy of China’s propaganda state has deteriorated over time in the face of technological modernization, social pluralization, economic marketization

³⁷ The Chinese governments have rarely officially acknowledged that they organize the web commentary. Yet, recently China’s Xinhua news agency had announced that the Party in Gansu Province was planning to expand its “army” of Internet commentators. Although the notice was first posted on Gansu Daily Online, that web site, along with other websites that initially circulated it, including *Southern Weekend*, have been required to remove it, as the Chinese authorities claim the announcement constitutes an “internal affair.” See “Zhongguo Gansu Chengren Zujian Wumaodang Beipi Niuqu Minyi,” (China’s Gansu provincial government seeks to deploy a web commentary team, but is criticized to distorted public opinion), *Voice of America* (Chinese version), January 24, 2010, http://www1.voanews.com/chinese/news/china/China_20100124-82548812.html (accessed March 29, 2010).

³⁸ See David Bandurski, “China’s Guerrilla War for the Web,” *Far Eastern Economic Review* 171, no. 6 (July/August 2008): 41-44.

and globalization,³⁹ the Party-state's propaganda has instead attempted to revitalize such an apparatus through the set-up and utilization of the "Internet Commentators".

The establishment of the "Internet Commentators" is in part due to the growing concern of the CCP's recognition of the web's real power in empowering regular Chinese citizens with a more adaptive interactive communications tool to disseminate information, exchange opinions, and probably the most worrisome to the Party-state, the power to mobilize and organize them in the physical world. Rather than completely stifling critical cyber public opinion against the Party and government, the Chinese government tends to adopt an innovative scenario to shape and sway public discourses through the subtle use of the web-based spin doctors. Acting as normal Internet users, those designated Internet commentators register as many IDs as necessary, and work undercover and anonymously in the cyberspace as a full-time or part-time commentator.⁴⁰ The reason why they conceal their true identity is that "...by not revealing our identity we allow them to feel our mutual equality, and avoid creating a feeling of opposition. At the same time the work can be smoothly accompanied without revealing what goes on behind the scenes; this achieves very good results."⁴¹

According to "The Fifty Cents Party Training Manual," the principal duties for the Internet Commentators are to monitor China's cyberspace and blogosphere, such as popular discussion forums, blogs, and BBS, and to post comments so as to mold public opinion and spin bad or critical news/opinions into favorable (or at least,

³⁹ See, for example, David Shamble, China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy, *The China Journal*, no. 57 (January 2007): 25-58.

⁴⁰ Commentators either work full-time for the state-owned news portals, such as *Xinhua News Agency*, *People's Daily*, or work part-time as government employees for various government branches, mostly including Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of Information Industry, and academic institutions. See Zhang Lei, "Invisible Footprints of Online Commentators," *Global Times*, February 5, 2010, http://special.globaltimes.cn/2010-02/503820_2.html (accessed March 15, 2010).

⁴¹ "Zhokou yindao fuwu qingshaonian youle wangluo xin kongjian," (Zhokou city serves and guides the youth in creating a new Internet space) *China Youth Daily*, November 30, 2009, p. 8, http://www.cyol.net/zqb/content/2009-11/30/content_2959076.htm (accessed March 15, 2010).

neutral) praise of the Party and/or government.⁴² In this sense, these online commentators have also been referred to in other instances as the “red vest” or the “red vanguard” that they are innovatively incorporated in tandem with traditional propaganda agencies to safeguard and protect the interests of the communist Party by policing and infiltrating the ever-growing Chinese Internet. In principal, the Internet commentary is akin to what has been seen as astroturfing of PR tactic in some commercial activities in the western. Western astroturfing tactic and Chinese Internet commentary are accustomed to seeking the impression of being spontaneous and grassroots behaviors that ultimately satisfy their commercial and political ends and agendas.⁴³

In essence, Internet commentators are both a politically adept and proactive web-oriented approach that constitute as intertwined and interrelated sources of a new propaganda regime in the information age. It is politically adept in that Internet commentators are virtually far from regular cyber users; they are mostly well-trained spin doctors recruited from various police departments, propaganda and publicity agencies, and the Communist Youth League and Party, to follow the Party lines and orders in propagandizing certain political positions, censoring unexpected breaking events, and spinning online opinions into support for the government.⁴⁴ They are ready to espouse and rally to the political cause of a “harmonious society” in China’s cyberspace, a term directly derived from President Hu Jintao’s regular exhortations for Chinese citizens to help create a harmonious cyber community.⁴⁵

⁴² See *Zhonggong Hengyang Shiwei Dangxiao “Dangxiao Zhendi” Wangpingyuan Guanli Banfa* (Regulations governing Chinese communist party school’s web site “Dangxiao Zhendi” in Hengyang city), January 21, 2010, <http://www.cenews.eu/?p=21320> (accessed March 15, 2010).

⁴³ For more discussions about astroturfing, business and politics, see, for example, Walter Truett Anderson, *Astroturf—The Big Business of Fake Grassroots Politics*, JINN, January 5, 1996, <http://www.pacificnews.org/jinn/stories/2.01/960105-astroturf.html> (accessed March 18, 2010).

⁴⁴ See *Wumao dang Dangzhang “Wangluo Pinglun yuan Gongzuo Zhinan”* (The Fifty Cent Party Platform—Guild of Internet Commentator), <http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/9/6/19/n2563099.htm> (accessed March 15, 2010).

⁴⁵ See “Hu Jintao: Zuohao Xuanchuan Sixiang Gongzuo, wei Jianshe Xiaokang Shehui Tigong Sixiang

In fact, the acts of web commentators usually involve an online surveillance that is captured in the Chinese words, *he-xie* (river crab). In spoken Chinese, “river crab” sounds similar to the word “harmony,” which has become a euphemism for the authorities’ justification on the Internet censorship in order to maintain a harmonious society. It is therefore a nuanced cyber strategy for the relevant propaganda departments to recruit Internet commentators to skillfully help release some of the unavoidable sociopolitical tension on the Net, and in the meanwhile, to help strengthen the CCP’s administration, and to reinforce the sense of Chinese patriotism in the Internet age through the adept use of eliminating, playing down the negative or harmful cyber discourses, and posts as well as online replies to comments.

In addition to traditional censoring web sites and blogs, the incorporation of the Internet Commentators into the management of China’s cyberspace is also a proactive initiative in the way that online spin doctors poise for political maneuvering to alleviate and/or neutralize unfavorable, pessimistic sentiments and critical opinions and possibly transform them into bolstering government views on the Net since many netizens tend to blindly follow what others remark online. In so doing, web commentators can usually alert dangerous or controversial content or information to the authorities to take necessary (precautious) action in the face of netizens’ initiatives and preparatory activities. As the director of the State Council Information Office Wang Chen reaffirmed the significance of swaying public opinion for the web company on the occasion of the Ninth Internet conference:⁴⁶

...the work to guide online public opinion is an innovative and bright spot for the

Wenhua Baozheng,” (Hu Jintao: Building the well-off society on the basis of better propaganda and thought work), <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64093/64094/6808294.html> (accessed March 17, 2010).

⁴⁶ “Wang Chen zai Dijiujie Zhongguo Wangluo Meiti Luntan shang de Yanjiang,” (Wang Chen’s Speech at the Ninth Forum on China’s Internet Media) *Xinhua News Agency*, November 24, 2009, http://news.xinhuanet.com/newmedia/2009-11/24/content_12530246.htm (accessed March 17, 2010).

Party's propaganda and ideological work in the information age...key news web site is the principal driving force to channel public opinion...consciously strengthen the mainstream public opinion, actively lead cyber hot spots, divert public sentiment, resolve social conflicts, and promote public harmony...

In summary, Chinese government has learned that heavy-handed regulation on the Net may not as effective as they had initially envisaged. They are instead adjusting new governing tactics to elicit and gauge public opinion firstly, and later attempt to guide online opinion in a more instant and effective manner. The authorities are increasingly aware that ICTs may effectively serve as a pressure valve in China to wittily release those destabilizing and undesirable social and political conflicts that could critically undermine the capacity and authority of the top leaders and the image of the CCP, when particularly prominent economic, social, and political events took place and out of their control. As the extent of the liveliness of cyber discussions has reached a new high in Chinese cyberspace, it denotes that an enormous online public pressure to be frequently reckoned with by the authorities, let alone to dismiss or ignore it.

The practical aspects of directing Internet opinion, or Internet commentary, have thereby an integral part for China's Internet administration to systematically develop propaganda on the Net, to oppose cyber criticisms, and to develop the authorities' web leadership in the cyberspace. In a word, China's propaganda and thought work in the information age still uphold the important summary statement that was firstly addressed by former Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, in which he made a legal talk on July 11, 2001, as: *Jiji Fazhan, Jiaqiang Quanli, Quli Bihai, Weiwo Suoyong* (develop actively, increase control, accentuate the good and avoid the bad, use it to our advantage).⁴⁷ The enshrined sixteen words of key statement are still principally

⁴⁷ Jiang Zemin, "Tuidong Wguo Xinxi Wangluo Kuaisu Jiankang Fazhan," (Quickly promote healthy environment of Internet and information in China) *The Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Vol. III* (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2006), <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64185/180139/10818587.html>

applied to its current Internet administration and commentary.

Case Study—Weng’An Incident, Propaganda and the Internet Commentator

In a nutshell, on June 28, 2008, over 30,000 people took to the streets and some attacked the Party committee headquarters and government buildings, setting fire to a local police station in Weng’an County, Guizhou province, because the demonstrators thought the victim of a female undergraduate student named Li Shufei did not die from drowning as the first two autopsy reports had revealed. Such an unusual death circumstance on June 22, 2008, was dismissed by the victim’s family as they felt the death of their daughter should be classified as a foul play instead of a suicide attempt. This case provoked backstreet gossip and rumors of raping and murdering into flying around. The family refused to collect her body as a sign of protest. Meanwhile, to prevent the local police from forcefully handling the victim’s body, the family began protesting on June 28, 2008, through public gathering and collecting signatures for a legal petition.

This incident soon became the hotspot news among SMS text messaging, blog and Internet forums, such as *Qiangguo Luntan*, *Tian Ya*, or Sina.com in which prevailing Internet sentiments seemed more supportive of the suffered family than the local authorities as it was evidenced in numerous angry comments containing official corruption, rape-murder and police inaction. Images, discussions and gossips with regard to the miscarriage of justice and sense of relative deprivation that attached to this incident had also spread far, wide and fast across the cyberspace and backstreets, albeit many critical posts had swiftly deleted and filtered by web site administrators that did not appear long on the Net. Official Xinhua news story could instead stay on discussion boards and got a record-setting number of visitors.

(accessed March 20, 2010).

While tens of thousands of Netizens and the general public utilized various communications means to distribute and download/upload videos and information from the scene in Weng'an, the emergency command center (*Yingji Zhihui Bu*) was established in Weng'an on June 29, 2008, one day after this mass incident. Directed by Shi Zongyuan, the Party secretary of Guizhou province, one of the main purposes for this center was to guide the (online) public opinion, when especially citizens were awakening to dispute the veracity of any official reports and government statements. On one occasion, Shi Zongyuan stressed that, "The most important thing in handling a suddenly breaking incident is whether we can release information immediately, accurately and factually and then we can guide public opinion properly."⁴⁸ This is basically because "Rumors stop as soon as information becomes publicly available. When a negative incident is made public and transparent, there will be positive reflections."⁴⁹ Local authorities were hence pressured to reflect on the incident of information openness. Yet the enhancing information transparency and accuracy might in the end for the political purpose of guiding public opinion through official information flow and authoritative news provision as it will be further explained in the later section.

In term of Chinese government's response to this contingency, the emergency command center composed of eight working groups, viz. groups of persuasion and guidance, incident investigation, traffic administration and control, information reporting, logistics guarantee, medical care, development after the event, and most importantly, the "group for policy discussion and law publicity" (*zhengce yulun fagui*

⁴⁸ "Shi Zongyuan Tan Weng'an Shijian: Chejiu Lingdao Zeren Gongbu Shishi Zhenxiang," (Shi Zongyuan talks about Weng'an incident: strictly investigates the leadership responsibility, and releases the true story), *Guizhou Ribao*, July 4, 2008, http://news.xinhuanet.com/local/2008-07/04/content_8488064.htm (accessed March 18, 2010).

⁴⁹ "Weng'an Shijian Beihou: Yixie Jiguan Ganbu xiang Heishili Tongfeng Baoxin," (Behind the Weng'an incident: some government leaders have provided gangsters with information), *China Central Television* (CCTV), July 12, 2008, <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/14562/7503118.html> (accessed March 18, 2010).

xuanchuan zu) (abbreviated as “propaganda group” thereafter). The propaganda group was under the leadership of Zhou Xiaoyun, deputy publicity director of Guizhou provincial Party committee, with the general aims to mobilize Internet commentators to collect information and reports in relation to Weng’s disturbance and effectively lead and sway public opinion, and particularly to attempt to affect national opinion through proficient use of Guizhou media as a whole. The move for establishing this center was arguably in part derived from the high degree of attention paid both by the top CCP leaders and State Council to this riot,⁵⁰ in particular the prominent event of Beijing 2008 Olympic Games in August was just one month away.

Whereas the official media might be able to provide timely and politically “correct”⁵¹ coverage regarding this turbulence, government censors did move rapidly back and forth to delete online contributions that provided unofficial accounts and deactivate the accounts of those violated users. Admittedly, the propaganda group vigorously deployed Internet commentators from July 1, 2008, shortly after its establishment, to clarify rumored reports and comments and sway public opinion as there were many conflicting stories circulating in the cyberspace and blogosphere. For example, Zhou Shuguang, better known as “Zola”, was a famous independent blogger and citizen journalist who had posted his personal interview accounts with the victim’s family to his blog at <www.zuola.com/weblog/>. In addition to blogging, he also utilized social media like Twitter, QQ, and MSN to transmit live reports and on-the-scene information on this case, to draw Netizens’ attention to this largely

⁵⁰ For example, the Secretary General Hu Jintao reportedly asked about “why did such a small criminal case trigger such a large-scale mass incident? He had also demanded the local government to “calm down the demonstrators and protect social stability.” See “Guizhou Saoluan Hu Jintao Pishi Cuwu Fengsuo Xiaoxi.” (Hu Jintao demands not to block information about the Guizhou turbulence from going to the outside), *Min Pao* (Hong Kong), July 1, 2008.

⁵¹ Politically correct information usually means that Internet users are prohibited to create, replicate, retrieve, or transmit any information to incite to overthrow the Chinese government or the socialist system. Inciting division of the country or harming national unification is also considered politically incorrect information.

overlooked mass incident.

In fact, attached to the propaganda group, the Weng'an web commentary team was enlisted from a dozen school teachers and government personnel who were tech-savvy and adhered to the official lines to counterattack the "unhealthy" information and dispel rumors deemed by the authorities. In addition to calm Netizens down with positive comments on the Net, Internet commentators consulted the Xinhua news reports for politically "correct" viewpoints and information.⁵² The Internet commentary was *per se* an innovative and flexible method to sway online public opinions and discussions. In accordance with instructions directly released from the emergency command center and Guizhou Party and publicity departments, the Internet commentators had specifically received directives from the propaganda group and "online propaganda unit" (*wang xuan ban*) about how and what exactly the local Internet commentators need to respond to web sentiment and discourse. For example, the "online propaganda unit" had on July 4, 2008, issued important directives in line with demands from central propaganda department to downplay covering and calm people down concerning this turbulence, in which they stated:

Do not put relevant news report in the front page; simply treats it as normal, single news item. Do not operate this sort of news in the front page of web site or news center for long. Do not create a theme news section for this incident. Put the section in the latter page if it is already done;

Only relay or re-publish news reports from the People's Daily Online, Xinhua News,

⁵² For example, one day after the June 28 Weng'an incident, *Xinhua News Agency* released its first but short news report on June 29 with police station assaulted and torched by local people in southwest China county. This was unusually quick for a national media like Xinhua to cover mass incidents like this soon after it broke out. See "Guizhou Weng'an-xian Fasheng Yiqi Dazashao Shijian," (An incident of assault, vandalism and arson occurred in Weng'an county, Guizhou province) *Xinhua News Agency*, June 29, 2008, http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2008-06/29/content_8456598.htm (accessed March 20, 2010).

and the major provincial news websites of Guizhou;

Do not recommend any specific issue related to this incident in the discussion forums and blogs. Do not treat or recommend any relevant articles or posted comments to the front page. No more than three items of Weng'an related messages can be posted to the front page of a discussion board. Strictly monitor comments and contributions of the discussion forums. Delete any comments that assault the Party and government, provoke mass incidents, enrage furious sentiments, and disseminate rumored comments.

After receiving these instructions, the propaganda group had to completely follow and report to the authorities what they had achieved afterwards.

Moreover, Weng'an government and Guizhou authorities had jointly intensified their leadership in governing press media. On the one hand, the Guizhou provincial government information office held a press conference in the provincial capital Guiyang on July 1, 2008, clarifying that the teen girl was neither raped nor murdered, and the Weng'an Party secretary Wang Qin had no connection with any of the suspect.⁵³ The press conference was organized on June 29, 2008, two days after official *Xinhua News Agency* published their news report. This suggested the local government had tremendous political pressure from Beijing authorities to better tackle this riot. On the other hand, the Guizhou government had restricted traditional media in covering this incident one way or another. Journalists who intended to cover this case were required to register with the local authorities; they needed to apply a special press pass issued by the emergency command center in order to enter into Weng'an country to interview. When reporters interviewed local people, such as the family

⁵³ See "Guizhou Zhaokai Xinwen Fabuhui Jie Wengan Liu-er-ba Shijian Zhenxiang," (Guoizhou government holds a press conference, disclosing the true story of the Weng'an incident) *Guizhou Satellite Television*, July 2, 2008, http://news.xinhuanet.com/video/2008-07/02/content_8473735.htm (accessed March 21, 2010).

members of the deceased, militia police, or any other principals on the scene, they would be “fully accompanied” (*quancheng peiban*) by members of the local government and publicity, to ensure that the authorities kept track of who had been interviewed and what had been commented.⁵⁴

In the meantime, with the political mandate from President Hu Jintao, senior leaders in Guizhou province had learned lessons from previous (failure) experiences to evolve into more attentive to public outrage. In fact, they sprung quickly to action to dismiss local Party and government officials of Weng’an county on July 3 and 4, 2008, including the communist Party secretary, governor, and chief police and commissar, as they were deemed to have fatally failed in implementing strong and fair policies to tackle the conflict between the ordinary citizens and the local government, to better accommodate the public concerns, and eventually had led to the widening mutual mistrust and growing public resentment towards the Party and government. As a former chief of the state press and publication administration (*xinwen chubanzongshu*) regulator, Guizhou Party secretary Shi Zongyuan proactively allied Guizhou’s communist Party-run media—the *Guizhou Daily*, Guizhou Television, and the *Guizhou Metropolis Daily*—to have provided state media across the country with authoritative, timely and thoroughly point-to-point information that could clarify citizen’ suspicion and dispel rumors rampant on- and offline. In other words, the Guizhou authorities endeavored to restore their political images and trust in both governance and propaganda through active and nuanced use of propaganda and communications tools in the information age.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Wang Weibo, “Weng’an Shaonu Zisha Shijian Dangshiren Shoufang, Wengan ‘Guanyuan Quanpei,’” (Weng’an officials provide ‘full company’ at interviews with the principals on the scene of Weng’an teen girl suicide) *Qingnian Zhoumo* (Youth Weekend), July 17, 2008, <http://news.163.com/08/0717/10/4H22C8G70001124J.html> (accessed March 21, 2010).

⁵⁵ Anne-Marie Brady has in an article held that current Chinese propaganda work has incorporated innovative approaches like the Internet to strengthen the work of preserving the positive images of the Party and government, and effectively “regiment the public mind.” See Anne-Marie Brady,

For publicity reasons, the command center in Guizhou further arranged several official interviews of the suspects and principals by outside media, lest individual news agency would conduct their own investigative journalism without the presence of local officials. In so doing, the Guizhou propaganda department could strengthen their publicity through its governing tactics and associated local media in a more authoritative and manipulative way because any media units outside Guizhou province could hardly cover the latest development and in-depth analysis without direct interviews of many of principal and relevant actors in the scene.

To sum up, the propaganda authorities both in Guizhou and central government had learned from previous experiences in tackling mass incidents to nowadays adeptly provide authoritative, professional, immediate and complete coverage of the riots, and accordingly exert continuous media control to prevent politically incorrect and unhealthy reports or rumors from extensively disseminated and communicated. Couple with the Internet commentators, the Chinese political system is evolving and adapting to a more Chinese information society as they are now becoming more confident in managing news as they are aware if the authorities have provided enough information and cyber venues for citizens to vent their sentiment, they can some how channel their access to information, and online opinion exchanging, discoursing and debating from a seemingly unfettered cyberspace and blogosphere to a more a government and Party-controlled medium to make the governance in the Internet age more manageable and governable.

The Politics of Internet Commentators in China

“Regimenting the Public Mind: The Modernization of Propaganda in the PRC,” *International Journal* 57, no. 4 (autumn 2002): 563-578.

In a Leninist Party-state like China, the truth of authority normally replaces the authority of truth.⁵⁶ That is partly why the Tiananmen Square protest of 1989, as suggested, highlights the most serious problem for the CCP that the Party-state was unable to successfully “communicate” with its own subject then.⁵⁷ Actually during the political storm period, China’s official media were somehow perplexed: they were firstly reticent to report this “political turmoil” but later covered it in a harsh and relentless manner after political climate became clear. Some people, the intelligentsia in particular, were dismayed at the official or Party’s controlled media coverage of this movement; they were impelled to switch to unofficial and underground channels for information and news reports since the mainstream media were deliberately biased and toed the Party line that extensively propagandized official accountants and perspectives. Arguably it is a herald that people from this incident onwards began not to consult news and information solely from official conduits because of the media’s credibility and authority had been frequently challenged and undermined.⁵⁸

The situation has become more obvious since the introduction of the ICTs for public use from the mid-1990s when the government in Beijing was determined to unleash the Internet’s economic potential.⁵⁹ The Party-state was fairly enthusiastic to achieve leapfrog development in informatization (*xin-xi-hua*) for the grand purpose of catching up with its western counterpart that had hoped for more than a century ago. To achieve this end, it is significant for the authorities there to assure its global economic competitiveness by bolstering the openness and development of the ICTs.

⁵⁶ Su Shaozhi, “Chinese Communist Ideology and Media Control,” in *China’s Media, Media’s China*, ed. Chin-Chuan Lee (Boulder: Westview, 1994), 84.

⁵⁷ Gu Zhibin, *China Beyond Deng: Reform in the PRC* (McFarland, 1991), 107-141.

⁵⁸ See, for example, He Qinglian, *The Fog of Censorship: Media Control in China* (New York: A Human Rights in China publication, 2008).

⁵⁹ See, for example, Yongnian Zheng, *Technological Empowerment: The Internet, State, and Society in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); and Junhua Zhang and Martin Woesler, eds., *China’s Digital Dream: The Impact of the Internet on Chinese Society* (Berlin and London: European University Press, 2003).

However, coupled with the potency of globalization and the transnational media corporation, the use of the Internet and mobile technologies have grown into the unexpected outcome that more citizens, mostly from the wealthy coastal areas, can now gain a higher degree of access to the alternative news sources. This simple but important fact bears the far-reaching political and policy implications in that it has the potential to undermine the long-lasting legitimacy foundation that the official media organs have fortified through an effective propaganda and thought work as well as information flow control.⁶⁰ In other words, the propaganda regime is now confronting the new challenge from the cyberspace.

To some extent, the Chinese authorities have also tied its success in Internet administration to the regime's survival, prosperity and sustainability. For instance, Hu Jintao, the general secretary of the CCP, warned at a study session of the Politburo on January 23, 2007, that "Whether we can cope with the Internet is a matter that affects the development of socialist culture, the security of information, and the stability of the state."⁶¹ He urged that "...the government should use advanced technologies to better guide public opinions voiced through the Internet."⁶² This may suggest that the Chinese government is becoming more aware that, although (cyber) public opinion may not be the final say on the general direction of national development, the change in public attitudes and sociopolitical behavior is making impact on the roles, institutions, and bureaucracies of the communist regime.

To the Chinese government, the propaganda departments and agencies need to be revamped and ought to adeptly use the ICT as a potent platform to spread "healthy"

⁶⁰ See, for example, Anne-Marie Brady, *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China* (Lanham, Md. and Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008); and Yuezhi Zhao, *Communication in China: Political Economy, Power, and Conflict* (Lanham, Md. and Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).

⁶¹ "President Hu Jintao Asks Officials to Better Cope with Internet," *Xinhua News Agency*, January 24, 2007, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-01/24/content_5648674.htm (accessed March 18, 2010).

⁶² "Hu Urges Better Management of the Internet," *China's Daily*, January 25, 2007, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-01/25/content_792065.htm (accessed March 18, 2010).

and politically “correct” information as well as government polices in the Internet age. This is basically driven by the serious political concern that the Internet, or the so-called “new media”, is utterly becoming a hub of online activity for originating, discussing, and dispersing information. What is far-reaching is the increased cases of China’s based social and political movements are more relying on advanced forms of technology and mass communication as a political mobilizing tool and conduit to alternative forms of media than they were before. Despite that many regulatory organs such as the Public Information Internet Security Supervision Bureau, which is under the Ministry of Public Security, may achieve some success in monitoring and filtering “sensitive” information in the cyberspace as well as SMS text messages,⁶³ it is virtually improbably, if not impossible, to completely stifle online “unhealthy” information by those cyber-police or golden shield initiative (also known as “Great Fire Wall”) alone.

China’s Internet commentary teams are in this sense constructed to supplement China’s effective propaganda work, with their associated web commentators covertly enlisted from politically reliable Party members and/or public servants. They are trained and commissioned to embark on the task of “opinion police” that not only help administer and regulate the cyberspace, but play a leading role in guiding online public opinion as well. From orthodox propaganda viewpoint, this is a pioneering mechanism of national importance for Chinese government to better govern ICTs when their capability, credibility and authority of information/message management are growingly confronted by the opinions and discourses mediated online and many other Internet-facilitated mass incidents.⁶⁴ This has usually resulted in the fact that

⁶³ See, for example, Assafa Endeshaw, “Internet Regulation in China: The Never-Ending Cat and Mouse Game,” *Information & Communications Technology Law* 13, no. 1 (March 2004): 41-57; and Chase, Michael S. and James C. Mulvenon, *You’ve Got Dissent! Chinese Dissident Use of the Internet and Beijing’s Counter-Strategies* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002).

⁶⁴ See more discussions at Xiaoling Zhang and Yongnian Zheng, eds., *China’s Information and*

traditional propaganda measures can no longer take full effect as they originally envisaged. On the contrary, the propaganda personnel have increasingly found them struggling often to forcibly promote their agenda-setting (*yicheng shezhi*) capability and public opinion channeling (*yulun daoxiang*).⁶⁵ It means it is essentially a recognition that traditional mechanism for media/information governance, while largely remains crucial, is now withering and becoming ineffective in the face of modern (mobile) communications.

Interestingly, the Weng'an incident has highlighted the subtle transitions of China's propaganda authorities in the information age. As there usually lacks a decent level of real transparency and responsiveness at government institutions and agencies, when a mass incident like the one in Weng'an took place, the credibility crisis facing China's propaganda regime had in the first place sparked off worst turbulence, resulting in critical (online) public opinion tremendously against the local, provincial and central governments. Soon after the provincial and central governments stepped in, the situation began stabilized and the crisis management manifested its governing characterization of the remaking of traditional propaganda in the Internet age. Simply put, to repackage and streamline propaganda in the new communications environment, the Chinese propaganda regime had actively strengthened their efforts in reinvigorating its agenda-setting function and public opinion channeling.

In the aspect of agenda-setting, it is important to re-emphasize that China's

Communications Technology Revolution: Social Changes and State Responses (London: Routledge, 2009); and Guobin Yang, *The Power of the Internet in China: Citizen Activism Online* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

⁶⁵ The concept of "public opinion channeling" is similar to the one "guidance of public opinion" which had been firstly appeared in CCP's criticisms of former Party secretary Zhao Ziyang following the crackdown on mass demonstrators in Beijing on June 4, 1989. Most importantly, the aspects of "guidance of public opinion" are two-fold: if public opinion differs from the Party on any matters, the media are responsible for sufficiently guiding the public so as to bring their opinions in line with the Party spirit; the media must ensure correct and unerring guidance of public opinion by thoroughly respecting the Party's discipline of propaganda. See Jiang Zemin, "Guanyu Dang de Xinwen Gongzuo de Jige Wenti," (Some questions regarding the Party's news work) *People's Daily Online*, November 28, 1989, http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2005-02/21/content_2600239.htm (accessed March 23, 2010).

traditional propaganda regime is now confronting a new informational environment, in which ICT industry grows faster and unofficial information becomes more available than before. Stringent information censorship and tightly-controlled media outlets cannot vouch for the fullest effect of modern-day propaganda and thought work in China. After all, to make propaganda at work, it depends perhaps more on “framing” than on mandatory “censorship”. To frame involves the agenda-setting that is not what we think, but what we think about.⁶⁶ It is also more about how the media manipulate and selectively report the news since the traditional media outlets act as gatekeepers of information in the Chinese context; news media or specifically, the propaganda authorities in the Weng’an incident, makes deliberative choices about what to report, what to play down, and what to simply disregard in dealing with the news and information. What the public know may be a by-product of media’s gatekeeping that ultimately serves the government’s agendas.

In this sense, the case of Weng’an under review highlights citizens are empowered by the new information technologies to begin to set their own agenda and organize themselves in a way that the government cannot easily overlook. This makes the propaganda regime is politically alert, attempting to remold its traditional governing techniques on to the thought work of ideological control to cater to digital generations through a more crafted Internet commentary. In this regard, we may suggest that Chinese Internet users are not only make their opinions and voices better heard but also to enforce the authorities, including the propaganda regime, to be more responsive and accountable.

Furthermore, the public opinion channeling is dynamically underway with the aim to overtake the political dogma and the boilerplate out of traditional propaganda

⁶⁶ See, for example, Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (summer 1972): 176-187.

outlets. If it is successfully implemented, it may create a favorable public opinion environment for desirable sociopolitical stability (or “harmonious society” in the current political rhetoric), which is in turn the foundation and a necessary ingredient of deepening economic reform. Nevertheless this does not denote China’s propaganda out of news or loosening the Party’s grip on the (news) media; it is rather a political interest in boosting more effective media governance over the propaganda apparatus in the Internet age. In the Weng’an incident, the concept of Internet commentary was closely attached to the public opinion channeling that it practically directed at underlining positive news and comments and negating critical and opposing discourses on the Net. These cyber spin doctors were being incorporated into the current propaganda maneuvering in the government work, thought work, and the Party building in an all-round manner, making the Party-state’s voice more amplified and their viewpoints favorably presented in the cyberspace.

Undertaking the public opinion channeling is essentially toeing the Party and official line. This principle was clearly addressed when the President Hu Jintao made a special inspection visit during the 60th anniversary of the Party press *Renmin Ribao* on June 20, 2008. He firstly made an important speech on the significance of doing the news and propaganda work, with particular emphasis on the new patterns of robustly foster the Party’s ability to guide public opinion.⁶⁷ These new patterns can be characterized as grabbing the commanding heights in news coverage of

⁶⁷ Inside his speech, there are five essential points in the new patterns of public opinion guidance: (1) We must adhere to the principle of party spirit in journalism, holding firmly to correct guidance of public opinion; (2) We must adhere to people-based [journalism], increasing the affinity, attractiveness and appeal of news reports; (3) We must continue to reform and renew, enhancing the directedness and effectiveness of public opinion guidance; (4) We must strengthen the building of mainstream media and the building of new media, creating a new pattern of public opinion guidance; and (5) We must conscientiously take hold of the building of [propaganda/editorial] teams, enhancing our cohesiveness and fighting strength. See “Hu Jintao jiu Tigao Yulun Yindao Nengli Ti Wu Dian Yijian,” (Hu Jintao proposes five points to promote public opinion guidance) *Xinhua News Agency*, June 21, 2008, <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2008-06-21/002515786464.shtml> (accessed March 24, 2010). English translations cited from David Bandurski from China Media Project, <http://cmp.hku.hk/2008/06/25/1079/>.

contingency and the suddenly breaking incidents in the information age. Web commentators represent the pivotal initiative of taking on the commanding heights to monitor public Internet speech: reinforcing the political effects of positive and favorable discourses while upsetting the influences of dissenting and critical voices.

In the case under review, after the strategic establishment of the emergency command center, particularly the propaganda group, the authority there had attempted to sway the public opinion and improve the public images of the Party and government through intensive crisis management measures. Supported by the central leaders in Beijing, the emergency command center boasted that the government would be more attentive and responsive to the public opinion, and meanwhile, seriously take public opinion into consideration when initiating and implementing public policies in the aftermath of handling future mass riots. In this respect, the Guizhou government had actively responded to the public demands by having the second and third autopsies on the deceased victim, holding several official press conferences to explain the situations and the latest developments regarding the incident handling,⁶⁸ and more importantly, by organizing persuasive commentary to extract doubts and give proper direction and guidance to the furious cyber community who were concerned about this mass incident. In doing so, the authorities walked a fine line in allowing or at least tolerating managed/controlled discussion that could help alleviate and release unstable sociopolitical forces/tensions on the one hand, and restore and strengthen the Party and government's images and prestige through the delicate deployment mechanism of Internet commentary on the other hand, which in turn may ultimately

⁶⁸ The setup of official press spokesperson systems are jointly to correctly and effectively channel public opinion as they step out more frequently and explain a situation as well as the government's position. See Zou Jianhua, *Tufa Shijian Yulu Yindao Celue—Zhengfu Meiti Weiji Gongguan Anli Huihang yu Dianping* (Strategies for guiding public opinion during sudden breaking incidents: Case reviews of government's media PR crisis) (Beijing: The Central Party School Publishing House, 2009), 7-11.

create a favorable dynamic between the citizen and the Chinese Party-state in the information age.

As such, the newly designated Web commentators are proactively enhancing the traditional propaganda regime via public opinion channeling to better adapt to this increasingly digitalized society that aims to regain the commanding heights of the CCP's agendas setting capability both in the "virtual" and physical Chinese societies. In the meantime, online e-government services and news provisions may weaken citizens' motivation of looking for online unofficial or alternative information, provided there is a decent quantity of timely, professional and authoritative news reporting on an event or issue. It means those vital conduits for alternative news and information, such as foreign or underground news websites, blogs, online chatting rooms and discussion boards, may be overshadowed or even replaced if the official press and media have a better, persuasive, timely, complete, and reliable news presentations and coverage in the cyberspace. In other words, the propaganda regime is being adapted to the rapidly evolving new information environment where the traditional political ideologies and thought work are frequently challenged. It endeavors to firstly channel public information sources from outside of the official domain to the officially manipulated realm, and later on channel their opinions to be more supportive or at least tolerant and sympathetic stance towards the Party and government.

Conclusion

When ICTs converge on the political environment in most authoritarian and developing countries, they allow the possibilities of the public gaining more latitude in expressing opinions. Communist China is a particularly significant country in this respect as the (mass) media was traditionally controlled and manipulated by the

authorities to serve as tools of propaganda and for purposes of agenda-setting. Entering the information age, the state is seen to assure its economic competitiveness in a globalized context where information and knowledge largely drives global and domestic economy. The government there keenly bolsters the development of information and network technology, but at the same time, it has been persistently trying to minimize the undesirable social and political effects that the ICTs have brought about since they were introduced in the mid-1990s. Because the political impact of the Internet has caused the Beijing government unease as it threatens its long-held monopoly over the flow of information, the regime has adopted a variety of strategies to harness it, limit the impact of the new technology to an acceptable degree, and hopefully to turn it to the government's benefit, particularly in the prospects of electronic commerce.

The explorations of the Weng'an incident reveal the political implications of Internet commentary for the subtle and adept transformations of China's propaganda apparatus in the information age. The case under review shows that the Chinese government is now taking serious action to improve and reinforce its governance in such a massive propaganda machine by attempting to sway public opinion via the ingenious utilization of Internet commentary characterized as their agenda-setting and public opinion channeling in an incident or issue. In other words, web commentators are integral part to the modern-day propaganda in the information age as the old "in your face" style of propaganda is quickly losing its credibility and effectiveness when a more efficient conduit for the horizontal exchange/dissemination of information among ICT users become more widely available in China. Such a horizontal communication has growingly given rise to sociopolitical unrests and mass incidents as citizens are being empowered to organize themselves in a more orchestrated

manner to defend their legal rights. The so-called “red vest” or the “red vanguard” of the CCP is in this regard becoming important to strengthen the propaganda regime in the digital age in which they work beyond outright/direct censorship but act to set the agenda and channel public opinion in a more nuanced and manipulated way. They have ultimately given the Party a foothold in the anonymous areas of the online world, therefore giving it quite substantial indirect government control.⁶⁹

The Weng’an incident under review provides episodic evidence that suggests in the short term, the Internet commentators have at least to some degree reinvigorated and reinforced the traditional propaganda apparatus. One aspect of this is the way the propaganda press outlets are providing freer, timely, professional and authoritative news coverage to compete against those foreign news channels or independent blogs and vying for dominance of commanding heights in discourse power and access. Whether the public opinion and discourses may effectively be guided or directed within the context of globalization of information technology is itself a matter of debate that requires to be further studied in the mid- to long term in the mid- to long term.

At last, it is worth quoting China’s ex-President Jiang Zemin when he was asked a critical question on China would be changed by the Internet, he interestingly replied:

“I’m getting old and sometimes I have trouble using a mouse. But my grandson is very good at navigating the Internet. I tell him that there is a positive side to the Internet, because it can help promote the spread of information and understanding. And there is negative side, which is when misinformation is spread. So I tell my grandson that he should use the Internet to enrich knowledge, and he should not use it to visit pornographic sites. But my grandson lives far away from me. I cannot tell him what to

⁶⁹ Evgeny Morozov, “Propaganda.com,” *The New York Times*, March 29, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/30/opinion/30iht-edmorozov.html> (accessed March 28, 2010).

*do. I can only advise him what to do.*⁷⁰

By noting Jiang's words may we reaffirm that the Chinese leadership realizes that the Internet, unlike those official media, will be more difficult to administer despite its heavy-handed control from time to time. Regardless of the continuing waves of forward and backward movement in controlling the free flow of information on the Internet, one thing seems certain: the underlying tide in boosting the overall level of information freedom is moving forward in China. The authorities could perhaps "regulate" and "advise" but not compulsorily "direct" them how to use the ICTs. The Internet's probability to provide and disperse a flood of new ideas makes it the most formidable challenge yet to a key source of power, one practiced by Chinese government for centuries: the propaganda power to shape public opinion in a way that leads citizens to accept the regime's political legitimacy.

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The racial representation in the children's cartoon in Taiwan: A content analysis of examining the stereotypes in imported cartoons

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**The racial representation in the children's cartoon in Taiwan: A content analysis of
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Abstract

The importance and influence of television cartoons on children's perceptions of the world has been recognized and discussed in the academy since the 1980's. The portrayal of gender and race in cartoons are crucial, because they convey the norm of behavior and values towards the children who watch them every day. This study examined the racial and gender representation of cartoons on Taiwanese children's television channels. With the low rate of children's domestic cartoon production (less than 1%); the content of cartoon on Taiwanese children's channels was embodied with the cultural values of foreign countries, such as the United States, and the United Kingdom, and Japan, rather than the Taiwanese society. Does this encounter illustrate the inconsistency between symbols and value from different societies and possibly confuse Taiwanese children with their own cultural system? Or do these cartoon characters in some extent represent a stereotype of gender and race from "the West"? This study explored this vital issue by applying content analysis approach. Because there was little literature on the issue of imported cartoon, this study aimed to bridge the academic gap by the example of the cartoons that on air in Taiwan.

Keywords: animation, stereotype, racial representation, children and animation

Introduction

The influence of television programs on children has been widely discussed for decades. With the increasing exposure to all kinds of media, plenty of research studies various effects of media on children, including increased aggression and violence (Hess, Hess, & Hess, 1999), the development of stereotyped beliefs and attitudes (Lavin & Cash, 2001; Ward, 2002), and other psychological problems, such as eating disorders (Thomsen, McCoy, & Williams, 2001). Among these, how television programs portray gender roles and different races and possibly influences the forming of stereotypes on children was widely discussed by academia (Klein & Shiffman, 2006). Many studies have found that television plays a significant role in the socialized process of children (Roberts & Maccoby, 1985; Signorielli, 2001), and many researchers even argued that television have socialize children and provide them with sexist and racist stereotypes, sexuality, violence and commercialism (Signorielli, 2001; Graves, 1996; Steyer, 2002). Numerous researchers have observed and conducted the research concerned the stereotyped images portrayed in children's programs and commercials (Larson, 2001; Dietz, 1998).

Before attending school, learning from parents and learning from television are the two main ways for children to know about the world. When children go to elementary school, they are often taught basic subjects, such as language¹, math, and science, but rarely discuss the outside world, foreigners, and the ideas of self and other. Also, usually it is often uncommon for young children to interact with people from other countries or races in daily life. Thus, the ideas they learned from television often become the main resource to connect with the outside/foreign world. Najjar (2007)'s study supports this point and suggests that cartoons are important sites for the construction of the identity of the self and other. Using techniques culled from social psychology, cognition, and anthropology, in conjunction with the cartoon code, he examined the way the cartoonist constructed Palestinian refugee and Arab identity. He argued that because cartoons provide a stream of social and political commentary and yet are artistic works, they demand a layered interpretation that gets at the symbolism that may lurk in the artistry of the image, in the captions, or in the relationship between the cartoonist and his or her interpretive community.

Meanwhile, the racial discourse presented by media does not often represent the real world situation. Much research about how the media portrays members of different racial groups and stereotypes them has been conducted in the past decade. Abercrombie, Hill, and Tumer (1988) defined stereotype as "a one-sided, exaggerated and normally prejudicial view of a

¹ The language here means the official language used in the country, such as Mandarin in Taiwan, and English in the United States.

group, tribe or class of people, [that] is usually associated with racism and sexism.” They suggested that stereotypes are difficult to be changed or corrected by the real world evidences, because they provide a sense of solidarity to a society. According to their assumption, when the representation of race is rigid in a certain pattern, it has become a racial stereotype and uneasy to alter. Signorielli (2001) also suggested that stereotypes are the “generalization or assumptions that are often based on misconceptions” (P.343). Based on the significance of the issue and the possible influences to children, several scholars have conducted studies on the potential of children’s television, particularly the animation, of how they maintain dominant ideologies of the society (Dines, 1995; Davies, 1995). One of the most famous and influential studies in this area is the social learning theory (Bandura, 1986). The assumption made by social learning theory is that children learn specific attitudes and behaviors from the content and characters they encounter in the media. Stereotypes on television are particularly suited for applying social learning theory (Signorielli, 2001), because they offer a over-simplistic image, model of behaviors to the unguarded audiences—children. Therefore, it is important to understand the representation represented in the media as well as the stereotypes showed.

Generally speaking, studies focusing on race-related content in the media have concluded that minority group members are underrepresented in the media (Eschholz, Bufkin, & Long, 2002; Larson, 2002). *Non-white* characters usually take minor roles in television drama, and often are marginalized when they show up (Klein & Shiffman, 2006). Nakayama and Krizek (1999) argued that through the process of “particularizing white experience,” critics explore the “rhetorical character” of whiteness. Media images of white characters, including those of animated characters, contribute to the centering of the white experience as normal and natural. To de-center whiteness, critics must interrogate those commonplace, taken-for-granted constructions of whiteness in media texts, especially those as ubiquitous as the Disney animated films.

At the same time, the phenomenon is more complicated in countries which do not have many self-produced programs. In Taiwan, where almost all programs are imported from foreign countries such as the United States and Japan, the roles that television plays for children to understand race are more intricate. Because of the buying relationship, the characters shown in cartoons are often constructed by US or Japanese companies, which sometimes represent the stereotypes of Asian or Taiwanese (or Chinese) people. With regard to Asians in the media, Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) claim that the magazine advertising research showed that Asian Americans were portrayed as being “work-oriented”. In a counterpart study examining television advertising, Taylor and Stern (1997) also found that Asian Americans were portrayed disproportionately often in business settings, and underrepresented in settings

involving family, friends, and social relationships. Based on the analysis of television and movie content, some scholars concluded that Asian characters are not shown to be as diverse as Asian people are in real life, and that these particular media tend to emphasize specific beauty standards for Asian Americans (Mok, 1998). Also, some researchers have described media portrayals of Asians as representing that of a “model minority”—that is, hard working, efficient, attractive, technologically savvy, well-educated, dependent, obedient, and so forth (Mastro & Stern, 2003; Taylor & Stern, 1997). Although this type of portrayal is not a negative concept, it is nonetheless based on social stereotypes of Asian Americans and its presence in the media does promulgate the continued existence of this type of racial stereotyping. This thorny situation is intensified in Taiwan and many other content importation-oriented countries, and makes children in these countries have to deal with the difficulties of distinguishing other from self on the screen.

This study proposes to examine the current racial representation of children's animations in Taiwan to answer the following research questions: how prevalent is race-related content in animated cartoons? How do the different personal traits link with different ethnic group? Does gender and ethnic representation connect to each other?

Method

A content analysis was conducted in order to obtain the basic information needed to analyze the current situation in children's animations. In order to assure objectivity and reliability of the research, this study followed Kassirjian's (1977) general guidelines for content analysis. According to Kolbe and Burnett (1991), benefits of content analysis consist of: the unobtrusiveness of the communication evaluation; the assessment of the environmental variables of the communication/message content; the empirical onset or starting point of new research evidence on the nature of the communication; and the ability to provide statistical information for multi-method studies.

A total of 126 characters from 42 episodes, including 11 children's cartoons that are on the air from four to seven o'clock in the evening on the Eastern Television Children Channel, were collected for one week in January 2010 and coded. YoYo TV is the most historical children's channel in Taiwan, and thus, has the most children audiences. The five programs during that time period that are not animations were excluded from the analysis. In Taiwan, elementary school students go back home after class is dismissed at four o'clock, and families usually have dinner at seven in the evening, so the interim is usually free time or television time for many children. Thus, studies of children's animations often choose this time period (Su, 1999), and it is appropriate for the current study as well. In each episode, the first three

characters to appear for more than thirty seconds were coded. If the same character showed up in more than one episode, they were skipped, and the next character that appeared for more than 30 seconds was coded. In other words, the researcher coded the first characters in the episode, but if the third character that showed up had already been coded, then the researcher would code whatever character showed up the next (i.e., the fourth).

Data Collection

For analysis, each character was assigned a coding unit. A two-page code sheet, developed in the research of Chu and McIntyre (1995), was used in this study. Following Levinson (1975), a character is operationalized as “anything or anyone who has a speaking role or appearance outside a crowd, a scene, [or an] audience.” Some background information was coded in the beginning, such as the country of production. The type of the character was coded according to the following categories: human, animal, monster or mythical character, plant or object, robot, and other. The ethnicity of the character was coded as Asian, Black, Latino, Middle Eastern, South Asian, Caucasian, or other. The general criteria for determining the race of the character is detailed in the code book. Other attributes that can be distinguished by the characters’ appearance, such as sex, age, body weight and attire, were also coded. In addition, we coded the characters’ occupational roles and relationships, including the occupation of the character and whether this character is an employee or an employer. Lastly, by watching the content of the animation, we coded other personal attributes, such as whether characters were aggressive, independent, emotional, objective to things, easily influenced, dominant or obedient.

Results and Discussion

Among a total of twelve cartoons on YoYo TV that were coded: six of them were imported from Japan, four of them were imported from the United States, and one of them was imported from France, and one was from China (see Table 1). A total of 126 characters were coded in this study. Among them, the gender rate between female and male is 1:1.34. 82(65.1%) characters are human characters; 35(27.8%) characters are animal; and 9(7.1%) characters are non-human or non-animal characters.

Table 1 The names and the production countries of the samples

	Japan	U.S.A	France	China	
	<i>Pokemon</i>	<i>Sponge Bob</i>	<i>SamSam</i>	<i>Flash and Dash</i>	
	<i>Case Closed</i>	<i>Dora the explorer</i>			
	<i>Digimon</i>	<i>Go Diego GO</i>			
	<i>Chibi</i>	<i>Jimmy Neutron: Boy</i>			
	<i>Maruko-chan</i>	<i>Genius</i>			
	<i>Jewelpet</i>				
	<i>We are Pretty</i>				
	<i>Cure</i>				
Total	6 (50%)	4 (33.33%)	1(8.33%)	1(8.33%)	12(100%)

Ethnicity of Characters

There are 82 (65.1%) human characters in the samples, with the total of 44 (34.9%) non-human characters, including animals, plants and objects. The ratio between human and non-human characters is 1:0.54. This suggests 65% of the characters can be recognized by ethnicity and racial discourse. Among the 82 human characters, there are only 16 (19.5%) characters with obvious Asian features, but as high as 52 (63.4%) characters are categorized as Caucasian, and 4 (4.9%) are categorized as Latin American. However, 10 (12.2%) human characters cannot be categorized into existing groups. These indistinguishable characters often have rare hair or eye colors, which cannot be categorized into a certain ethnicity (see Table 2).

Table 2 Distribution of ethnic characters

	Asian	Caucasian	Black	Latino	Middle Eastern	South Asian	Undistinguishable	Total
Japanese	11(13.4%)	30 (36.6%)	0	1(1.2%)	0	0	9(11%)	51(62.2%)
U.S.A	0	15(18.3%)	0	2(2.4%)	0	0	0	17(20.7%)
France	0	3(3.7%)	0	0	0	0	1(1.2%)	4(4.9%)
China	5(6.1%)	4(4.9%)	0	1(1.2%)	0	0	0	10(12.2%)
Total	16(19.5%)	52(63.4%)	0	4(4.9)	0	0	10(12.2%)	82

(100%)

Caucasian characters showed up the most, regardless of the country of production. Among the cartoons produced by Asian countries, the Japanese cartoons have 59% Caucasian characters, while the Chinese cartoon also has 40% Caucasian characters. The result revealed a similar tendency to the critics of early Disney cartoons discussed in the literature—children of other ethnicities had difficulty finding the images that represented themselves, but had to follow the Western look and even the beauty standards, which are not only dissimilar to their appearances, but also hard for them to pursue.

In most of the sampled cartoons, even though some characters were portrayed with different colors of skin or hair, they still share the similar big eyes, big noses and bone structures. To some extent, this phenomenon can be interpreted into blurring the racial difference and diminishing racial stereotype, but this over-simplified appearance seems to be another way of following the Western beauty standard. The portrayal of a different ethnicity was rough and embedded with Western styles. The low rate of the representation of other ethnicities in the cartoons made by the United States and France also revealed a danger that the non-white children in Western countries may have difficulty finding models for themselves in cartoons, and thus become marginalized.

The lack of non-Western attire is also noticeable. Only 5 (6.1%) of the characters were dressed in Asian customs, while 77 (93.9%) characters wore Western-style clothes. This rate is even lower than the percentage of Asian characters. Wearing T-shirts, shorts, or skirts, the characters looked alike no matter which the ethnicity of the character was. In other words, even though the characters had an Asian appearance, they still wore Western clothes and demonstrated a Western look. This result may also demonstrate the tendency of Westernization of apparel in real life. Due to the influence of Hollywood and the globalization of media, most people of a young generation prefer to wear Western garments and take this as a symbol of fashion. The absence of Chinese, Japanese or other Asian traditional attires may reflect this phenomenon.

Surprisingly, none of the personal traits is statistically significant in ethnicity (see Table 3). This finding suggested that these personal attributes are not directly related to ethnicity. The factors in this scale used by previous studies (e.g., Chu & McIntyre, 1995) may have changed over time. Also, this result cannot serve directly as evidence of the stereotypes declining in recent years, it showed that Caucasian characters may not be portrayed as more dominant or more independent in modern cartoons. This result may also be due to the fact that among the

12 cartoons sampled, three of them have Asian characters as the main characters, and thus, influenced the results.

Table 3 T-values of Personal traits and ethnicity

Personality Trait	T-value
1. Aggressive	0.355
2. Independent	0.127
3. Easy Influenced	0.839
4. Dominant	0.289
5. Obedient	-1.067

Gender and Ethnicity

The findings on gender are interesting. Judging by their voice, appearance, name, or interaction with other characters, among 82 human characters, only 31 (37.8%) characters are female, and as high as 51 (62.2%) characters are male (see Table 4). Among all the countries of production, the amount of male characters is twice that of the female characters in the United States and China, and the ratio is even higher in France’s characters, which have a 1:3 ratio of female to male. This unbalanced ratio reflects the tendency of having more male characters in cartoons in every country.

Table 4 Gender of characters

	Female	Male	Total
Japan	21(25.6%)	30(36.6%)	51(62.2%)
U.S.A	6(7.3%)	11(13.4%)	17(20.7%)
France	1(1.2%)	3(3.7%)	4(4.9%)
China	3(3.7%)	7(8.5%)	10(12.2%)
Total	31(37.8%)	51(62.2%)	82(100%)

More than 60% of Asian characters are portrayed as female roles, while more than 63% of Caucasian characters are portrayed as male (see Table 5). To some extent, this matches a part of the concept of “orientalism” by Said (1978), which posits that Europeans usually look at Eastern people as having more female characteristics. Asian characters were still portrayed as

having a feminine look, while Caucasian characters were more masculine. This separation provided a stereotype for the audiences, especially children in this case, to possibly model this pattern and categorize people with diverse ethnicities. Although the Latino male characters show up three times more than the female characters, conclusions can be made due to the small amount of samples.

Table 5 Gender of ethnic characters

	Female	Male	Total
Asian	10(12.2%)	6(7.3%)	16(19.5%)
Caucasian	19(23.2%)	33(40.2%)	52(63.4%)
Latino	1(1.2%)	3(3.7%)	4(4.9%)
Undistinguishable	1(1.2%)	9(11.0%)	10(12.2%)
Total	31(37.8%)	51(62.2%)	82(100%)

Conclusion

The findings of this study reflected the current situation of racial representation in cartoons. The percentage of human characters among all cartoons, which is 60 percent, is relatively high; thus, the possible influences that are suggested by social learning theory should be taken seriously. More Caucasian characters are showing up in the animations, while most Asian characters were depicted with Western-style apparel, and represented with an embedded Western appearance. When the children in Taiwan watch the cartoons, it is not only difficult for them to look for attributes similar to themselves, but they may also become permeated by the Westernized beauty standards.

There has been considerable social change since the previous studies, and thus, there were not statistically significant results between ethnicities and the personal traits tested in this study. However, more personal traits should be included in future research to further confirm if there are stereotyped attributes associated with certain ethnic group in animations. The link between gender and ethnic groups still exists, as it was assumed in previous studies. This finding reflected that Asian characters are still depicted as having a more feminine look or quality, while Caucasian characters played a more masculine role. Further qualitative studies are needed to see how Asian characters are portrayed in the content and storyline.

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Title

**A NEW COMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT FOR THE CITY GOVERNMENT:
INTERNET. THE COMPARISON OF TWO DIFFERENT CITIES İSTANBUL-OSAKA**

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Media and Communacation

A NEW COMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT FOR THE CITY GOVERNMENT: INTERNET. THE COMPARISON OF TWO DIFFERENT CITIES İSTANBUL-OSAKA

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The local governments; are the administrative, political and the social institutions providing public service to the local community and managed by the organs selected by the local people in order to meet the needs of the local people effectively; the reasons of their existence are providing service based on the participative, democratic, the wishes and the requests of the people and their recommendations by providing the confidence and the support of the people.

The “governance” understanding having principles like participation, transperence and accountability of the information age society shows itself in the reconstruction of the local governments just like almost in every field.

The local governments that are the institutes providing service intensely in Turkey and also the institutions where the people apply the most have entered into the search of healthy service production with a homogeneous structure where the citizen is participative and based on information by making investments to the information technology for the purpose of expanding the service fields, increasing the efficiency, raising the service quality. When considered in this point of view, internet is one of the most effective methods that can be used in establishing communication between the citizen and the local governments.

The local governments of two different cities Istanbul and Osaka, the way of internet usage of the different cultures and the way of management and at what fields their similarities and the differences will be evaluated by putting forward in this study.

INTRODUCTION

The world is rapidly urbanizing and becoming more and more dependant on advanced telecommunication, media and computer technologies. In parallel with global telecommunication and transportation networks, world cities are integrating more with each other in economic, cultural and infrastructure areas. In many estimates made within the last 20 to 30 years, developments in information systems were foreseen to create an alternative to the current urban infrastructure and accordingly the cities were expected to enter a phase of collapse. However, today cities still continue to play a dominant role in shaping the economic, cultural and social dynamics of modern societies.

The world has been experiencing a new process called “globalization” for the last few decades. One of the distinct characteristics of this new process is the internationalization of labor and capital, whereas on the other hand, the second one is the enormous developments in information technology. During this process, local administrations (cities) which face difficulties in meeting the societal demands and the community services they have undertaken, entered into an effort to create economic advantages for themselves by attracting capital towards their regions. Here, we can say that there is high competition between the cities in terms of attracting “capital”. It may well be said that the implementation of e-administration, being an indicator of information

technologies hardware infrastructure of cities, will function as a determinant in this competition. Furthermore, today a new management approach, driving social parties forward together with the actors, is being discussed: governance. "E-Government" (e-state) approach, which could be defined as "maintaining administrative relations through utilization of information technologies", can be functional in adapting to the globalization process and putting this new management approach into practice.

Municipalities and local administrations have great responsibilities in execution of planned and scheduled activities which facilitate the urban life required by the information era. Expectations of people and entities from local administrations are continuously increasing, effectiveness and efficiency in municipal services, an orderly and healthier environment come forth as basic requirements. Continuously developing information technologies open new horizons within the direction of the needs of local governments for rendering diversified services and can provide appropriate solutions for emerging problems.

Information technologies, having rapidly developed and spread within the last 50 years, change all areas in life radically, such as trade, production, business, education, home life, law, entertainment and forms of administration. This change causes administration forms directly concerning the public, such as the state and municipalities, also to be changed and renewed (Çoruh,2008:151). E-municipality, meaning interactive municipality, is the total of contemporary implementations in internet environment which enable municipalities to provide the urban citizens with continuous, faster and higher quality services through utilization of modern technological infrastructure and by going beyond the traditional municipality approach as well as informing the urban citizens and letting them participate in decision making processes within municipalities. In this sense, interactive municipality is not a mechanical system comprising of only a few keys, but a transparent and controlling structure. This is at the same time a way for local administrations to be more pluralistic. The most important advantage such systems introduce is the easy and free access to information. By exceeding the service type stuck within locations and going beyond the buildings, it aims to access the information on the date and time desired, over the fastest and shortest way.

Local Administration and Internet

Today, local administrations are considered as the leader of democratic organizations in almost all over the world. The main reason for this is that the local administrations, or local governments, are organizations which are able to let public to govern itself. The public can do this via bodies which are elected by the public. However, it is not sufficient for local governments to be qualified as democratic just because they are commissioned through elections. A genuine public participation is required, meaning to take a step forward from formal conditions. And this could be achieved by opening the ways of participation to various layers existing in the society (Keleş, 1991). To provide democratic public participation in local administration is among the most important tasks of local governments. The road to achieving such democratic participation passes through grounding the legitimacy of political administration on the public and furthermore convincing the public on this fact. And this can only be realized with a transparent local government assuming accountability.

Local governments are the closest ones among public administration units providing services to the public. Today, changes in the relations between central government and local governments gradually lead to the local, especially the urban administration to become more functional. When considered with a global perspective, urban administration vision becomes

more and more internationalized, and the cities proceed with consciousness for competition in terms of attracting resources and generating welfare. Administrative models are being tried to be turned into a transparent and accountable condition towards local public through participation mechanisms while urban administration structures are developed in a manner to be able to stand still. In recent years, mechanisms have been commissioned for integrating citizens with public administrations and cultivating the interrelations between these parties. Principals such as strengthening accountability mechanisms, transparency, right to obtain information, improvement of service quality, customer satisfaction, giving importance to participating in administration bear the objective of redefining by the citizens their status across public administration (Heden, 2005).

New communication technologies and specifically the internet are the ones mostly discussed about among technologies articulated in discussions of public participation. Internet is not only a tool for transferring news and information in shaping public opinion, but it attracts attention with the characteristic of actually constituting a platform itself on which public relations are realized. Determination of internet as the public communication environment, how it structures the relations between persons and the common location in which such relations are sustained are closely related with the quality of participants available on such common location and the distinctive feature of the discourse actualizing such participation (Timisi, 2003, 140). The ability of the feature of integrating multiple communication styles on a network environment to include and compress all cultural expressions is what qualifies new technologies and the internet (Timisi, 2003, 153).

Continuously developing information technologies open new horizons within the direction of the needs of local governments for rendering diversified services and can provide appropriate solutions for emerging problems. Especially, technological improvements in communication area facilitates the organization of life to a considerable extent, both for governments and for citizens (Heden,2005).

The most common type of local administrations are the municipalities, which are the administration types for urban settlements. Endeavors of municipalities to render services over the internet are much higher compared to other local administrative units in terms of the services they provide and their activities (Moon, 2002: 424-440). Municipalities are at the top among organizations which are designated with providing a civilized living to city citizens, use positional information efficiently, realize utmost data processing and are in a position to share the information they generate with the public. For issues related with utilities, construction, taxes and many more, municipalities are the places to refer for the individuals. Citizens always face municipalities at each stage of such mentioned services.

The universal network, namely internet is used to reach many people simultaneously and provide services without being dependent on location. Internet usage, which is quite useful for transactions such as giving and obtaining information and making applications etc., might as well introduce some sort of convenience for municipalities. For this reason, municipalities increasingly desire to establish their Internet Sites (Naralan, 2008: 64).

E-Municipality is the management of city related data through means supported by information technologies based on modern technology and production of various information from such data for the benefit of the city as well as the society and offering these for the service of citizens (TBD, 2004). Electronic Municipality (E-Municipality) consists of utilization of information technologies for municipal management as well as local administration services and activities, providing services to citizens and entities in an efficient manner over the internet, integration of internal units via internet networks and providing communication with relevant external units over the network.

Local governments in Turkey, having a heavy service load and taking the lead in terms of public application for issues, now invest in information technology to expanding their service areas, to increase efficiency and service quality. E-Municipality, meaning interactive municipality, is the total of contemporary implementations in internet environment which enable municipalities to provide the urban citizens with continuous, faster and higher quality services through utilization of modern technological infrastructure and by going beyond the traditional municipality approach as well as informing the urban citizens and letting them participate in decision making processes within municipalities. In this sense, interactive municipality is not a mechanical system comprising of only a few keys, but a transparent and controlling structure. This is at the same time a way for local administrations to be more pluralistic. The most important advantage such systems introduce is the easy and free access to information. By exceeding the service type stuck within locations and going beyond the buildings, it aims to access the information on the date and time desired, over the fastest and shortest way. E-Municipality not only changes the administration mechanism but also provides for environmental protection (Geymen ve Karaş, 2006).

E-Municipality is not only the activation of a website on the internet, but it is an integral transformation movement. At the center of this transformation movement, there exist the integration of all departments and directorates within the municipality with information technologies. Success of E-Municipality works depends on internalizing the “culture of technology” in every single unit of the municipality, as well as its adoption by the employees and departments. It is necessary to determine the content of such E-Municipality, including supply of hardware and software needs of the municipality, providing interaction with citizens and organizations over the internet, efficient utilization of public information technologies, adaptation of employees to the new conditions and covering their training needs, re-planning of legal and technical infrastructures, modifications of municipality laws and legislations, etc. (Erdal, 2002).

Municipal web sites in general have a characteristic of a “promotional leaflet”, and for the websites under updating, “e-advertisement” or “e-bulletin” image is prominent. Another characteristic of these websites is that they lack “humans”. The only element that could be perceived as human is the speeches of Mayors rising over the stand.

Targets are foreseen in relevance with E-Governments, yet it is important that the implementation takes place in an efficient manner, meaning that certain parameters should be checked to evaluate the success of the E-Government. In the first instance, it should be tested whether these local services are integrated in line with consumer needs, accessible, supported electronically, provided in common, continuous, transparent and accountable and used by the citizens. On the other hand, it is necessary to provide the services rendered through local E-Government to be currently more convenient compared to the past, services rendered to be faster and less costly, local citizen satisfaction and participation to be increased (www.coe.int/t/e, 2003).

In 21st century, being the communication age, Internet has become an infrastructure service just like water, electricity, garbage, drainage, natural gas, roads etc. and it should be managed and provided in this manner.

Osaka and Istanbul

Osaka is the third biggest city of Japan and the trade and industry center of the Western region. Osaka city is laid over an area of 222 km² with a population of 2.6 million people and it was founded in year 1889. It is the second most crowded region after Tokyo. On the other hand, the total of non-Japanese population of 15.6% lives in Osaka. The majority of this population is composed by Chinese and Koreans. Osaka, perfectly harmonizing modernity with traditionalism, is a city shaped up by the sea, the nature, culture and modernity. It is one of the most significant economic and business centers of Japan and has had the most vivid commercial life ever throughout its history. One of the most important reasons for this is its location being close to the former Japanese capitol cities Kyoto and Nara. Osaka is among the largest harbors of Japan together with Kobe. It used to be an important weaving center back in history. Today, it is known for shipbuilding, manufacturing machines, steel, electrical appliances, food, printing, textiles, chemical substances, cement and garment industries. The city is the center of a territory lying approximately 30 km along the north coast of Japan and covering an industrial region including Kyoto and Kobe. At the west end of this zone of industrial cities comes Kobe as the harbor city.

Istanbul is the most crowded and economically most important city in Turkey. One part of the territory covered by the city, founded on the two shores of the sea channel, stands on Asia and the other on Europe continents. According to the ranking made by taking municipal boundaries into account, it is the 5th largest city in the world and largest one in Europe with its 18.3 million population. One of the oldest cities of the world, Istanbul served as the capitol city for Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. In the city where a very small portion of its population lives in rural areas, people earn their livings in general from industrial, commercial and transportation activities besides other activities. The percentage of foreigners in Turkey is 0.14% and the majority of these people live in Istanbul and Antalya cities. The biggest industrial entities of Turkey are located in Istanbul.

When taken according to order of importance, the city industry is seen to be comprising of manufacturing of metal goods, machines, automobiles and ships, chemical substances, cotton and wool textile products, garments, food products, glassware, porcelain and cement. Furthermore, over 20% of small industrial entities are located in Istanbul city. Istanbul's geographical location caused this city to be an important commercial center since ancient times. Today, Istanbul is a center in which all types of goods and services are exchanged, with industrial products being the most significant. Moreover, 35% import and 25 of export transactions are executed within Istanbul.

Research Method

In our research, we tried to evaluate the ways of internet usage by local governments of two different cities – Istanbul and Osaka – , coming from different cultures, through presenting on what areas similarities and variations occur. In this study, the answers to the following questions will be sought: What kind of needs do the Municipal web pages meet for foreigners living in the city, investors thinking of making investments in the city, tourists, etc.? Are the Municipal websites organized just for city residents or are they also a platform to get information for people who want to visit these cities? Or are they platforms with information only appealing to people who plan to make a touristic travel to these cities or portals from where persons who desire to carry out commercial activities can obtain guiding information for such intentions? Are there communication channels available on these Municipal websites where the city citizens can tell about the problems they encounter with, criticize and give feedback and suggest solutions on the local government in relevance with their activities and performances? Is it possible to reach the highest authorized persons through such channels?

The Municipal websites of these two cities subject to the research are examined over their English versions between dates April 1, 2010 and April 7, 2010.

Objective of the Research

Osaka and Istanbul are two cities similar to each other in terms of population size and being commercial and industrial cities. Since both play an effective role in international trade, headquarters of many multinational corporations exist in these cities. Therefore, both cities are settlements in which there is a dense population of residing foreigners. Furthermore, both are attractive cities in terms of tourism, receiving a high level of touristic visits. For this reason, we tried to determine in this study on what level the implementations targeting foreigners are realized on the websites of these two cities; what kinds of implementations towards resident foreigners, investors and tourists exist on the English versions of these two Municipal websites? The E-Government implementations carried out by both city Municipalities in their native languages are not within the scope of our research. However, they might as well be an attractive subject for another research to be conducted. The objective of our research is to determine what kinds of services are offered to the foreigners living or to be living in the city by taking the English versions of the Municipal websites of these two cities.

Functionality of Municipal Websites

	OSAKA	ISTANBUL
Is there an English version of the Municipal website?	X	X
Are there different language options other than the native language for foreigners living in the city?	X	
Are each of the versions prepared for these language options the same with the native language version?	X	
Does the life guide provided on the website contain information about everything for the foreigners in the city, related to health services, accommodation facilities, childcare, education, health insurance, information about waste & garbage disposal, municipality taxes, retirement, nursing care insurance, pets, funeral services, bicycle – highway – river/sea etc. transportation, culture, sports, students, elderly, young, disabled, etc.?	X	
Are there sub-links available to explain all this information in detail?	X	
Is there a phone directory containing all emergency and important phone numbers for foreigners residing or to be residing in the city?	X	
Are hospital phone numbers and addresses available?	X	
Are there any instructions for emergent cases and/or cases such as burglary, snatching, fire, earthquake, tsunami, etc.?	X	
Is there any information as to which institutions should be called in such situations?	X	
Are there any links containing necessary information for business world?	X	
Any information on what kind of opportunities, novelties, incentives, technical possibilities, exhibition areas the city offers for business world?	X	

Are there detailed links with necessary information available for such opportunities?	X	
Are there any links & contact information of relevant municipal offices on finance, economic affairs, central wholesale markets, environment, labor & harbor services etc. for business world?	X	
When such links are clicked, is there detailed relevant information on the appearing pages?	X	
Are there any links for tourists?	X	X
Is there a city guide for tourists?	X	X
Is there any information about the history and culture of the city?	X	X
Is there a list of interesting places?	X	X
For such places, are there any relevant addresses, phone numbers and how-to-get-there information?	X	
Are there any links on municipal websites about city government?	X	X
Is there any information about Mayor?	X	X
Are there any press release news & information by the Mayor?	X	X
Is there a photo of Mayor?	X	X
Is there a list of Municipal administrative bodies?	X	X
Is there an e-mail address in the English version to contact administrative bodies?		X
Do phone numbers and addresses of all relevant municipal offices available?	X	X
Is there a unit in all of these offices to answer the incoming calls in English?	X	
Are all of the versions opening when clicked on the provided links in the English version of Municipal sites also in English?	X	
Is there a direct e-mail link for Mayor?	X	
Is there a direct phone number of Mayor?	X	

Both Osaka and Istanbul's Municipal websites have an optional English version other than the native language version. However, Osaka Municipal website also has versions in French, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Korean, Indonesian and Thai language. These versions are identical with the English version. Entire information available in the English version also exists in these versions.

Different from Istanbul Municipality, Osaka Municipality provides a guide on its website for foreigners living or who will be living in the city. This guide contains very detailed information, ranging from what to do in the city to how to live in the city. Such that, it is possible to find detailed information such as health, medical, having children, education, how to dispose garbage, accommodation, infrastructural services, protection from disasters, life guide, municipal taxes, national health insurance, nursing care insurance, pets, funeral services, transportation, culture, sports, environment etc. also in the English version. This information contains everything for people who plan to live in that city. Thus, people get accustomed to the city. It is possible to obtain detailed information on every issue about the city system.

Osaka Municipality also provides a quite serious guide for investors who desire to deal with business in the city. All useful links are available under the button "for business" for investors. Here, detailed information about incentives for business and university education in Osaka, business incentive center, novelties for businesses, international exhibition areas,

technical institute etc. can be found. Moreover, links to all financial offices, economic affairs offices, central wholesale market offices, labor offices, harbor offices etc. are available, as well as English versions of such links, for investors planning to make investments in Osaka. Detailed information about the above mentioned issues is provided on these pages. Addresses and phone numbers of relevant offices are also available.

Both Osaka and Istanbul Municipal websites are used as an introductory platform in terms of tourism. City history and culture are explained on both websites. Information about interesting sites to visit is available. Both websites have a tourist guide of the city.

Also, information about the administration system of Municipalities exists on both Municipal websites. It is possible to find information on administrative bodies. However, website of Osaka Municipality contains detailed task definitions for administrative bodies as well as address and phone contact information. Moreover, such information is not summarized, provided in detail to serve as a guide for everyone living or planning to live in the city. When all pages are opened, the sub pages are not only in native language but one can find the version in the chosen language for them. In both websites, background information is available in relevance with the Mayors with a photograph displayed. With an exception of Istanbul Municipal website, which contains a direct e-mail account link to reach the Mayor.

CONCLUSION

The most important result we reached at the end of our research where we examined the Municipal websites of the two cities is that Osaka Municipality gives much more importance to foreigners living and planning to live in the city and provides significant information about the city to serve them as a guide. This indicates the fact that Osaka is an international city, trying to preserve and sustain such feature. All activities in the city are presented with details in order to avoid alienation of people from other nations living in Osaka. There is information about all problems possible to encounter with as well as addresses and phone numbers of relevant organizations to apply to and also the methods and procedures to be implemented by such organizations.

Osaka Municipality also has included all business related information about the city on its website to indicate that the city is an attractive place for investors and to invite external investments. Osaka Municipality emphasizes the commercial and industrial characteristics of the city and intends to develop and improve these features. Therefore, it explains all business opportunities in extended detail to the investors who might be planning to invest in the city. The internationality characteristics of Osaka city is very much emphasized by the Municipality.

However, there is no information about the city and country systems for foreigners living or planning to live in Istanbul not to feel as a complete stranger, especially when they initially arrive. This point is almost neglected. There is a serious number of foreigners from various nations residing in Istanbul. But there is no information on its Municipal website to facilitate their adaptation to the nation's system. As a matter of fact, Municipalities should carry out such services. Istanbul Municipality ignores the foreigners living in the city and is not rendering them any such relevant service.

Furthermore, despite Osaka Municipality, Istanbul Municipality does not provide any guide service for investors to facilitate their business. Although Istanbul is an important commercial and industrial city of Turkey along with the feature of being a center for many

international corporate headquarters, the Municipality does not provide any guides describing the appealing sides of the city for investors to attract new investments. So to speak, such feature of Istanbul is also ignored.

On the other hand, information useful for tourists is available on both Municipal websites. However, in Istanbul Municipal website, the pages introducing the touristic places in the city consist of carelessly arranged images and information lacking detail, whereas images and information of touristic places are presented in detail and glamorously on Osaka Municipal website.

Both websites contain information relevant to city administration, but information on English version of Osaka Municipal website is quite a lot, detailed and informative. An outsider, anyone not living in that city can obtain detailed information about the city administration. Such information on Istanbul Municipal website is summarized and short. It is not informative.

In short, the result we get after examining the Municipal websites of both cities is as follows: English version of the Municipal website of Istanbul, which is the largest city in Turkey, is insufficient and carelessly prepared. It is short and in a summarized form. However, Turkish version is quite detailed. Istanbul is a host city for many international company centers. Hundreds of foreigners work in those centers. English version of the Municipal website has not been prepared by taking the needs of foreigners living in the country into account. It is insufficient, simple and careless in overall appearance. Osaka Municipality, on the other hand, has prepared the English version of its website in quite detail and by considering the needs of foreign residents in the city. Not only foreigners, but also the characteristic of Osaka as being an international city was also kept in mind. To sustain the industrial characteristic of the city, the Municipal website also serves as a guide containing detailed information for foreign investors. Administrators of Osaka city provide the internet services in an appropriate manner, by taking all kinds of needs for further improvement of the city into account. Osaka Municipality has not limited the foreigners living in the country to only English speakers, and included various language versions in its website.

Foreigners seem to be as not such a precious and important factor for Istanbul Municipality, whereas every person living or planning to be living in the city is a precious component for Osaka Municipality and is being recognized and valued. Their needs are observed by the city administration and in order to provide a harmonized integration within the system and not to allow them to feel as a stranger in the city, the city system is explained to them totally in their own native languages. For this reason, it might well be said that implementations of Osaka city is reflected to the internet in a manner appropriate for the international dimension of the city.

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Title

Stylistic Convergence and Cultural Exchange: Authority and Identity in Recently-Composed Australian Art Music

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Abstract

Recently-composed art music in Australia exists in a context where its composers are both the inheritors of a transplanted musical tradition and the beneficiaries of a multi-faceted cultural exchange. This convergence of musical styles and idioms, sometimes characterised as ‘East meets West’, enacted over many decades, is alternately praised as an example of a postmodern ‘rehabilitation of ethnic influence’ and lambasted as ‘cultural appropriation’ in Australian cultural and academic forums. While Australian composers in the early twenty-first century may lack the overt ‘moral certainty’ with regard to a particular style or tradition that characterised the attitudes of many art composers in the early twentieth century, divergence over issues of identity and cultural authority play a significant, and routinely misunderstood role in the production, reception and analysis of art music in Australia. This paper analyses a selection of Australian art music created in the first decade of the twenty-first century with the aim of showing how the idea of a multi-faceted cultural exchange continues to shape the diverse identity of Australian art music. The paper examines the circumstances surrounding the commissioning of each work; the compositional technique employed in each work, and evaluates the domestic public reception of the works. The paper concludes that post-colonial models of interpreting the compositional output that results from a cultural exchange needs to be re-examined in the light of recent compositional activity in Australia.

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Introduction

Recently-composed Australian art music exists in a context where its composers are both the inheritors of a transplanted musical tradition and the beneficiaries of a multi-faceted cultural exchange. This paper will consider how recently-composed Australian art music is understood in recent academic literature; examine how this discourse understands the exchange; identify how the discourse has influenced composer behaviour, and posit new modes of understanding through an analysis of a selection of orchestral pieces created in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The paper concludes that prevailing post-Colonial models of understanding the music that has resulted from this multifaceted cultural exchange, referred to here as a 'diversity paradigm', need to be re-examined in the light of recent compositional activity in Australia. While the issues considered in this paper are pertinent to a range of art-music outputs, the orchestral repertoire has been used to focus the discussion. This is because the orchestral repertoire is large enough to identify meaningful patterns of composer behaviour and is in possession of a broad and detailed (but not all-encompassing) public record through the Australian Music Centre works registry.¹

Australian New-Music Discourse

The discourse surrounding Australian art music has, since the 1960s, been characterised by a fluid debate related to issues of authority and identity. Sometimes vitriolic, sometimes conciliatory, this debate has highlighted issues of an emerging Australian cultural identity firstly as a scion of a broader Western-European tradition, secondly as a dialogue with the music and culture of Indigenous Australia and, thirdly, as representing an interaction with the music of the wider Asia-Pacific region. The debate itself represents an effort to construct a sense of identity in the face of prevailing European and American music histories that either ignore Australian music making or classify it as being on the periphery of the 'central' Western tradition, and, by inference, derivative. Contributions to the debate often come in the form of polemics that deride or advocate particular music styles or techniques.

Issues of style and technique routinely work to frame this debate. Much of the discourse is characterised by the linking of these issues to the idea of an emerging Australian art-music identity: discussions of individual composers invariably attempt to position these practitioners in terms of pre-existing styles and techniques. The problem with this tendency is twofold. Firstly, the majority of Australian art music composed over the last fifty years rarely receives multiple performances and, with the exception of the work of a small selection of established composers, recordings of this repertoire are often not readily available. This means that the circumstance needed to engender a consistent style – multiple practitioners working along similar lines to the point where certain musical characteristics and processes are assumed – does not exist. Secondly, the development of Western art music through the twentieth century saw such a range of styles emerge that the notion of a single 'Australian' style emerging in the face of such diversity is untenable. As a result, the framing of the debate around the issue of Australian art-music identity through much of the second part of the twentieth century perversely worked to stymie the realisation of that identity. More recently, composers and musicologists have come to realise that issues of identity in the Australian context are not best defined in terms of traditional notions of style or a catalogue of musical techniques.

¹ Other repertoires such as opera and chamber music, while still in need of study, present the researcher with greater difficulties. For example, opera suffers from too small a sample concentrated over comparatively few practitioners, and chamber music possesses a less detailed public record of outputs and performances.

Recent Australian Art-Music Narratives

Over the course of the twentieth century, music making in Australia has consisted of a wide diversity of practice and, while the relationship of Australia to the European art-music tradition has dominated many narratives that seek to account for this diversity, most recent histories acknowledge a multiplicity of transplanted traditions as well as the music of traditional Indigenous cultures, and importantly, the interactions between these strands of music. For example, in the 1998 publication *Australia: Exploring the Musical Landscape*, one contributing author, the musicologist and composer Linda Kouvaras, seeks to understand Australia's contemporary classical music since 1970 through a diverse series of binaries such as Postmodernism and Modernism; Western and non-Western influence; tonal and atonal repertoires; and experimental and traditional practitioners.²

Musicologist David Bennett's 2008 publication, *Sounding Postmodernism: Sampling Australian Composers, Sound Artists and Music Critics*, seeks to rehabilitate the concept of Postmodernism in the face of a resurgent Modernist aesthetic and a community of Australian academics, composers and music critics who are increasingly ambivalent toward the concept. Bennett uses an Australian context to explore different approaches to Postmodernism and challenges the idea that it represents nothing more than an attempt catalogue the diverse out-workings of the post-1970 reaction against Modernism.³ Both Kouvaras and Bennett list numerous composers as evidence of the diverse music practices in Australia: Kouvaras mentions 81 composers, usually clustering them in groups of two to five as exemplars of particular music practices; Bennett interviews 36 personalities, asking each about their attitude towards Postmodernism – of the 36, 33 are creators of new music.⁴ While Kouvaras and Bennett are both formidable academics whose writing is lucid and insightful, their technique of listing numerous composers as de facto evidence of validity is problematic. Particularly with regard to Kouvaras' writing, the large number of composers mentioned takes on the appearance of a representative sample. However, Kouvaras does not attempt to explain the rationale behind the selection of these 81 composers and, like all arbitrary lists, the exclusion of some significant practitioners inevitably leads to a skewed perception of new music activity.⁵

Bennett and Kouvaras' work functions to deal with the themes and ideas behind Australian new music, rather than an in-depth analysis of the music itself. While both employ brief passages of prose-based music analysis, neither seeks to discuss a single work at length and neither features any score-based analysis. Composer and music critic Gordon Kerry's 2009 publication *New Classical Music: Composing Australia* takes a somewhat different approach. Kerry deliberately eschews issues of style and instead focuses his discussion of new Australian art music around various themes of Australian identity including musical responses to Australian landscape, Indigenous cultures, Asian cultures and the ongoing

² Linda Kouvaras, 'Australian Composition since 1970: Diverse, Daring, Multi-dimensional,' *Australia: Exploring the Musical Landscape*, ed. Caitlin Rowley (Sydney: Australian Music Centre, 1998) 52-57.

³ David Bennett, *Sounding Postmodernism: Sampling Australian Composers, Sound Artists and Music Critics* (Sydney: Australian Music Centre, 2008) 11-18.

⁴ Bennett distinguishes between 'composers' as creators of traditional music scores that go on to be realised by musicians, and 'sound artists' as music creators who work in electro-acoustic and other new-media settings.

⁵ Ironically the actual publication highlights this problem: a picture of the prominent Australian composer Elena Kats-Chernin accompanies the chapter, but no mention is made of her in the text.

influence of Europe. While acknowledging that his thematic scheme is arbitrary,⁶ Kerry goes on to use particular compositions, analysed in some detail, as case studies to illustrate his themes.

Kerry's interaction with the actual musical content of the repertoire he has identified is somewhat unusual in the prevailing discourse that surrounds new Australian art music. Musicologists have identified a reticence to engage in technical, discipline-specific analysis of new music: the musicologist Richard Toop, in a 2006 article titled *Discourse: Muffled, Muted, Muzzled?*, bemoans the lack of critical engagement with new music, suggesting that serious discussion of anything but the broadest trends in new music is "off-limits"⁷; in the same journal, musicologist Danielle Carey states that while the output of Australian new music is increasing, the discourse is not keeping pace: Carey states that "we aren't really talking much about what we are creating."⁸

Authority and Identity: the Diversity Paradigm

One reason for this growing disconnect between the discourse around, and the specific content of, the Australian new-music repertoire is the problematic issue of cultural authority. Kouvaras, Bennett and, to a lesser extent, Kerry all identify diversity in terms of style, technique and influence as the constant defining feature of new Australian art music. While this 'diversity paradigm' is undoubtedly a significant issue, the stressing of diversity affects the discourse on three levels: first, the histories that these musicologists construct primarily feature examples of composers and works that highlight diversity (making the diversity paradigm a self-fulfilling and self-perpetuating phenomenon); second, there is a danger that the diversity paradigm functions to release critics, composers and musicologists from any responsibility to make further attempts to understand trends in the emerging repertoire; and third, any attempt to identify a stylistic convergence within the Australian art-music repertoire is likely to be lambasted: the diversity paradigm undercuts the specific claim of cultural authority that accompanies such efforts. While Australian composers, critics and musicologists in the early twenty-first century may lack the overt 'moral certainty' with regard to a particular style or tradition that characterised the attitudes of many in the early twentieth century, the 'certainty' of diversity that characterises scholarship espousing the diversity paradigm is in danger of functioning in a similar manner.

Cultural Exchange: Lauded and Lambasted

While the diversity paradigm tends to undercut contemporary attempts to identify issues of convergence in Australian art music, it does not negate all issues of cultural authority. The identification of diversity as a defining feature of Australian art music has not been accompanied by an abrogation of issues of ethics; this diversity is not synonymous with a value-free environment. For example, there is a long tradition of criticism related to early attempts at forging a distinctly Australian musical identity through interaction with traditional Indigenous and non-Western music. From the 1960s onwards, mid-century Australian composers such as Clive Douglas (1903-1977) and Peggy Glanville Hicks (1912-1990) have been charged with cultural insensitivity and, more recently, Orientalism. In his seminal 1967 publication, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society*, Roger Covell conveys a "deep scepticism" as to the authenticity of what is purported to be an Aboriginal lullaby in Douglas'

⁶ Gordon Kerry, *New Classical Music: Composing Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2009) 2.

⁷ Richard Toop, 'Discourse: Muffled, Muted, Muzzled?', *Sounds Australian* 67 (2006): 42.

⁸ Danielle Carey, 'Igniting the Flame: Documentation and Discourse,' *Sounds Australian* 67 (2006): 3.

1939 orchestral piece *Carwoola*;⁹ more recently, the Musicologist David Symons, in the context of research that places Douglas' output in a more positive light, has suggested that Douglas' attempts to forge an Australian national musical identity, by, amongst other things, appropriating Indigenous Australian melodic material is "naïve and illusory."¹⁰ Musicologist Victoria Rogers has undertaken an extensive analysis of Peggy Glanville Hicks' attempt to synthesise Indian and Western musical materials in her opera, *The Transposed Heads*. Rogers concludes that, contrary to the assertions of the composer that Indian and Western music could be combined without violating the character of either, Western musical practices predominate in the opera, with the Indian musical elements distorted or misrepresented.¹¹ Rogers goes on to state that Glanville-Hicks' Orientalism was symptomatic of a broader Western cultural imperialism that viewed non-Western music as a commodity to be exploited.¹²

Composer Peter Sculthorpe's use of both Indigenous Australian music and musical systems derived from Asian cultures has been a persistent strand of debate in the discourse surrounding Australian cultural identity. In Sculthorpe's 1999 autobiography the composer recounts a conversation he had with Percy Grainger in 1938. Even though Sculthorpe (born in 1929) was only nine or ten years old, he communicated to Grainger his desire to become a composer. Grainger's response was: "my boy, you must look north, to the islands!"¹³ In publishing this story, Sculthorpe has risked being seen as using Grainger's patriarch status in Australian music to create an imperative for engagement with Asia, and to justify his approach to interactions with other cultures. Responses to Sculthorpe's approach to cultural exchange have ranged from vitriolic to equivocal. In a 2008 article that examines issues of genre in contemporary Australian music, critic and musicologist Jonathon Marshall pillories Sculthorpe's interaction with non-Western music claiming that Sculthorpe draws "on elements from Indonesia, Sino-Japanese and Australian Aboriginal motifs in such a way that they become fundamentally interchangeable 'primitive' admixtures within the structures of Western tonality."¹⁴ In a 2006 article on cross-cultural appropriation, musicologist Steven Knopoff is somewhat less critical of Sculthorpe's practices but nevertheless suggests that his frequent use of what purports to be an Indigenous song from Arnhem Land, *Djilile*, is tokenistic and primarily the product of Western musical thinking, with any genuine musical connection to Indigenous culture lost in the transition to a Western-instrumental context.¹⁵

Composer Barry Conyngham (1944-), a student of Sculthorpe, has actively engaged with the music of Japan without being subject to the negative criticism received by his teacher. The more positive reception of Conyngham's work stems from two factors: firstly, he has eschewed the use of specific references to Indigenous Australian music¹⁶ (thus avoiding the

⁹ Roger Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967) 151.

¹⁰ David Symons, 'Words and Music: Clive Douglas and the Jindyworobak Manifesto,' *The Soundscapes of Australia: Music, Place and Spirituality*, ed. Fiona Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) 114.

¹¹ Victoria Rogers, 'East Meets West in Peggy Glanville-Hicks's *The Transposed Heads*,' *Context* 27-28 (2004): 66-67.

¹² Rogers 69.

¹³ Peter Sculthorpe, *Sun Music: Journeys and Reflections from a Composer's Life* (Sydney: ABC Books, 1999) 275.

¹⁴ Jonathan Marshall, 'Is It All Just Stuff?,' *Resonate* 3 (2008), 2 April 2010 <<http://www.australianmusiccentre.com.au/article/is-it-all-just-stuff>>.

¹⁵ Steven Knopoff, 'Cross-Cultural Appropriation: A Musicologist's Perspective,' *Sounds Australian* 67 (2006): 26-27.

¹⁶ Gordon Kerry, 'To Be Alone: The Theme of Isolation in the Music of Barry Conyngham,' *The Soundscapes of Australia: Music, Place and Spirituality*, ed. Fiona Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) 247.

charge of cultural insensitivity levelled at Sculthorpe) and secondly, his interaction with Japan stems from his choosing to study with Toru Takemitsu,¹⁷ where, by first approaching Japanese musical culture as a student, with Takemitsu as intermediary, Conyngham largely avoids the charge of Orientalism. Conyngham has composed music that engages with Japanese culture on both a broad aesthetic level, and via the use of specific cultural objects such as Haiku poetry and the Koto. Conyngham's efforts have been widely lauded in the discourse surrounding Australian new music with his studies with Takemitsu being viewed as de facto 'permission' to interact with another culture. A recent example of this lauding can be found in *New Classical Music: Composing Australia*, where Kerry goes as far as asserting that Conyngham has achieved "a genuine fusion of traditional and contemporary sounds, of Asian and western aesthetics."¹⁸

Another student of Takemitsu, Chinese-born Australian composer Julian Yu, suggests that the end result of a cultural exchange, namely the exposing of an original compositional voice, is more important than the circumstance that led to the exchange. Yu qualifies this 'ends versus means' mindset by asserting that "one should try to identify with the inherent musical thinking of a tradition rather than sticking narrowly to certain pre-existing formulae such as modes or scales."¹⁹ Yu has perhaps identified why Sculthorpe's approach to cultural exchange, albeit as well-intentioned as Conyngham's, is subject to a greater level of criticism: in appropriating discernable musical artefacts such as scale forms, rhythmic modes and melodies, Sculthorpe's application of the exchange can seem tokenistic. However, regardless of any reading of the end result of Sculthorpe's efforts at engagement with non-Western music, his biography outlines the efforts he has made to understand other cultures on their own terms. From a respect for the sacred nature of certain Australian Indigenous instruments and repertoires²⁰ to his striving to understand Buddhist chant and Japanese court music in context,²¹ Sculthorpe has crafted a personal ethical framework that informs his interaction with other cultures.

Melbourne-born composer and academic, Liza Lim, has also interacted with both Asian and Australian Indigenous cultures. From basing a composition on the aesthetics of seventeenth-century Chinese poet Wang To, and incorporating the musical gestures of Chinese opera in her 2005 composition *Flying Banners*, to consulting and seeking permission from Indigenous custodians to use imagery of a sacred landscape in the creation of a collaborative sound installation of the same year²² (*glass house mountains*), Lim articulates an uncompromising ethical basis for the circumstances that surround her interaction with a variety of cultures. Particularly where two cultures are marked by a power imbalance, Lim's composition and scholarship illustrates the ethical concerns that need to be addressed to avoid charges of Orientalism or appropriation. These concerns include highlighting collaboration over Western notions of 'creativity in isolation;' a respect for differing world-views; a willingness to alter pre-existing practices that might compromise or disrespect another culture; and, importantly,

¹⁷ Conyngham's decision to study in Japan can be seen as part of a broader trend of Australia gradually turning away from Britain towards Asia. Only three years earlier in 1967, Japan replaced Britain as Australia's primary trading partner. Conyngham's decision to study in Japan was, at the time, controversial: his travel to Japan was made possible by a Churchill Fellowship – these were typically used to fund study in Britain and, in opting for a different path, Conyngham made front-page news in a major Sydney newspaper.

¹⁸ Gordon Kerry, *New Classical Music: Composing Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2009) 71.

¹⁹ Julian Yu, 'Tradition, Ethnic Integration and Contemporary Composition,' *Sounds Australian* 30 (1991): 25.

²⁰ Sculthorpe 213.

²¹ Sculthorpe 129.

²² Liza Lim, 'Crossing Cultural Boundaries and Ecstatic Transformation,' *Sounds Australian* 67 (2006): 13-14.

an abjuring of paternalism (a rejection of the idea that cultural exchanges with non-Western cultures represent a Western ‘advocacy’ of that culture).²³

Cultural Exchange, the Diversity Paradigm and the Australian Orchestral Repertoire

On the basis of demographics,²⁴ the continued emerging of India and China as economic superpowers (and the changing flow of cultural information that will inevitably stem from this), and the continued reality of mass communication, multicultural Australia will continue to be a hub of an ongoing multi-faceted cultural exchange. As this exchange unfolds, the diversity paradigm, along with the issues of authority and identity that have so far shaped the discourse surrounding new Australian art music will need to make way for more appropriate modes of understanding if the products of this exchange are to be more effectively understood. However, before new modes of understanding can be established, the implications of the prevailing modes must be more fully realised. A thoroughly under-researched issue is the effect the discourse surrounding Australian art music has had on the music itself. An analysis of the Australian orchestral repertoire since 1970 reveals that something akin to the ‘observer effect’ is at play with regard to the interaction between the discourse and the repertoire.

The following tables represent a possible avenue of research that stands apart from the processes employed by musicologists espousing the diversity paradigm. The Australian Music Centre (AMC) maintains a database of Australian compositions. It is a peer reviewed catalogue of compositions in the sense that an artist must be recognised as a functioning professional or semi-professional composer whose work is, at the very least, ‘published’ through performance: it is not a self-selecting mechanism. The database contains basic information about registered works including the title, the name of the composer, the type of ensemble employed by the piece, the length of the work (for the majority of entries), and a composer-determined level of difficulty (in a minority of entries only). A close analysis of the database reveals some problems with data collection: single works are occasionally listed under multiple titles and some composition durations do not match corroborating sources such as composers’ online work lists and the records of performing bodies and classical music broadcasters. In addition, the database does not represent a ‘census’ of all Australian art-music activity. However, the database is large enough that, after culling duplicate references, it can provide an over-view of Australian art music that is not filtered through the ‘list selection’ process of an individual academic and has the potential to form the basis of analysis that meaningfully tracks composer behaviour.

Table 1
 Australian Orchestral Compositions Registered with the AMC Since 1970 by Decade.²⁵

Decade	Number of Compositions
1970-1979	188
1980-1989	378
1990-1999	499
2000-2009	471
Total	1536

²³ Lim 17.

²⁴ Recent Australian government forecasts indicate that the population of Australia will grow primarily as a result of immigration. Much of this immigration will stem from the Sub-continent and South-East Asia. 2 April 2010, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3222.0>>.

²⁵ In calculating these figures, duplicate references to compositions have been culled.

Source: 20 March 2010 <http://www.australianmusiccentre.com.au>

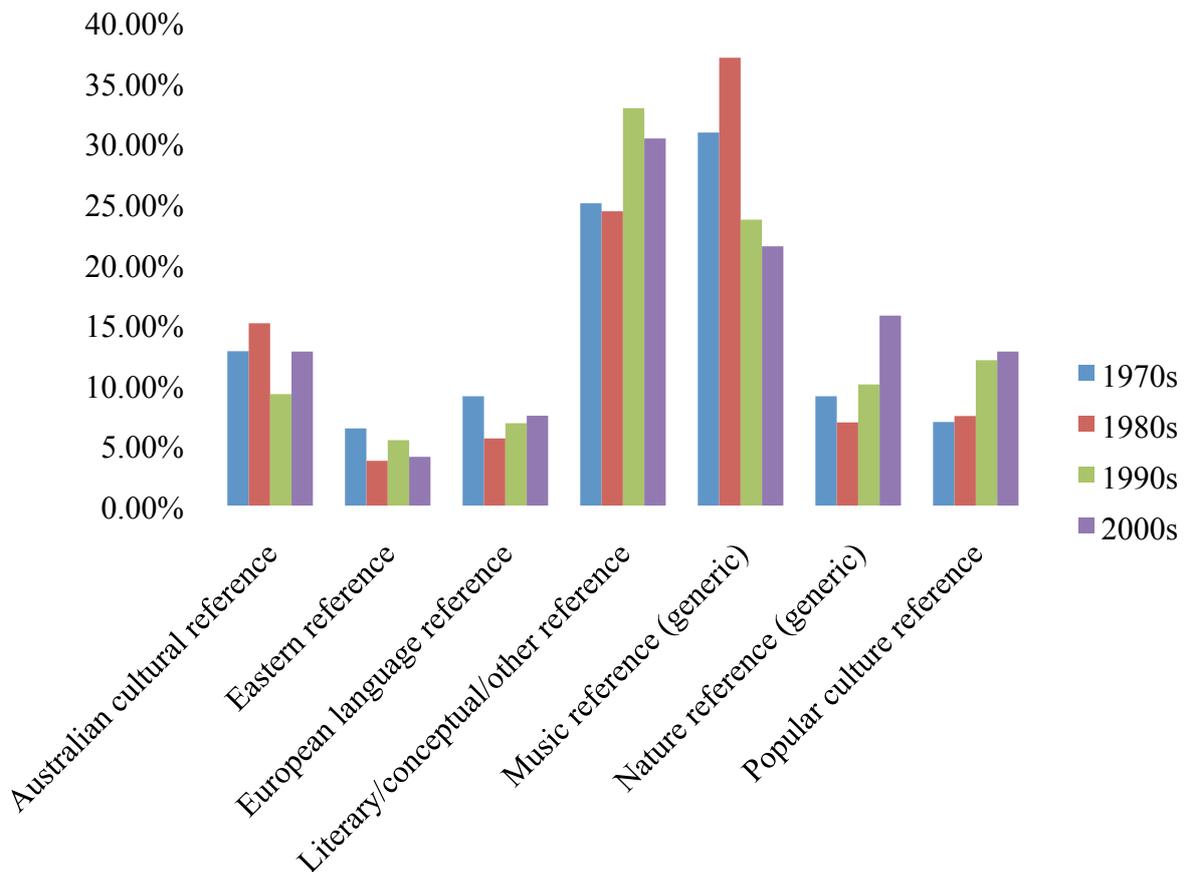
While a detailed consideration of the specific music of this repertoire is beyond the scope of this paper, an analysis of the titles that composers have selected for their compositions over this period reveals particular patterns of behaviour. The titles that composers give to their music are telling: they reveal how a composer seeks to position his or her work in a given tradition; they can indicate patterns of influence that inform the work; and changing tendencies in the choice of titles over a large, self-contained repertoire (such as the 1536 works indicated in Table 1) reveals how composers respond to the discourse that surrounds their work. Table 2 shows the divisions constructed for this paper to analyse the work titles contained in the orchestral repertoire.

Table 2
 Categorical Division of Composition Titles

Category	Definition	Examples
Australian cultural reference	Includes Australian geographical references; Indigenous language references; and unambiguous references to Australian history.	<i>Convict Dreams of England</i> by Katy Abbott (2000); <i>Kosciuszko</i> by Stuart Greenbaum (2006) (Australia's tallest mountain)
Eastern reference	Includes references to a variety of Eastern cultures such as Indian classical music, Chinese folk song, Balinese Gamelan etc.	<i>Concerto on Chinese Themes</i> by Julian Yu (2002); <i>Puppet play in Java</i> by Betty Beath (2009)
European language reference	Includes titles that employ languages other than English or Australian Indigenous languages; primarily Latin, French, German and Spanish.	<i>L'assaut sur la raison</i> by Andrián Pertout (2003); <i>A luta continua</i> by Martin Wesley-Smith (2005)
Literary/ Conceptual /other reference	Includes references to classical and other Western literature, broad philosophical concepts, and references to a composer's personal circumstances.	<i>Prometheus and Pandora</i> by Lee Bracegirdle (2004); <i>Parallel Universes</i> by Colin Bright (2005); <i>Iluka</i> by Tony Gould (2007) (the composer's daughter).
Music reference (generic)	Includes references to established music- genre titles.	<i>Romance for Flute and Orchestra</i> by Ann Carr-Boyd (2002); <i>Toccata for Orchestra</i> by Michael Knopf (2003)
Nature reference (generic)	Includes generic references to environments (landscapes, oceans, mountains, stars, moon) and animals etc. that are not related to a specific culture.	<i>Wild Swans Suite</i> by Elena Kats-Chernin (2004); <i>Storm Clouds</i> by Robert Allworth (2006)
Popular culture reference	Includes references to popular music and culture; references to contemporary events; and titles that contain ironic references to contemporary modes of communication.	<i>Headbanger</i> by Matthew Hindson (2001); <i>Rhythmania-groove-train</i> by Katy Abbott (2005)

These categories are merely one lens through which the orchestral repertoire can be examined: they can be further divided for an even more focussed examination of subtypes, or different categories could be constructed to reveal other patterns. Furthermore, some works can be placed in multiple categories.²⁶ These overlaps typically involve the generic music reference category and, as a general rule, where other another category is appropriate, it displaces the generic music category. Table 3 shows the results of an analysis undertaken for this paper as to how different title categories have been preferred by Australian composers between 1970 and 2009.

Table 3
 Changing Patterns of Title Selection in the Australian Orchestral Repertoire 1970-2009²⁷



While a variety of theories can be posited to account for these changes in composer behaviour, the data here can be meaningfully linked firstly to issues current in the discourse that surrounds Australian new music and secondly to broader social issues. These observations are ordered according to the size of the trend observed.

- 1) Music references (generic): The sizable reduction from the 1980s to the 2000s may be indicative of Australian composers trying to make their compositions stand out in a cultural environment where there are few performance opportunities for orchestral

²⁶ For example: Julian Yu's *Concerto on Chinese Themes*.

²⁷ Note that increments of a decade have been used in recognition of the fact that the dates listed for a composition are sometimes unreliable: the data does not make a clear distinction between the date of composition, the date of performance and the date the piece was listed with the AMC. Division by decade mitigates, but does not remove this problem.

music. It may also indicate the diminishing hold that traditional European genres have on new art music more broadly.

- 2) Popular culture references: This increasing trend is likely the result of aspects of Postmodernism, specifically the rehabilitation of popular music as 'legitimate' musical expression, filtering through to compositional practice.
- 3) Nature references (generic): The significant increase in generic nature references from the 1990s to the 2000s may be the result of a growing social awareness of issues related to climate change, environmental degradation and the Australian drought of 1997 to 2009.
- 4) Australian cultural references: while no reduction in the proportion of composers electing to use Australian cultural references can be detected from 1970s to the 2000s, the slight increase in the 1980s may be as a response to the Bicentennial celebrations of 1988 and the significant drop in the 1990s may be a response to a particularly vitriolic period of debate that academics, including Toop, have referred to as the 'style wars.'²⁸ The lambasting of repertoire that sought to establish an Australian cultural identity through reference to Indigenous Language and Australian flora and fauna possibly resulted in composers, at least for a time, shying away from such overt references.
- 5) Literary/conceptual/other reference: Being a mixed category that takes in a range of references that do not comfortably fit elsewhere, it is difficult to make a meaningful interpretation of the increasing trend present in this category. One possible explanation is that the increase has come about as a result of the vacuum created by composers eschewing generic music references in their titles.
- 6) Eastern references: the relatively small proportion of the cohort employing Eastern references makes the tracking of a trend in this category inappropriate. It should be noted that the relatively small proportion of the cohort making overt references to Eastern culture in composition titles is not indicative of low levels of cultural exchange. For example, the work of Julian Yu is indelibly linked to Chinese musical culture, yet many of his titles employ generic music references.
- 7) European language references: the sizable drop from the 1970s to the 1980s may be a displacement caused as a response to the increased number of Australian cultural references related to the Bicentennial.

Culture Exchange in 21st-Century Australian Art Music: New Modes of Understanding

In seeking to move beyond a diversity paradigm to an active engagement with the products of cultural exchange in Australian art music, this paper will posit two possible modes of understanding recent examples of cultural exchange.

- 1) Proliferation of cultural material as the instigator of exchange

As cultures interact, over time, musical materials find new contexts and inevitably develop along trajectories dislocated from their original setting. For example, in Timothy McKenry's²⁹ orchestral piece *Determined Seasons* (2000), the composer uses a melody from a nondescript music box found some years earlier in his grandfather's garage as the basis of an orchestral fantasia. His grandfather had just died and the melody became a signifier of grief for the composer. *Determined Seasons* is a musical essay in grief and won a composition competition run by the Palliative Care Association of Australia and was

²⁸ Toop 42.

²⁹ The author of this paper.

overtones that accompany the phenomenon of composers such as Sculthorpe and Conyngham ‘journeying’ to Asia to ‘discover’ eastern music. The work of composers such as Julian Yu, Liza Lim and Andrián Pertout represents a cultural exchange that is an organic part of multiculturalism, rather than merely a grafted adornment.

In Yu’s orchestral work *Chinatown* (2004),³² the composer employs a musical language that, while continually alluding to Chinese folk music, acts as a commentary on the presence of Chinese culture in Australia since the gold rush of the 1850s. The piece begins with simple diatonic structures that become increasingly florid; likely a metaphor for the blossoming of Chinese culture within Australia over the past 160 years. In addition to allusions to Chinese folk music, Yu employs a process of additive melodic development that is based on pedagogical methods associated with the learning of Chinese folk music.³³ These are highlighted in example 2.

'Cello, bars 1-7



'Cello, bars 78-80



Additive melodic development

- (a) Descending structural interval
- (b) Variation on ascending gesture
- (c) Filling in of melodic contour
- (d) Embellishment of descending line

Ex. 2. Julian Yu, *Chinatown*, additive melodic development.

The piece is ultimately a commentary on an aspect of Australian culture that represents a cultural exchange that has already occurred and continues to occur, not a contemporary appropriation of Eastern material.

Andrián Pertout, a composer who has lived in Melbourne from the age of nine, draws on a diverse range of cultural elements in his music including South-Indian ‘Carnatic’ classical music, Croatian folk music, models of intonation drawn from the Japanese ‘In’ scale and Iranian classical music.³⁴ All of these repertoires and practices are found in Melbourne – they are not the result of appropriation, they are simply an example of a composer interacting with the culture of his city. In Lim’s *Flying Banner* (2005),³⁵ the composer relates diverse

³² This work is the product of a commission by the Australian Pro Arte Orchestra with assistance from the national arts-funding organisation, The Australia Council. *Chinatown* went on to receive multiple performances, including a performance by the community group, Fishers Ghost Youth Orchestra in 2006.

³³ Yu 27.

³⁴ ‘Andrián Pertout – Works’ ed. Andrián Pertout, 9 April 2010 < <http://www.pertout.com/Home.htm>>.

³⁵ This work was commissioned by the Sydney Symphony Orchestra as a part of Lim’s residency with that orchestra; like Yu’s work, it was also produced with assistance from the Australia Council. The work was composed in 2005, but first performed in 2006.

elements of her cultural heritage by combining a musical rhetoric based on Chinese calligraphy with references to “insect white noise of cicadas,”³⁶ a distinctly (though not exclusively) Australian aural experience.

Horns: 'Calligraphy' gesture - lyrical, rhythmic freedom.

Violin 1: Cicada reference.

distortion sound like cicadas → distort ord. → distort ord. → distort ord. → distort

Violin 1

f *mf* *f* *ff* *f* *ff*

Ex. 3. Liza Lim, *Flying Banner*, bars 131-133, Horn 1/2 and Violin 1.

The convergences that are revealed in these composers' works need to be understood not as isolated examples of a 'compositional Diaspora' operating within Australian borders, but as a product of Australian multicultural society. The diversity paradigm can too easily function to segment Australian musical culture and marginalise composers such as Yu, Pertout and Lim as the 'other' in Australian composition.

Conclusion

In examining the discourse surrounding Australian art music, it can be observed that the debate surrounding issues of authority and identity in Australian music has led to academics employing a 'diversity paradigm' to understand the products of cultural exchange. This paradigm becomes a self-sustaining mechanism as academics construct narratives that do not investigate large repertoires of music, but select isolated examples that act as evidence of diversity. This paper suggests an alternative mode of research that might better understand Australian music making and provides an exemplar of this through an analysis of composer behaviour in the selection of work titles. The paper also highlights how the debate surrounding issues of cultural exchange in Australian music has resulted in an emerging ethical framework that can work to inform how composers interact with other cultures. Finally, the paper identifies the limitations of the diversity paradigm in understanding the cultural and stylistic convergences that are occurring in twenty-first century Australian art music, and posits two alternative modes of understanding this phenomenon. The paper suggests opportunities for further research through a more detailed examination of various repertoires and the development of other targeted modes of understanding the products of cultural convergence and exchange.

³⁶ Liza Lim, Foreword to music score, *Flying Banner* (2005).

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This research will outline the experimental music in Asia during the past forty years. It will explore some important figures, works and techniques which have not previously been investigated or discussed, using existing examples and cases in the last four decades. There will be a review of the secondary literature that has informed this research project. Some contemporary musicians use computer to create and compose their music, which shows the variety of music can be performed or heard in a new way. This period has seen great exploration of the sonic capabilities of the music, and has increased demands on players faced with unfamiliar technical requirements. This research will consider:

- 1.1 Historical background, and
- 1.2 Literature review
- 1.3 Rationale of this research

1.1 Historical background

Current contemporary art music covers a rich variety of approaches styles and processes. These categories can be approximately classified under the following headings:

- conventional neo-Romantic writing
- minimalism
- modernism
- the integration of elements of non-western music, popular music
- indeterminism,
- computer music,
- computer music
- electronic music
- ambient music, and
- an ongoing development of an interface with modern technology.

Experimental or avant-garde music of the last four decades has vastly increased the range of techniques and possibilities for today's composers and also has expanded and/or modified the conventions of music notation. Composers to whose works I will refer are:

- Theodore Antoniou (b.1935)
- Luciano Berio (1925-2003)
- John Cage (1912-1992)
- Elliott Carter (b.1908)
- George Crumb (b.1929)

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- Pascal Dusapin (b.1955)
- Franco Donatoni (1927-2000)
- Brian Ferneyhough (b.1943)
- Philip Glass (b.1937)
- Aram Khachaturian (1903-1978)
- Helmut Lachemann (b.1935)
- Hans Ulrich Lehmann (b.1937)
- Luigi Nono (1924-1990)
- Krzysztof Penderecki (b.1933)
- Larry Polansky (b.1954)
- Gunther Schuller (b.1925)
- Toru Takemitsu (b. 1930), and
- Iannis Xenakis (1922-2001).

The relationship between the composer and performer of experimental music is often very close. Frequently, the composer is involved in directing or participating in the performance of his/her composition. Some composers, for example, Phillip Glass (b.1937) and Steve Reich (b.1936), have formed ensembles for the express purpose of performing their own works, perhaps implying the difficulties the contemporary composer may encounter in having new works performed.

Luciano Berio (1925-2003)

A great deal of the music written in the twentieth and twenty-first century was composed for and dedicated to outstanding performers, hopefully ensuring or at least providing for a premiere of a new work. Berio's *Sequenza* series provides an example of this. As indicated on the score, each *Sequenza* has been dedicated to a specific performer: *Sequenza III* for voice was written in 1965 for Cathy Berberian¹ and *Sequenza VII* for oboe was written in 1969 for Heinz Holliger.² Many contemporary composers of experimental music work closely with the intended performer during the period of composition. This collaboration is mutually beneficial, enabling the composer to refine his/her work based on feedback from the performer. At the same time, the composer can discuss with the performer the precise effects which he/she has in mind. Live or recorded performances approved or directed by the composer are more likely to give a much clearer indication of musical intention than the published score on its own. This also ensures a more direct line of communication between the composer and his/her audience.

Interface with Modern Technology

Since 1960 there has been an increase in the exploration and use of the violin's incredible ability to create and imitate an extensive variety of sounds. The innovative works from this period, such as George Crumb's *Black Angels: Thirteen Images from the Dark Land* (1970), make technical demands on the performer resulting in the production of sounds that

¹ Cathy Berberian (1925-1983), first wife of Berio, American mezzo soprano, specialist in modern music.

² Heinz Holliger (b.1939), Swiss composer, oboist, conductor, and pianist.

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would have been considered unmusical in earlier times. Nevertheless, there has been a continuity of technical development, built on knowledge of the violin's traditional capabilities. *Sequenza VIII* (1976) by Luciano Berio (1925-2003) was inspired by the Chaconne of the Partita in D minor (BWV1004) by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750).³ Even though *Sequenza VIII* (1976) produces vastly different sounds from those of Bach's Chaconne, Berio has borrowed and expanded upon the musical ideas and intentions of Bach.⁴ A new translation of traditional ideas has been a major feature of the musical revolution of experimentalism which has evolved through the last quarter of the twentieth-century. The use of non-conventional instruments, the non-conventional use of traditional instruments, use of amplification and a range of modifications to the instrument have challenged the listener and have achieved a degree of acceptance of such avant-garde music.

New York School

The shift from conventional to non-conventional was sometimes dramatic, as Erik Satie (1866-1925) has demonstrated. Satie's landmark indeterminate piece *Vexations* (1893) has made a significant contribution to redefining the nature of musical communication. His twenty-four hour marathon work for piano was an historic precursor to the work of minimalist composers such as John Cage (1922-1992), Morton Feldman (1926-1987),⁵ and Cage's associates David Tudor (1926-1996), and Earle Brown (1926-2002).⁶ These composers have been strongly influenced by Satie's breaking of convention. Cage explored the possibilities of indeterminism using a very broad range of musical strategies⁷ including, for example, *I-Ching* charts,⁸ and random numbers.⁹ Feldman's piece *For John Cage* (1982),¹⁰ for example, distorts our expectation of musical duration. Like many of his works it has been written using an extended time scale, demanding at least one and a half hours for only one movement.¹¹

³ Luciano Berio, liner notes, *Sequenza VIII per Violino*, trans. David Osmond-Smith (Hamburg: Deutsche Grammophon, 1998, 457 040-2), 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵ David Cope, *New Directions in Music* (Dubuque: Brown and Benchmark, 1993), 165.

⁶ Stephen Peles, "Serialism and Complexity" in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 509-511.

⁷ Ottó Károlyi, "From Tonality to Atonality" in *Introducing: Modern Music* (London: Penguin Group, 1995), 50-52.

⁸ *I-Ching* is 64 hexagrams of the Chinese classic text. An example of this idea is the third movement of Cage's *Cheap Imitation* (solo violin version). A source is from John Cage, *Cheap Imitation*, with a preface by John Cage (New York: Henmar Press Inc., 1977), 2-3.

⁹ Tossing of dice to determine the way the score was to be read or performed. *Introducing: Modern Music* by Ottó Károlyi. An example of this idea is Cage's *Two*⁶ for violin and piano.

¹⁰ Morton Feldman, *For John Cage* (London: Universal Edition, 1982).

¹¹ New Albion Records, *Morton Feldman* [Internet on-line]; available from <<http://www.newalbion.com/artists/feldmanm>> [8 May 2005].

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L'Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique (IRCAM)

L'IRCAM (*L'Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique*) is the European counterpart to The New York School. This institution is possibly the most distinguished one specialising in electronic and computer music.¹² It was established in Paris under Boulez's directorship in 1974.¹³ Pierre Boulez (b.1925), Karlheinz Stockhausen (b.1928) and Iannis Xenakis (1922-2002) were leading musicians of electro-acoustic musical innovation from this institution.

Both Stockhausen and Boulez used indeterminate ideas to focus on electronic components or concepts which can be seen in their later works. Stockhausen and Boulez have composed only a few pieces of violin music, but these works clearly exemplify how they use computers, electro-acoustics, and the concept of chance, in their compositions. Examples of these compositional devices and performance approaches are illustrated in Stockhausen's *In Freundschaft* (1977)¹⁴ and Boulez's solo violin piece *Anthèmes 2: pour Violon et Dispositif Électronique* (1997).¹⁵

Minimalism

The use of electronic composition has been a formative component of the subsequent minimalist movement. La Monte Young's *Composition 1960 No.5* (1960)¹⁶ defined minimalism and influenced future composers such as Terry Riley (b.1935), Steve Reich (b.1936), and Philip Glass (b.1937).¹⁷ Riley's *In C* can be played by various combinations of instruments and the length of the piece is determined by performers.¹⁸ Reich's *Violin Phase* (1967) requires the performer to play with a pre-recorded tape with an assistant on the stage in the live performance.¹⁹ Glass indicates the performer has to walk along the "L" shape of the music exhibited while performing *Strung Out*.²⁰ All of these are

¹² Alastair Williams, "Ageing of the New: the Museum of Musical Modernism," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Nicolas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 506-7.

¹³ Ibid., 506-7.

¹⁴ Karlheinz Stockhausen, *In Freundschaft* (Kürten: Stockhausen-Verlag, 1983). *In Freundschaft* can be performed by different types of instrument such as, violin, oboe or clarinet.

¹⁵ It was written for solo violin, computer and six loudspeakers.

¹⁶ *Composition 1960 No. 5* requires the performer to let a butterfly loose in the concert hall.

¹⁷ Paul Griffiths, "Minimalism and multiplicity" in *Modern Music: A Concise History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985; revised edition, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 187 (page citation is to the revised edition).

¹⁸ Richard Toop, "Minimalism and Psychedelia," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Nicolas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 466-467.

¹⁹ Steve Reich, "Directions for Performance" in *Violin Phase* (London: Universal Edition, 1979).

²⁰ Untitled "Philip Glass. List of Compositions 1965-1975" [year 1967 *Strung Out*] [Internet on-line]; available from

http://216.239.37.104/translate_c?hl=en&u=http://www.arconet.es/users/rosado/philipg.htm&prev=/search

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examples of minimalism combined with aleatoric style.

1.2 Literature review

Although there have been a number of publications which address technical demands on violinists in avant-garde music, investigation has not been comprehensive. This literature survey will focus on music for violin composed between 1960 and 2006, and on publications which have analysed technical requirements for the performance of these compositions. During this period, compositional notation using symbols and specially devised terminology is not entirely standardised. Different composers create and define their ideas in different ways.

Patricia Strange and Allen Strange's *The Contemporary Violin: Extended Performance Techniques* published in 2001²¹ is an exploration of contemporary violin music, with numerous examples of recent music. The book discusses a number of bowing and fingering techniques including extended techniques such as percussive sound production and diverse *harmonics*. It also refers to alternative tuning systems, amplification and signal processing, and concludes with MIDI²² and computer techniques. The authors have included a list of Internet resources which provide the reader with a guide to current developments in performance practice and composition of contemporary music. Included in this publication are more than 475 explicit examples from published and private manuscripts, extensive scores, a very useful bibliography and a discography which lists more than 130 recordings. Although the publication gives a large number of musical examples, as well as notes on modifications of the violin and the application of technology to violin performance, it does not make reference to significant compositions by some well-known composers such as *Sonate-Monolog for Solo Violin* (1975) by Aram Khachaturian (1903-1978) and *Sequenza VIII* (1976) by Luciano Berio (1925-2003).

A useful reference for teachers and students is the 1992 edition of Jacques Ghestem's *Approche de la Musique Contemporaine au Violon*,²³ which comprises two separate documents. A three-page technical synopsis *inventaire et notations* constitutes the first half of the first volume of this guide. It illustrates symbols and their abbreviations as well as left and right hand techniques followed by brief explanations.²⁴ The second half of the first volume of *théorie et pratiques* documents the use of theoretical and practical ideas. It demonstrates several left and right hand techniques individually followed by effective exercises to assist

[%3Fq%3D%2522strung%2Bout...>](#) [25 March 2010].

²¹ Patricia Strange and Allen Strange, *The Contemporary Violin: Extend Performance Techniques* (Berkeley: University of California, 2001).

²² Musical Instrument Digital Interface.

²³ Jacques Ghestem, ed. *Approche de la Musique Contemporaine au Violon* (Paris: Gérard Billaudot Éditeur, 1992).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

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the learning process.²⁵ The last page of volume one of *Approche de la Musique Contemporaine au Violon* contains *tableau synoptique*, which shows various technical applications as utilised by ten different composers in their compositions. The learner may focus on these technical requirements before attempting to learn any of the works comprised in the second volume. The second volume is *oeuvres*, which contains ten short violin pieces by ten different contemporary composers. These ten short pieces present different technical challenges to solo performers as well as to ensembles. Nevertheless, in this publication technical requirements, interpretation and musical expression only are addressed in a general way.²⁶

Anthony Thomas Adessa's dissertation "Contemporary Violin Technique: Its Nature and Difficulties" (1981)²⁷ examines selected twentieth-century works including Bartók's Violin Concerto No.2 (1937-8), Schönberg's Violin Concerto (1936), Henze's Violin Concerto No.2 (1951), Feldman's *Projection 4* (1951), Maderna's *Widmung* (1967), and Xenakis's *Mikka* (1971). It provides their cultural contexts and Adessa's viewpoints of musical interpretation and discussion of efficient practice and preparation. The last chapter of Adessa's thesis is a transcript of an interview with Paul Zukofsky,²⁸ who is well regarded for his insightful comments on performance practice of contemporary music. However, the previous discussion does not include Zukofsky's performance advice.

Kenneth Lee Sarch's dissertation "The Twentieth Century Violin: A Treatise on Contemporary Violin Technique" (1982)²⁹ can be considered as a handbook of contemporary violin techniques for string players (in particular violinists), as well as teachers, composers, conductors and students. It is divided into four broad categories which enable the student to easily comprehend specific techniques including the use of different types of mutes. Musical examples in this dissertation are derived from a wide range of exercises, concertos, chamber music and compositions for solo violin.

²⁵ Ibid., 10-22.

²⁶ Eleanor F. Trawick, music review of *Approche de la Musique Contemporaine au Violon*, Jacques Ghestem ed., *Notes-Quarterly Journal of the Music Association* 52:1 [September 1995]: 306-308 [Database on-line]; available from International Index to Music Periodicals – Full Text
<http://impft.chadwyck.com/cgi/fulltext?ACTION=BYID&FILE=./session/1148256686_7163&subset=2&entries=2&ID=00053612&JID=JID00274380&ROYID=LOUJID00274380> [7 April 2003].

²⁷ Anthony Thomas Adessa, "Contemporary Violin Technique: Its Nature and Difficulties" (D.M. diss., Indiana University, 1981).

²⁸ Paul Zukofsky is a prominent violinist with a successful career and has an international performance reputation. He has recorded and released a number of CDs of twentieth-century violin repertoire.

²⁹ Kenneth Lee Sarch, "The Twentieth Century Violin: A Treatise on Contemporary Violin Technique" (D.M.A. diss., Boston University School for the Arts, 1982).

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Ernest Pereira's dissertation "Twentieth-Century Violin Technique" (1987)³⁰ provides an overview of the history of musical development from the nineteenth to the twentieth century with reference to the emergence of the first form of the violin in the ninth century. He discusses violin playing only from the time of Mozart with emphasis on twentieth-century violin playing techniques and on exponents such as Otakar Ševčík (1852-1934), Carl Flesch (1873-1944) and Ivan Galamian (1903-1981). It also includes discussions of twentieth-century violin compositions by well-known composers including Ravel, Debussy, Ysaÿe, Schönberg, Webern, Bozay, Prokofiev, Stravinsky and Bartók.³¹ The major research focus is on the left hand technique required to perform works by these composers. It also includes discussion on specific bowing requirements for twentieth-century violin music.³²

Barbara G. Jackson, Kenneth Sarch and Joel Berman compiled *Dictionary of Bowing and Pizzicato Terms*³³ published in 1999. It discusses most twentieth-century violin techniques and provides comprehensive explanations and musical examples. In *Standard Bowing Terms*, the three authors have catalogued diverse musical terms in different languages including French, German, Italian, Spanish and English. The authors have provided a brief historical background, definitions, explanations and some excerpts as examples. The chapter *Petite Dictionary of Pizzicato* written by Kenneth Sarch is the section of the publication which is most useful to performers. It includes several photographs of a violinist demonstrating specific techniques.³⁴

Kurt Stone's *Music Notation in the Twentieth Century*³⁵ gives a general overview of the new notation and techniques utilised in twentieth-century music for different instruments. It is divided into two comprehensive parts: Part I: Basic Procedures and Part II: Specific Notation. Each part contains definitions of symbols, plus explanations of the use of symbols in music for different instruments. It can be used as a manual for understanding and interpreting twentieth-century musical notation. However, this book was printed in 1980 and has not been updated thus far. Neither a number of newly invented symbols (for example, *finger percussive sounds*), nor compositions from the last twenty years have, as yet, been discussed.

Thom Holmes's third edition of *Electronic and Experimental music: Technology, Music and*

30 Ernest Pereira, "Twentieth-Century Violin Technique" (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1987).

31 Ernest Pereira, "Twentieth-Century Violin Technique" (D.M.A. diss., The University of Texas Austin, 1987), vii.

32 Ibid.

33 Joel Berman, Barbara G. Jackson and Kenneth Sarch, *Dictionary of Bowing and Pizzicato Terms*, 4th ed. (Indiana: American String Teachers Association, 1999).

34 Ibid., 59-68.

35 Kurt Stone, *Music Notation in the Twentieth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980).

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*Culture*³⁶ (2008) gives a brief outline of music technology history and important composers and their compositions, technological innovations and musical concepts from European to Asian studios; compositional skills used in various equipments; and *music concrete* to Tuntablism³⁷. The range of musical style is between modern music and popular music. It has four parts: Early History – Predecessors and Pioneers (1874 to 1960); Analog Synthesis and Instruments; Digital Synthesis and Computer Music; and The Music. This book has given comprehensive direction in the preface and related sources including diagrams, key points and examples of utilising equipments. It provides easy access to get knowledge of electronic and experimental music from 1874 to today. It also comprises a list of examples with a small number of notations. However, it might be complicated to use this book without fundamental understanding of utilising computer and softwares.

1.3 Rational of this research

The rationale for this research is based on the use of music technology on the violin. I intend to examine existing publications and musical works cited and written for the violin after 1960 including specific technical requirements, and interpretation and musical expression.

The tradition of violin music is expanded by the application of new technology in the last fifty years. This greatly increases possibilities for adventurous performance and presentation. The violinist may choose to accompany him/herself in a public performance or could choose to play in different types of venue. Minimalist composers and members of L'IRCAM employ computer and new technology in their works and require the performer to play in an unorthodox way or in an unusual venue. For example, *Toccatina* (1986) by Helmut Lachenmann (b.1935) requires the violinist to hit the strings with the screw of the bow. The application of new technology also gives the audience different audio-visual experiences. In *Ashes of the Glacial Crescent for Amplified Violin* (2004) by Dr Hing-Yan Chan, for example, the composer indicates that the violinist has to perform outside the concert hall, with the concert hall lights turned off and with the sound of the violin amplified. The new technology compels the violinist to focus on the sound production more because the sound will not be delivered directly from the violin. Because of the use of technology such as the amplification attached to the instrument, the violin sound will not be heard in its natural purity. The violinist also has to focus more on the quality of the final sound. Whether the violin is expensive or not, sound might lose some of its quality because of the use of this technology.

This outcome of this research will show an overview of violin techniques in the twentieth

³⁶ Thom Holmes, *Electronic and Experimental music: Technology, Music and Culture*, 4th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008).

³⁷ is the art of manipulating sounds and creating music using phonograph turntables or digital turntables and a DJ mixer.

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and twenty-first centuries through an examination of a number of works for violin. It demonstrates that these works are not strange, incomprehensible or unplayable. Today's performer has to discover the meaning of these works and to solve performance problems without the benefit of having heard the works performed by anyone else. Therefore, every performance is very personal and unique. The violinist is called upon to demonstrate his/her ability to understand the music, to display his/her command of performance skills and to convey the expression of the music. The music of this period provides a great opportunity for the violinist to demonstrate his/her understanding of new works. This challenge is demanding, adventurous and exciting.

To sum up, violinists should appreciate the art of contemporary violin music at present. Violinists should aim to include contemporary compositions written by Asian composers in their performance repertoire and study. Inclusion of such works in the performance repertoire will make the concert program more interesting and exciting. The art of contemporary violin music gives greater liberty to performers and it may broaden the audience's horizon. There are still a number of solo violin works composed after 1960 that have not yet been explored, particularly in Asian countries. They deserve to be performed and to become the subject of future analysis.

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Asian Music in Puccini's Operas: An analytical study of *Turandot's* and *Madama Butterfly's* music

ABSTRACT:

Puccini's music is a reflection of his powerful inner impulse. His numinous combination of fashionable romanticism, *diabolus in musica*, Asian folk and pentatonic inventions awakes both trust and beauty. Adhering more empathically to the musical phenomenon, the listener grasps the tale conveyed, believing in its characters. A foretaste of the tragic consciousness of the heroines is first expressed musically. *Mo-li-hua*, *Echigo-Jishi*, *Miyasan*, *Sakura*, *Kimigayo* are among the Asian songs embodied in the rich Puccinian architecture. As the scent reflects the feeling of the flower, Puccini's music reveals the sentiment of the human heart, which, in the end, discovers its inconceivable power. Twenty years after writing *Madama Butterfly*, "the most felt and suggestive opera I have ever conceived" Puccini breaks new artistic grounds leaving unfinished one of his most frequently performed works of our time: *Turandot*. It is not only Love and Death that form fundamental elements in both Puccini's plots, but the Ethical Power of the Spirit.

My presentation will convey audio -visually the Asian melodies used by the composer in his two operas showing how they shape the musical design, how they embody the characters and the text and ultimately how they contribute to the success of the two operas.

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Asian Music in Puccini's operas:
An analytical study of *Turandot's* and *Madama Butterfly's* music

Among the twelve Puccini's operas, *Madama Butterfly* (1904) and *Turandot* (1924) hold a distinctive place. Despite its disastrous première, *Madama Butterfly* represents today one of the most successful artwork inspired by Japan while *Turandot* symbolizes the last Italian standard opera and the end of the Great Tradition. Premiered at *La Scala*, both operas depict Love and Death for Love as fundamental elements integrated in the Ethical Power of the Spirit.

The 15-year-old geisha, Cio-Cio-San sells herself to a foreigner, Pinkerton, from the US Naval Army, whose posting is only temporary in Nagasaki. Unexpectedly, she falls in love with him at first sight; she gives up her ancestral faith becoming a Christian, and follows Pinkerton blindly and faithfully as wife. Her uncle, a Buddhist priest, curses her at the wedding ceremonies. When his time expires in Nagasaki, Pinkerton abandons Cio-Cio-San and returns to the US. Immediately after his departure, Cio-Cio-San has his son. After waiting three years for Pinkerton's return, her hopes melt away. She learns the truth and her despaired consciousness forces her to commit seppuku. Without honor, her existence is no longer justified.

Puccini's opera is inspired by a play that the composer saw in London in 1900, by the American playwright David Belasco who dramatized the story of John Luther Long *Madame Butterfly* (1898). Puccini was also aware of *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887), a well-known autobiographical novel by French naval officer Pierre Loti, who unlike Belasco and Long had actually lived in Japan.

Twenty years after writing *Madama Butterfly*, "the most felt and suggestive opera I have ever conceived" Puccini breaks new artistic grounds leaving unfinished one of his most frequently performed works of our time: *Turandot*.

Turandot's libretto originates in Carlo Gozzi's play: *Turandot*. Published in 1761, the play incorporates characteristics of traditional *commedia dell'arte* (the masks) combined with fantastic elements. Based on an Oriental folk story, it is recognized as Gozzi's masterwork. The five-act structure of Gozzi's play offered the composer a complex set of actions, in which the spectator is kept in successive states of suspense.

The icy Oriental princess, Turandot, the daughter of Turan, enjoys the torture and elimination of her unsuccessful suitors who fail to answer her riddles until one day, when an unknown prince, Calaf, the son of Timur provides the answers. In trying to avoid keeping her promise to marry him, she will accept Prince's confrontation: by dawn, she must find out his name. On a secondary plan, Puccini develops another female character the Chinese slave, Liù, who kills herself to protect the name of her secret lover: Calaf. The forces of being and the reason of loving of the Imperial couple, Calaf-Turandot, may magnetize and repel us at the same time.

Gozzi's intention in his play is to portray an ultra-feminist heroine who becomes a threat to the society. The female insubordination allowed by a weak man, her father, will cause a social disorder

that is almost impossible to rectify. Despite her behavior, Gozzi's heroine is wise and indescribably beautiful. Yet, for Gozzi she is a negative female at the border between reality and fantasy. By answering the riddles Calaf re-establishes social order. Setting *Turandot* to music, Puccini creates an invincible woman whose cold heart discovers "love", through torture and fear.

Puccini's music is a reflection of his powerful inner impulse. His numinous combination of fashionable romanticism, *diabolus in musica*, Asian folk and pentatonic inventions awakes both trust and beauty. A foretaste of the tragic consciousness of the heroines is first expressed musically. The Asian tunes are framed in the rich Puccinian architecture-labeling characters, emotions or situations and ultimately conferring the *couleur locale* along with the composers' own pentatonic inventions.

Puccini searched for authentic sources for his two Asian representations. Three of his Chinese melodies are taken from Baron Fassini Camossi's music box, a former diplomat in China whom he visited in 1920 in Bagni di Lucca. Four other authentic tunes used in *Turandot* were taken from J. A. van Aalst's book *Chinese Music* (Shanghai, 1884) sent to him by Carlo Clausetti in June of 1921. Two of the significant Japanese sources are the collections of songs: *Japanese Popular Music, A Collection of the Popular Music of Japan Rendered in to the Staff Notation* by Nagai, Y. and Kobatake, K., (Osaka, 1892) and *Nippon Gakufu ("Six Japanese Popular Songs collected and arranged for the Pianoforte")* by Dittrich Rudolf, (Leipzig, 1894, 1895). Before starting his work on *Madama Butterfly* Puccini consulted Kawakami Sadayakko, a Japanese actress performing in Milan in 1902 and, later that year, Mrs. Ōyama Hisako, the Japanese Minister's wife in Rome, who sung for him several folk tunes. He heard Debussy's *Pellèas et Mélisande* and studied Sullivan's *The Mikado* (1885) found in the library at Torre del Lago.

The two charts illustrated in appendixes A and B explain the distribution of the musical language per each character trying to offer a visual comparison between *Chinoiserie* and *Japonaiserie* used in *Turandot* and *Madama Butterfly*. The percentage of use of different *tinte* in the two operas depends on the number of characters, their background and psychological development. Whether authentic or invented, Puccini's *Chinoiserie* is incorporated into a stronger dissonant harmonic spectrum than his *Japonaiserie*, (see Appendix 3) dissonant *tinta* being associated with *Turandot* and her cruelty.

As the scent reflects the feeling of the flower, Puccini's music reveals the sentiment of the human heart, which, in the end, discovers its inconceivable power. Adhering more empathically to the musical phenomenon, the listener grasps the tale conveyed, believing in its characters.

Cio-Cio-San's psychological journey in the opera takes place in the course of three years changing from a 15 year old geisha mind and happy bride to an 18 year old mother, betrayed wife, in search for her spiritual identity. Her withdrawal from this existential suffering is with honor- in Japanese manner- committing seppuku. *Turandot*'s psychology changes in less than 24 hours from an unrealistic, invincible, powerful beauty with super natural control into a beautiful in love humanized woman. Both, Cio-Cio-San and *Turandot* throughout the opera move from one emotional level to the extreme opposite one changing worlds, realities and believes. Although Cio-Cio-San's story in the opera is, outside of the musical context, perhaps more credible (at least to a non-Japanese audience), *Turandot*'s tale is definitely science fiction. It is Puccini's incredible talent for melody and his unequalled compositional skill and style that make us question: "How real is this story?" Subsequently, the composers' representations of the two Asian worlds become intriguing.

The night, a Romantic emblem of Europe of the 19th century, activates anxiety in both Cio-Cio-San and *Turandot*, keeping them awake. The psychological tension is not released but amplified. There's

no realistic turn toward the world until the dawn arrives, when reality shocks both characters. In both situations, Puccini consciously emerges the force of darkness from the tension between knowing the truth and believing the dream.

Both operas spread rapidly after their premières in most of the opera houses around the world except Japan and China. Due to symbolism that they may entail and despite the astonishing music, *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot* had to wait decades before they were introduced to their respective audience. The first complete production of *Madama Butterfly* in Japan took place 32 years after its Milan première, in 1936 with Miura Tamaki as Cio-Cio-San at the Tokyo Kabukiza. The performance of *Turandot* was forbidden in China for more than 60 years (until the 1990's) considered being an unfavorable portrayal of the country and its people. In 1998 an international collaboration between director Zhang Yimou, conductor Zubin Mehta, producer Michael Ecker, the People's Liberation Army brought *Turandot* for eight nights to the Forbidden City. In the Olympic year of 2008, commemorating 150 years from Puccini's birth, Beijing puts on stage a Chinese *Turandot* with a different ending (than Alfano's) written at request by the young composer Hao Weiya. According to Andrew Moravcsik (Opera News) the new Finale music, irrelevant stylistically, sent out to the world Beijing's doctrine of a *harmonious world*, *Turandot* -the opera- becoming China's operatic symbol. According to Jan van Rij, -a former lawyer and European Union senior diplomat in Tokyo, the author of *Japonisme, Puccini and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San* "the original *Madama Butterfly* today still meets limited enthusiasm in Japan and continues to be deviated in various directions" mainly due to "lack of realism of the heroine and her lopsided logic". (Thus, how realistic is *Turandot's* logic? -one may ask.)

Even though the genesis of *Turandot* and *Madama Butterfly* may relate to a less congruent historical time in the encounter of the Western and Eastern cultures, their importance today lies purely in the value of their art: unequalled musical invention, dramatic intensity and character conveyor. Unlike Busoni's *Turandot*, Bazzini's *Turanda*, Mascagni's *Iris* or Messenger's *Madame Chrysanthème*, whose respective music died soon after its birth, Puccini's two Asian representations not only survived but became among top performed operas worldwide maintaining Puccini on his supreme and unique pedestal.

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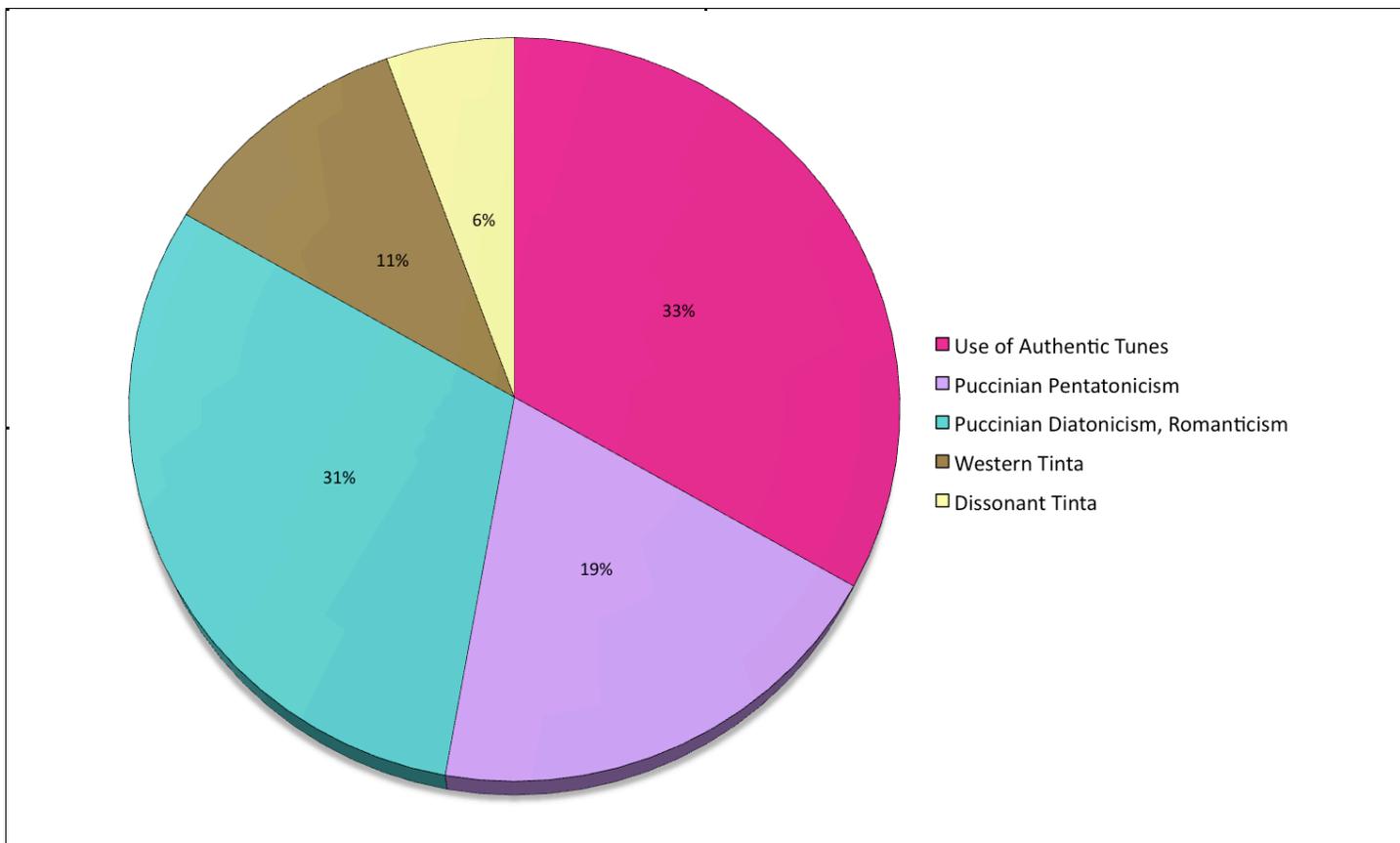
Legend:		Authentic Sources	Chinoiserie/ Japonaiserie	Romanticism/ Diatonicism	Dissonances	Other authentic <i>tinte</i>
Personaggi Turandot	Theme/Motif	Source	Text	Occur.	Tempo	Tonalities
	Mo-li-hua	Fassini's music box	orchestral/appearance	I. 21		E flat
	Ghosts' theme	dissonance	Non indugiare	I. 38	Lento	a + atonally
	aria	Puccinian dissonance	In questa reggia	II. 43	Molto lento	D
		dissonance	Principessa Lou-Ling		Lento	f#
		Puccinian chinoiserie	Mai nessun m'avra		Largamente	F#
	Motif a	Puccinian chinoiserie	Gli enigmi sono tre			F#, A flat
	Enigma motif	bitonalities		II. 50	Andante sostenuto	d, d, e flat
	X + Mo-li-hua	Puccinian + Fassini's box	Figlio del cielo	II. 63	Sostenuto	G, C
	Y + Mo-li-hua	Puccinian + Fassini's box	Sei pallido straniero	III. 16	Meno largo	
	Liu's torture	dissonance	Sia legata! Sia straziata!	III. 20	Allegro	e
		dissonance	Sia messa alla tortura	III. 25	Andante	G
	Alfano's ending		Padre augusto	III. 53	Lentissimo	
	Alfano's ending		Oh, mio fiore mattutino	III. 39	Andante sostenuto	a, B, C
Alfano's ending		Del primo pianto	III. 42	Con ansia	e flat, E flat	
The Ministers	theme a	Fassini's music box	Ferma! Che fai ?	I. 28	Allegro giusto	A flat
		Puccinian chinoiserie	Guardalo Pong	I. 35	Allegretto	f#, b
	theme b	Puccinian chinoiserie	Ola, Pang! Ola, Pong !	II. 1	Allegro moderato	bicentric harm
		van Aalst's book	Io preparo le nozze	II. 19	Allegretto	d
	theme c	Puccinian chinoiserie	Ho una casa nell' Honan	II. 9	Andantino mosso	D
	theme d	Puccinian chinoiserie	O mondo pieno di pazzi	II. 13	Andante mosso	B flat
	theme e	Puccinian chinoiserie	Addio stirpe divina		Molto moderato	E flat
	theme f	Puccinian chinoiserie	Non v'e' in China	II. 21	Allegretto	G
	Trans. passage	Puccinian chinoiserie	Tu che guardi le stele	III. 6	Allegro	D, G
	Prince's tmeptation	Middle Eastern tune		III. 8	Lento/Allegro	g, d, E flat, G flat
	ariette	Puccinian chinoiserie	Nulla sono		Andante	b flat
	aria	Puccinian chinoiserie	Signore ascolta	I. 42	Adagio	G flat
	passage	Puccinian chinoiserie	Tanto amore segreto	III. 24	Lento	F
	aria	Puccinian chinoiserie	Tu che di gel sei cinta	III. 27	Andantino mosso	
Liù						

Personaggi	Theme/Motif	Source	Text	Occur.	Tempo	Tonalities
Calaf	aria	Puccinian romanticism	Non piangere Liu	I. 43	Andante lento sos.	e flat
	strikes gong + Mo-li-hua	Puccinian + Fassinì's box	Turandot			D, e flat
	theme x	Puccinian chinoiserie	Figlio del cielo, io chiedo	II. 34	Andante energico	C
	motif a (T)	Puccinian romanticism	Gli enigmi sono tre..	II. 48		F#, A flat
	Prince's name	Puccinian romanticism	Tre enigmi m'hai proposto	II. 65	Largo sostenuto	
	aria	Puccinian rom.-pentat.	Nessun dorma		Andante sostenuto	G, D
	accusation	Puccinian romanticism	Principessa di morte	III.35	Andante sostenuto	
		Puccinian romanticism	Il mio mistero? Non ne ho...		Non troppo mosso	a, C, F
		Puccinian romanticism	La mia gloria e il tuo.	III. 46		B flat
		Puccinian Rom-diatonic	Perduta la bataglia	I. 7	Andante	
Timur	ariette					
Altoum	aria	Puccinian chinoiserie	Un giuramento atroce	II. 34		G
	Z+Guiding March	van Aalst's book	Il cielo voglia	II. 67	Molto sostenuto	C
The Mandarin	Execution Motif	bicentric harmonies	Popolo di Pekino	I. 1	Andante sostenuto	d flat
	Reprise	dissonance		II. 40	Andante sostenuto	f#
	Hymn of Confucius	van Aalst's book	O gran Koung-Tze'	I. 21		f#
Prince of Persia	Funeral cortege	Middle Eastern tune				4 notes config.
	Executioner's chorus	dissonance	Ungi arrota	I. 19	Allegro	e flat
	Moonrise crowd	bitonalities: major+minor	Perche tarda la luna	I. 17	Andante molto sos.	f#, d, B flat ped.
	Children's chorus	Mo-li-hua-Fassinì's box	La sui monti dell'est	I. 19	Andantino	D, E flat,E, F, E
	Turandot's handmaidens	Middle Eastern tune	Silenzio, ola !	I. 35	Andante lento	E flat
	Diecimilla anni	Fassinì's music box		II. 39	Largo	c #, f #
	Children's chorus	Mo-li-hua-Fassinì's box	Dal deserto al mar	II. 42	Andantino	F, B flat, A flat
	SATB	Puccinian chinoiserie	Ai tuoi piedi ci prostriam	II.68	Andante maestoso	D
	SATB offstage	dissonance+tonal	Così comanda Turandot	III. 1	Andante mosso	F, B flat
	Executioner's chorus	dissonance+tonal		III. 25	Allegro moderato	a+disson.
Orchestra	The Court	Fassinì's music box	Diecimilla anni Eternita!	III. 50	Larghissimo	f#
	SATB	Puccinian romanticism	O sole! Vita! Eternita!	III.54	Larghissimo	E, C#, G flat
	Mo-li-hua	Fassinì's music box	Tenori+Soprani	I. 21		D
	Guiding March	van Aalst's book	NA	II. 13		E flat
	Offstage March	Puccinian chinoiserie	NA	II. 25		G flat
	Imperial Hymn	Fassinì's music box	NA	II. 26		E flat

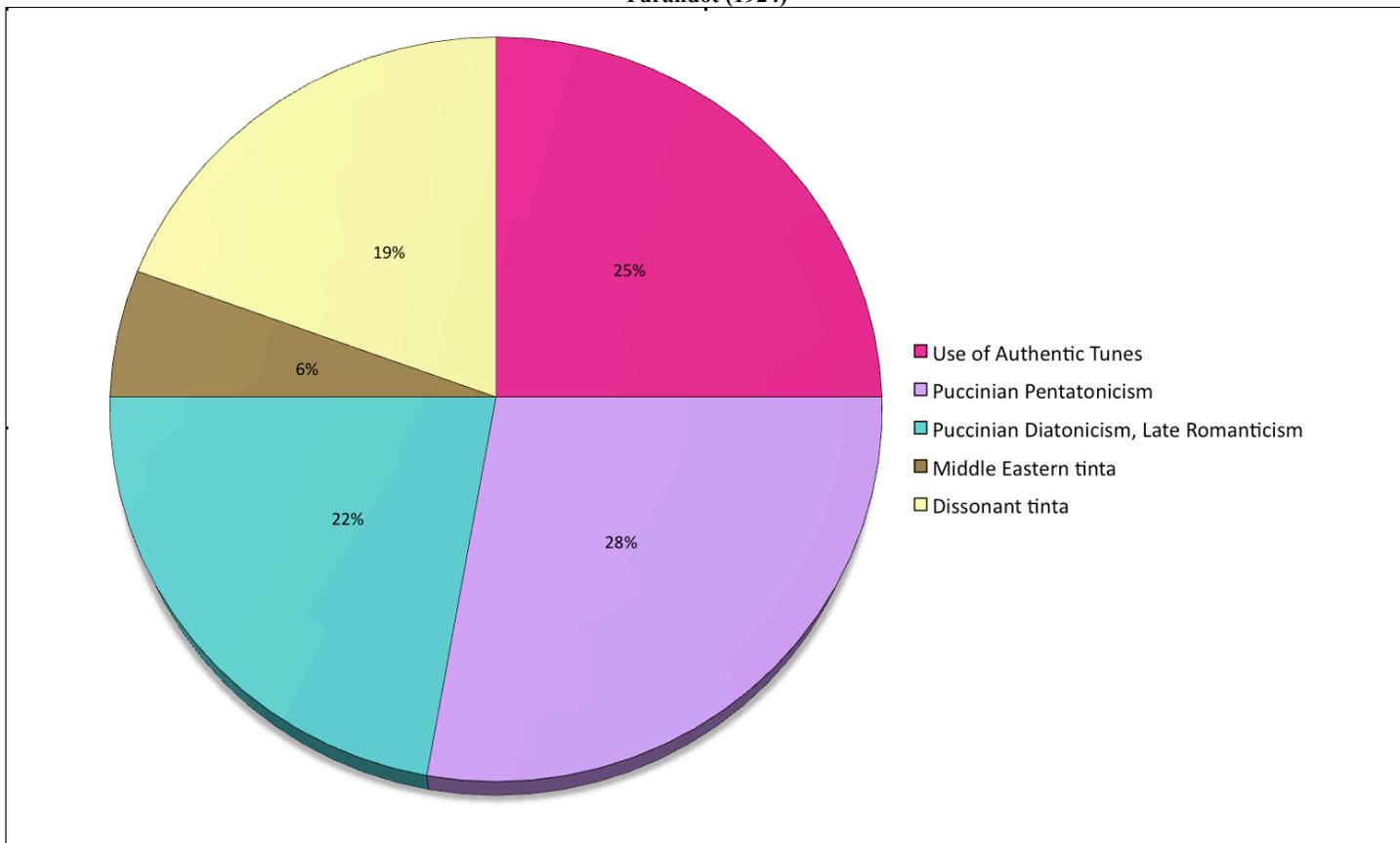
Legend:		Authentic Sources	Chinoiserie/Japonaiserie	Romanticism/Diatonic	Dissonances	Other authentic <i>tinte</i>		
Cio-Cio-San	Echigo-Jishi	Nagai-Kobatake			Nessuno si confessa	I.44.1-1.45.6	Allegro moderato	c with 6th raised
	Ha-Uta	Rudolf Dittrich			Io vorrei	I. 74. 1-6	Andantino	a with 6th raised
	Ha-Uta	Rudolf Dittrich			Fazzoletti	I. 75. 1-4		a
	Sakura	Rudolf Dittrich			Una cintura	I. 75.5-I. 76.6		modal
	Ha-Uta	Rudolf Dittrich			Via	I. 76.1-6		a
	Jizuki-Uta	Rudolf Dittrich			s'avia per la collina	II. 13.15-19		from A flat to C
	Echigo-Jishi	Nagai-Kobatake			orchestral	II. 27. 1-6		g V of d
	Kappore-Honen	Nagai-Kobatake			orchestral	II.50.7-15; 52.12-15		C
	Jizuki-Uta	Rudolf Dittrich			Che tua madre	II. 55. 1-12		a flat
	Suiryo-Bushi	Nagai-Kobatake			E Butterfly	II. 56. 1-9		a flat
	Kappore-Honen	Nagai-Kobatake			E la canzon	II. 56. 10-17		F # of B major
	Jizuki-Uta	Rudolf Dittrich			No questo mai	II.57.1-11		a flat
	Suiryo-Bushi	Nagai-Kobatake			orchestral	II.57.12-17		a flat
	Kappore-Honen	Nagai-Kobatake			Vedrai piccolo amor	II. 66		G of C
	Miyasan	Nagai-Kobatake			E Yamadori	II. 85 7-13		Allegro moderato
	Kappore-Honen	Nagai-Kobatake			(Suzuki)	III. 13-15		Andante sostenuto
	Kappore-Honen	Nagai-Kobatake			Voglion prendermi	III. 38. 1-8		e , lowered b, f
dialogue with Pinkerton		Puccinian diatonicism		Vieni la sera	I.116		Andante sostenuto	A
duet with Pinkerton		Puccinian diatonicism		Vogliatemi bene	I.128		Andante sostenuto	E flat
Yamadori dialogue		dissonances		Yamadori	II. 29		Un poco piu moso	chromatic
dialogue Sharpless		Western/Japonaiserie		Madama Pinkerton	II. 17-II. 26		Allegretto mosso	
Waiting motif-letter scene		Puccinian diatonicism		Dice proprio	II. 42		Andantino mosso	B flat
Suzuki dlg, flower duet		Puccinian diatonicism		Bianca, bianca	II.68.3		Lentamente	A, A flat
Takai-Yama		Nagai-Kobatake		E Izachi ed Izanami	II. 3.2-14		Andante calmo	d
Cio-Cio-San dlg, flower dt		Puccinian diatonicism		Il canone del porto	II.68		Lentamente	A, A flat
Suzuki								

Personaggio	Theme/Motif	Source	Text	Occurrence	Tempo	Tonalities
F.B.Pinkerton	ariette	American National	Dovunque al mondo	I.21	Allegro sostenuto	G flat
	dialogue with Cio-Cio-San	Puccinian diatonicism	Viene la sera	I.116	Andantino calmo	A
	duet with Cio-Cio-San	Puccinian diatonicism	Vogliatemi bene	I.128	Andante sostenuto	E flat
	dialogue with Sharpless	Westernism	Bene arrivato	I. 17-I.36.7		C,E flat, G flat, B
	dialogue with Goro	Puccinian diatonicism	E soffitto e parlati	I. 5.4-I.17	Allegro moderato	E flat, D flat, C
Sharpless	ariette	Puccinian diatonicism	Addio fiorito asil	III.27.11	Andante	D flat
	dialogue with Pinkerton	Westernism	E suda e arampica	I.16.15-I.36.7		C, E flat, G flat, B
	dialogue with Cio-Cio-San	Puccinian diatonicism	Chiedo scusa	II.17.13	Allegretto mosso	
	Letter scene/Waiting motif	Puccinian diatonicism	Amico cercherete!	II. 42	Andantino mosso	B flat
	Echigo-Jishi	Nagai-Kobatake	Ecco! Son giunte	I. 37.1-I. 38.2	Allegro	B flat with a g
Goro	duet with Pinkerton	Puccinian diatonicism	Vago e vengono	I. 5.4-I. 17	Allegro moderato	E flat, D flat, C
	Miyasan	Nagai-Kobatake	arrival	II. 26-29	Allegro	
	Echigo-Jishi	Nagai-Kobatake	A voi pero giuverei	II. 31.12-33.10		b flat
	Miyasan	Nagai-Kobatake	Vi lascio il cuor	II. 39	Andantino	A flat
	Rejection motif	Puccinian dissonance	Cho-Cho-San	I.100	Vivo	a, whole-tone
The Bonze	Kimigayo	Oyama Hisako		I. 59		
	ceremony	Japonaiserie	E concesso	I. 82.7	Moderato	C, pentatonic
	Kimigayo	Oyama Hisako		I. 59		
The Registrar	ceremony	Japonaiserie	Posterita	I.90.3	Andante mosso	
	O-Yedo-Nihon-Bashi	Nagai-Kobatake	Madama Butterfly	I. 87	Allegro	
	Girls	Puccinian Japonaiserie	Ah, Ah, quanto cielo!	I. 37-I. 46.5		B flat mod., A fl,
Vox Populi (Girls' chorus Yakuside, Cousin, Aunt, Cio-Cio-San, Mother)	The 4 relatives	Puccinian Japonaiserie	Bello non e !	I. 61.3	Allegro moderato	
	Rejection	dissonances	Rispondi! Hou.	I.102.5	Moderamente	stepwise mov
	Waiting motif	Puccinian diatonicism	Humming chorus	II. 90	Un poco meno	B flat
	Sailor's chorus	Puccinian diatonicism	Oh, eh!	III. 4.6		A
	Miyasan	Nagai-Kobatake		II. 20-22		
Orchestra	Echigo-Jishi	Nagai-Kobatake		III. 1-8		
	Suiryō-Bushi	Nagai-Kobatake		III.58		
	Jizuki-Uta	Nagai-Kobatake		III. 57. 4-7	Allargando	

Madama Butterfly (1904)



Turandot (1924)



**The Socio-Economic Impact of Liberal Reform and Political Corruption
in Developing Countries**

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The Socio-Economic Impact of Liberal Reform and Political Corruption in Developing Countries

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Abstract

How does economic liberalization—or a country’s integration into the global economy—affect its economic performance and the distribution of wealth? There have been heated debates on positive and negative sides of globalization. This article seeks to fill the existing gap in the study of globalization and its socio-economic outcomes by focusing on the mediating effect of political corruption. The authors suggest that countries with high levels of corruption achieve faster economic growth when they perform extensive economic liberalization. However, the economic growth does not improve the corrupt countries’ distributive justice, leaving levels of poverty and inequality rates intact after the economic development. On the other hand, economic liberalization in less corrupt countries does not generate fast economic growth, but the slow economic development significantly improves the countries’ poverty and inequality. This article studies 63 developing countries from Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Asia.

Introduction

How does economic liberalization—or a country’s integration into the global economy—affect its economic performance and the distribution of wealth? The heated debates have diverged into two competing arguments. One group of scholars suggests that globalization harms the economy of less developed countries by increasing poverty and inequality within and among countries. Another argument points to the positive effect of globalization, advocating that a country’s participation in the free market significantly improves its economic conditions and promotes faster economic growth as well as lower levels of poverty and inequality. In terms of the distributive effect of globalization, the so-called efficiency hypothesis maintains that the increasing exposure of a country’s economy to the international market competition will compel the government to scale back social expenditures; consequently, the country may end up having higher poverty rates and a widening inequality gap. Meanwhile, the “compensation hypothesis,” the parallel argument, implies that economic liberalization does not necessarily harm the distributive justice because the government will expand social welfare spending to compensate those who lose from the market competition (Kaufman and Segura-Ubiergo 2001: 556-7).

What could explain the discrepancy between the two arguments? This article suggests that the debate regarding the effect of economic liberalization has overlooked one significant element: the effect of political corruption on a country’s economic performance and the distribution of wealth. The authors demonstrate that the effects of economic liberalization on growth and the distribution of wealth are mediated by political corruption. More specifically, economic liberalization itself brings economic growth, yet a high level of political corruption results in the

inappropriate distribution of wealth by increasing poverty and inequality. Political corruption *per se* does not harm or benefit a country's economic growth. However, in a highly corrupt society, economic wealth is concentrated among a small segment of people who can and/or are willing to pay bribes. Corrupt transactions discriminate between people who pay for bribes and those who do not, with preferential services being provided for the former. Thus, in a society with a high level of political corruption, the positive distributive benefit of economic growth is limited to a small number of people, meaning that the socio-economic conditions of ordinary people do not significantly improve (Morris 1991). In short, the research argues that economic liberalization does not harm a country's socio-economic conditions when that country has a low level of political corruption whereas such liberalization of an economy with a high level of corruption significantly deteriorates its conditions.

The current research intends to bridge the gap between the two separate sets of research on the sources of distributive justice—namely, globalization and its consequence in a society on the one hand, and political corruption and its socio-economic impacts on the other. As such, this article sheds new light on the nature of the impact of economic globalization on domestic social conditions by incorporating political corruption into the equation.

The next section briefly overviews the competing arguments related to the effect of economic liberalization on a country's domestic socio-economic conditions. Section two discusses whether/how political corruption influences a country's economic growth and the distribution of wealth; based on this discussion, the main hypotheses will be generated to be tested against 63 developing countries from Latin America, Asia, and Eastern European countries and former Soviet republics for the period of 1995 to 2007. Section three spells out the composition of the data, variables, measurements, and methodologies used for the empirical analysis. After presenting the empirical results, the article concludes by discussing the theoretical and empirical implications of the findings for further research on economic liberalization, political corruption, and their socio-economic outcomes.

Economic Liberalization and Socio-Economic Impacts: Two arguments

The effect of globalization on developing countries' economies has been at the center of heated debates among scholars. One group of scholars suggests that a country's economic openness and integration into the global economy will boost economic growth (Dollar and Kraay 2002). According to this optimistic view on globalization, a country's adoption of an open economy leads to faster economic development. Although economic globalization may increase economic inequality for a short period during the early stage of industrial development, the inequality eventually diminishes when the industrialized economy produces a larger pie to share. This argument further states that underdevelopment, poverty, and inequality are more prevalent in less globalized and closed economies than more globalized and open ones.

Meanwhile, another group of scholars holds a more pessimistic view, maintaining that globalization may improve a country's overall wealth but it ultimately widens economic inequality within and among countries. According to this view, economic globalization aggravates the inequality gap as both winners and losers emerge from the economic competition, thereby creating concerns for the government's social welfare and safety net (Forsyth 2000). In particular, the foreign direct investment (FDI) and trade openness expand the inequality gap in both developed and developing countries. In industrialized societies, the FDI creates deindustrialization as industries move to developing countries offering abundant but cheap labor forces. In turn, deindustrialization leads to the movement of labor forces from the industrial sector with relatively equal income distribution to the service sector with higher income inequality (Alderson and Nielsen 2002). The same is true for developing countries where capitalists have stronger bargaining leverages vis-à-vis labor forces because the former have greater mobility with freer exit options than the labor forces (Rodrik 1997: 46).

The debate over socio-economic impacts of globalization has revolved around two competing hypotheses—efficiency versus compensation—over globalization and social spending. The efficiency hypothesis asserts that globalization undermines a government's ability to redistribute domestic wealth from winners to losers in the market competition. At the same time, economic globalization intensifies the labor market competition and reduces workers' wages (Rodrik 1997). Globalization forces the government to reduce social spending because it leads to higher taxation and hurts competitiveness in the market. Therefore, as a country becomes more open to the international market competition, the government faces strong incentives to curb social spending, leading economic inequality within society to grow.

Meanwhile, the compensation hypothesis draws attention to the positive side of economic globalization as it offsets the market competition through social safety nets. According to this hypothesis, a government with greater economic openness to the international market has both political and economic incentives to expand the social welfare spending and reduce the inequality gap (Kaufman and Segura-Ubiero 2001: 557). Politically, a government tries to make up for any grievances from market competition by expanding social welfare spending as the negative effects of globalization—namely, social dislocations, job uncertainty, and the expanding unequal distribution of income—create political instability and backlash against market-oriented and business-friendly policies. Economically, both the government and owners of industries have incentives to increase social welfare spending to reeducate and improve skills and productivity of labor forces. Therefore, the compensation thesis argues that a country's economic liberalization and integration into the world market competition do not necessarily make its socio-economic conditions worse.

The debate over the effect of economic globalization on economic growth, poverty, and inequality has produced extensive empirical evidence from both proponents and opponents of globalization. However, the theoretical and empirical debates have produced no conclusive evidence. Such inconclusiveness may stem from the ambiguous concepts related to globalization and different methods of measuring economic growth, poverty, and inequality rates (Ravallion

2003). The problem may also arise from the case selection, depending on whether OECD, Latin American, or East Asian countries are examined.

Yet one important element missing from the debate is what could intervene to make a difference in the effect of economic liberalization on socio-economic outcomes. One factor that could influence the allocation of the wealth within a society is political corruption. Political corruption occurs in the expectation that corrupt transactions will bring certain *preferential* benefits to the provider of bribes and, thus, has a certain distributive effect within society. Therefore, this article maintains that political corruption mediates the effects of economic liberalization on a country's socio-economic conditions. The following section discusses previous theoretical and empirical discussions examining the effect of political corruption on economic growth, poverty, and inequality, based on which the main hypotheses will be generated.

Political Corruption and Socio-Economic Outcomes

Corruption is not a contemporary social phenomenon, but rather has existed as long as human society has. Moreover, corruption is not limited to the political and public arena, but may be prevalent in virtually any human interaction (e.g., family and community relations and business interactions), adopting various forms (bribe, kickback, stealing, nepotism, misappropriation, etc.) (Nye 1989). However, the primary focus of this article is political corruption, commonly defined as “misuse of public office for private gain” (Anderson and Tverdova 2003; Sandholtz and Koetzle 2000; Amundsen 1999).

Concerning the effect of political corruption on governments' economic performance and the distribution of wealth, two competing arguments have been prominent. The first line of argument, dating back to the 1960s, has been presented primarily by political scientists who looked at the positive side of political corruption (Bayley 1967; Nye 1967; Huntington 1968; Leys 1989). According to this “grease-the-wheel” argument, bribery as one of the most common forms of political corruption can make society more efficient by avoiding “burdensome regulations and ineffective systems” (Kaufman 1997: 115). In other words, bribery enables people to bypass the unnecessary bureaucratic lethargy and reduce unnecessary time and tiresome paperwork to get things done faster. This is thought to be the case especially when a country has weak and ill-functioning political systems with highly inefficient bureaucratic regulations. As a result, “[B]oth the ends and the means served by government-constricted choices may be worse than those freely chosen and finding expression through corruption” (Bayley 1966: 726). Furthermore, political corruption may form a sort of market competition in which private firms compete for a procurement contract with the government. The corrupt government “awards the contract to the highest bidder in bribes” so that the mechanism of efficient allocation of resources succeeds, as “the lowest-cost firm can afford the largest bribe” (Bardhan 1997: 1322, see also Beck and Maher 1986; Lien 1986).

The positive effect of political corruption is expected to be more evident in the context of newly born, modernizing societies, where underdeveloped and weak political institutions have limited ability to exert a monopoly over bribes given that multiple agencies collect bribes. The weak political institution's lack of control over bribery results in an ever more inefficient allocation of resources in society. Huntington points out that, "in terms of the economic growth, the only thing worse than a society with a rigid, over-centralized, and *dishonest* bureaucracy is one with a rigid, over-centralized, *honest* bureaucracy" (Huntington 1968: 69). In a society with less-than-perfect political and bureaucratic systems, bribery serves as "speed money" that can circumvent the unnecessary bureaucratic hurdle. Furthermore, political corruption brings harmony between the corrupter and corruptee, while bribery makes government employees work harder to make things done faster (Leys 1989: 54; Mauro 1995: 681).

However, only a small number of scholars have pointed to the positive impact of political corruption on economic growth. Numerous economists and political scientists have presented that political corruption results in poor economic performance because it increases transaction costs, discourages investments, and distorts market competition (Seligson 2002; Della Porta 2000; Doig and Theobald 2000; Pharr 2000; Friedman, Johnson, Kaufman, and Zoido-Lobaton 2000; Gupta, Davoodi, and Alonso-Terme 1998; Kaufman 1997; Mauro 1997; World Bank 1997; Klitgaard 1991; Morris 1991; United Nations 1989; Etzioni-Halevy 1985; Gould and Amaro-Reyes 1983). According to Mauro's empirical research, a corrupt society turns out to have approximately 0.5 percent lower GDP growth per year and about 5 percent fewer aggregate investments than a relatively less corrupt society (Mauro 1997). In a similar study, the World Bank (1997) revealed that countries with undue corruption suffer from foreign investment amounting to about a half of what less corrupt countries gain. Overall, corruption harms economic growth, per capita income, infant mortality, and education service (Kaufmann et al. 1999; Perry 1998; Mauro 1995). Although most recent studies have demonstrated that political corruption harms a country's economic growth, the negative effect of corruption does not seem to be either robust or linear. Some countries with a high level of corruption show faster economic growth than less corrupt countries, as evidenced in studies involving East Asian countries (Kang 2003; Bardhan 1997; Shleifer and Vishny 1993).

The current article expects that a more direct effect of political corruption on the economy is less about growth than about the distribution of wealth in society. More specifically, political corruption negatively influences a society's distribution of wealth by increasing poverty rates and widening inequality gaps, even after a country achieves a substantial level of economic development. The insidious effect of political corruption on distributive justice is possible because corrupt transactions discriminate people who pay bribes from those who do not, resulting in preferential services being provided to the former. Therefore, the positive benefit of political corruption—if any—will be limited to a small number of people who can pay bribes (Morris 1991).

Political corruption harms a society's distributive justice by distorting governmental policies (Gerring and Thacker 2005). When a corrupt transaction occurs in the form of a kickback, it

significantly diminishes the governmental spending for public goods because corruption diverts resources from public purposes to private sectors that provide bribes (Bayley 1966: 724). Corrupt transactions give private benefits to those who pay bribes for the short term, but they harm the general public by fabricating larger public costs through higher taxation as well as reduced spending for general social welfare for the longer term. Consequently, political corruption generally harms the poor and “strengthens the hands of people seeking to protect advantage they already have” (Nice 1986: 288).

Political corruption tends to recreate and perpetuate the poverty and inequality gap within a society. When corrupt transactions are embedded in a society, the wealthy and powerful “have both greater motivation and more opportunity to engage in corruption” to keep their privileges intact (You and Khagram 2005: 136). Indeed, they have strong incentives to bypass fair political and legal processes to receive preferential services from the governmental agencies for which they provide bribes. Yet the poor do not have the resources to gain these private benefits from corruption. Although they have strong incentive to remove political corruption from society, they lack resources to do so or suffer from a collective action problem. Consequently, a high level of poverty and inequality is deeply entrenched in a society with undue corruption so that they perpetuate one another.

To summarize, as the two separate discussions on the impact of economic liberalization and political corruption on socio-economic conditions have indicated, the current debate about the effect of globalization overlooks whether/how political corruption harms a country’s distributive justice. Economic liberalization itself is not expected to have significant impacts on a country’s poverty and inequality; rather, the level of political corruption mediates the effect between globalization and a country’s socio-economic conditions. As such, countries with great economic openness to the international market competition likely have low poverty and inequality rates when political corruption is low. However, economic liberalization does not improve poverty and inequality when political corruption is high, even though the wealth from opening the market is bigger.

Research Design: Data, Variables, and Measurements

Data

This article examines the effect of liberal economic policies and political corruption on socio-economic conditions across 63 developing countries in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Asia. The cases include 21 countries from Latin America, 17 from Asia, and 25 from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. Although classified as developing countries, these cases vary in their economic, social, and political conditions. The average values of GDP per capita between 1995 and 2004 among the countries range from \$153.00 (Tajikistan) to \$22,306.00 (Singapore). Political corruption in these countries is perceived to be relatively higher than most western consolidated democracies. Except for Singapore, no country among the studied cases is listed in the top 20 of the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) from Transparency International (2008). A higher rank indicates less corruption perception. The CPI measurement is explained in the

variables and measurements section. According to the measure of freedom from Freedom House, the cases include 21 free, 31 partly free, and 11 non-free countries.

Variables and Measurements

To examine the varying effect of liberal economic policies on socio-economic conditions (economic growth, poverty rates, and inequality) in developing countries, the models herein include imports, foreign direct investment, corruption perception, political freedom, GDP, literacy rate, and female labor participation. All independent variables are computed as ten-year averages between 1995 and 2004. The dependent variables—namely, economic growth rate, poverty rate, and inequality (i.e., the GINI index)—were obtained from the World Development Indicators (WDI) and computed as an eleven-year average from 1997 to 2007. In order to investigate how corruption perception levels mediate the effects of liberal economic policies on socio-economic conditions, the models also include interaction terms between imports and corruption perception and between foreign direct investment and corruption perception. The interactive relationships between these variables imply that the impact of liberal policies on socio-economic conditions differs according to corruption perception levels.

The degree of economic openness is commonly measured by the share of the sum of imports and exports in GDP. However, total trade is influenced by the size of the economy. Export-oriented countries are considered economically open even though they are not (Kaufman and Segura-Ubiergo 2001; Gerring and Thacker 2005; Tavares 2005). In order to avoid the inherent problem this situation poses, the current study uses the share of imports in GDP as well as the fraction of foreign direct investments in GDP to measure economic liberalization (see Larrain and Tavares 2004). Countries with more open regulatory policies tend to attract more foreign direct investments (Gerring and Thacker 2005). WDI provides the data on imports and foreign direct investment.

The primary data on corruption is obtained from Transparency International's CPI and the World Bank Institute's Control of Corruption Index (CCI), which are the most comprehensive and reliable measures of corruption (Anderson and Tverdova 2003; Montinola and Jackman 2002; You and Khagram 2005). Both the CPI and CCI are based on survey data that measure perceptions of experts and other informed individuals. The CPI ranges from 0 (most corrupt) to 10 (least corrupt) whereas the CCI is a standardized score of corruption perception, indicating how many standard deviations below or above this score a country's corruption perception falls on. The correlation between the two measures of corruption is .94, which confirms the quite high level of data reliability. This study presents the results using the CPI. Replacing the CPI with the CCI does not make a significant difference in the outcomes. The mean score of corruption perception among the cases is 3.4. However, for the purposes of this study, the cases are grouped into four sets according to their corruption perception levels, where 0 indicates the least corrupt and 3 the most corrupt. In this manner, this study examines the different effects of economic liberalization on socio-economic conditions across countries at different levels of corruption perception. This is also necessary as it is possible for the effect of liberal policies to be

significant for particular values of corruption perception even though the coefficient of the interaction term is statistically insignificant (Brambor, Clark, and Golder 2006).

In addition to economic liberalization, the degree of political liberalization or democraticness influences socio-economic conditions in society. The relationship between regime types and economic growth has been hotly debated. Democratization could hinder economic development since the government cannot exclusively pursue such development at the expense of popular demands (Haggard 1990; Huntington 1968; Huntington and Dominguez 1975; Krueger 1974). In other words, it is easy to suppress demands for public welfare in authoritarian regimes. Indeed, the remarkable economic development of the Four Asian Tigers—Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan—tend to prove this argument. Yet supporters of democracy argue that economic freedom and less corruption bring more effective and stable economic growth (Rodrik 1999; Baum and Lake 2003; Lake and Baum 2001). Empirically, the most developed welfare states are democratic regimes, implying that democratic regimes lead small but stable economic growth and more economic justice whereas authoritarian regimes bring big but unstable economic growth and less economic justice. The level of democracy is measured using the freedom index from Freedom House. The measure from Freedom House is the average of political and civil rights ratings, ranging from 1 (free) to 7 (not free). For the purpose of the study, the scores are reversed: 1 for not free and 7 for free.

Meanwhile, GDP per capita measures the economic development of a country. More developed countries can afford more welfare spending, thereby reducing poverty and inequality. However, GDP per capita tends to slow economic growth when a country reaches a certain level of economic development. Therefore, GDP per capita is logged in order to obtain the appropriate curvature. The data on GDP per capita is obtained from the WDI.

Finally, two additional control variables known to explain socio-economic conditions are used—namely, literacy rate and the share of female labor population in the total labor population—which should contribute to increasing economic growth and decreasing poverty rates and inequality. These variables come from the WDI as well.

Empirical Analyses

Table 1 indicates the effects of liberal economic policies on socioeconomic conditions—economic growth, poverty, and inequality—across the cases under study by paying particular attention to how the levels of the corruption perception modified the effects. Therefore, the focus is the interactive relationships between imports and the corruption perception and between FDI and the corruption perception.

[Table 1 is here]

How do liberal economic policies influence economic growth? The results in the Growth model indicate that none of the constitutive terms of imports, FDI, or the corruption perception is statistically significant. However, the coefficients and significance of the constitutive terms themselves are not very meaningful as they are valid only when imports, FDI, or corruption is zero, which is rarely the case. The coefficients of the interaction terms identify the nature of interactive relationships. The significant coefficient of the interaction term between FDI and the corruption perception indicates that the corruption perception mediates the effect of FDI on economic growth. For example, if the corruption perception increases by one unit (from zero to one, from one to two, etc.), the effect of FDI on economic growth increases by .208. In other words, foreign direct investment brings a larger economic growth in more corrupt countries.

In addition, how do liberal economic policies influence poverty in the countries under study? The Poverty model shows that the coefficient of the import variable is the only significant constitutive term, indicating that a 1% increase in the share of imports in GDP decreases the poverty rate by .345 in countries with zero corruption perception. However, as previously mentioned, the interaction terms determine the nature of interactive relationships between economic policies and the corruption perception on poverty. The coefficient of the interaction term between imports and the corruption perception demonstrated a statistical significance, indicating that imports decreased poverty rates but the effect was .167 smaller in countries with a higher corruption perception level. The insignificant coefficient of the interaction term between FDI and the corruption perception implies that FDI did not have significant effect on poverty regardless of the corruption perception level.

Next, the data were examined to determine how imports and FDI influence inequality. The Inequality model demonstrates that none of the coefficients involving imports and FDI are statistically significant. However, the insignificant coefficients of the constitutive terms and the interaction terms do not suggest that no significant effect of imports and FDI existed on inequality. It is possible for the total effect of imports and FDI on inequality to be significant at particular values of the conditioning variable—namely, the corruption perception (Brambor, Clark, and Golder 2006).

[Table 2 is here]

Table 2 presents the effect of imports and FDI on economic growth, poverty, and inequality at the varying levels of the corruption perception, ranging from 0 (the least corrupt) to 3 (the most corrupt). Imports positively impact economic growth only when the corruption perception level is low (level 1), whereas FDI results in more economic growth in those countries with a higher corruption perception (levels 2 and 3). The positive effect of FDI becomes progressively larger for countries with a higher corruption and fails to show statistical significance when countries have less or the least corruption. As the significant interaction term between imports and the corruption perception indicates in Table 1, imports—not FDI—decrease poverty only when corruption is lower. The positive impact of a higher import share in GDP is greater in countries

with the lowest corruption perception. Meanwhile, in corrupt societies, neither imports nor FDI significantly reduces poverty rates. As the insignificant coefficients of the interaction terms between imports and the corruption perception and between FDI and the corruption perception indicate in Table 1, Table 2 also indicates that imports and FDI do not substantially affect inequality regardless of the corruption perception level, with only one exception. Imports lower inequality only when the corruption perception is the lowest.

The analyses of the effects of liberal economic policies, imports, and FDI on socio-economic conditions suggest that liberalization of the economy may bring different consequences in societies according to different corruption levels. In more corrupt countries, economic liberalization is more efficient in bringing economic growth. However, the benefit from such economic growth does not guarantee better living conditions for all of society as economic liberalization results in a lower poverty and inequality rate only when the level of corruption is low.

Conclusion

This article sought to fill the existing gap in the study of globalization and its socio-economic outcomes by focusing on the mediating effect of political corruption. The authors suggested that the debate on globalization has been incomplete and inconclusive because previous studies overlooked how political corruption mediates the effect of globalization on developing countries' poverty and inequality rates. Especially in terms of the competing hypotheses on the effect of economic globalization—namely, the efficiency hypothesis versus the compensation hypothesis—previous studies either support or nullify both hypotheses, but do not sufficiently explain when or under what circumstances a hypothesis is relevant.

The empirical analysis discussed in this article demonstrates that a country's economic openness and greater integration into world market competition do not improve its socio-economic conditions such as poverty and inequality when the country has a high level of political corruption, which is consistent with the efficiency hypothesis. On the contrary, economic liberalization does improve a country's socio-economic conditions when political corruption is low, thereby proving the compensation hypothesis. In this respect, it is not economic liberalization itself, but rather the level of political corruption that determines how the wealth of a country is allocated.

Political corruption does not necessarily benefit or harm a country's economic performance. As the empirical analysis demonstrated, countries with high levels of corruption achieve faster economic growth when they perform extensive economic liberalization. However, the economic growth does not improve the corrupt countries' distributive justice, leaving levels of poverty and inequality rates intact after the economic development. On the other hand, economic liberalization in less corrupt countries does not generate fast economic growth, but the slow economic development significantly improves the countries' poverty and inequality.

The empirical findings of this article raise interesting questions about previous scholarly discussions on how to reduce political corruption. Most scholars agree that liberalization and increasing competition reduce corruption (Gerring and Thacker 2005; Sandholtz & Koetzle 2000; Treisman 2000; Bliss and Di Tella, 1997; Ades and Di Tella 1994). These scholars suggest that market-oriented liberal policies reduce political corruption because they (1) bring competition through openness to foreign trade and FDI and (2) result in less government involvement in economic transactions. However, the current article pointed to the fact that, although economic liberalization reduces corruption in general, it is not a guarantee. Some countries with extensive economic openness show quite high levels of political corruption. Future studies may need to clarify how and specifically what kinds of liberal reforms give rise to reducing political corruption.

Tables.

Table 1. Ordinary Least Square Estimates: Socio-economic Condition Models¹ with Interaction Terms between Corruption and Liberal Economic Policies

Variables	Growth Model	Poverty Model	Inequality Model
Import	.022 (.018)	-.345** (.169)	-.141 (.092)
FDI	-.158 (.199)	-1.105 (1.582)	.619 (.994)
Logged GDP	-.682* (.397)	-6.696** (3.136)	5.343** (2.032)
Corruption Perception ³	-.846 (.561)	-4.568 (4.855)	.150 (2.794)
Political Freedom	-.325*** (.107)	.721 (.839)	.164 (.552)
Literacy Rate	.042** (.020)	-.074 (.155)	-.294** (.113)
Female Labor	-.013 (.024)	-.326* (.178)	.001 (.126)
Import*Corruption	-.004 (.012)	.167* (.097)	.084 (.060)
FDI* Corruption	.208** (.079)	.670 (.624)	-.197 (.395)
Constant	4.860 (3.434)	122.245*** (28.592)	28.541* (17.128)
R-squared	.556	.471	.235
N	63	62²	63

* p≤.1 ** p≤.05 *** p≤.01

Note: 1. The dependent variable for each model is the average value of GDP growth rates, poverty rates, or GINI index between 1997 and 2007 in 63 developing countries in Latin America, Asia, and Eastern Europe. The data come from the World Development Indicators compiled by the World Bank. 2. The number of the cases for the poverty model is 62, excluding Singapore that does not provide the poverty rates. 3. The CPI is categorized into four groups as 0 for the least corrupt countries and 3 for the most corrupt countries.

Table 2. The Effect of Import and FDI on Socio-economic Conditions as a Function of Corruption Perception

<i>Corruption Perception</i>	<i>Economic Growth</i>		<i>Poverty Rates</i>		<i>Inequality (GINI)</i>	
	Import	FDI	Import	FDI	Import	FDI
3 (the most corrupt)	.011 (.026)	.466*** (.102)	.156 (.194)	.904 (.770)	.111 (.132)	.030 (.506)
2	.014 (.016)	.258*** (.087)	-.011 (.126)	.234 (.671)	.027 (.085)	.226 (.432)
1	.018* (.013)	.050 (.132)	-.178* (.113)	-.436 (1.043)	-.057 (.066)	.423 (.656)
0 (the least corrupt)	.022 (.018)	-.158 (.199)	-.345** (.169)	-1.105 (1.582)	-.141* (.092)	.619 (.994)

* p≤.1 **p≤.05 ***p≤.01

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Abstract:

Countries in the West extol the virtues of civility, culture and liberty. They are also market obsessed and in their quest to make profit have broadened their purview to all parts of the world. The seemingly benign term of “globalisation” belies a more sinister underbelly. Whether it is to find new and energised markets to sell its products and technology to or whether it is to exploit cheaper labour to maximise its profits or even to gain control of resources for production, they follow an almost revered mania to colonise, control and exploit. Their methodology, historically, has been neither civil nor egalitarian – they act like a bull in a china shop. Once masking their intent in religious rubric, they now openly rely upon the creed of consumerism. Any discussion about East meeting West requires an analysis of the divergent (and paradoxical) cultural imperatives that underpin new social democracy in the West and their potential impacts in Asia, including the need to homogenise public policy and culture worldwide; the need to contain dissent whilst remaining a bastion of freedom; the rhetoric of tolerance in the face of intolerance; the market mechanisms that direct trade agreements more favourably in a Eurocentric direction and the belief that its systems are fundamentally more appropriate. The numerical power of the Asian marketplace should encourage serious reflection on which parts of Asian character should be retained rather than militating acquiescence to the flawed and redundant systems offered by the West.

GLOBALISATION: THE BULL IN THE CHINA SHOP

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Western “civilised” societies have an almost schizophrenic disposition. On the one hand they applaud their system of democracy as the epitome of civilisation; whilst on the other their history of colonisation and aggressive incursions belies a dark underbelly of despotism. They wage wars in the name of democracy and freedom – a conceptual oxymoron¹. But how much of their neo-colonialism is benevolent and designed to liberate and enlighten? Is the “cause” more about a genuine attempt to transport values that they truly believe are better, than it is about self-interest (as it was with their forebears)? Certainly history has shown that earlier religious-inspired colonialism financially advantaged the “liberators” and, simultaneously, did transmogrify other’s cultures and expand the fan-base of the oppressors. It could be reasonably argued that the more recent incursions into the Middle East have been more about securing oil reserves than neutralising mythical weapons of mass destruction – yet it was the mantra of liberation and democracy that “prevailed”² – a curious contradiction.

The evolved modern form of colonialism or imperialism is economic globalisation, which lifeblood is the need to create a sense of oneness – a mono-culture – shared by all citizens on earth for the purpose of financial gain. It is a mono-culture that demands compliance and which seduces citizens through consumerism and hedonism. Let’s not delude ourselves - globalisation is about money, wealth and power, in spite of its promise of intellectual and personal liberty. It is not a benign process and its implementation is just as aggressive as any *Crusade*, any war to stop the *domino* of communism, any *war on terror*. Much of Asia is already well advanced towards westernisation as the exemplar of this mono-culture and Japan is probably more advanced than most.

In this Paper I will promote globalisation as likened to a bull let loose in a china shop. In Western parlance, the expression “acting like a bull in a china shop” elicits an image of a mindless beast destroying beautiful and delicate china or porcelain as it randomly thrashes about. In my country the word “bull” (colloquial for bullshit) also connotes excrement, rubbish or nonsense. Unashamedly, the duality of meaning equally applies. Whether by force

¹ The Encarta dictionary cites the term “legal murder” as an example of an oxymoron, which in the case of war is particularly useful.

² This is a reference to the pronouncements of George W. Bush on the deck of the USS Abraham Lincoln on 2nd May 2003:”the United States and our allies have prevailed...The transition from dictatorship to democracy will take time but it is worth every effort. Our coalition will stay until our work is done.”

(the beast let loose) or by lies (the bullshit) or both, the expansion of Western globalisation (the bull) into the Asian marketplace (the china shop) is imposing a methodology that is decidedly uncivil and non-egalitarian to enliven an agenda that meets market need rather than societal needs. Whether it is to find new and energised markets to sell its products and technology to or whether it is to exploit cheaper labour to maximise profits or even to gain control of resources for production, globalists follow an almost revered mania to colonise, control and exploit. They are certainly not about benevolence, fairness, social justice and liberation. And Asia is a compelling numerical market. The true face of globalisation is hidden behind the mask of laudable principles enshrined in nineteenth century European rubric – much of which will probably be discussed as reasons *in favour of* globalisation at this Conference. The Paper will also explore the similarly schizophrenic progeny of democracy, “civil society”, which, in an ideal form, provides hope for global civilisation, but which, I propose, in its evolved current form, has become corrupted and is used as a valuable weapon by political masters hungry for their continuance and expansion of power.

Globalisation has a dominating financial underpinning. So beware. The tools of the capitalists are neither beneficial nor noble. Woe betides anyone who stands in the way of their deity of profit. Just as earlier oppressed peoples in Africa, South America and parts of Asia embraced the Western God (as their assets were stripped by profiteers), so too will profit and pleasure become saviours under the imposed mono-culture of consumerism. There is not so much a meeting of East and West under globalisation as there is about a suborning of culture and tradition in the name of product distribution and profit – the interests of the national *will* be sublimated to the financial interests of transnationals - traditional despots will be replaced by newer ones: those with corporate attire and calculators. This inaugural Asian Conference on Arts and Humanities which seeks to explore the cross-cultural interconnectedness of “East meet(ing the) west” is constrained by an imbalance of power that is irreconcilable – under the new world order of the mono-culture, world citizens are merely viewed as consumers; their cultural and societal needs are of no interest whatsoever to capitalists. The mantra of “democracy” is simply rhetoric. This Paper is intended to provide a cautionary voice to the changing tune of “democracy” (or new social democracy) as it has evolved in the West (and as it impacts upon Asia). It will also seek to illuminate the controlling nature of contemporary “civil society” which has morphed away from its literal meaning to become a weapon of social control by governments in the West - and is likely to find fertile soil here in Asia (as did western religion in times past). The recurring themes of this Paper will be globalisation in the context of a new financial imperialism; the potential sublimation of culture and language to accommodate the needs of the market; the emasculation of government by business; and, finally the misuse of civil society as a tool for social control of citizens in the Asian marketplace³. I am not of the view that the shop should

³ Capitalism acts like a malignant cancer that liquefies the organs of ethics and decency as both become subservient to profit. Ironically, the spreading cancer in certain Asian marketplaces is transposing economic and social power to the region – Asians are becoming (or have become) formidable capitalists. The recently discovered State Capitalism of the Obama administration in the United States, which would have once been considered unconscionable, appear similar in many respects to the State Capitalism of China. The debate therefore is not so much about who controls the assets (be it Western or Asian interests) but whether the

be closed on globalisation. Quite the contrary, an informed and intelligent international understanding of differing cultures will greatly advance international agreement on issues that perplex and diminish the quality of life for all citizens. If there was a true global village, there would be no dissent and positive consensus would be achieved on issues such as race, global warming, environmental protection, nuclear proliferation, civil and political rights and the like. As temporary caretakers of this earth we already share a common bond. But these are not issues that should be mediated by a process obsessed by profit. These are intuitive ideals that are born out of dialogue and cemented in trust. Neither is it the business of *Business*.

In seeking to come to terms with the idea of cross-cultural connectedness (and the dangers for the direct transposition of Western “culture” to the East) it is important to first understand what has occurred across the political landscape of Western nations, particularly over the past three decades. Up until the 1980s there was a clear distinction between what could loosely be defined as the left (interventionist for the purpose of social justice) and the right (non-interventionist free market) of policy within political parties across democratic societies. Up until this time, there was the *actuality* (substantially) of alternative political positions to guide voting intentions by citizens. Of course there were propaganda impediments and other mechanisms that coloured choice-points, but the ability of the people to endorse or remove governments electorally was the hallmark of the democratic process. For reasons that will be expanded upon later, there have been changes to the nature of choice-points for citizens that have radically altered the character of democracy, post 1980s. What all political parties subscribe to, however, is the concept of civil society as a focus for democracy, albeit from different perspectives and based upon ideological affiliations. So, what is this concept of “civil society” (and “global civil society”) and why is it pivotal to all systems of governance, particularly democratic systems? A brief overview will follow.

“Civil society” is a common theme that is weaved throughout Western literature as the exemplar of the democratic state. Its images span a history of almost three millennia starting with Plato’s *Republic*, progressing through Aristotle’s *Politics*, and onward to what I perceive to be a more controversial and exploitative persona that links it to social control in the contemporary setting. According to Tolbert et al (1998), the principle attribute of democratic society for de Tocqueville was the ability for the association of citizens and their preparedness for political participation through that association (de Tocqueville: 1862 in Tolbert et. Al.: 405). Others such as Goldhamer (1964) Putnam et.al (1993) and Etzioni (1997) view associations as imperative for integration and cohesion “... in an otherwise fragmented urban world” (Tolbert 1998). Luis Roniger (1998) provides a reasonable (and contemporary) working definition of civil society suggesting it “... alludes to the existence of organized public life and free associations beyond the tutelage of the state, yet oriented towards the public sphere and toward influencing public policies” (Roniger: 1998, 67). The arenas and sectors vary, according to Roniger, but should include social movements and

concentration of wealth that accompanies is in the best interests of the global community and whether regimes meet the needs of its people.

voluntary organizations. The scrutinising of government through citizenship, civil libertarianism and civil participation has historical roots and is predicated by a process of struggle and change from the late 18th Century (Calhoun: 1992; Habermas: 1989). The progression towards a discussion on *global* civil society flows from transnationalism or globalisation. It has been alluded to by many academics including those from within Asia. Yanaihara Tadao (1893-1961) in addressing *shokuminchi-ka* (turning the land into a colony) of pre-Taishō democracy - under the Meiji constitution (citizens as “subjects” rather than “citizens”) - defined *shokumin* as group settlement. Nakano Ryoko (2006) argues that this use demonstrates Yanaihara’s belief in a global civil society where “autonomous groups of different identity would voluntarily cooperate for the benefit of the whole” (Nakano Ryoko: 188). Unlike Chris Brown (2009:9) who argues against cross-national advocacy as a vehicle to construct universal values for humans - and in line with Yanaihara - I believe that an unfettered global civil society (one not constrained by oppressive governments) can indeed achieve this end. The issue is how to contain the unregulated economic imperialism of capitalism and to bring to heel their servants, the politicians, in order to breathe life into the concept. But what is the nexus between civil society (in its changing incarnations) and capitalism? And, if civil society is such a desirable and necessary thing, why should it be approached with caution by Asia? To find an answer to this question, we need to review its aetiology from a philosophical point of view and test its implementation.

Whilst affirming the need for the collective, Plato acknowledged the need for personal diversity amongst individual citizens outlining the difference between selling something in order to buy and selling something for the purpose of profit - pre-empting the debate by Marx and Engels by some 1000 years (Rubenstein: 2000 in Ehrenberg: 1999). It was Cicero and the Stoics, however, who affirmed civil society in political terms. Ehrenberg (1999) argues that the classic view of civil society was “the arena of public debate and moral action ... where reason and civilisation would be safe”. He notes that it was the “Fathers of the Church”, notably Augustine (413AD), who believed that civil society should act as a “coercive mechanism that serves God’s purpose by punishing error and, hopefully, restricting sin”. Ehrenberg concludes on the assent of the Church, as an early proponent of civil society, that the struggles between the papacy, other church people and rulers were based upon institutional or personal motivations and were resolved by way of political or military power rather than logic (ibid.). The emergence of thinkers such as Locke, Smith and Hobbes was to redefine civil society away from the skirt of the church and morality and back to the earlier principles of money. Their mantra was that civil society was framed by economic interests alone and that the market was the only arbiter of social relationships. In this context, the market replaced the Church and, again, personal (or corporate) interests were to be resolved by way of political or military power. The imbuing of a “moral” stream into a reenergised debate through the writings of Kant, Marx and Engels - who sought to create models to improve the lot of citizens and ameliorate conditions that led to poverty and social dislocation through government-led fiscal interventions – led to social democracy. The “welfare state” emerged and with it the creation of political interests that are broadly labelled “left” and “right”, the left advancing State intervention for the benefit of citizens on issues such as education, health, social welfare and civil rights; the right advocating a free market system

with minimal State intervention. Where the Church used its constituency to impose the moral agenda, political parties used its membership to construct the civil agenda.

The most significant influence on the rise of the welfare state can be found in the writings of John Maynard Keynes, a British economist, who developed his ideas during the Great Depression (the 1930s). Certainly not a Marxist, Keynes nonetheless emphasised an important element of social democracy, full employment, arguing capitalism would remain in a depressed condition (suffering sustained unemployment and low growth) without the intervention of government. Keynes argued that market ideology was indifferent to the concepts of high unemployment and poverty (Theophanous: 1994). The post World War 2 version of the welfare state finds its source from the writings of William Beveridge (Beveridge: 1942) The Liberal Beveridge, who advocated for a “free society” and a “market economy”, proposed a system of social rights that citizens had to unemployment, disability and retirement income as well as to health services.

The emergence of new wave marketeer thinkers such as Giddens (1998, 2000) in the United Kingdom and Etzioni (1997) in the United States led to the emergence of the “third way”⁴ (or *new* social democracy) amongst formerly left thinking political movements. In essence this approach saw an abrogation of concern for social justice for those less capable of economic independence in favour of free market forces. Third way approaches were embraced by devotees such as Clinton, Schroeder, Pordi and Blair. Under this approach, civil society became a *tool* of government and new caveats on the ability for citizens (and their free associations) to either influence government (or more particularly, criticise government), emerged (Begg 2003). The resultant homogenisation of political thinking under new social democracy, de facto, led to a new political order where the nuances of difference became almost non-existent between the left and the right. The margin between the parties has narrowed to the point where a contest for ideological supremacy resided with who could promise the greatest repression. In this environment the manifestation of civil society became consultative groups, neighbourhood organisations and church groups whose membership was substantially engineered by politicians with a conservative agenda of compliance to ensure that criticism of political policy was neutralised. The pulpit was replaced by the Committee. The weapon of choice for both the left and the right in this new contest (now the right and the far right or the far right and the extreme right – they just keep marching further in the same direction) - became fear – principally the fear of terrorism and its newest younger brothers, the effects of the global economic crisis and fear of pandemics.

The concept of fear in politics is neither novel nor unique. For the philosopher de Tocqueville, anxiety was an indispensable precondition for contemporary people but which was not one forced from above by leaders. Rather, he saw community, and the will of the collective, as the most compelling weapon for social conformity. It is the individual “sense” of fear that obliges us to conform; with the threat of alienation from our peers as sufficient

⁴ This third way purports to represent a median point between the left and the right and emerged in response to long periods out of government by left-leaning political parties in various western societies.

justification for the suppression of dissent. It took a while for our erstwhile leaders to recognise that it was levels of fear generated from *within* civil society that was the key to domination – but they did get there. If you whip up enough of a frenzy the masses will do what no amount of legislation can achieve. This may always have been the case but it is the formalisation of the process by Giddens and Etzioni that is of significance.

Under the new political schemata, the narrow margins that differentiate government from opposition usually reside to the religious right of the spectrum – hence the right sideways shuffle within all political parties across all democratic societies. The grab for power in accommodating the needs of these margins is what I refer to as the *political imperative* – get into government whatever it takes. This political imperative as the combination of inferred (to the extent that these are not publicly debated) political dictates of a fundamentally conservative nature designed to maintain political power by governments. The elemental features of this political imperative are: intolerance; social control (reflected in government policy for the purpose of containing political dissent) and, political parties courting the slim middle ground that separates government from opposition, which entails acquiescence to the mood of the religious right (“faith-based initiatives”). This process moves the intent of ‘third way’ government away from formerly social democratic principles to market forces and government “at all costs” (Begg: 2003)..

If the political imperative is the means to the end, the *moral imperative* is the driver that maintains political control. In the social democratic context I define the moral imperative as being a series of moral dictates of a broadly conservative nature involving the imposition of narrow understandings of “family”, “community” and “responsibility” upon citizens which may be threatening to cultural and lifestyle difference and/or political dissent. This moral imperative becomes a companion device to consolidate political control once the political imperative has been realised. By seeking to negate the mantra of profit implicit to capitalism and confining its argument (substantially) to the moral imperatives of “responsibilities”, “obligations” and “mutualism” and the need for individuals to redefine each of these imperatives in their own lives (and thereby create a sense of belonging and “community”), new social democracy captures the moral arguments of the Protestant work ethic, American progressivism, British social Christianity and Evangelical Protestantism – a potent amalgam. At its heart it is a movement that reaffirms that which is moral, not necessarily that which is good. The vehicle for the imposition of the moral agenda, civil society, has now synthesised Church and (selective) community views.

A significant difference between the approaches by Giddens and Etzioni lies in the simple proposition of who is beholden to whom – to Etzioni it is the State that is beholden to the community and to Giddens it is the community that is beholden to the State. In my opinion both are methods of control. Religion provides common ground for new social democratic thinking across both the United Kingdom and the United States in that it links a pre-existing social order of solidarity and conservatism to the political imperative of maintaining government.

This may be all well and good but what is the relevance of this discussion in the context of globalisation and cross-cultural connectedness (West to East)? The answer to this question lies in the machinations of Western governments as they manoeuvre for self-preservation (abrogating their historical responsibility for its citizens to the whim of corporate entities); the ability of capitalism to reinvent itself; its need to find larger markets; its need to continue to over-consume resources in a landscape that is becoming increasingly more hostile as resources deplete; the need to exploit cheaper labour resources; and, the need to control dissent and constrain civil society (at least to the extent that it promotes its own ends). Certainly the Global Economic Crisis has demonstrated the resilience of capitalism with the implementation of State Capitalism in the United States – once a “socialist” device considered anathema to capitalism. The mechanisms for globalisation or transnationalism are fundamentally no different to those employed by earlier colonialists and all pivot on fear and control. Now citizens need to fear its governments as well as (or instead of) the Church.

Fear is a terrible thing. It is common to all of us in one form or another. It is uncompromising, urgent and, dependent upon the severity of the reaction to the stimulus, debilitating in the extreme. It consumes logic like a fire to rice paper. It is a primal response to circumstances for which we have, or perceive to have, no control. We tend to have a graduated scale of fear based upon our perceived degree of control, i.e. we fear that over which we have no control whereas we hold less fear for those over which we do. As Corey Robin (2004) points out:

...we worry far more about the dangers of train crashes than we do about car accidents, even though we are far more likely to die on the roads; we obsess about BSE or Aids or other rare diseases more than we do about the prosaic killers, even though we would improve our life chances far more by giving up smoking, eating better diets and taking moderate amounts of exercise.

In simpler societies fear responses related to issues of survival in circumstances unmitigated by order. The power of nature, Hobbes would assert, is "nasty, brutish and short" - and that fear of this power is that which should persuade people in a collective state to allow a despotic (or democratically elected) leader to emerge in order to protect them from that state of nature - in other words, to create a state of order that diminished the state of fear. So, as we go about our everyday lives we expect an order that protects our individual rights without circumspection by others. We invoke laws that protect citizens from collectively defined dangers. We imprison those who circumvent those laws and we conform to the norm for the good of all. We have an agreed pluralistic agenda that defines the moral and a set of guiding beliefs that determine the mores of our everyday existence. We are comforted in our lives by participating in a civil society. We exist within our communities in the knowledge that if we don't like the decisions of our governments, that we can elect another – at least in democratic societies.

But what if that alternative is no different from the last and, as has been suggested, new social democracy removes a choice for change? What if our conception of civil society doesn't

match the new political reality and the freedoms that we believed were inalienable were illusory? In our more complex, globalised and moderated systems the range of fears we experience have exponentially increased with our population and the definition of fear itself has evolved to engage phobias that have little to do with survival and more often than not relate to irrationality or the imposition of power. Within some non-Western democracies the manipulation of fear to control has greater resonance; with the fear of imprisonment – or worse - for dissent being accepted as the norm. These are processes that are experiencing a renaissance in the “civilised” West. Governments correctly fear its citizens and seem prepared to misinform its people in order to sustain governance. Civil society evolves to a set of Committees oversighted by politically or self-appointed representatives who sing from the song sheet of the government. Major exemplars of civil society, NGOs (nongovernmental organisations), are constrained from criticism of government through contractual strictures that gag them under threat of losing government funding.

Some leaders within our societies have learnt to manipulate fear and massage their citizenry into believing that fears which have no basis in reality are *real*. This contrivance of fear applies methods of control that are harvested by those with a vested interest in ensuring that others are kept compliant and under control or which ensure the continuity of electoral or economic power bases. Terrorism, the War on Terror and other such populist sounding machinations fall into this basket. Without diminishing in any sense those horrific random and violent acts against ordinary citizens that flow from such actions, the application of even more brutal acts in retaliation, either actual or ideological, as justification is simply unsustainable. They become even more so when the weight of evidence suggests that the originating logic is simply wrong. People overestimate the dangers posed to them personally by terrorism (Robin) but this flawed risk assessment has been fuelled by our political masters who raced out to impose decidedly undemocratic strictures on freedom on all citizens via various legislative devices – the Patriot Act in the United States has equivalence in many places. So if you don't conform to the Committee endorsed (new civil society) political view, the law is there to get you.

The use of propaganda to instil a sense of panic can, and has, been used by our political masters within western “democratic” societies just as effectively as any alleged tyranny in non- “democratic” societies. During the 1950s and 1960s Australian governments touted the onslaught of the “yellow peril” and spoke of “reds under the bed” referring to the “threat” of Communism. The implementation of the “white Australia” policy during that period was repressive and racist. In the United States McCarthyism enlisted the popular media to purge those accused of being communists applying a methodology not dissimilar to the Cultural Revolution in China. There are countless examples in Western democratic societies where the Machiavellian view that it is better to be feared than loved and impose that fear directly (Robin) has been applied by so-called democratic societies. And don't assume these were aberrations of the past. Whilst admonishing the human rights abuses in other places, there has been apparent virtue in “rendition” and torture of alleged terrorists by democratic administrations without due process. It has always been convenient to blame a patsy for your own incompetence or to hide your real intent. But the landscape has changed and former

enemies are now required to be co-conspirators. How ironic. This is the true face of globalisation. It is not about the advancement of a culturally more appropriate political system (democracy) as it is about the exploitation of available resources to consolidate the wealth and power base of the rich. There is certain inevitability to globalisation. In a Marxian sense, it is merely a synthesis that itself will become a thesis that will be reacted against – and so on until there is nothing more to consume.

Civil Society may well have become the conduit for the elites, with fear at its heart. Certainly, a more liberal form of civil society has been replaced with one that is controlled and easily manipulated to meet political agendas. Maybe what is needed is a revolutionary society – one that is spontaneous and innovative, not one that is compliant and stale. This becomes difficult in an age when governments struggle to contain dissent. Like Ehrenberg, I believe that we all must acknowledge the impact of capitalism's structural inequalities in everyday life and that the only way to reinvigorate civil society is through political struggle over state policy – wherever that state policy is situated. The emergence of a new form of tyranny in the West with the loss of differentness between the left and the right and the corresponding loss of debate and reason, is reflected in the same communities that the West claim to be liberating. We, as global citizens, need to be vigilant that our collective aspirations are not corrupted for a sinister purpose. For differing reasons, citizens in both the East and the West understand despotism and perhaps this, of itself, is the point of intercultural connectivity that binds a common link to global humanity. If the notional borders that nationalism created for us are to be broken down and we are to truly become citizens of the global community, it behoves us all to become more tolerant with ideologies such as religion and language subservient to the needs of the people. History teaches us that the elites in all countries will appropriate that which they believe will benefit them, not promote that which will lead to enlightenment and true liberation of citizens. Globalisation offers nothing new to Asia other than product – ironically, product that is produced in Asia. A new wave of dialogue between all peoples should start with the acknowledgement that we are all bound by the constraints that our environment places upon us, not that which is imposed by political masters – neither materially nor ideologically. There is great fragility both within the East and the West and for too long the bull has been in the China shop – both the beast and the lies. We have a choice and it is neither compliance to the status quo, nor is it acquiescence to a median point between corrupted systems. The china that is our humanity is at stake.

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Work-related variables and Mental Health of Employees in Manufactory

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Work-related variables and Mental Health of Employees in Manufactory

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate employees' mental health state, to identify factors related to employees' mental health, and to construct a predictive model. For the present investigation, a self-reported questionnaire was conducted on 173 employees of a manufacturing company located in Hat Yai district, Songkhla province, Thailand in October, 2008. A self-reported questionnaire consisted of Thai General Health Questionnaire version 28 items (Thai-GHQ 28) and work related variables were used for data gathering. Correlation was used to identify factors related to mental health, and to construct a predictive model logistic regression analysis was employed.

Results revealed that most of employees had a normal mental health state. Results from correlation analysis represented that work security, supervisor support, work advancement, and job satisfaction were related to mental health. In addition results from multiple regression analysis indicated that work-related variables explained of 31% of the variance in the mental health state. Between these variables only job satisfaction can significantly predict mental health state.

Keywords: work-related variables, job satisfaction, mental health, employee, manufactory

Introduction

Mental health has become one of the critical problems for Thai people. Based on the study conducted by the Department of Mental Health during August 2007 – February 2008, more than half of the sample group had mental health problems (Department of Mental Health, 2009) In addition, report of the National Health Development Plan (2007-2011) in 2008, indicated that people became stressed due to work problems which were considered as the most affecting factor. The findings were congruent with numerous studies conducted within the past decade, such as the studies by Arakida (2006) Danna & Giffin (1999) Kudielka et al, (2005) Faragher, Cass & Cooper (2005) Marklund et al. (2007). Therefore, a study to identify work factors related to mental health and factors used to predict mental health of employees can be further used as a data base for the prevention of mental health problems and the establishment of mental health development project for employees.

Methods

Subjects

The number of 266 employees of a beverage manufactory located in Hat-Yai district, Songkhla province, Thailand was selected via Simple Random Sampling.

Instruments

Data were collected by using a self-reported questionnaire which is composed of three main parts. Part I, mental health assessment was conducted by using GHQ 28. Part II, A self-constructed questionnaire of 33 items with five rating scales was employed in this study. The questions include work security, work autonomy, workload, supervisors support, co-employees support, and work advancement and job satisfaction. Part III, open-end questions which asking opinions on working problem, problem and obstacles to development, and suggested solutions to problems in developing working conditions.

Data collecting

The data were collected during October, 2008. The questionnaires were distributed to various departments. The appointed time for collecting the questionnaires was within one week after the distribution. There were 173 (65.79%) valid returned questionnaires which were used as the subjects of this study for further statistical data analysis.

Data analysis

Percentages, frequency, means and standard deviations were employed to analyze work factors, and state of mental health. Meanwhile, Pearson Product Moment correlation was used to analyze the relationship between work-related variables and mental health state, and Multiple regression analysis was employed to analyze factors predicting mental health.

Results

Level of mental health

Based on 173 subjects of this study, it was found that most employees (66.47%) have normal mental health. Every work-related variable shows fair mean scores. The support from supervisors has the highest mean scores of 3.09, while the mean scores of job satisfaction are 3.01 and the chance of work advancement shows the lowest mean scores of 2.57

The relationship between work factors and employees' mental health

It was found that work security, supervisors support, chance of work advancement and job satisfaction show negative relations with the mental health state. That is to say, employees who have low work security, low support from supervisors has less chance in advancement and less job satisfaction are more likely to have mental health problems than their counterparts who have higher scores in the above factors. Meanwhile, work autonomy, workload and co-worker support were not related to the employees' state of mental health.

Additionally, It was noted that work-related variables explained of 31% of the variance in the mental health state ($R^2 = .311$, $F=10.63$, $p<.01$.) Within these variables, only job satisfaction can predict mental health state with statistical significance at the level of 001 ($\beta=-.585$).

Discussion and conclusion

The results revealed that work security, supervisors support, chance of work advancement, and job satisfaction show negative relations with the state of mental health. It can be seen that a worker who has low work security, low support from supervisors, has less chance of advancement, and less job satisfaction are more likely to have mental problems than his counterparts who have high scores in the mentioned factors. These findings were consistent with the findings about the relations of employees' mental health with work security (Shankar & Famuyiwa, 1991); the support from supervisors (Danna & Giffin, 1999; Hagihara et al., 1997); chance of advancement (Hagihara et al., 1997; Goetzel et al, 2002; Murklund et al., 2007) and job satisfaction (Gaetzel et al, 2002; Danna & Giffin, 1999)

Moreover, results from Multiple Regression Analysis, only job satisfaction could be employed to predict the employees' state of mental health with statistical significance at the level of .01 which is consistent with the study by Prosser et al (1997) who stated that job satisfaction could be used to predict employees' mental health. In addition, the study by Faragher, Cass & Cooper (2005) identified that job satisfaction is highly related to mental health problems. It could impact exhaustion, self-esteem, despair and anxiety. The strong relationship between job satisfaction and the level of mental health of employees might derive from a person's satisfaction in working, which has been regarded as an important part of life. In fact, it is related to a person's general life satisfaction (Andrews & Withey, 1976, Campbell et al, 1976, Diener, 1984, Rice et al, 1980, Iverson & Maguire, 1999, Cimete, Gencalp, & Keski, 2003). Hence, the level of job satisfaction of employees is the major variables which can be employed to predict employees' mental health.

In conclusion, the results of the current study indicated the effected of work-related variables on employees' mental health. Therefore, the identification of employees with mental health problem and the improvement of their work-related variables should be considered as an important target in the prevention of mental health disorder. In addition we suggest the health promotion program implemented in the workplace improves employees' job satisfaction probably through the acquirement of the appropriate ways of coping with mental health disorder should be considered.

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THE ENVIRONMENTALIST MOVEMENT IN OKINAWA AGAINST U.S. MILITARY BASES

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THE ENVIRONMENTALIST MOVEMENT IN OKINAWA AGAINST U.S. MILITARY BASES

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Introduction

Both the environmentalist and the pacifist movements in Okinawa have come about as a result of protests against US military bases stationed on the islands since 1945. This paper is focused on the environmentalist movement, which is intrinsically linked to pacifism and the quest for human rights. Two study cases will be discussed: 1) opposition to the construction of the facility that would substitute the Futenma air base in Henoko, and 2) the movement against the construction of six helipads in Takae. Various structural factors that play a part in the historical, cultural, political, economic, social and environmental issues taking place will be analyzed, as will be the organizational aspects of collective action.

Grosso modo, the first protest stage or wave, took place after 1952, when US Occupation of Japanese territory officially came to an end in Japan, yet the governments of both countries agreed to the permanence of military personnel on the Okinawa islands. In the process of expanding and strengthening their facilities, the US Armed Forces began to indiscriminately appropriate the land deemed necessary for their purposes, and in so doing, forcibly stripped peasants of their properties and land – which were, incidentally, their livelihood. The loss of their homes and the ensuing squalor and destitution they found themselves in leads to the death and sickness of both children and adults, which resulted in a group of peasants organizing a peaceful march from North to South of the main island to made their situation known.

The second wave of protest took place in the mid 1960s, with the reversion movement. After coexisting with US military base personnel for twenty years, Okinawa residents wanted the military occupation in the prefecture to end – or at very least, to be awarded a gradual decrease in the number of military bases – and for Okinawa to return to the Japanese administration. Okinawans expected the reversion to Japan would allow them to enjoy both the rights and prerogatives awarded by the Constitution as well as the standard of living prevalent in the rest of the country. Also, the Vietnam War helped to reinforce the population's anti-war sentiment, which called for observance to Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution: a renouncing of war.

The reversion of the islands in 1972, however, resulted in great disappointment for Okinawans, as military bases were to remain in place. Said disappointment led to the fragmentation of the protest movement throughout the island, which in turn resulted in the third protest stage, characterized by the grouping of activists according to their main interests. Some joined the landowners' Constitution-based anti-war movement, which argued their refusal to lease their lands to the US Armed Forces based on their opposition to

war and their desire for peace.¹ Others joined the environmentalist movement, which opposed the development projects postulated by the central government as per its Plan for Promotion and Development of Okinawa, and which was based on the economic policy model called ‘the three Ks’ in Japanese: namely, public works, military bases and tourism.

1995 marked the fourth moment or stage in which a generalized protest of military bases in Okinawa took place following the rape of a 12-year-old girl by a sailor and two US Armed Forces officers. This movement preceded the rising of the environmentalist movement, which was a direct result of the December 1996 announcement of the final report of the US and Japanese governments’ Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO). Its goal was that of reducing the burden on the people of Okinawa, thereby strengthening the Japan-US alliance.

The 1996 SACO Final Report² featured the dismantling of Futenma air station, located in the midst of the congested and highly populated city of Ginowan, under the condition that the Japanese government granted the US Armed Forces another site for its relocation. The place suggested by the latter was an area adjacent to the Henoko village.³ The Report also stated the return of an area in the Northern Training Camp, under the condition that the following be observed: “relocate helicopter landing zones from the areas to be returned to the remaining Northern Training Area.”⁴ It was at a later date announced this was to take place within Takae.

Henoko movement

When the Henoko movement started out in 1997, it was not an environmentalist movement, but rather a protest movement against the imposition of a new military base. However, it did from the outset feature pro-environmentalist arguments, which were manifest in slogans such as “Nature, Life and Health: Our Treasure”.⁵ At first, its priorities were the defense of the community’s life and lifestyle, and its specific natural values. Thus, it was the older generation, the elderly people who had witnessed the battle of Okinawa, who most fervently opposed the new base because they were aware of the importance of the ocean and its resources, which had allowed for them to survive during and after the war.

Despite the important first organizational advances in the struggle to protect the Henoko ocean area and valuable and rare species living there, it wasn’t until April 19, 2004 that collective action became fully manifest. The Naha Office for Defense Facilities attempted

¹ Detailed information on this is found in Tanji Miyume Ph.D. dissertation thesis, *The Enduring Myth of an Okinawan Struggle: The History and Trajectory of a Diverse Community of Protest*, 2003.

² *The SACO Final Report on Futenma Air Station* (an integral part of the SACO Final Report), Tokyo, Japan, December 2, 1996, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/96saco2.html>

³ Inoue, Masamichi, S., *Okinawa and the U.S. Military. Identity Making in the Age of Globalization*, N.Y., Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 5.

⁴ Japan Defense Agency, *The SACO Final Report*, December 2, 1996, http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2006/final.pdf

⁵ *Okinawa Times* Evening Edition, May 7, 1997, quoted in Tanji, M., “The Third Wave in the ‘Okinawan Struggle’: ‘Gender’ Framing, the ‘Usual Suspects’ and Local Residents Against the Heliport”, *op. cit.* p. 278.

to carry out preliminary perforation studies without prior public notification, which caused a fierce reaction in residents of Henoko and neighboring areas.⁶

The reason behind their opposition was the damage the construction of the new base would cause the ecosystem – the dugong and blue coral reefs in particular. Dugong are internationally protected marine mammals who feed off marine grass in waters close by to Cape Henoko and Oura Bay, and of which to date only 30 to 50 individuals remain. On their part, blue finger-shaped corals are endemic to the region.

Takae Movement

In 2006, in the village of Takae, to the north of Okinawa, people began protesting the construction of access roads and six helipads the US Armed Forces intend to use for their Osprey – vertical take-off and landing aircraft that are five times as fast and can carry up to three times the load of CH47 helicopters currently in use.

To oppose the construction of the helipads, Takae locals staged a protest on July 2, 2007, in front of the base's four doors, to stop workers from the Naha Defense Facilities Administration Agency from starting construction activities. Residents have complained that in informative meetings they have been briefed on the results of the environmental impact assessment, on the measures necessary to minimize impact on local wildlife and on the protection of endemic species, but nothing has been said on how any of this will affect the local population, or the community's lifestyle which has for centuries been in harmony with nature through fishing and vegetable bartering.⁷

The main concerns of the population of this village of a mere 150 inhabitants are to preserve their environment, conserve the forest and protect the area's water resources, which supply all of Okinawa, with the purpose of preserving the health and life of their children and of future generations. They also claim the illegal nature of the environmental impact assessment presented by authorities, the fact that their human rights have been ignored, and the shortage of information they are given.⁸

Key Factors in collective action

The Okinawa environmentalist movement in general and the Henoko and Takae cases in particular, are influenced by a series of factors that go beyond the protection of nature. Thus, their protest and opposition also seek to satisfy other types of demands such as the conservation of their calm and peaceful lifestyle in sync with nature, respect to their human rights, and an end to the segregation and discrimination they have historically been victims of and subject to.

⁶ Makishi, Yoshikazu, "US Dream Come True? The New Henoko Sea Base and Okinawan Resistance", *Japan Focus*, February 12, 2006, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Makishi-Yoshikazu/1819>.

⁷ *Voice of Takae*, <http://nohelipadtakae.org/files/VOT-en.pdf>

⁸ Takae Iitoko blog, 「緊急！早朝から車両が入っています！」 (Urgent! Vehicles are entering since early morning!), やんばる東村高江の現状 (*Yanbaru Higashimura, the current situation in Takae*), July 3, 2007, <http://takae.ti-da.net/c91107.html>

The environment

The abundant biological diversity in the Okinawa islands has led to their being termed “Asian Galapagos”. It is said that when travelers in the 19th century arrived to *Loochoos* or Ryukyu, as Okinawa was then known, they marveled at the beauty of its scenery and the fertility of its lands.⁹ The Yanbaru region in particular, north of Okinawa, where Henoko and Takae are located, is known for its rich wildlife. Yanbaru is a 27,000-ha area of subtropical forest and mountain range home to over 4,000 wild species and 23 endemic species, 11 animal and 12 vegetation.¹⁰

Culture

The conservation of nature in Okinawa is closely linked to its culture. In its traditional culture, the Ryukyuan, before being conquered by Japan at the beginning of the 17th century and incorporated to the Japanese administration by the late 18th century, had a great respect for nature. Thus, the dugong, as a sea creature, has always been very important to the Ryukyu population. They have even been presented as mythical beings, a symbol of happiness and abundance, and messengers from the Sea God, who has as such warned people of impending tsunamis.

Just like the sea and its inhabitants are the main cause of the Henoko movement, for the people of Takae, its forests and the wildlife they harbor are their greatest treasure, because they have survived from generation to generation on the resources found therein. However, more to the point is that sea creatures live off the nutrients provided by the forest, which is why “when the forest is ruined, the sea will die”.¹¹

History

The history of Okinawa is filled with endless counts of submission, discrimination and segregation of its people and its culture, led by the government of Japan itself. Said actions are known among Okinawa historians as the *shobun* (処分 – disposal or dispensation).

The first took place in 1879, when Japan’s Meiji government, when commencing the reconfiguration of its policies and its borders, forcibly took the Ryukyu into their administration, granting them the name ‘Okinawa prefecture’ and conquering their people, culture and language.

The second *shobun* took place in 1945, with the bloody Battle of Okinawa, in which almost a third of the civil population died, because neither the army nor the civil population were prepared for the US military attack. However, not only did they endure the military attack

⁹ McCormack, Gavan, *Okinawan Dilemmas: Coral Islands or Concrete Islands*, paper originally published by the Japan Policy Research Institute, 1998, Working Paper No. 45: April 1998, <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/papers/pah/okinawan.html>

¹⁰ WWF, *No Military Helipads in Yanbaru Forest*, <http://www.wwf.or.jp/activities/lib/pdf/yanbaru0706e.pdf>

¹¹ Sakurai, Kunitoshi, *Development of Environment? – The Past and the Future of Okinawa –*, p. 2, paper presented in the Johannesburg Summit, August 2002.

perpetrated by the United States, but they were also subject to the psychological pressure the Imperial Japanese Army exerted on Okinawans, given their mistrust of them. As a result, many were tortured and executed as they were charged with being spies.¹² Also, Okinawans were brought up to believe it was better to die with honor than to fall into the hands of the enemy, which led to the suicide of many.¹³

The third *shobun* was registered in 1952, when after seven years of US Occupation Japan finally recovered its sovereignty – unlike Okinawa. April 28, 1952, when the Peace Treaty was signed by the United States and Japan, was known as the “Day of Humiliation” in Okinawa, as it was the date when the legal separation of Okinawa from Japan was to take place. Japan allowed the US to maintain indefinite control over the Ryukyus as a cornerstone of its strategy for regional security in the Pacific.

The fourth *shobun* dates back to 1972, when the Okinawa administration is returned to Japan, but the military bases remain, which result in Okinawans being forced to accept the perpetual presence and abuse of the US citizens living in their territory.

It is said the fifth *shobun* is the new Henoko base that is being imposed on Okinawans.

Economic dependency on the central government

Okinawa’s economic dependency on the central government is an influencing factor that limits the environmentalist fight against the Henoko base, and that stops it from turning into an all-island struggle. As a result, the flow of resources to Okinawa has depended on the model imposed by the central government, based on the *three K* system (public works, military bases and tourism) established since 1972, following the reversion of Okinawa to the Japanese administration. The economic dependence of Okinawans on the income created by the bases and on public works and subsidies granted by the central government to silence those who would pronounce themselves against the bases has created a new generation of Okinawans who say of themselves “we are Okinawans of a different kind.” However, Okinawans who make a living directly from the bases can also be grouped in this category, such as landowners who lease their land to the US Armed Forces, or service providers, or those who are after the economic effort-free benefits they receive from the government through subsidies and sympathy budgets.

The military base issue, the prefecture’s depressed financial situation and the lack of employment opportunities¹⁴ and income have caused tension and divided Okinawans.

Given these environmental, cultural, historical and economic circumstances, the movement’s participants have utilized various strategies to defend their fight. To begin, participants and movement partisans are differentiated.

¹² Ota Masahide, “Re-examining the history of the Battle of Okinawa”, on Ota Masahide, *Essays on Okinawa Problems*, Yui Shuppan Co., Okinawa, Japan, pp. 57-58.

¹³ Suzuki, David and Keibo Oiwa, “The legacy of war” in *The Japan we never knew*, Stoddart, Toronto, 1996, pp. 17, 26, 27.

¹⁴ In Okinawa, unemployment rate is 7.5%, and in Nago, 12.5%; these figures are much higher than the national mean of 5.2% by late 2009.

Participants in the environmentalist movement

The central actors who are taking part in the Henoko and Takae movements are locals from the areas where the new military base and helipads are to be constructed. These people are mainly farmers, fishermen, housewives, teachers, artisans, part-time workers, pensioners, writers and photographers.

In both movements, participating groups have different orientations. There are neighbors' associations, in which the parties directly affected by the construction participate, and there are highly specialized research groups that provide scientific, technical and organizational support. Some of the groups are: Henoko Life Protection Society, Save the Dugong Campaign Centre, the Association of the Ten Districts to the North of Futami That Do Not Want a Heliport, among others. The Takae movement is smaller and is made up mainly by residents' groups such as the Residents' Association that do not Want Helipad and Naha Brocoli, although they also receive the support of various groups.

Partisans

Support is manifested both at group and individual levels, and different interests converge; groups and associations have different orientations. Some which share a concern for the protection of nature are Awase Higata Association, Wild Birds Society of Okinawa, and the Fund to Protect Okumagawa River Basin. Those of a pacifist nature are Save Okinawa Center for Peace Movement, and Okinawa Citizens Liaison Committee for Peace; both share the hope of an Okinawa free from bellicose activities. Among feminist groups is the Women's Association to Make Movement to not Forgive Military Bases and Military Corps, whose goal is to put an end to military bases and military presence, given the abuse they have subjected women to. From the scientific groups stand out the Okinawa Reefcheck & Research Group and the Environmental Assessment Watch Group for the Dugongs in Okinawa, which monitor coral reefs and the dugong. There are even associations of an artistic and recreational nature such as Applause, which supports environmentalist groups through their enthusiasm, songs and music.

There are also organizations such as the Okinawa Environmental Network, which was created in 1997 by the renowned environmentalist scientist Ui Jun.¹⁵ OEN has a more professional personality, and is made up by specialists, researchers and activists with great experience in environmental issues, who study and discuss environmental issues in Okinawa in a comprehensive manner, and look for a consensual solution while looking to their national and international networks for support.

On the other hand, the Citizens' Network for Biological Diversity in Okinawa is an organization that was created in July 2009, with the aim of consensually defining within the different participating groups and individuals the stand this citizen network will present at

¹⁵ Personal electronic communication with Kaori Sunagawa, representative of the Okinawa Environmental Network, January 28, 2010.

the 10th Meeting of the Conference of the Parts for the Convention on Biological Diversity (COP10), to be held in Nagoya, Japan, in October 2010.

Partisans or people who support the movement as individuals are mainly pensioners, members of labor and teacher unions, students, members of the local and prefecture assemblies, as well as researchers and scientists from universities. They all contribute, inasmuch as they can, with their knowledge and expertise. They also provide simultaneous aid to several groups.

Formally, neither the Henoko nor the Takae movements have leaders, but in practice there are people who lead, participate in the communication and negotiation process with authorities, write petitions and decide what should or should not be done, usually in consensus with the local residents, although this is not always the case.¹⁶ These informal leaders are mainly people with previous experience in other social movements, and local, national and international academics and researchers familiar with the *know how*, both technical and organizational, of social movements.

Strategies of collective action

There is a strong heritage of the 1970s movements in mobilization strategies. In fact, the close to 40 years' added experience of some of the leaders of that time remains one of the pillars that guide the action of current movements. However, despite the refusal of some leaders or union members and of the Communist Party, who would maintain the old tactics – mass rallies, manifestations, violent confrontation – a new way of “doing” this movement has come up, and the options available in this new scheme have given the movement a fresh outlook. The most successful strategies have been networking with national and international environmentalist organizations, legal recourse and traditional practices.

National and international networks

This is one of the most commonly implemented strategies since the 1970s. At a national level, one of the organizations which have given the most support to environmentalist movements in Okinawa is the World Wildlife Fund-Japan. The networking strategy has been to work directly with the local residents of the affected areas. Among other actions they do research and publish scientific reports; write petitions and dispatches, which are then translated and sent to other NGOs in the United States; visit Ministries and Diet and local government representatives to persuade them to reject the construction of the new military facilities; and participate in the preparation of alternative Environmental Impact Assessment studies to those carried out by the government.¹⁷

The Nature Conservation Society of Japan has worked at close quarters with the Henoko movement by undertaking research and writing technical and scientific reports that are used

¹⁶ Conflict situations also take place, given that in Okinawa's social structure imposition from the male gender prevails, as does the dominant personality of the activists involved with left wing parties and labor unions.

¹⁷ Hanawa, Shinichi, WWF Japan, Conservation Division, personal communication Tokyo, Japan, October 27, 2009.

to uphold the requests or demands of the various citizen groups or to confront official reports. It has also supported dugong-related cultural-historical research.¹⁸

On its part, Greenpeace-Japan has supported the Henoko and Takae movements. In 2002-2003, it shared its *know how* with Henoko activists in terms of the use of kayaks and blocking, with the aim of stopping workers from the Naha Office for Defense Facilities from starting their activities at the site under dispute. In Takae, they have even made night shifts to support the manifestation.¹⁹

At an international level, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in its various Conferences – Amman, Jordania, 2001; Bangkok²⁰, Thailand, 2004; and Barcelona, Spain, 2008 – has issued its recommendations for the protection of the dugong, the Okinawa rail and the Okinawa woodpecker. IUCN's recommendations, although not obligatory in nature, have nonetheless exerted a strong influence on Diet members, who have created commissions and submitted petitions to the government.

Legal recourse

Legal trials have been one of the most effective resources the Henoko movement has used to oppose the project for the construction of the new base. After several limitations that were envisaged for starting a legal trial against the US Department of Defense (DoD), the Japan Environmental Lawyers Federation together with Henoko activists and some tenacious Okinawa activists, supported by Peter Galvin from the Center for Biological Diversity²¹ and represented by Earthjustice, a firm of US environmentalist lawyers, began a trial in 2003 against the Pentagon and its Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld. Their lawsuit was geared towards the violation of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) Section 402, for failing to take into account the negative effects the military base construction plan would have on the dugong population.²² The lawsuit proceeded as the dugong is registered as a “natural monument” on the Japanese Register of Cultural Properties, a law equivalent to the US National Register, and the NHPA has an “International” clause which could allow a case in a foreign country to be tried in US courts.

¹⁸ Pro natura foundation-Japan/NACS-J, 沖縄のジュゴン保護のために確保すべき生息環境についてのヒアリング及び文献調査—歴史文化的側面のほりおこし、他の個体群・飼育個体との比較から (*A historical, cultural, comparative study on the appropriate habitat of endangered dugong in Okinawa by interviews and literature documentation*), November 2005.

¹⁹ Hoshikawa, Jun, Green Peace Japan representative, personal communication Tokyo, Japan, October 26, 2009.

²⁰ IUCN, Resoluciones y Recomendaciones, Congreso Mundial de la Naturaleza, Bangkok, 2004, http://books.google.com.mx/books?id=Mtb-5MOELh8C&pg=PT161&lpg=PT161&dq=IUCN+Bangkok+2004+Okinawa&source=bl&ots=_oegfQGHuG&sig=D2uKhfeADUcayEauFlhTKQeyFXI&hl=es&ei=pUolSrauCMWMTgfgqzZjZBg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=7#PPT161,M1

²¹ An environmental NGO in the U.S. that has just won a lawsuit against the DoD, bringing military exercises to a halt on the Northern Marianas.

²² Yoshikawa, Hideki, “Dugong swimming in uncharted waters: US judicial intervention to protect Okinawa’s “natural monument” and halt base construction”, *Japan Focus*, February 7, 2009, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Hideki-YOSHIKAWA/3044>.

After some interpositions, at long last, on January 2008, the San Francisco District Court gave the plaintiffs the summary trial which established that “the accused had failed to meet NHPA Section 402 criteria, and thus the case was suspended until new information was created that would make it possible to evaluate the effects the new facility that was to substitute Futenma would produce on the dugong, and until the defendants took this information into account to avoid or mitigate said adverse effects on the dugong.”²³

Traditional practices

Traditional beliefs and practices are strategies the movement resorts to, not in a fully rational manner, but as regular and spontaneous community practices, although at the end of the day they meet the goal of recruiting adherents and strengthening community links in Okinawa society. An example of this lies in the interest in rescuing old legends on dugong. These folk tales or legends are popular, so there is the possibility of having more people be attracted to the idea of playing a part in the fight against the new Henoko military base.

The Full Moon Festival is also an activity that is rescued from their traditional practices, and that contributes to spreading the environmentalist and pacifist movements. It is a time ripe for socializing, and making their culture and traditions manifest through rites, prayers, music, dance, songs and poetry, while also providing an opportunity for the exchange of information and opinions among members of the participating organizations, and for spreading information to the general public. Consequently, the movement wins adherents and partisans who will share the same interests and concerns.

Conclusions

The chapter was called “The Environmentalist Movement in Okinawa against United States Military Bases” because regardless of the existence of other environmentalist movements that are unrelated to US military presence, the two study cases discussed in this work rise from their opposition to the new military facilities the government of Japan and the US Armed Forces are planning on building.

Throughout the research, it was also explained why the environmentalist movement in Okinawa is not only geared towards the protection of nature and the conservation of biological diversity, but also why it is a movement that also fights for human rights, peace and the right to self-determination, in response to the lengthy US military presence following the defeat of Japan in World War II and the commitments established between Japan and the United States outlined in the 1960 Security Treaty. Counts of abuse and rape of US military personnel against the inhabitants and nature of Okinawa are numerous: sexual abuse of women, hit-and-run accidents, damages caused by the plummeting of aircraft and disturbance of people’s privacy in their own homes, plots and groves. Likewise, damage caused to nature is countless: felling of trees, clearing and leveling of lots, forest fires due to artillery practice activities, earth and water pollution from chemical substances, cartridges and waste that are left behind. Pollution can also be traced to US military

²³ Taira, Koji, “Okinawan environmentalists put Robert Gates and DOD on trial, the dugong and the fate of the Henoko air station”, *Japan Focus*, July 17, 2008, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Koji-TAIRA/2822>.

personnel's unburied fecal matter.²⁴ Even, during survival drills military personnel can at times hunt birds or other endangered endemic species.

The slogans *nuchido takara* - "life is treasure" and *Furusato ha takara* - "our hometown is a treasure", contain and reflect the historical experience and aspirations of environmental movement participants and of many Okinawans who experienced the Battle of Okinawa. They know the resources offered them by nature were crucial to their survival. Also, after 65 years of living closely to with US military personnel, one of their greatest aspirations is that Okinawa be exempt from all and any bellicose activities. Okinawans are happy with their own calm, peaceful lifestyle, in which they can enjoy the sea, the forest and the opportunities for social interaction and its cultural and artistic expressions. Thus, in their struggle, the defense and rescue of local natural and cultural values is of utmost importance.

These features are a result of both their history and their culture, and are also present in the Henoko and Takae movements, which have been positioning themselves and gaining strength given the external conditions provided by the international environment. In both cases there is an immense struggle for peace and the defense of human rights, which are crucial issues in government and non-government organizations, and which affords these movements greater ease in terms of networking, feedback and receiving specific aid from different sources. However, the fact that the US is involved in these matters also plays a part, as this helps the media attract public notice.

Given the above, the environmental movement against military bases in Okinawa makes a contribution both within and outside. Within, because the movement claims elements of its own culture and identity, such as harmony with nature as was learnt from their ancestors' traditional practices; satisfaction with their calm and peaceful lifestyle; the freedom to choose their present and their future; and the desire to pass on to their children a healthy and safe environment. On the outside, the movement is a shared one; it is reinforced by and contributes to movements in different parts of the planet that seek to attain global aims.

The Full Moon Festival's slogan, "Round planet, round moon, round heart", more than a simple invitation or a mere slogan, can also be seen as a call to public participation and awareness in the sense that the problems faced in Okinawa are not only theirs, but those of the world, and that solving them will result in everyone's benefit.

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²⁴ Fukuchi, Hiroaki, *Kichi to kankyō hakai – Okinawa ni okeru fukugō o sen* (Bases and environment destruction – Compound pollution in Okinawa), 1996, pp. 36-51.

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Reflections on a Paradox: Seeking Peace in a Violent World

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Reflections on a Paradox: Seeking Peace in a Violent World

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In October of 2006 I spoke at the plenary session of a professional conference on families in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and in my remarks I offered examples of religious beliefs conducive to positive relationships in families. Once the three keynote speeches were concluded, the chair opened the session for comments and questions from the audience. At one point a gentleman in the audience started criticizing one of the other speakers in a loud voice and angry tone. Then he turned to me specifically and started accusing religions in general for all the violence and extremism in the world.

About a month later, in England, an interview with British songwriter Sir Elton John was published, in which he stated: *“From my point of view I would ban religion completely, even though there are some wonderful things about it. I love the idea of the teachings of Jesus Christ and the beautiful stories about it ... But the reality is that organised religion doesn't seem to work. It turns people into hateful lemmings and it's not really compassionate.”*¹

In my opinion these two events reveal symptoms of a growing frustration that people everywhere may be feeling not just about the widespread violence and extremism in the world, but especially about the seemingly apathetic approach traditional religious denominations have undertaken to deal with this problem.

Elusive Peace, Pervasive Violence

Peace is defined in dictionaries as a state of security or order provided by law or custom, a state of being free from conflict, confusion, disturbance, or harassment. Peace may also be defined as a state of harmony, mutual concord, and esteem in human relations, and also as a mental condition free from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions. In other words, we can describe peace as a state of general welfare and absence of conflict experienced when there is physical wholeness, emotional maturity, spiritual nourishment, generated by harmony and order, having obedience to laws as a necessary condition for the existence of harmony and order.

However, it seems that never in recorded history there has ever been worldwide, lasting peace. Whenever peaceful conditions were reported to exist, it has always been on a regional scope and for a relatively short period of time.

The yearning for permanent peace seems to be an universal aspiration, but we seem unable to reach it, for reasons apparently beyond our control. In fact, we live in a world so filled with violence that we take for granted that even our entertainment is often of a violent nature.

Several years ago at a college in the United States, before starting a class on a Monday morning, I asked my young students—almost all in their freshman year—if anyone had engaged in a great

¹ [The Observer Music Monthly](http://observer.guardian.co.uk/omm/story/0,,1942193,00.html), Sunday November 12, 2006 - <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/omm/story/0,,1942193,00.html>

activity during the previous weekend. Among the respondents was a young man who told us that he had had his “dream date” that weekend. He explained that he had been wishing to invite a certain young lady for three months, and that on that weekend he finally realized his dream, and then he proudly added: “We had a great dinner and after that we played paintball.” There were “oohs” and “aahs” from the other students, but perhaps betraying an ever-expanding generational gap, I was surprised by that last remark.

So I asked him: “Let me see if I got this straight: You waited three months to ask the girl out, and when you finally did, you shot her?” He smiled and answered: “Oh, it was just paint ...” I insisted: “Yes, but you pointed a paint gun and her and shot her, right?” He replied: “Yeah, but it was just for fun ...”

This is just a simple example of how desire for peace while accepting violence as normal seems to be an inevitable paradox. If that was restricted to entertainment, perhaps it would be a subject of interest, but possibly not one of grave concern on a global scale. However, violence in the current era is a problem so complex that it feels overwhelming to the average person, and challenging to even the most experienced political and military leaders. The interconnected nature of the contemporary world, with its complex networks of international trade and finance operating around the clock at mind-boggling speed and volume, has made violence a global affair regardless of where it takes place. A car bombing anywhere in the world takes place with explosives imported from thousands of miles away, financed by loosely-connected organizations operating in several other countries using electronic transactions to fund terroristic attacks. Nothing is entirely local anymore.

Science and philosophy alone have not been able to save us from violence, and because of the nature of contemporary threats caused by loosely-connected terrorist groups, military power will likely only beget more violence. Drug traffickers, terrorists, and other warmongers who will stop at nothing to shed blood, as long as it brings them some perceived advantage. The world has had plenty of scholars, plenty of philosophers, plenty of diplomats, plenty of poets and playwrights, plenty of peace activists—most brilliant and inspiring. Yet, in the end it is always the politicians and the generals who end up having their ideas implemented in the streets. All because violent attacks often come through those who no longer care about philosophy or diplomacy.

Global Interaction, Centuries-Old Feuds

For most of the recorded history of the world, existing technologies did not allow most of the world population to travel more than a few miles from their birthplaces during their lifetime. Today, international travel has reached proportions unimaginable just half a century ago. With this ability to travel comes closer interaction among nations and cultures, with the consequent clash of cultures, beliefs, and worldviews. When most of the world population lived in isolation, exclusivist discourses could be the norm, since most “outsiders” would never hear them anyway. But now that interaction with nations and cultures is a daily affair on the streets and in cyberspace, competing worldviews are readily available, and peaceful coexistence has become more difficult.

However, as people in a globalized era interact on a larger scale, they become exposed and to some extent affected by the postmodern predicaments described by Zygmunt Bauman (1992): institutionalized pluralism, variety, and ambivalence. Peter Berger (1967) suggested that the validity of a system of thought would be accepted without questioning (or taken for granted) until a problem arises that openly puts in question that validity. Despite political indoctrination and strong party affiliation, long-term interaction with other societies may create an awareness of inconsistent or ineffective traditional cultural practices and ways of life. Different forms of educational, political, and social structures and institutions (like religious denominations, families, and other forms of social relationships and associations) are then compared against foreign structures and institutions. These repeated evaluations and comparisons may force these structures and institutions to lose plausibility. And when people are confronted with challenges to their heartfelt beliefs, they often will defend those beliefs, even to the point of resorting to violent rebuttals.

Extremism then enters the picture as an attempt by ethnic, political, or even religion-related groups to advance their agendas through violent action fueled by radical discourse. Groups may resort to these tactics after efforts to advance their agendas through non-violent methods have been repeatedly unfruitful. Such agendas may include attempts to restore social or political orders from previous centuries, or to avenge wrongs perpetrated in earlier times.

In the first case, we see attempts to establish theocratic regimes, such as in the case of medieval Europe or in a few predominantly Islamic societies. All were or still are trying to establish the kingdom of God based on their own interpretation and understanding of what that kingdom should look like. The problem is that historical efforts to establish a theocracy always required geographical isolation and also then-living prophets or other powerful charismatic religious leaders who would claim contemporaneous, at-hand, divine guidance, not mere adherence to prescriptions found in religious texts from yonder eras. In the absence of those elements, modern-day efforts to establish theocracies will inevitably produce tensions and eventually irresolvable conflicts with the “outside” world.

The other case—those groups attempting to avenge wrongs of old times—are pursuing an effort that will likely only produce frustration due to its impracticality.

Let me illustrate that impracticality with a personal example. I was born in Brazil, a descendant of African slaves and Portuguese slaveholders. It is possible that my existence today may be the result of a Portuguese slaveholder’s sexual abuse of one of my African grandmothers at some point in the last 200 or 300 years. Should I, in the early 21st century, rant against Portugal and advocate war against that former colonial power for its sponsorship of slavery in centuries past? Most would consider that to be unintelligent. Or, taking another example, Spanish conquistadors some 500 years ago were responsible for the pillage of great pre-Columbian civilizations in Mexico, Peru, and other nations in Central and South America. Would it be reasonable for any Latin American nation to declare war against Spain today in order to avenge those wrongs of centuries ago?

Yes, mistakes were made by colonial and imperialist powers through the centuries, but there is not much anyone can do about them today. One cannot fight a medieval war in the 21st century.

We cannot change the past, and pursuing a violent agenda of revenge in the present will not correct anything.

Religious Traditions and the Peace Process

The pervasive influence of religion on the individual level has been discussed by many researchers. For theorists like Rudolf Otto (1923) the transcendent realm reached through religious experience provides a sense of ultimacy that has a powerful effect on the minds and dispositions of most religiously-oriented individuals. The major challenge, as far as possible practical implementations are concerned, is to find an effective way to bring the elements of this transcendent realm into the public secular discourse.

Yet, even in religious life we find the paradox of a search for peace amid violence. Sacred texts from many major world religious traditions contain narratives of divine accomplishments filled with metaphors and imagery related to war, battle, or conflict. Almost without exception these texts acknowledge the existence of evil and the need to battle and ultimately defeat it in order to forever consolidate the supremacy of good.

Of course, I disagree with the idea that religion is responsible for the violence and extremism we see in the world today. Extremists of all sorts in the world have often “hijacked” religion, that is, used it as an excuse, to try to legitimate their violent agendas. That misuse is plainly wrong and unacceptable. That is why I categorize such groups as “religion-related,” and not as “religious groups.”

Extremists have throughout history used terror as a tool to intimidate populations and prevent the exercise of human freedoms. Considering the worldwide impact of major terrorist attacks in recent years, let me clarify in the strongest way possible that this has nothing to do with Islam per se. One should keep in mind that even within Christianity one can find cases of extremist groups out of step with mainstream religious denominations or traditions. For example, the campaign of terror in Northern Ireland that lasted from the 1960’s until the late 1990’s, with bombings and political assassinations was perpetrated by Christians—some Catholic, others Protestant. No reasonable person in those decades would have blamed either the Catholic or the Anglican churches for the Irish paramilitary organizations’ acts of violence.

There are today in the United States of America white supremacist groups of all kinds who are in many cases practicing Protestants, and often they attempt to use the Bible to justify their racist views. No reasonable person would blame the Bible or Christian Protestantism as a whole for such misconstruction of the Christian message.

As a powerful force in shaping people’s lives, religious traditions must unite their efforts in addressing world problems. Traditionally most denominations have looked “inward,” that is, they seem to be primarily concerned with the welfare of their local congregations and not with the world at large—a “someone-else-will-take-care-of-that” approach to world predicaments. Therefore, while moderates take care of their respective flocks, who is minding the rest of the world? In the absence of anyone else, the extremists seem to have taken charge of that.

So, I am arguing that major religious traditions and their diverse denominations and communities—whether Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, etc.—must unite their efforts and together address a matter of not just global importance, but also one that now threatens the continuation of human life on our planet. That will require on the part of each religious tradition an interesting balancing exercise in dialoguing with other traditions which also claim historical or divine approbation while at the same time holding fast to their faith's basic tenets and claims.

New Enemy, New Approaches

As we consider extremist groups that now resort to terror tactics to further their agendas, we find rampant hatred at the root of their actions. Therefore, we can say that the real enemy of peace in the early 21st century is the spread of ideologies founded on hatred.

This is no longer a matter of identifying terrorist organizations or extremist groups. For example, it may very well be said that Al-Qaeda has evolved into more of a “shared concept” than simply a loosely-connected network of terrorists. The expression we hear on newscasts “an operative with links to Al-Qaeda” may now be understood as someone who has adopted Al-Qaeda's rhetoric and/or its violent modus operandi without having any concrete connection with that organization. I suppose that people in a number of countries around the world cheer for Osama Bin Laden just because of his now almost legendary status—similar to how Fidel Castro is applauded in leftist circles in Latin America—as the proverbial underdog who stood up against a historical colonial or imperialist power and survived to laugh about it.

Fighting a “shared concept” is not as simple as fighting another nation. There are no traditional armies and no traditional battles, because attacks will be perpetrated by “lone wolves” acting without any centralized command and no direction. Incidentally, I am tired of seeing in newscasts the same video footage of one suspected Al-Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan. I don't know whether those camps might still exist, and I'm puzzled by the image of those militants engaged in fitness exercises prior to blowing themselves up. And yet, like Timothy McVeigh in the United States, bombings and other deadly violent attacks can be perpetrated by people with little more than an internet connection, a credit card, and an almost inconceivable level of hatred. The enemy of this new era is someone who can be virtually “invisible” among the multitudes of any major city in the world. No conventional army can be effective against this type of enemy.

Let me stress this point for a moment, since this is crucial: In previous eras of human history, it took the combined force of armies and military technology developed with the support of a national economic system to destroy another nation. Today, a single individual with little more than a credit card and a fast connection to the Internet has the potential of unleashing an attack that could bring a national economy to a standstill within hours.

The traditional approach has been to refuse negotiations with terrorists and to try to “root them out” using conventional armies with automatic weapons and “smart bombs.” But bombing entire neighborhoods in the hopes of destroying these “lone wolves” is inefficient and problematic. A permanent escalation of bloodshed is the only likely outcome, since many innocents are killed in such traditional attacks. And then, relatives and friends of those killed might attempt to avenge

those deaths, and when they themselves are killed, other relatives will take upon themselves the avenging duty, and so on. No traditional military operation can stop this escalation of hatred and violence. And the arbitrary killing of civilian populations in pre-emptive strikes is morally indefensible.

Unfortunately, the nature of the modern conflict—deadly attacks perpetrated by “lone wolves”—dictates that adherence to 20th century policies will leave no room for 21st century solutions.

A new approach would necessarily include more direct personal contact with peoples in regions of the world prone to such problems, more dialogue, more bridges of understanding, all leading to negotiated solutions that may bring a certain degree of general peace to the world. The only other alternative—a morally indefensible alternative, I should stress—would take us from retaliatory act to retaliatory act, in an ever increasing escalation of disproportional retaliatory acts until we would find ourselves destroying villages, cities, entire regions, and eventually entire nations—mindlessly committing unforgivable crimes against humanity in the name of national defense but with the conscience of a 15-year-old playing a violent video game.

The conflict in Northern Ireland seems to have been resolved through a negotiated solution. In the Middle East, Egypt and Jordan ceased decades-old hostilities against Israel by means of negotiated solutions. Likewise, I wonder whether negotiation may be the solution to many of the current predicaments.

But then difficult—and perhaps to some, unpleasant—questions arise: Would anyone support negotiation with known extremists? What if at some point in time they would agree to cease hostilities—would our societies be willing to accept the idea of exonerating them so that a lasting peace agreement might be reached? I confess that I am not competent to answer such divisive questions.

But given the impact and influence of religion in most societies, I still argue that major religious traditions and their diverse denominations and communities must unite their efforts and together address this matter. Although at the moment there is no global organization responsible for this, I wonder whether religious organizations might be able to come together in the realization that restrained responses have not produced any visible effect, and that they must find a way to rein in extremists and those who support them. This is more than just a matter of good public relations—it is a matter of survival for the entire world.

We cannot change the past; all we have is the power to determine how we are going to live in the present, and to teach our children and grandchildren to live in peace, and use whatever influence we have with others to invite them to live in peace. If we adopt a passive conduct, and do nothing, thus allowing things to continue to escalate continually, the world may eventually come to almost irredeemable desolation. If that would ever happen, future generations would not have much of a world left to enjoy.

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**Pseudo-positive discourses of ageing
in over 50s life insurance marketing**

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the ideologies behind advertising texts marketing over 50s life insurance products in terms of the representation of older age. This study falls in the research areas of ageing, mass media and discourse. To align with the theme of the ACAH conference “East Meets West”, this study uses data from the UK and Taiwan in a cross-cultural comparison.

Ideology, media communication and the social construction of ageing

Ideology is of special interest to this research because of the part it plays in the success of media communication. Ideologies, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 275), are “particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of dominance and exploitations”. They can be ideas, manipulated and reproduced in the interest of power-regulating agents (Blommaert 2005:163), such as the media. Ideologies are believed to activate the “hidden power” of media discourse (Fairclough 2001). The nature of mass media communication, like face-to-face interactions, is also interactive, involving negotiation between the message sender and receiver (Simpson 1994:121-2). Ideologies are devices through which such negotiations are enabled and “subject positions” (Fairclough 2001:41) are constructed for message receivers. That is why decoding the ideological presuppositions in advertising texts is important. As Coupland (2007:40) maintains, advertising texts are persuasive because they “tap into pre-existing ideologies and stimulate concerns and aspirations consistent with these ideologies”.

In this paper, I attempt to examine the discursive mechanisms through which certain ideological implicatures about older age are invited in the process of producing and interpreting advertisements for over 50s life insurance products. The purpose is to identify whether there are potentially ageist orientations taken for granted for marketing purposes. This concern is expressed in some of the literature on discourse, advertising and ageism (e.g. Ylänne-McEwen 2000; Coupland 2003 and 2007).

Ylänne-McEwen (2000) examined promotional brochures of holiday packages for older customers in the UK and found that the naming strategies of holidays convey youth-oriented metaphors. The consumption of holidays was positioned as a lifestyle choice, more specifically, the choice of an adventurous, fun, active and romantic lifestyle. Despite the promoted lifestyle, ageist ideological implicatures, however, can be inferred in the emphasis on communalism, and assurances of familiar activities such as the arrangements of afternoon tea. As argued by Ylänne-McEwen (2000),

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older customers are presumed to be dependent, feeling insecure and relying on daily rituals.

Coupland (2003 and 2007) also revealed ageist ideological presuppositions in UK print advertisements promoting anti-ageing skin products. Her findings suggest that ageing is ideologically positioned as a target to be repaired, remedied and corrected through the use of battle metaphors. The “unwatchability of old age” (Woodward 1991) is reinforced as a moral imperative normalizing body management for marketing purposes.

Both of the above studies have suggested that the problematising of older age is naturalised to legitimate the promoted products and it is rather indirectly conveyed. This study intends to explore whether this trend can be generalized in advertising texts for over 50s life insurance products, which also target the ‘grey market’. Following Yläne-McEwen (2000) and Coupland (2003 and 2007), a critical discourse analytical perspective is utilized to unravel ideological presuppositions about older age.

Methodology

Critical discourse analysis, according to Fairclough (2001), can be broken down into three inter-related stages: the stages of description, interpretation and explanation. Fairclough’s view on language is multi-functional. That is, language functions as text, discourse practice and social practice. Based on Fairclough’s perspective (Fairclough 1995 and 1995), certain linguistic features (such as overwording, metaphors, pronouns, modes, logical connectors between sentences, etc.) in a text are targeted by critical discourse analysts because certain ideological resources are evoked through them in a discourse practice (the process of producing and interpreting a text). Ultimately, the analyst should be dedicated to the explanatory function of discourse analysis by focusing on how the examined linguistic features reproduce or violate social structures (discourse as a social practice). This study is conducted accordingly.

Samples

The data selected for the analysis in this paper include three UK and three Taiwanese TV advertisements promoting over 50s life insurance products (examples 1-6).

Example 1: UK 1999 Sun life Over 50s Plan

Example 2: UK 1999 Cornhill Direct Senior Security Plan

Example 3: TW 2007 Alico

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Example 4: TW 2007 CIGNA

Example 5: TW 2007 CIGNA

Example 6: UK 2005 American Life

They were convenient samples obtained to compare the differences in the ways in which older people are represented in the advertising texts of interest. There is a longer history of TV promotion of the target product in the UK so the selected UK examples could date back to 1999, while the Taiwanese examples, as comparisons to the UK examples, are relatively recent. This is because the over 50s life insurance products were only recently introduced in Taiwan in late 2006.

Southern Min and Mandarin Chinese spoken in the Taiwanese examples are transcribed into the Taiwan Language Phonetic Alphabet system and the Han-yu Pinyin system. Southern Min is presented in bold and italic 10-size font in the transcripts.

Due to space limitations, only partial transcripts are provided in the paper but full drafts can be obtained from the author upon request.

Youth-oriented positions as legitimating devices

A youth-oriented subject position (Fairclough 2001:31) is often constructed for target customers in the marketing of over 50s life insurance products both in the UK and Taiwan.

For instance, the first example (UK, Sun Life Over 50s Plan, 1999) begins with an ideological frame that distances the target audience from their chronological age (lines 1-3). Through the voice of John Craven, an ingroup member of the target audience, the age denying stance in the first three lines is presented as if it should be shared by the target viewers (over 50s, line 6). Instead of one's chronological age (over 50s), a "younger" cognitive age is suggested to be not only possible but also preferable (line 3) along with a positive evaluation (line 5) of the status quo.

Example 1:

John Craven, a British media presenter and aged over 50, is portrayed presenting Sun Life over 50 plan. He is depicted walking his dog in the countryside. The following extract is what he says in the commercial.

1 they say you're only as old as you feel

2 so in that case

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3 I'm just a youngster

...

5 in fact life has never felt better

6 if you like me are over 50

7 then you've reached the age when you need to start thinking about the future

As suggested in lines 22-23 (see below), the consumption of the advertised life insurance product is presented as enabling the realisation of a youth-oriented ideology. In other words, the ideological frame of distancing older age actually prepares the transformation of the commodity into a consumerist solution for those consumers who want to transcend old age.

Example 1:

22 Staying young at heart is easy when you are taking care of the future

23 with the Sun Life over 50 plan

The second example (UK, Cornhill Direct Senior Security Plan 1999) shows a similar ideological focus by constructing a counter-stereotypical lifestyle as the consequence of the consumption of the advertised product.

Example 2:

An older woman is portrayed talking about Cornhill Direct Senior Security Plan.

1 mum she says (.) It must be great when you get to your age

2 you haven't got a care in the world

3 you're healthy (.) you can do whatever you want

4 I suppose she is right

5 for the first time in years I can take it easy

6 especially now I know the future is taken care of with Cornhill Senior Security Plan

...

11 so (1.0) how will I spend my (.) twilight years?

12 looking after my grandchildren? (.) baking cakes? (.) knitting (.)

13 all the things that grannies are supposed to do

Tango music is on in the background with the female presenter dancing with a sexy, young and handsome male partner

(Example 2, Cornhill Direct Senior Security Plan, UK, 1999)

The second example begins with a direct reference to a third person's voice (the presenter's daughter) about how older age is (traditionally) perceived and ends with a

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choice between playing the traditional role of a grandmother or leading a rather different lifestyle, embodied visually in the female presenter's dancing the tango with a young man. The contrast between an age-bounded tradition (being a grandmother, lines 11-12) and the violation of it is prepared to position the consumption of the advertised product as "a choice of lifestyle". The chosen (or proposed) way of ageing in this advertisement directs the audience to disassociate themselves with age-related norms (the perfect grandparent stereotype) and live as "individuals" following their interests ("do whatever you want" line 3). Such kind of lifestyle is implied as a consequence of the advertised product (as suggested in "so", line 11).

The emphasis on lifestyle choice as a legitimating device of the advertised products is not observed in the UK examples produced in more recent years (a point to be clarified later). However, this strategy is reproduced in two Taiwanese examples broadcast in 2007 (ex. 3 and 4).

Example 3 (Alico, 2007, Taiwan)

The presenter, Shi-ying is featured asking the question to some older men who are playing baseball and labelled as Male 1, 2, 3, and 4. The baseball players are depicted wearing their baseball caps back to front.

7 Shi-ying: *siann mih po hiam?*=

8 male 1&2: = rang wo men gen nian qing ren

9 male 1&2: xiang shou tong yiang de bao zhang

10 male 3: yi ding bao (the product name)

(A elderly man, labelled as Male 4, is featured running base successfully and facing to the camera)

11 male 4: nian qing ren ke yi wo men dang ran ye ke yi

English translation of Example 3:

7 Shi-ying: what is the life insurance policy?=
8 male 1&2: = which allows us like youngsters

9 male 1&2: to enjoy the same cover

10 male 3: yi ding bao (the product name)

11 male 4: youngsters can and of course so can we

The integration of the verbal and visual messages in the above extract informs the nature of the lifestyle the advertiser attempts to sell in relation to the product in example 3 (Taiwan, 2007).

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Arguably, a golden ager lifestyle is reinforced to justify the consumption of the product in example 3. This stereotype (Hummert et al. 1994) highlights attributes such as highly active, fun-loving, healthy and competent, which are reflected in the visual representations of the older male characters playing baseball. They are socially active (with friends), physically capable (running fast) and perhaps also acting young (wearing their baseball caps back to front).

Different from the UK examples 1 and 2, the link between the promoted lifestyle and the consumption of the advertised product in example 3 is not very clearly articulated, such as through textual properties, such as conjunctions to show cause-effect relations. However, the evoked ideological resources (the golden ager stereotype) do define the consumer community in a certain way. The subject position is offered to those who identify with the promoted picture of later life. In sum, people consuming the advertised product are made to feel “socially empowered” in the young-old contrasts (being equal to youngsters, lines 8-9 and 11) and perhaps “young at heart” (acting youngster-like).

Lifestyle choice positioned in relation to product consumption continues in example 4 but this time, the promoted lifestyle is leisure-oriented (“*huann ging tau tin lai iu lam a*”, meaning, “welcome to travel together” line 2). The consumption of a life insurance product is portrayed as a promise for an “independent” (“*kho lan ka ti*”, meaning, “on our own” in line 17) and well-travelled lifestyle (“*lan ma e tan lai khi iu tai wan*”, meaning, “we can travel around Taiwan” line 17). Again, a golden ager stereotype is reinforced to justify a product needed upon one’s death.

Example 4 (CIGNA, 2007, Taiwan):

1 Liao-jun: *o ji san o pa sang*

2 Liao-jun: *huann ging tau tin lai iu lam a*

...

13 Liao-jun: mei tian bu dao san shi qi yuan

14 Liao-jun: jiu you zhong shen bao zhang la

15 M3: *lan la koo ho ka ti*

16 M3: *si se to bian chau huan*

17 M3: *kho lan ka ti lan ma e tan lai khi iu tai uan*

(Someone says yes in the background and everyone laughs)

English translation of example 4:

1 Liao-jun: older men and women

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- 2 Liao-jun: welcome to travel together
...
13 Liao-jun: with less than 37 dollars a day
14 Liao-jun: then have life-long cover
15 M3: if we take care of ourselves well
16 M3: our children will not worry
17 M3: we can travel around Taiwan on our own

Discursive representations of death

The very thing for which life insurance products are created for is the (financial) preparation of death. Presumably, the justification for life insurance products is grounded on the uncertainty of when death may arrive. Nevertheless, the ideological focus of the first four examples seems to mitigate the association with impending death. As the denial of chronological age or violations of age-graded stereotypes are foregrounded, the inevitable consequence of ageing, namely, death, is treated as a taboo in the first four advertisements. Hence, death-related topics are expressed euphemistically (see the following extracts).

- 6 if you like me are over 50
→ 7 then you've reached the age when you need to start thinking about the future ...
9 If you'd like to leave something behind for your loved ones
(Example 1, UK, 1999)

- 5 For the first time in years I can take it easy
→ 6 especially now I know the future is taken care of with Cornhill Senior Security Plan
(Example 2, UK, 1999)

- 8 covers are made for the rest of my life for just eight pounds a month
→ 9 I can get my family a lump sum when they need it most
(Example 2, UK, 1999)

In examples 1 and 2, “the future” is a temporal phrase mentioned together with the reference to age-related expectation (lines 6-7, example 1) and the utility of the advertised product (line 6, example 2). What exactly “the future” signifies is not clearly stated and is left to be inferred by the audience on the basis of their pragmatic knowledge about what life insurance plans basically are (i.e. paying a lump sum upon the policy holder's death) and the stereotypical association between old age and impending death. Furthermore, the time one dies is indirectly referred to as “when

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they need it most” in example 2 (line 9). Pragmatically, the target audience is expected to be able to infer that it is the time when the presenter dies. This is because life insurance plans mainly function as a financial protection for those left behind. However, when the time of death is discursively represented in this way, there is literally a high degree of ambiguity, which indicates an intention to avoid explicit expressions regarding death.

As to examples 3 and 4 (TW examples, 2007), there is only the absence of topics related to death (hence, no extracts provided). There is no reference to funeral expenses and the point of time when a life insurance product is needed. The discursive strategy of “silencing” death in the two Taiwanese examples, arguably, shows the death-denial ideological stance, to a greater extent, as opposed to UK examples 1 and 2. Even though there is one Taiwanese example (example 5, see below) featuring the theme of bereavement (lines 16-18, example 5), euphemism can also be detected in the reference to death, for instance, “ren zou le” (Mandarin translated as “people went away” line 16), “hit kang kau” (Southern Min, translated as “that day comes”, line 19), and “li khui” (Southern Min, translated as “to leave”, line 20). Hence, Taiwanese examples either silence or euphemize the expressions related to death.

Example 5 (CIGNA, Taiwan, 2007)

An old lady, labelled as L2, is featured conversing with a guest, labelled as G, who intends to give her some money but is refused. Both of them are dressed in black. The old lady looks sad and sobs. The background is a dark and indoor setting, presumably the lady’s home.

16 G: ren zou le zong yao hua qian de

(trying to give L2 money)

17 L2: xie xie ni bu young le (refusing to take the money)

18 L2: zheng de bu young le (sobbing)

19 Liao-jun: *tioh sng hit kang kau*

20 Liao-jun: *lan ma e tang an sim li khui*

English translation of example 5

16 G: after people are gone, there is always a need to spend money

17 L2: thank you. There is no need (refusing the money)

18 L2: really there is no need for the money (sobbing)

19 Liao-jun: even if that day comes

20 Liao-jun: we can also leave with peace of mind

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However, in contrast to the above five examples, the next UK example (example 6), broadcast in 2005, begins to demonstrate relatively bolder strategies in discussing death. Furthermore, as compared to the UK examples produced much earlier (1999), the ideological focus has changed from constructing a ‘golden ager’ lifestyle to justifying the preparation for death

Example 6 (American Life, UK, 2005)

- 1 birthdays anniversaries
- 2 it always seems to be someone’s special day
- 3 when you get to our age
- 4 it’s important to think about giving something more to your loved ones
- 5 the guaranteed 50 plus plan from American Life helps you plan for the future
- 6 and ensures that your affairs will be looked after when you’re gone
- 7 It’s a simple and affordable type of life insurance that
- 8 pays out a cash lump sum when you die to leave for your family to
- 9 help pay towards funeral expenses
- ...
- 20 Act now and get the best gift of all (.) peace of mind

Impending death, in example 6, is conceptualized as a day which can be prepared for without fear but with anticipation. This ideological implicature invited through the theme of gift giving (line 1-2), as an analogy to the financial preparation of death for the family (line 3-4) ascribes positive attributes to death. Should coherence between lines be presumed, the theme of gift giving (lines 1-2) and the preparation of something (the product) for the family is considered relevant and hence there is an analogical relation (as both are about giving presents). Given this, the target audience is made to infer that the day one dies is simply like other lifespan milestones, for instance, birthdays or anniversaries. More importantly, they are “special” (line 2). One should prepare for those special days and confront them fearlessly. The ascribed nature of the exemplified special days is apparently positive and so is the nature ascribed to the day one dies.

In terms of lexicon, a more direct reference to death can be found in example 6, such as in the phrase “when you die” (line 8). Even though “the future” (line 5) is also mentioned in example 6 to indicate the time of death, there is no need to infer the meaning by drawing upon pragmatic knowledge about the commodity being sold. This is because what “the future” means is immediately clarified in a slightly

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euphemistic expression about death (“you’ve gone”, line 6). “Funeral expenses” in line 9 is clearly stated as the purpose of the consumption of the advertised product.

It is not rare to observe the repression of death topics in the media (Wernick 1995:281) or in daily conversations (Coupland and Coupland 1997). Earlier UK examples reflect this trend but more recent UK examples do not. Instead, the ideological shift regarding death in the examined UK advertising texts indicate that over the period of time between 1999 and 2005, the target customers are encouraged to take an altruistic attitude when considering what confronting impending death means in one’s later life or for one’s dependants (Peck 1968). As Coupland and Coupland (1997:118) argue, “how we orient to our own mortality is a crucial aspect of the experience of social ageing”. A positive trend evolved in the examined UK advertising texts while recent Taiwanese examples still take a rather ageist stance towards death.

More concerns regarding ageist representations of older age arise in the elaboration of the product messages. It is found that patronising communicative mechanisms are employed in the overt emphasis of aspects such as customer eligibility and affordability.

Patronizing communicative conventions

When cost is mentioned, it is conventionally specified in pounds and pence known as monthly or daily premiums (see extracts below). The presented amount of cost is addressed to enhance the affordability (assumed as a crucial concern) to the audience.

→ 12 for just six pounds a month (example 1)

→ 03 for just 8 pounds a month (example 2)

→ 14 shi-ying: mui kang m bian goo cap kho

English translation:

14 Shi-ying: less than fifty dollars per day

(Example 3)

→ zui di bu dao 50 yuan

English translation:

The minimum is less than 50 dollars

(Example 3)

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→ 13 Liao-jun: mei tian bu dao san shi qi yuan

14 Liao-jun: jiu you zhong shen bao zhang la

English translation:

13: Liao-jun: with less than 37 dollars a day

14: Liao-jun: then there is a life-long cover

(Example 4)

→ 22 mei tian bu dao yi bai yuan

23 jiu ke yi yong you zhong shen bao zhang

English translation:

22 with less than one hundred dollars a day

23 life-long cover can be possessed

(Example 5)

→ mei tian **98** yuan

English translation:

98 dollars per day

(Example 5)

→ 12 cover costs from just 23 pence a day (example 6)

It can be expected that cost is an important aspect to address in advertising texts. However, when cost is presented in the same way in all of the examples, we might need to consider what the advertisers attempt to provoke in the recipients' mind. As it seems that articulating cost in detail is a conventional discursive feature in advertising texts promoting life insurance products to older people in Taiwan and in the UK, it is likely that this communicative strategy works based on the presupposition that older people tend to have weaker financial power. Hence, addressing affordability and low cost is seen as an appeal to the target customers. However, whether the presumed customer need holds true or is just a stereotypical expectation deserves closer examination. Otherwise, it can appear to be patronizing and discriminatory based on age.

The concern of patronizing stances applies to the reference to the medical exemption in relation to the guarantee of eligibility in "all" examples (see the following extracts).

→ 18 you are guaranteed to be accepted without a medical (example 1)

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→ 10 I didn't even need a medical to qualify (example 2)

3 Shi-ying: *link am cai ngia cuan kok te it tng?* =

→ 4 Ladies in the park: = shen ti hao huai dou ke yi bao de

English translation:

3 shi-ying: do you know the first insurance policy in this country? =

4 Ladies in the park: = guarantees acceptance regardless of good or bad health

(Example 3)

→ 10 Liao-jun: bu yong shen ti jian cha

→ 11 Liao-jun: *a ma be kah li mng tang mng sai*

12 M2: *oh pi siau lian e be po hiam koh kha kan tan*

English translation:

10 Liao-jun: no medical

11 Liao-jun: no questions about this and that

(Example 4)

→ 13 bu young ti jian

→ 14 bu wun jian kang zhung kuan

15 jue bu ju bao

English translation:

13 no medical

14 no health questions

15 never refuse your application

(Example 5)

11 you are guaranteed to be accepted

→ 13 There is no medical and no hard sell (example 6)

In the emphasis of medical exemption, the target audience of all examples, arguably, is positioned to perceive themselves as individuals with deteriorating health. Medical examination as a condition for customer eligibility is presumably regarded as an offense. Hence guaranteed acceptance is taken for granted as an appeal but is possibly patronizing if the presupposition is not regarded as true for some target audience.

Naming strategies may also show ageist presuppositions. It can be argued that the above stated ideological presuppositions are reflected in the naming strategies of the advertised products in examples 2, 3, 4 and 6. Both “yi-ding-bao” (ex. 3) and

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“bao-zheng-bao” (ex. 4&5) literally convey “guaranteed acceptance”. The product name “Senior Security Plan” (example 2) might imply that older people are perceived to be “vulnerable” and hence in need of a certain type of protection (realised in the highlighted “security”). The theme of assured eligibility is reinforced again in the product name of the example as suggested in the word “guaranteed”. To make these arguments more robust, the product name of example 1 is more ideologically neutral as opposed to the other examples. This is because the product name is simply created to specify the target age range.

The product names of all examples:

Example 1: Sun Life over 50 plan

→ Example 2: Cornhill Direct Senior Security Plan

→ Example 3: yi-ding-bao

→ Example 4&5: bao-zheng-bao

→ Example 6: American Life, over 50s guaranteed plan

Final remarks

In conclusion, the findings presented so far in this chapter reveal that the positive construction of ageing can be commonly observed in the marketing of over 50s life insurance products in the UK and Taiwan. However, these constructions can be considered rather pseudo-positive because of the notion of gerontophobia that seems to be embedded in the examined advertising texts. The fear of growing old is realised in the attempt to disassociate the target audience from age-graded norms or to relate them to overtly youthful images. The highlighted ideological framework in earlier UK examples reflect the notion of “the mask of ageing” argued by Hepworth (1991). That is, older age is metaphorically likened to a guise of the hidden (eternally) young inner-self. The visual representations of “golden agers” in the advertising texts for over 50s life insurance products are consistent with “the myth of serenity” claimed by Butler (1975:10) as one aspect of ageist prejudice highly emphasized in advertising contexts. The represented positive ageing in the examined advertising texts can be problematic as agelessness cannot be perceived as an anti-ageist notion since “age”, the very thing which differentiates older persons from younger, is denied (Bytheway 2000:785).

Pseudo-positive attitudes towards older age can be further supported by unpacking the embedded ideological stance towards older age in the discursive representations of the

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promoted products. The findings reveal that the problematization of older age is commonly found in the UK and Taiwanese examples.

Furthermore, the repression of death-related topics further suggests an ideological stance which distances the target viewers from ageing. From a developmental point of view, death itself is considered to be a central event to be dealt with in later life. The failure to confront death can lead to a crisis of despair and a sense of integrity that cannot be achieved at one's last stage of life course (Erickson 1982). Given this, the topic is still treated as a forbidden subject (especially in the Taiwanese examples) when it should be highlighted as the main topic in advertising texts promoting life insurance products. The denial of death itself can be equivalent to the denial of ageing. The euphemistic discursive strategy used to present death in the examined advertising texts is seen as reflective of the ideological stance that problematises older age or ageing.

Finally, the analysis in this study, hopefully, can increase the awareness of the implicitly ageist messages in the examined and similar advertisements targeting the "grey market".

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Challenges Faced By Malaysian Small Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs) Entrepreneurs to Sustain In the Global Business

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ABSTRACT:

In order to spur growth in small and medium enterprises the Malaysian government has established the National SME Development Council. One of the strategic thrusts identified by National SME Development Council is to build capacity and business capability among Malaysian SMEs. This paper aimed to interrogate the competitive advantage for globalisation sustainability among Malaysian SMEs. Exploratory research is used for this purpose by reviewing literature from other scholars and experiences personally received in banking industries. Additionally, the surveys also done through Bank Negara Malaysia, SME Annual Report, SME Corp Malaysia, and MIDA to support this paper. Malaysian SMEs and Ministries or agencies should realize the suitability of programme in order to develop their competitive advantage for globalisation. The finding of this study revealed that the competitive advantage is very importance for Malaysian SMEs to sustain in Globalisation. Therefore, the main contribution of this study is to enhance the knowledge of SMEs to effectively address the challenge for sustainable in global economic through a prioritizing the competitive advantage.

Keywords: Competitive advantage, Globalisation, sustainability, Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (SMEs)

1.0 INTRODUCTION

According to the Director-General of World Trade Organization globalisation is known as inter-dependency whereby the multi-layered involvement of intricate phenomenon which is intensive social, political and economic interaction whether nationally and internationally among nation across the border (**World Trade Report, 2008**). In Malaysia, globalisation affects three main groups of SMEs. The first group is known as SMEs that are internationally competitive or able to become internationally competitive which gains benefit from regionalisation. The second group is known as SMEs that are less adaptable as a result of globalisation pressure. This group is unlikely to survive in the present environment unless there are immediate steps to improve productivity by conforming to the international standards for training and employ professional and skilful staffs in management to adapt competition. The final group is SMEs that are protected by government aid from the globalisation effect. Basically, Malaysian SMEs should not escape from this phenomenon but take this opportunity to become more competitive and sustainable.

In 2006, Malaysia is ranked 23rd as the most competitive nation among 61 countries (**World Competitiveness Book**) and in 19th place of the largest trading nation in the world (**World Trade Organization Report**). Therefore, The Malaysian government continues to develop its policies and incentives to enhance Malaysia's investment environment and international competitiveness. Malaysia's services exports and imports rose by more than 20 per cent similarly with the China and Australia (**World Trade Report, 2008**). Hence, it is shown that Malaysian SMEs are capable of becoming competitive in the global market especially as services provider.

Various Malaysian Ministries & Agencies provide SME development programmes such as strengthening the enabling infrastructure, building the capacity and capability of domestic SMEs and enhancing access to financing by SMEs. Recently, Program MSC Malaysia Score Plus was organized by collaboration between SME Corp Malaysia and Multimedia Development Corporation (MdeC). This Programms are purposely for improving the competitiveness among Malaysian SMEs (**Harian Metro Newspaper, Dec 2009**).

At the theoretical level, the studies have identified Malaysian SMEs faced the pro long problems in the past 19 years. There are the same problems such as lack of access to information, difficulty in obtaining loans and financial assistance, lack of managerial capabilities, heavy regulatory burden, non-exposure to good management practices and low IT utilization to improve productivity, among others (**National SME Council, 2009, Wang S.D 2003**).

Competitive advantage refer to firms that are capable of offering value added product incomparison to their competitors in the same market (Kay, 1990). In order to become more competitive, SMEs should

perpetuate their core capabilities such as low cost production, innovative design, and high quality but maintained the indigenous of product (Rabino.S, Simoni.C & Zanni L, 2008). Based on the empirical assesment done by Ana C.S & Andyd.C (2008), the firms that inconsistent innovator in creating knowlegde or applied routines may facing the difficulty in developing competitive advantage. Hence the existing Multi National Corporation (MNC), somehow will contribute to the development of competitive advantage among SMEs such as China and Japan. In 1994, APEC Leaders and Ministers for developed countries agree to implement free and open trade investment before or until year 2010 and developing countries not later than year 2020 (Jin.H.Y, 2006).

This paper aims to investigate the importance of competitive advantage and strategis for SMEs to sustain in globalisation.

Despite the government concern toward Malaysian SMEs regarding the lack of transparency, limited acces to finance support, the suitability of developing programme, limited knowledge, low technology capability and others. Section 2.0 of this paper examines the current development of SMEs in Malaysia then followed by section 3.0 which analyze further the impact of globalisation on the current local SMEs. The challenges faced by SMEs in international trade are discussed in section 4.0 taking into account the experiences from other countries. Learning from the research, the authors came up with several recommendations in section 5.0 which hopefully could enhance better local SMEs in the future. Section 6.0 concludes the paper.

2.0 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SMEs IN MALAYSIA

2.1 Background

In 2008, SMEs constitute 99.2 percent of total business establishment and providing employment around 56 percent of total workforce in Malaysia. It shown that SMEs become the backbone of Malaysian economy. Due to that achievement Malaysian government planned to increase the contribution of SMEs to Gross Domestic Product from 32 percent in 2005 until 37 percent in 2010 (**SME Annual Report, 2008**). The total of the list of establishments and entrepreneurs is 4.6 million but after eliminated the duplication of registration gained from various source. Finally, the finding by Malaysian Census in 2006 revealed that the total of 1,733,550 list of establishment entrepreneurs. Table 1 shown the distribution of establishment in manufacturing, services and algriculture (**Normah M.A, 2006**).

Bank Negara Malaysia established the case studies on SME more than 10 years and the findings revealed there are eight (8) key succes factors for Malaysian SMEs's. There are the management capability and integrity; business cultures and entrepreneurial spirit; prudent financial management; high quality products and services; effective programme for human resource development; strong support from financial institutions in terms of lending and advisory services; strong marketing strategies including good networking with the suppliers; and consistently looking for opportunity to expand the business (**Bank Negara Malaysia, 2003**).

Table 1: Distribution of establishments by sector

Sector	No. of Establishments	Percentage (%)
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Manufacturing	85,946	5.0
Services	1,523,8421	87.9
Agriculture	123,762	7.1
Total	1,733,550	100.0

Source: Department of Statistic, Malaysia Census; (2006)

2.2 Profile Of Malaysian SMEs

The definition of SMEs is based on two criteria 1) number of employees or 2) sales turnover. SMEs also divided to four (4) sectors such as Primary Agriculture, Manufacturing (including agro-based), Manufacturing-Related Services (MRS), and Services (including Information and Communications Technology)(**Bank Negara Malaysia, 2005**). Generally, SMEs in Malaysia are defined as companies with the annual sales turnover which does not exceed RM 25 million or having full time employees not exceeding 150 persons (**Bank Negara Malaysia, 2005, Small and Medium Industries Development Corporation, Malaysia: 2002**). Further information of Malaysian SMEs can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Definition of SMEs in Malaysia

Size/Turnover /Full Time Employees	Manufacturing (including Agro-Based) & Manufacturing-Related Services	Primary Agriculture	Services Sector (including ICT, mining & quarrying and construction sectors)
Micro	Less than RM250,000 or less than 5 employees	Less than RM200,000 or less than 5 employees	Less than RM200,000 or less than 5 employees
Small	Between RM250,000 and less than RM10million or between 5 to 50 employees	Between RM200,000 and less than RM1million or between 5 to 19 employees	Between RM200,000 and less than RM1million or between 5 o 19 employees
Medium	Between RM10million and RM25million or Between 51 to 150 employees	Between RM1million and RM5million or between 20 to 50 employees	Between RM1million and RM5million or between 20 to 50 employees

Source: Secretariat National SME Development Council, Bank Negara Malaysia,(2005),

The definition of SMEs in Malaysia as shown in Table 2 is introduced in September 2005 for the purpose to recognize the important role of SMEs to the economy. It is approved by a special board known as National SME Development Council which is formed in 2004 chaired by the sixth Prime Minister and attended by 15 ministries and more than 60 Government Agencies. The function of the board is to provide the policy direction for cohesive and comprehensive SME development. Meanwhile this is one of the alternative for Malaysian SMEs to stride in the economic meltdown with the external environment is extremely uncertain (**SME Annual Report, 2008**).

From this definition, the micro companies constitute of 79 percent (411,849 companies), followed by small-sized companies constitute of 18 percent (95,490 companies) and finally, medium-sized companies constitute only 3 percent (15,793 companies)(**SME Corp Malaysia, 2007**). Malaysian SMEs are encouraging to adopt this definition as to response to the robust changes of industry due to the globalization. With this number of companies Malaysian SMEs capable to become more competitive by pooling their resources and taking advantage on the globalisation opportunities.

Malaysian SMEs facing many problems whether local or international level which could hinder resilience and competitiveness, such as difficulty in obtaining loans and high interest charges, lack of human capital and involving high cost for professional and competent workforce, lack of access for latest technology, high level of bureaucracy in government agencies without revealed the secret of Malaysian SMEs' successfull, there is substantial orientation towards the domestic market and the involvement of research and development are little and lastly the impact Asean Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) and competition of Multinational Corporation (MNCs) or new competitors (Saleh & Ndubisi, 2006).

2.3 Globalisation Effect to Malaysian SMEs

2.3.1 The Benefit of Globalisation

Due to the globalisation, multilateral and bilateral trade agreements among countries in the Asian region are accelerating. The integration process and changing the nature of regional trade and capital flows. In 2005, estimated that 300 Free Trade Agreements (FTA) involving the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) member countries such as ASEAN-JAPAN Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) agreements.

Levitt (1983) highlighted for operating in the international market, companies must be well prepared with ignoring the superficial regional and national difference. Many companies strengthen their resource through competencies strategic outsourcing due to lack of ability to perform or extraordinary perform needed for the global market (Murray J.Y, Kotabe.M & Westjohn S.A, 2009). Braithware (2003) stated the advantage of global sourcing such as low cost labour, logistics flexibility and less regulated operating environment and it provides the synergy for SMEs in the developing countries like Malaysia. Walmart Singapore applied global supply chain (GSC) which is 20 percent of their furniture manufacturers came from Malaysia. Instead, Walmart enjoyed the benefits like cost reducing and increasing buyers and suppliers networking in the Asian region but it assists Malaysian SMEs increase the sales up to 140 times in year 2004 until 2005 (Chiam, 2005).

Furthermore, the benefit gained from GSC such as Intel Penang introduced by SME-TNC linkages program. In 1972, Intel Penang involved with Free Trade Zone organized by Penang Development Corporation. Firstly, Intel choosed the suppliers who are willing to meets the requirements. Secondly, Intel provided the important training that suitable with it business needs and capabilities of the potential suppliers. Then, talks and contracts allocated based on the SMEs abilities. It continually refined the process until SME become mature, and capable to be independant supply to other parts of Intel's global supply chain; it is approved as a global supplier (Guerrero, 2005). Thus, the purpose Intel programme is developing its supplier's capabilities and competencies has indeed provided business opportunities to

the local SMEs. In addition to this, Intel becomes partner to the government and community. The partnership between the government, TNCs, SMEs and other supporting agencies lead to new economies. Between 1970 and 2002, industrial enterprises increased from 31 to 731 which have provided employment vacancies to 84,000 individuals; this has since then increased to 150,000 (Guerrero: 2005).

Globalization increased the interdependence of national economies and boundaries between domestic and international markets are becoming less relevant as businesses increase their profiles abroad (Knight.G, 2000). Hence, globalisation give a good impact among SMEs nonetheless promotes innovation, free movement of market as there is less government interventions and convergence across industries i.e. less trade barriers within the regions, constant arrival of new range of products, sharing new knowledge and liberalization opening up of new economies. It also creates unprecedented information and communication technologies.

2.3.2 Sustainable in The Globalisation

SME Corp Malaysia organized the Industrial Linkage Program (ILP) and the Global Supplier Program (GSP) purposely for SMEs' to be more innovative. These program is to enhance the SMEs' participation to be reliable and competitive suppliers i.e parts, components or services to MNCs (Jin. H.Y, 2006). Thus, existing MNCs is very important in order to create the opporunities in the global market (Hayase, 2004).

Anazawa (2004) stated in manufacturing sector Japan has 550,000 SMEs and Taiwan has 150,000 SMEs and Malaysia has 523,132 (SME Corp Malaysia 2007). SMEs. Thus, in terms of industrial structure, in Japan and Taiwan SMEs started as small enterprises than escalate their business into large companies. There are large number of SMEs assist the giant companies. Otherwise, in Malaysia it is different whereby government build up the large companies such as PROTON while SMEs are dependant to these companies as vendor or Original Equipment Manufactrurers (OEMs).

Japanese government provide full support to their MNCs whether in terms of technology like "US-styled SBIR", consultation or financial. In contrast MNCs support the frail SMEs for enduring especially financial viabilities (Jin.H.Y, 2006). SMEs have strong industrial linkages with the multinationals like Hitachi, Sony and Matsushita (Central Bank of Malaysia: 2003). Hence, they are able to utilise the multinationals' network to sell their products. Comparatively, Malaysian SMEs are largely domestic oriented companies and lack of indusrial linkage with MNCs and trading companies due to the existing gaps in quality standards.

The overall contribution of the local SMEs to the economic development is small compare to the developed countries. The reason behind this is that the local SMEs are still domestic oriented with export to be 20.8% output or 16.6% of total exports of manufactured goods (Small and Medium Industries Development Corporation, Malaysia: 2007). However, the Malaysian SMEs form the backbone of the local economic growth. During knowledge economy, the importance source of competitive advantage is using of global access in order to gouge out their innovation capabilities (UNCTAD, 2007)

Table 1 shows the importance of SMEs according to percentage of contribution in selected developed countries compared with developing country particularly Malaysia (Central Bank of Malaysia: 2003).

SMEs as a % of	Malaysia	Japan	Germany	Korea
Total Establishment	92.0%	99.7%	99.0%	99.2%
Total Employment	33.3%*	69.5%	69.7%	75.3%
GDP (GNP for Germany)	6.0%*	55.3%	57.0%	16.0%

*Based on SMEs in manufacturing sector only

Table 3: The Importance of SMEs according to Percentage of Contribution in Selected Developed Countries compared to Malaysia

Table 3 illustrates the SMEs account for Korea is 16.0 percent, Japan is 55.3 percent and Germany is 57.0 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) respectively. For the contribution of total employment, Japan account for 69.5 percent, Germany for 69.7 percent and Korea for 75.3 percent. Comparing those countries to Malaysia, SMEs account for 6.0 percent of the country's GDP and 33.3 percent for total employment. From this result, it showed that there is ample room for SMEs in Malaysia to improve in terms of contributions at the same level as the developed countries.

3.0 The Challenges Faced in International Trade

In order to achieve a significant competitive advantage and globalisation sustainability there are two main alternatives strategies can be implemented for SMEs when facing new global competition which is firm-centered brand strategy and outsourcing strategy such as supply alliance with co-branding possibilities with one or more MNCs (Rabino.S, Simoni.C & Zanni L, 2008).

The key challenges faced by Malaysian SMEs is the derogate of demand, formidable in payment collection, limitation of financial and the expense of raw materials. Due to this challenges Malaysian SMEs should be pro-active in handling the negative impact of globalisation (SME Annual Report, 2008).

3.1 Other Challenges

One of the problems facing the local SMEs is lacking knowledge on legal matters. Moreover, in Malaysia, there is neither body nor agency that advice matter pertaining legal specifically for the SMEs going to overseas. Thus, the local SMEs might find restricted access on legal knowledge either because the regulation published is outdated or it is inappropriate.

Another problem is regards to the registration and legal incorporation where the requirements vary amongst countries and often complex and expensive and may also take longer time than usual (APEC and SME Policy: 2005). This might defer the establishment of SMEs in foreign market.

The next issue is about the identification opportunities. Obtaining reliable information on market opportunities and relevant regulations are sometimes can be difficult when dealing with new products, services or techniques. There are certain requirements and controls imposed by foreign governments (APEC and SME Policy: 2005). Identification of suitable network partners and joint ventures are also a problem. Sometimes the SMEs need to be engaged in joint ventures, networks or alliances for internationalisations but finding the suitable partners is often difficult (APEC and SME Policy: 2005). For example in Indonesia (Pricewaterhouse Coopers, Indonesia: 2004), there is a specific requirement for shipping that is it must form a joint venture with local company. The foreign shareholding is maximum 95%; owns and operate vessel of 5,000GWT (minimum) under the Indonesian flag and protected by intellectual property in a cost effective way. Almost all economies in the region now have some form of recognition and registration of intellectual property namely brand names, patents, and copyrights. But is not economically suitable for the small entrepreneurial SMEs to enforce their rights through the existing legal system (APEC and SME Policy: 2005).

4.0 Recommendations to increase competitiveness among Malaysia SMEs Entrepreneurs

4.1 Improving Efficiency

SMEs need to compete and remain relevant in the emerging economies by strengthening domestic industry and to penetrate new market opportunities. One of good examples is branding. Local SMEs lack in branding their products because of poor attractiveness in packaging, design and product innovation especially for export market. As mentioned above, companies may achieve competitive advantage through the acts of consistent innovation which can be in the form of creative design, new product, new marketing approach or new way conducting suitable training (Porter: 1990, Ana C.S & Andyd.C, 2008). Alternatively, local SMEs may also go for strengthen their brand and distribute its own products through franchise.

A good example which illustrates this is Bonia, one of Malaysian brands for leather shoes and handbags. Now, there are 60 outlets and out of this numbers 41 outlets are in Japan, China, Indonesia, Taiwan, Thailand and Singapore where 30 are under franchise (Malaysia Franchise Association: 2005).

Outstanding services, pricing and customer relations can also command profitable niches (Dauphinais et al: 1999).

Fast growing internationalized companies always employ skill and professional staff. SMEs in Malaysia initially started from small business operated by family members need to engage more professionals in

running their business. This improvement is important to compete globally and having skilled labour will upgrade the ability to produce quality products.

The local SMEs need to improve networking and linkages with MNC and/or TNC through industrial cluster arrangement, export and processing zones. A research presented in United Nation Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD: 2003), business linkages call for partnership effort among all stakeholders namely the government, TNCs, SMEs and their supportive agencies (Guerrero: 2005). Need to be noted that linkages into the global supply chains requires high-tech manufacturers. Thus, human skills and technology need to be upgraded to sustain as supplier to TNCs.

As for distribution of network, there is a need to reach where the SMEs are including the sub-urban and country sides. A full collaboration from all parties are essential for instance by promoting the "Reaching out SMEs" nationwide like Megasale in Malaysia so that the spirit of entrepreneurship can be brought up!

4.2 Legal Awareness

There is lack of intellectual property protection in the local SMEs because the recognition and registration process is often not economical especially to enforce rights through the existing legal system. This can be a setback when gigantic companies take over their rights. Furthermore, most SMEs wish to protect their intellectual property rights in a cost effective way. It is recommended the SMEs are educated with the background and importance of intellectual property rights so that they could have options whether to register their products or not which depends on their preferences.

One of the key to a small business victory is target marketing (Susan.W, 2008).It is advisable that the SMEs study their target market, deliver as promised and differentiate themselves with the competitors to create the competitive advantage in order to help exporters in the global arena. Recommendation for this is to set up a one stop centre for advisory on legal issues to SMEs. In addition to this, the representatives' offices should also be set up in the countries where exports are being promoted so that offices are able to advise on the target country's law pertaining trade.

All SMEs should be advised about the importance of insurance and highly recommended if it can be made as mandatory since it is only an optional.

4.3 Aids from Government

Malaysian SMEs can take advantage by participating in the regional expansion and cluster. Higher value added activities in the line of design and development and research and development, improvement on real time business operation can be obtained. Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) in Malaysia can be the example of cluster that has emerged largely through the government effort.

In supporting MSC, the government has established new infrastructure, passed special laws to woo investment followed by incentives like tax exemptions and grants for SMEs (Delios A et all: 2005). By participating in the regional cluster, SMEs can enhance the technical know-how and improve technology capabilities in meeting manufacturing standards by multinational corporations. Currently, the government has subsidized interest and gives guarantees to facilitate local SMEs. On the other hand,

for the SMEs to move forward, it is fundamentally important that SMEs need to become financially sustainable to reduce too much reliance on government incentives.

4.4 The Role of Malaysian SMEs

Many companies strengthen their resource through competencies strategic outsourcing due to lack of ability to perform or extraordinary perform needed for the global market (Murray J.Y, Kotabe.M & Westjohn S.A, 2009). Braithware (2003) stated the advantage of global sourcing such as low cost labour, logistics flexibility and less regulated operating environment and it provides the synergy for SMEs in the developing countries like Malaysia

The initiative to gain the victory should start from the SMEs itself. The role of SMEs in improving their performance is very important proportionate dependant to government helping them to outperform. Malaysian SMEs are counsel in practicing the long life learning. Continuously accumulating of knowledge and disseminating effectively the information throughout the organization. The successful SMEs recommended to share their tips with others SMEs in order to develop the MNC beside dependant to government. The reluctant of Malaysian SMEs to collaborate their resource is one of the limitation for them to expand their business. As mentioned above the global sourcing or via competencies strategic outsourcing is one is of the alternative to expand their business to the global market (Braithware, 2003, Murray J.Y, Kotabe.M & Westjohn S.A, 2009). Applying the mentor-mentee programm among the Malaysian SMEs is another alternative for SMEs go for advancement.

5.0 Conclusion

Liu.J & Huang. J, (2009) stated that entreprised competitive advantage and international enterprise competitive advantage is equal in the context of economic globalization. From the authors perspective, the most important competitive advantage criteria for SMEs is the willingness to gain knowledge. Knowledge is the most important source for long lasting competitive advantage. The continuous improvement of the product can also shape the competitive advantage among SMEs. Therefore, summarizations from this study states that there are two matters that needs to be emphasized among SMEs :-

- a) persistently seeking information and knowledge.
- b) Identify factors in forming a competitive advantage

Both efforts are needed for better business strategy, networking, leverage all resources available .

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Innovativeness and Small Business Performance of Southern Province Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Innovativeness has often been shown as one of the most important strategic orientations for firms to achieve long-term success, venture performance, and the avenues to gain a competitive advantage. While researchers have explored innovativeness of firms in different countries, few such studies exist on developing economies in South Asia. Sri Lanka is a small open economy, which lacks rural entrepreneurship development and any prior systematic studies particularly for small firms in southern Sri Lanka. Thus, this study investigated the degree of innovativeness and its interrelation between business performance of Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) in the Southern Province of Sri Lanka. Interviews were used as a main instrument for data collection. Quantitative and qualitative techniques were applied for data analysis. A positive correlation was found between innovativeness and business performance. Also, the study identified obstacles to innovativeness of SMEs, which may be useful for enterprise development initiatives for the study area and more widely for other areas in Sri Lanka.

Key words: innovativeness, small business, Sri Lanka

1. Introduction

Innovativeness has often been shown as one of the most important strategic orientations for firms to achieve long-term success, venture performance, and the avenues to gain competitive advantage. Prominent entrepreneurship scholars argue that innovation is a constitutive element of entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1934; Lumpkin and Dess, 1996). Schumpeter (1934) was among the first who emphasized the role of innovation in the entrepreneurial process, outlining an economic process of “creative destruction”. Innovativeness reflects the

tendency of a firm to lend its support to new ideas, novelty experimentation and the creative processes that may result in new products, services or technological processes (Lumpkin and Dess, 1996).

Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) give a strong boost to employment and economic growth precisely due to their innovation activities (Keizer et al., 2002). Among the most important aspects of success in small firms is innovativeness. These firms are able to capitalize on customer closeness and flexibility to satisfy rapidly changing customer demands, thereby creating valuable competitive advantages (Hausman & Fontenot, 1999). Encouraging innovation in small and medium sized enterprises remains at the heart of policy initiatives for stimulating economic development at the local, regional, national and international levels (Jones and Tilley, 2003).

Most published research studies, which deal with SME innovation come from developed economies (Radas and Božić, 2009). Also, most organizational innovation researchers have agreed that understanding innovative behavior in organizations has remained relatively undeveloped, inconclusive and inconsistent (Fiol, 1996; Gopalakrishnan, 2000). Also, empirical research on the innovation–performance relationship in SMEs shows controversial results (Rosenbusch et al., 2010). Thus, this paper aims to advance the knowledge on the innovativeness and business performance of established manufacturing SMEs in Hambantota District of Southern Sri Lanka (HDSL).

Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) play a vital role in the economy of Sri Lanka. SMEs have been recognized as an important strategic sector in Sri Lanka for generating high economic growth, reducing unemployment, inequality and poverty (Ministry of Enterprise Development, 2002). The Government, having recognized the importance of this sector in achieving a balanced economic growth, equitable regional distribution and increasing employment and productivity levels, has adopted various policies for the development of SMEs in Sri Lanka. The launch of the SME Bank and the establishment of the SME Authority as the apex body for the development of the SME sector, are expected to be the catalysts for SME led growth (Ministry of Enterprise Development, 2005).

The Southern Province of Sri Lanka consists of three administrative districts: the Galle, Matara and Hambantota. In the deep south of Sri Lanka, Hambantota District boasts a prosperous past civilization and is endowed with many natural resources. These resources offer opportunities for valuable income generation for the District and for the overall development of the country. Hambantota District has a population of 525,370 of whom 96% are considered rural residents. Some 13.4% of the labor force of 244,847 is unemployed - in comparison to the national average of 8.3%. Of those employed, 42.2% are in the agricultural sector, 23.3% in industry, with the remaining 34.5% working in the services sector (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka [DCSSL], 2004). Hambantota District is clearly a gateway to profitable investment, playing a crucial role in the development of the southern region of Sri Lanka and presenting exciting opportunities for the responsible, visionary investor. Recently, the Sri Lankan government has recognized the southern region as an entrepreneurial hub and proposed to establish a new harbor and airport in the Hambantota District. These large scale projects, primarily aimed at developing the infrastructure of the area, indicate a move towards the development of the district into a hub of economic development.

Adaptation to shifting landscapes through aspects of entrepreneurship and innovation is of major concern for all enterprises, especially for small and medium-sized (SMEs) that are dominant in Sri Lanka. Innovation and R&D are recognized as a prime objective of poverty elevation and development of the country. Accordingly, Sri Lankan government has formulated its strategies as:

- Strengthening and modernizing science and technology organizations with targeted development strategies and policy directions;
- Identifying strategic technology development areas and preparing the science and technology institutions for the delivery and transfer of technology;
- Developing human resources for maximum productivity in science and technology, and for its effective management; and,
- Building a scientific culture, promoting its application in private and public sector activity (Amaradasa and Wickremasinghe, 2007).

At present, the focus of SMEs to promote innovation in Sri Lanka is recognized as vital. But, the empirical literature lacks evidence regarding the innovativeness of SMEs especially in the Southern Province of Sri Lanka. Thus, the present study could serve as a starting point to empirically study the SME innovativeness and its relationship with business performance in Hambantota District of Southern Sri Lanka. The research focuses on two key questions: (1) what is the degree of innovativeness of manufacturing SMEs in HDSL? (2) To what extent does innovativeness influence the business performance of these SMEs?

2. Literature Review and Hypothesis

2.1 Relationship between innovativeness and business performance

Innovativeness is defined here as the capacity to introduce some new process, product or idea in an organization (Damanpour, 1991; Hurley et al., 1998). An innovation can be a new product or service, a new production process, or a new structure or administrative system. Drucker (1985) described that innovation can be an economic or social, rather than a technical term. Innovation as changing the yield of resources as changing the value and satisfaction obtained resources from the consumer. Systematic innovation therefore comprises the purposeful and organized search for changes, and the systematic analysis of the opportunities such changes might offer for economic or social innovation.

Empirical studies investigating the innovation–performance relationship frequently present mixed findings. Some empirical studies report that innovation does not influence firm performance (Birley and Westhead, 1990; Heunks, 1998). Meanwhile, the positive relationship between innovation and business performance has been shown in a number of other empirical studies. Innovativeness is an important determinant of business performance. Firms' superior products have achieved higher market shares and similar performance outcomes particularly when compared to producers with less developed innovative practices. Innovativeness is also likely to be useful for allowing the firm to preempt competitors with new or improved products, diversify product lines, and generally expand the firm's scope of activities. All of these outcomes can help contribute to achieving a sustainable competitive advantage (Hult et al., 2004). Damanpour and Evan (1984) reported a positive relationship between organizational innovation and performance. Innovativeness is an important component of a firm's strategy, mainly because it constitutes one of the principal means

through which it can seek new business opportunities (Covin and Slevin, 1991; Lumpkin and Dess, 1996). Cho and Pucik (2005) found that companies which can balance innovativeness with quality improvement will create a virtuous circle of growth, profitability and premium market value. Their study further indicated that a firm's capability to balance innovativeness with quality is in itself an intangible resource critical for sustaining growth, improving profitability, and creating superior market values. A study by Deshpande et al., (1993) among Japanese firms indicated that innovativeness is positively related to organizational performance in terms of relative profitability, market share and growth rate. Using data from 206 US business services firms, Mansury and Love (2008) found that the presence of service innovation and its extent has a consistently positive effect on growth. In a study of determinants of innovation in micro-, small and medium enterprises in Sri Lanka, De Mel et al. (2009) found that firms which innovate earn higher profits than firms which do not innovate, and that innovation is strongly and significantly associated with higher profitability.

These previous studies provide empirical evidence of the positive relationship between innovativeness and firm performance. Thus, we hypothesize that:

H1: Innovativeness is positively related to business performance

3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Research Model

The research model of this study intending to determine the relationship between innovativeness and business performance of SMEs in HDSL is presented in Figure 1.

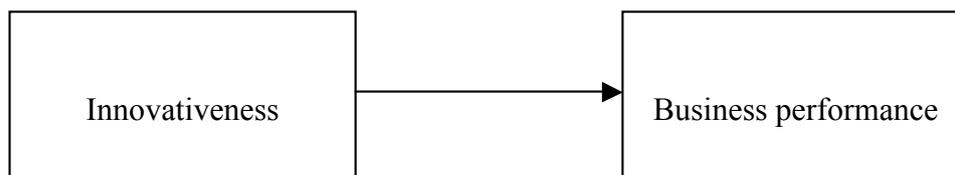


Figure 1: The research model

3.2 Survey Development and Sample Design

The survey for this study was carried out using interviews by contacting the respondents through the Hambantota District Chamber of Commerce (HDCC). At first, interviews were conducted with the economic development planner and the manager handling SMEs of HDCC to plan the study. Given this information from HDCC, a manufacturing sector was selected as a first step. There are in total 125 manufacturing SMEs listed in the HDCC directory and most of them concentrate around or closer to urban areas. Therefore, 25 manufacturing SMEs were selected to represent all the sub-geographic locations including city and rural areas within Hambantota District that were established more than five years. A sample of manufacturing SMEs were chosen with total fixed assets of 20 Million Sri Lankan Rupees (LKR) or less, excluding land and buildings, and the number of employees' ranging

from 5 to less than 150 in accordance with the definition of manufacturing SMEs by the National Development Bank of Sri Lanka.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a primary data collection method. The selection of this method was due to the unwillingness of respondents to provide information through other communication methods such as a mail survey. Swierczek and Ha (2003) also used this method to collect data from entrepreneurs in developing countries. Owners/managers of SMEs were target respondents. Prior to data collection, we conducted a pilot study with owner/managers of three manufacturing SMEs in the study area to confirm the understandability and content validity of the survey. Data were collected during October 2008 to April 2009 for all selected SMEs and interviews with each respondent lasted approximately one to two hours.

3.3 Research Instrument

Measures of innovativeness and business performance variables were drawn from previous research. *Innovativeness* is difficult to operationalize due to inconsistencies in the definition of innovativeness by various scholars (Li, Chen and Huang, 2006). The scale used for this study to measure *innovativeness* was adapted from Hurley and Hult (1998), as well as Covin and Slevin (1989), originally devised by Khandwalla (1977), with a total of eight items ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Previous research suggests that performance is a multidimensional concept and it is not possible to choose a single performance measure because it likely to produce biased results (e.g. Wiklund and Shepherd, 2005). Business performance of SMEs can be measured by both objective and subjective measures (Murphy et al., 1996; Gupta and Govindarajan, 1984). In previous studies, growth is used as a proxy for business performance (Brush and Vanderwerf, 1992).

Based on the literature, this study concludes that in order to describe SMEs performance more fully, a combination of financial and non-financial measures is needed to provide a more meaningful picture of business performance. Therefore, we combined financial and non-financial performance measures. The scale for business performance was assessed by sales growth, employment growth, profit (pre-tax), market share growth and owner/managers' satisfaction. Sales, profit and employment information was obtained through interviews with respondents and the average growth rate from year 2006 to 2008 calculated. Becherer and Maurer (1999) also used the same method, perceived financial performance, by asking company presidents to indicate the change in annual sales and profits compared to three years ago. Market share growth was measured based on self-reported performance by the respondent from each SME. Self-reporting was appropriate and reliable when objective data was not available (Dess and Robinson, 1984). Owner/manager satisfaction was evaluated using a five point Likert -scale from 1 (highly dissatisfied) to 5 (highly satisfied).

3.4 Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to analyze data. Regression analysis was used to determine the relationship between the independent variable (innovativeness) and the dependent variable (business performance). Reliability analysis was carried out in order to

ensure the internal consistency and reliability of measures. Reliability of items measuring innovativeness and business performance were performed to evaluate Cronbach's alpha value which shows a value of 0.734. The alpha values of the measures used in this study exceed 0.70 as recommended by Nunnally (1978). This ensures that items grouping are reliable and acceptable.

4. Results

4.1 Respondent Profile

The background characteristics of respondents are given in Table 1. As shown, 68% of the respondents were both founders and owners of SMEs. Most of the respondents were between 30 and 35 years old. Levels of education among respondents indicate that only 04% have University degrees and 40% have advance level qualifications. Considering the experience of the entrepreneurs, approximately 56% of the entrepreneurs have less than two years of previous experience and 24% of them have more than ten years experience.

Table 2 presents the profile of manufacturing SMEs in HDSL. The manufacturing industries are varied and almost 56% of SMEs are from the food and beverage sector, 02% from machinery & equipment, 02% are jewelers, 04% in building & construction, and 3% from others such as furniture, herbal products and agriculture. In terms of ownership, 76% of the firms had sole proprietorship, 08% were partnerships, and 16% were limited liability companies. The age of the SMEs shows that the majority (44%) of them are more than 10 years old. In terms of firm size, 52% of firms had number of employees between 10 and 20.

Table 1: Background Characteristics of SME Owner/Managers in HDSL (n=25)

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age of the owner/manager (in years)		
31-35	7	28
36-40	5	20
41-45	6	24
46-50	3	12
Above 50	4	16
Level of education		
Graduate	1	4
Advanced level	10	40
Ordinary level	7	28
Below ordinary level	7	28
Previous business experience		
More than 10 years	6	24
5-10 years	3	12
2-5 years	2	8
Less than two years	14	56
Current position of the respondents		
Founder and owner	17	68
Owner	5	20
Manager	3	12

Table 2: Characteristics of Manufacturing SMEs in HDSL (n==25)

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Type of business		
Food and beverages	14	56
Machinery & equipment	2	8
Jewelers	2	8
Building & construction	4	16
Others	3	12
Age of the firms		
6-10 years	6	24
11-15 years	11	44
16-20 years	6	24
21-25 years	1	4
26- 30 years	1	4
Type of ownership		
Sole proprietorship	19	76
Partnership	2	8
Company	4	16
Number of employees		
5-10	2	8
11-20	13	52
21-30	4	16
31-40	4	16
Above 40	2	8

4.2 Descriptive Statistics and Hypothesis Testing

The results indicated that the mean value of innovativeness of SMEs was slightly higher than the average level which is 3.19, whereas the mean value for business performance was 3.50. The summary of the descriptive statistics are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Innovativeness and Business Performance Variables

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Items
Innovativeness	3.19	0.43	8
Business Performance	3.5	0.48	5

The results of the regression analyses in Table 4 indicated that innovativeness was positively and significantly correlated to the business performance of SMEs ($r = 0.392$, $p \leq 0.05$). This means that the higher the innovativeness, the better the performance of SMEs. Hence, the proposed hypothesis that innovativeness is positively related to business performance was supported.

Table 4: Results of Regression Analysis for Impact of Innovativeness on Business Performance of SMEs.

	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	F-value	Significance
Innovativeness on Business Performance	0.392*	0.154	0.117	4.19	0.05

$p \leq 0.05$

5. Discussion and conclusion

This research focused on the degree of innovativeness and the impact of innovativeness on the business performance of SMEs in the Southern Province, particularly Hambantota District of Sri Lanka. First, the degree of innovativeness was slightly higher than the average level suggesting that generally SMEs have moderate innovative behavior. To gain a comprehensive understanding of innovativeness in SMEs, we further identified some obstacles that hamper innovativeness. Especially, HDSL is known as a rural district and currently accelerating progress through infrastructure development and other development activities. SMEs located

in rural areas still lack market access lowering the speed of small businesses competing against SMEs as well as large businesses in comfort areas. Inadequate resources, especially lack of financial capital, also hinder SMEs to introduce new products and expand new markets. Most SMEs have obtained initial capital from informal sources such as savings, family members and relatives. The lack of know-how for preparing proper business plans to obtain financing from formal sources has therefore also been found to be a barrier for access to the necessary financing. The majority of SMEs in HDSL were established with a very low level of skills and expertise, particularly lacking management and technical know-how. Innovativeness of SMEs also depends on the innovativeness of owner/managers. Creativity, technical skills, motivation for growth, flexibility and networking ability of owner/managers were identified as important factors that enhanced the innovativeness of SMEs.

Even though the SMEs have these barriers that may lower the innovativeness, they focused on gaining regional advantages such as available raw materials, labor-intensive techniques and crafting skills, cost reduction methods in order to introduce innovation to fulfill unmet customer needs. Furthermore, SMEs are likely to be introducing more incremental innovation rather than radical innovation as a result of these barriers and the lack of technology. In developing countries, incremental changes, acquisition of embodied technology, and applications or adaptations of existing products or processes are thought to be the most frequent forms of innovation (De Mel et al., 2009).

Secondly, this paper examined the relationship between innovativeness and business performance of SMEs in HDSL. Empirical findings confirmed that innovativeness was positively and significantly correlated to business performance of SMEs. This implies that innovativeness is an important variable that must be considered to improve the business performance of SMEs in HDSL. The findings of the present study were consistent with previous works which indicated innovativeness as an important determinant of business performance (Damanpour and Evan 1984, Hult, Hurley and Knight, 2004). Thus, it is important for policy makers to create an innovative atmosphere through understanding the barriers to promote SMEs in order to improve business performance.

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**SUSTAINABILITY MEASURES ADOPTED AT HOME AND ABROAD BY LARGE
U.S. CORPORATIONS**

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ABSTRACT

The United States' government has not ratified the Kyoto Protocol of greenhouse gas emissions reduction, but most of the large U.S. corporations are proactively involve in sustainability and environment friendly measures at home and abroad. The United States is still the largest polluter in the world, contributing one-fourth of global greenhouse gas emissions. These large U.S. corporations were slow to address the global environment challenges but a majority of them now have a clear understanding of their responsibility. Some of these corporations are actively trading carbon credits on global climate exchanges. About an hundred corporations are member of the Chicago Climate Exchange and the European Climate Exchange, the two large climate exchanges in the world. The questionnaire results also support these large corporations' increased involvement in sustainability measures.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to identify sustainability measures adopted by large U.S. corporations in their domestic and international operations. Large U.S. and other global corporations have realized the importance of sustainability measures and related market-based mechanisms. Twenty-three of these large corporations came together in the Group of Eight Climate Change Roundtable (part of the World Economic Forum) and demanded world governments to establish clear, consistent, and transparent long-term economic incentives to reduce all greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions. Large U.S. corporations are the founding member of the North America's first voluntary climate exchange in Chicago. At the same time, the U.S. government has not ratified the Kyoto Protocol of GHG emissions reduction.

Large U.S. corporations are under pressure from sustainability advocates and institutional investors around the world. These large corporations along with the large European and Asian corporations have volunteered to share their sustainability efforts to the Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP). A positive development is the involvement of institutional investors in forcing large U.S. corporations to disclose their current GHG emissions and reduction strategies. The leader of these efforts is the Carbon Disclosure Project and their periodic surveys have encouraged large U.S. corporations to reduce their GHG emissions. (Truini 2004) The Carbon Disclosure Project is a coalition of about 385 institutional investors that manage \$57 trillions of global investment. The Carbon Disclosure Project has made requests to the largest multinationals to disclose their GHG emissions reduction programs. In early 2008, the group made its sixth request to 3,250 of the world's largest publicly traded corporations to release their investments in greenhouse gas reduction. The 2008 list includes largest 500 U.S. corporations, 500 largest global corporations, 350 largest British corporations, 150 largest Japanese corporations, and other large corporations from around the world. (Hashmi 2009) The survey results are available

to the public at large as well as to institutional investors. Such a request suggests that the large U.S. and global corporations are experiencing increased pressure from governments as well as investment groups to find a market-based solution to environmental problems and promote sustainability measures.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Snider, et al. (2003) studied socially responsible behavior of thirty largest U.S. corporations and fifty largest global corporations as listed by Forbes magazine. The authors studied the selected corporations' websites in context of the stakeholder's theory. Snider, et al. (2003) addresses the broader social responsibility issues but does not particularly deal with sustainability behavior. White (2006) suggests that going green is an economically beneficial decision for U.S. corporations. The growing market in carbon credits and other environment related incentives are impacting corporate income statements and balance sheets. White (2006) identified that the U.S. financial institutions are examining carbon-related legislations and corporate exposure to environmental risk in long term investment approval process. Hashmi (2009) looked into growth of carbon credits market in the U.S. and around the globe.

Launched in 1999, the Dow Jones Sustainability Indexes are the first global indexes tracking the financial performance of the leading sustainability-driven companies worldwide. (DJSI 2010) Currently more than 70 DJSI licenses are held by asset managers in 16 countries to manage a variety of financial products. For example, the Dow Jones Corporation has created the Dow Jones Sustainability United States Index (DJSI US) to evaluate market performance of the large U.S. corporations. DJSI US includes large corporations from all fifty-seven industry sectors. Market capitalization of these large U.S. corporations is US \$ 4.3 trillion. The top holding companies in the DJSI US are Microsoft Corporation, Procter & Gamble, Johnson & Johnson, General Electric, and IBM. (DJSI US 2010) One of the objectives of these indexes is to analyze sustainability policies of a corporation on their financial performance.

In August 2009, the Dow Jones Corporation has also introduced the Dow Jones Sustainability Japan 40 Index (DJSI Japan 40) measuring performance of the largest 40 sustainability leaders in Japan. The index is rebalanced each year in September and calculated in U.S. dollar and Japanese yen. (DJSI 2010)

Fleming (2005) discussed the shareholders' demand for more disclosure of climate risk exposure. Investors managing \$ 3.0 trillion assets released a ten-point action plan for U.S. corporations and Wall Street firms to help assess financial risk relating to environmental issues. Supporters of the action plan include state treasurers, comptrollers and pension fund leaders from California, Illinois, New York and the United Kingdom. It suggests that U.S. and European corporations are feeling pressure from the shareholders to be proactive in reducing the greenhouse gasses. In another study, Hancock (2005) foresee stringent requirement from the United State's Security and Exchange Commission, quoting Commissioner Richard Roberts, "era of responsibility free pollution for U.S. corporations was over." Truini (2004) summarize findings of a 2004 study of Financial Times 500 Global Index of companies by the realization of these companies that climate change can impact shareholder value both positively and negatively; thus, it is in the best interest of the corporations to be proactive.

An analysis of the web sites of the top 100 US corporations, as well as a survey mailed to the human resources executive of each of the top 250 US corporations (10% response rate) was completed by the Duke University researchers. (Rousseau 2009) A primary observation was the large variation among top US corporations when it comes to their commitment to sustainability and their commitment through the integration of sustainability practices into their corporate cultures. For example, companies such as Berkshire Hathaway Inc., exemplify a lack of integration of sustainability practices, while companies such as ATT, Inc. and IBM Corp., hope to develop and cultivate a sustainable corporate culture, and reap the benefits of the value this effort brings. In general, the research points to a lack of consensus and understanding of what sustainability means among the top US corporations, and perhaps a lack of prioritization of sustainability issues. (Rousseau, 2009) The website analysis by this study reveals that two-thirds of the top 100 US corporations report on sustainability issues, but only 43% chose to make sustainability immediately visible on their corporate website landing page. (Rousseau, 2009) Top U.S. corporations can facilitate the advancement of sustainability, starting with the modification of the company's mission statement and/or core values.

It is in the best interest of the U.S. corporations to design a long term strategy of reducing GHG emissions or risk being cannibalized by maintaining status quo or resisting the change. Editor (2006) argues that U.S. automobile industry's demise is attributed to their unwise lobbying to resist fuel efficiency. This resistance not only harming environment but they are losing customers to more fuel efficient automobiles. Sustainability corporations can also trade their carbon credits on global climate exchanges. Another encouraging trend for U.S. corporations is the tax incentives from several municipalities, states and U.S. federal government. U.S. treasury has announced to allow up to \$ 2 billion in tax-exempt bonds to be issued for selected industries. (Ferris 2004)

Davis (2005) reported that many U.S. corporations have implemented significant voluntary GHG emissions reduction. For example:

- BP America, Inc. reduced its GHG emissions 10 percent below 1990 levels, creating approximately \$650 million in value in the process, and has committed to maintain its reduced net emissions for at least a decade.
- Alcoa has reduced its direct GHG emissions 25 percent below 1990 levels through energy efficiency improvements, has captured over \$16 million per year in energy savings, and projects that technological improvements could lead to a 50 percent reduction by 2010.

Davis (2005) also reported encouraging and proactive strategies by U.S. corporations related to GHG emissions. For example:

- 228 companies and organizations reported 2,027 GHG reduction or sequestration projects to the Department of Energy's Voluntary Reporting of Greenhouse Gases Program in 2002. While 43 percent of the reports were from the electric power sector, a total of 29 industries or services were represented.
- Out of 50 entities participate in EPA's Climate Leaders Program, 20 of them have set reduction goals in addition to measuring emissions. Participants document emissions for

all six GHGs considered by the Kyoto Protocol and report on a company-wide, facility-level basis for all domestic facilities.

- Businesses with annual revenues over \$140 billion report their direct and indirect emissions to California’s Climate Action Registry, perhaps the most developed and influential GHG emissions registry in the United States.

For more than a year, the Newsweek worked with leading environmental researchers to rank the 500 largest U.S. companies based on their actual environmental performance, policies, and reputation. It was a huge challenge to rank companies based on sustainability. That's largely because comparing environmental performance across industries (power generation or service industries) is difficult to be compared. (McGinn 2009) More than half of companies' overall Green Scores in the Newsweek ranking are based on their environmental policies and reputation, industry-neutral metrics that help even the playing field for companies in carbon-intensive businesses. To overcome less than expected voluntary corporate emissions data, Newsweek used data from Trucost, which has created a widely acclaimed system for estimating. (McGinn 2009)

Table 1 is a summary of the top ten socially responsible corporations in the U.S. as compiled by Newsweek magazine. This is one of the most comprehensive ranking. U.S. corporations can find out their detailed rankings and use this information in their future operational decisions. At the same time, consumers can also make their buying behavior based on the social responsibility ranking scores.

Table 1
 Social Responsibility Score and Ranking of Large U.S. Corporations

Rank	Company	Industry	Overall Green	Envir. Impact	Green Policies/Performance	Reputation Survey
1	Hewlett-Packard <i>"Strong programs to reduce GHG and first one to report GHG data in the industry"</i>	Technology	100.00	64.80	97.90	88.44
2	Dell <i>"Forth user of renewable energy"</i>	Technology	98.87	67.70	100.00	70.80
3	Johnson & Johnson <i>"Its commitment to climate change is rare for its peer group"</i>	Pharmaceu - ticals	98.56	56.70	98.17	75.88
4	Intel <i>"Largest corporate purchaser of renewable energy- 46 % of total"</i>	Technology	95.12	46.70	87.87	81.86
5	IBM	Technology	94.08	76.90	84.20	77.56

	<i>"Had formal environmental policies since 1971"</i>					
6	State Street <i>"Leader in financial services industry"</i>	Financial Services	93.62	95.00	84.39	70.69
7	Nike <i>"Leads its industry in environmental management of suppliers"</i>	Consumer Products	93.28	77.10	78.31	89.90
8	Bristol-Myers Squibb <i>"Announced goal to reduce direct/indirect emissions by 10% by 2010, from 2001 levels"</i>	Pharmaceu - ticals	92.62	27.80	88.52	64.73
9	Applied Materials <i>"Semiconductor manufacturer designs its products to use less water/energy/GHG"</i>	Technology	91.79	50.90	89.51	44.51
10	Starbucks <i>"In 2008, announced to source products in environmentally and socially responsible ways"</i>	Leisure/ Food	91.63	30.50	82.01	75.42

Source: McGinn 2009

Nastu (2008) identified energy efficiency and investment in renewable energy as key steps taken by the U.S. corporations to reduce their GHGs emissions and operating cost. For example, Office Depot reported that it has reached a ten percent absolute reduction in carbon dioxide emissions from natural gas and electricity consumed in its North American retail stores, warehouses, and offices by installing more energy-efficient technology. Citigroup, with a real estate portfolio equaling 8.5 million square meters worldwide, has adopted such power-saving measures as turning off escalators in the lobbies of buildings and redesigning bank branches to include more natural lighting and recycled materials. Citigroup reported nearly \$100 million annually, by making its offices use less energy. Similarly, GE has pledged to invest \$1.5 billion annually on ecomagination research and development by 2010. One of four GE ecomagination commitments originally made in 2005, R&D investment has reached more than \$2.5 billion since the program's inception. In May 2007, GE announced that it had doubled sales from environmentally friendly products to \$12 billion over the previous two years. (Nastu 2008)

Wal-Mart Corporation has recently announced to put solar panels on their 22 stores in the United States. (Editors, 2007) BP Solar, SunEdison and PowerLight are the provider of this technology

and each of the 22 stored can generate up to 30 percent power from these solar energy. Wal-Mart also announced to generate up to 100 percent power from renewable sources. (Editors 2007)

Some of the questions in this study are inspired by Hoffman (2005), suggesting that if a company wishes to formulate a sustainability business model, they are advised to follow these steps:

1. Calculate the energy efficiency of the corporation and explore the ways to improve it.
2. Calculate the CO₂ and other GHG emissions of the corporation.
3. Explore carbon trading mechanism.
4. Conduct a cost benefit analysis of CO₂ and GHG emissions reduction by employing new processes and price of carbon credits.
5. Research new energy efficient technologies, particularly for future projects. The list includes solar power, wind power, hydro power and utilizing bio-fuels.
6. Assess GHG liability of new capital assets.
7. Formulate internal auditing system to comply with GHG regulations and forecast future greenhouse gas emissions.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A questionnaire was mailed out to a sample of large U.S. corporations selected from the Fortune 500 list published in 2007. Certain industries which are exclusively domestic, e.g. home builders, saving institutions, and waste management were deleted from the sample. A total of 422 questionnaires were mailed out addressing by name to the CEO of the companies. The questionnaire includes questions related to corporation's environmental responsibilities, political risk and direct investment policies. The last section of the questionnaire covers corporation specific demographic information. A self addressed stamped envelop was enclosed to improve response rate. As an incentive, the respondents were promised summary data after conclusion of the project. A total of 66 responses were received (response rate 15.64 %); however, the environmental friendliness question was responded by only 53 corporations (13 %). The response rate of this study is within the acceptable range. There is a non-response bias; however, not addressed in this study. Secondary data sources are used to collect wind energy growth data and sustainability ranking of the U.S. corporations.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

Installed wind-power capacity data for the top four countries and the world are tabulated in Table 2. In four-year period, global capacity increased by 167 percent to 157,899 MW. The United States is the leading wind power producing country in the world, with an estimated installed capacity of 35,159 MW. The U.S. installed capacity grew at a staggering rate of 284 percent in four-year period. This result suggests that the U.S. corporations and utility companies have been aggressively investing in socially responsible wind-energy projects. Wind-energy investment in China is encouraging as Chinese increased their installed capacity from 1,266 MW (in 2005) to 25,104 MW (in 2009). China is about to become the second wind-power producing country surpassing Germany. Some of the questions in this study's questionnaire are related to the large U.S. corporations' investment/reliance on wind energy and other renewable sources.

Table 2
 Installed Wind-Power Capacity (MW) in the United States

Rank	Country	2005	2009	Growth
1	United States	9,149	35,159	284 %
2	Germany	18,428	25,777	40 %
3	China	1,266	25,104	1882 %
4	Spain	10,028	19,149	91 %
	World Total	59,024	157,899	167 %

Source: GWEC 2010

A careful analysis of Table 3 reveals that responding large U.S. corporations are making right investment decisions. In each category, U.S. corporations are involved in sustainability measures at home as well as their involvement abroad; however, these large U.S. corporations are more aggressive in their sustainability investment activities at home. This may sound contradictory to the fact that the United States has not ratified the Kyoto Protocol of environmental responsibility, but the United States environmental protection regulations and financial incentives in few U.S. states encourage U.S. corporations to be proactive in environmental issues.

The most widely used sustainability measure at home or abroad is ‘investing in energy efficient measures.’ A total of 38 corporations are focusing on energy efficiency at home and 31 in their international operation. The second and third widely adopted measures were getting part of the electrical power from solar and wind energy. Solar and wind energy is subsidized by several U.S. states and federal government, thus, encouraging U.S. corporations to generate solar and wind power or pay to the utilities for solar and wind energy generated electric power. Solar and wind energy power generation was also ranked second and third in their international operations; however, at a lower usage level. Bio-fuel was the fourth widely used sustainability measure at home and abroad. Perhaps the most surprising finding was the 42 percent of the responding large U.S. corporations are trading carbon credits in the U.S. This can be attributed to the voluntary reduction of greenhouse gases by many large U.S. corporations including Ford Motor Company, Dow Corning, DuPont, Motorola, Kodak, and Cargill. A small number of large U.S. corporations do support environmental organizations.

Table 3
 Number of U.S. Corporations Adopting Sustainability Measures
 (Total = 53)

Sustainability Measures	In USA	In International Operations
Electricity generated by solar power	36 (68 %)	27 (51 %)
Electricity generated by wind power	34 (64 %)	25 (47 %)
Electricity generated by hydro power	7 (13 %)	2 (4 %)
Electricity generated by biomass	9 (17 %)	7 (13%)

Using bio-fuels	31 (59 %)	10 (19 %)
Investing in energy efficient methods	38 (72 %)	31 (59 %)
Supporting environmental org.	11 (21 %)	5 (9 %)
Trading carbon credits	22 (42 %)	9 (17 %)

5. CONCLUSIONS

The United States has not ratified the Kyoto Protocol of mandatory reductions in GHGs, but the large U.S. corporations are making sustainability measures to be their top priority. These corporations are heavily relying on wind-power in the U.S. Based on a survey of these large corporations, it is concluded that the large U.S. corporations selected from Fortune 500 list are focusing on sustainability measures in their U.S. and international operations. Energy efficiency, solar and wind energy came out to be first, second and third widely used measures. It is also interesting to see that these corporations' involvement in sustainability activities is more aggressive in the U.S. compared with their international operations. This difference is attributed to better enforcement of U.S. voluntary and mandatory regulations. Also, U.S. corporations are pressurized by major investors and environmental groups to adopt sustainability measures at home. Also, the domestic operations of these U.S. corporations are in close observation of major investors and environmental groups. Financial incentives and carbon trading makes the above mentioned sustainability measures not only socially responsible behavior, but good business as well.

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Factors Affecting the Practice and non-Practice of Filipino-American Families in the United States

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

Introduction

The word value comes from the Latin term “*valere*” which means “to be worth” (Merriam Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary). It reveals a corresponding utility. This may be translated into Filipino as “halaga” or “pakinabang.” Brian Hall (1994, p.21), on the other hand, defines values as “the ideals that give significance to our lives, that are reflected through the priorities that we choose, and that we act on consistently and repeatedly.” A person’s personality improves as he or she chooses alternatives and follows them up (Mercado, 2000). Hence, values have become an important part of a culture.

Value has been a concern of various studies, especially of social sciences, and it has a variety of meanings. In social sciences, it is linked to the acts, customs, institutions, and people’s positive ways (Mercado, 2000). In business or economics, it may refer to its usefulness or purchasing power. In behavioral sciences, it may denote any need, attitude, or desire.

If value is to be an object of science, there must be an obvious relationship between the object and the thoughts and actions of a certain person perceiving the same object. The person may find the object useful to himself and the share of viewpoint with other people becomes normative (Bauzon, 1994). Bauzon sees value as becoming a norm for judging behavior in a given culture. In Filipino culture, for instance, the people value group, hence, individualism is judged as bad. An individual can be called “walang pakisama,” or he can be called “pilosopo,” if he does not conform with the group’s thoughts and actions. Values, then, have a strong social dimension.

Mercado (2000, p. 88) mentions that “the Filipino identity is the result of his historical past.” Filipino identity is the fruit of the varied influences. Although the country has regional diversities, there is something common that covers all Filipino people. “The commonalities are more striking than the differences, and we can conclude there indeed a common culture and a common social structure that we can truthfully call Filipino” (CBCP, 1992, p.11, no.19).

The Filipino cannot be separated from the cultural values and attitudes where he has been brought up. These values have become a great part of his personality that makes him different from other people. Values, according to Andres (1996), give life to the individual’s spirit and uniqueness to his being. In this view, values can be a blessing or a curse

to a Filipino depending on how he manages these - positively or negatively.

As regards cultural values, we can say that every culture is distinct from each other and each has its own set of value systems (Andres, 1996). Although some cultures are closely related, there are still some unique factors which differentiate one from the others. People may only find the difference when they are already in a new cultural setting. This may result in a “culture shock.” This is usually the initial experience of people who migrated to a foreign country whose culture is far from theirs. However, a new cultural setting may either bring positive or negative influence on a person that may lead the practice or non-practice of one’s own cultural values.

The preceding ideas have inspired the researcher to find the different factors affecting the practice and non-practice of Filipino cultural values of Filipino-American (Fil-Am) families in a foreign land.

Review of Related Literature

This section presents the different articles or literature from different books and websites that are related to this present study.

The Filipino Culture

Filipino culture is “an integrated system of learned behavior patterns that are characteristic of the members of the Philippine society” (Andres, 1987, p. 4). This refers to the Filipinos’ total way of life that

includes Filipino customs, traditions, language, values, beliefs, attitudes, self-concept, morals, rituals, and manners.

The Filipino culture is a mixture of several ethnicities, mainly Malay ancestry, due to their trade and colonization history (<http://www.fasgi.org/cultural/cul0.html>). The Filipino values and ways of life were formed by several but sometimes conflicting cultures, thus making them uniquely Filipino. In the Filipino blood runs the rich Christian values of Europe, the pragmatic and democratic values of America, Islamic influence, and the spiritual values of Asia (<http://www.ci.glendale.ca.us/hrc/philp.htm>; see also <http://www.fasgi.org/cultural/cul0.html>). This fact makes a Filipino easily adapt to different cultures and live the values they provide.

There are seven distinct elements in Filipino culture. These are values, basic personality, basic social unit, politics, economics, technology and ecology (<http://www.ci.glendale.ca.us/hrc/philp.htm>).

According to Andres, (1987) Filipino cultural values are common beliefs that make some activities, relationships, goals and feelings important to the Filipino people's identity. The Filipino basic personality is established by the Filipino culture because of the selection of those similar types that are matched with the culture. The Filipino basic social unit is the family that supplies and maintains the Filipino values. The Filipino politics are the Filipino ideas and structures linked to the allocation and channeling of power within the Philippine society for its

welfare, order and regulation. The Filipino economics are the ideas that the Philippine society acquires and the structures which it creates for provision of food, clothing and shelter for its members. Filipino technology includes all that the Filipinos have invented to make their life easier, less demanding, and shifted from the edge of mere survival to a quality living thus changing their way of life and giving them more control of their physical environment. Finally, Filipino ecology is the link of the Filipino to the ecosystem such as temperature, type of soil, amount of moisture, types of crops that can be grown or types of animals present in the Philippines and other environmental features (cf. <http://www.ci.glendale.ca.us/hrc/philp.htm>).

Understanding the Filipino Character and Values

In the introductory part of this paper, it was mentioned that values may be translated into Filipino as “*halaga*” or “*pakinabang*.” But what could be the best translation that will better understand the Filipino character and values? Other authors have translated values as “*buti*,” “*pamantayan*,” “*ganda*,” and “*pagpapahalaga*” (Mercado, 2000). However, do these translations really fit the character and values of the Filipino?

Miranda (n.d) gives different translations to value, and he narrows them down to “*buti*,” which means good, and “*mahal*,” which means esteemed, loved, precious. Mercado (2000), however, disagrees with him on three counts: good differs from value; value is both objective and

subjective or intersubjective; and since value is ambivalent, it can also be evil.

Jocano (1997), on the other hand, suggests another translation as “*pamantayan*.” This term comes from the Filipino root word “*pantay*,” which indicates that “it stays in the middle between extremes, that is between ‘*labis*’ (more) and ‘*kulang*’ (less)” (Mercado, 2000, p. 96). Jocano (1997) refers “*pamantayan*” to “a code of meanings, as internal rules, as directive force, and as a system of relationships” (cf. Mercado, 2000, p. 96). This translation has three sub-groups: “*halaga*” (worth, value), “*asal*” (good manners), and “*diwa*” (spirit) (Jocano, 1997). Values are to be taken holistically because what a person values affects his thoughts, behavior, and outlook in life. This translation of value as “*pamantayan*” cannot be thought of by an ordinary Filipino in his everyday words although it can be taken philosophically (Mercado, 2000). Therefore, such translation will not be used as a basic standard in this study but can be considered in some ways.

Mercado (2000, p. 99) thinks that “although “*ganda*” (beautiful) may be philosophically approximate translation, it does not subscribe to the principle that the translation should be near to the language of the people.” He mentions that the Tagalog does not say “*mabuting umaga*” for ‘good morning’ but “*magandang umaga*.” Hence, “*pagpapahalaga*,” may be accepted as the best translation for the term value. If one only considers its root word “*halaga*,” which means price, value, worth,

importance, evaluation or assessment, it still lacks the aspect of intersubjectivity (Mercado, 2000). For this reason, an affix may be needed to supply the lacking elements. The word "*pagpapahalaga*" provides the shades of value as grasped philosophically.

Filipinos cannot get away from the influence of cultural values and attitudes (Andres, 1996). Values contribute life to one's spirit and to the uniqueness of his being. There are many strengths and weaknesses of the Filipino character. These could be the result of the blend of several cultures among the Filipinos.

Filipino values, according to Mercado (2000), are compound. Values can be universal but each country possesses its unique mark. Brian Hall (1994) suggests a total of 125 human values. His review of values has been validated cross-culturally. One may think that these values are like building blocks but they are bunches of more fundamental values. Mercado (2000) cites "*hiya*" as an example. This value can be a mixture of honesty, being liked, competition, care, order, confidence, competence, courtesy/hospitality, empathy, expressiveness, equilibrium, support/peer, tradition, risk, friendship/belongingness, health/healing, human dignity, intimacy, acceptance/limitation, prestige/image, right/respect, self-assertion, self-worth, social affirmation.

Licuanan (1994) presents several strengths of the Filipino character. These are "*pakikipagkapwa-tao*" (regard for others), family

orientation, joy and humor, flexibility, adaptability and creativity, hard work and industry, faith and religiosity, and ability to survive. However, these strengths of the Filipino character can also become negative depending on how the person manages to live these values. Hence, one can see the ambivalence of Filipino values.

“*Pakikipagkapwa-tao*” is very natural to the Filipinos. They are open to others and feel one with others (Licuanan, 1994). They easily empathize with others as they are helpful and generous in times of need. They are known for their practice of “*bayanihan*” or mutual assistance and for hospitality.

Because of “*pakikipagkapwa-tao*,” Filipinos develop a sensitivity to people’s feelings, trust, and a sense of gratitude or “*utang na loob*” (indebtedness). This results in camaraderie and a feeling of closeness to one another. It upholds unity and a sense of social justice (Licuanan, 1994). This value which is the same as “*pakikisama*” also means a cooperation with other people in order to reach the group’s or community’s goals or objectives in the shortest possible time (Andres, 1996).

The unity of the “self” with “other selves” gives emphasis on “kapwa” or others as the moral basis of relationships (Jocano, 1993). It is known that there are people who belong to a higher status compared to others but “they must treat each other equally. They are after all, *magkapwa tao* (fellow human beings)” (Jocano, 1993, p. 14).

“*Pakikipagkapwa-tao*” is very Filipino. This is being manifested even within the family, in the neighborhood, and in the larger community. It brings harmony to relationships.

On the other hand, “*pakikipagkapwa-tao*” may sometimes be negative. There are people who abuse other’s “*pakikipagkapwa-tao*” towards them. In this case, such value no longer brings harmony to relationships but destruction to the persons concerned.

Family orientation is very important for the Filipinos. They are known to be clannish (Andres, 1996). They have an authentic and deep love for the family that includes not only the spouses or children, parents and siblings, but also the extended family members or kin such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, godparents and other relatives by affinity. It is common for adult children to live with parents, and three generations living under one roof is typical among the Filipino families (<http://www.fasgi.org/cultural/cul0.html>). According to Licuanan (1994, p. 34), “to the Filipino, one’s family is the source of personal identity, the source of emotional and material support, and the person’s main commitment and responsibility.” This is the reason why the name of a Filipino family is given much respect and value.

Concern for the family is demonstrated in the honor and respect given to parents and elders, in the care given to children, generosity towards the needy relative, and in the great sacrifices one bears for the good of the family. This sense of family develops a feeling of

belongingness or rootedness and an essential sense of security (Licuanan, 1994). Andres (1996) mentions that this could develop a better and deeper relationship with relatives, and loyalty is strengthened.

Filipinos are known for their joy and humor. They have a joyful and fun-loving attitude towards life and its ups and downs. This sense of joy and humor is shown in the Filipino love for parties and celebrations, and in their capacity to laugh even in the hardest times of life (Licuanan, 1994).

Licuanan (1994, p. 32) writes that “Filipinos have a great capacity to adjust, and to adapt to circumstances and to the surrounding environment, both physical and social.” This creativity and resourcefulness enable them to accept change. This results in efficiency, novelty, entrepreneurship, composure, and survival.

Filipinos are known to be hardworking and industrious. The yearning to raise one’s standard of living and to possess the rudiments of an upright life for one’s family, mingled with the right opportunities and incentives, motivate the Filipino to work very hard (Licuanan, 1994).

A deep faith in God is one strong character of the Filipinos. Licuanan (1994) mentions that inherent religiosity allows the Filipinos to understand and truly accept reality in the context of God’s will and plan. This faith in God gives them courage, optimism, inner peace and even the capacity to accept tragedy and death.

Christianity is a minority religion in Asia (2.3%) but the majority religion in the Philippines is Catholicism (Gorospe, 1998). For ordinary Filipino Christians, God does exist. According to Gorospe (1998), there are different Filipino approaches to God. First, they are based on intuition rather than logic, on faith rather than reason. Secondly, one finds the “Filipino dimension,” tinted by the Filipino character and culture, of the common religious experience of humanity. Thirdly, whatever resembles the religious thought of the West is principally due the Christian influence.

The above strong characters of the Filipinos enable them to survive in life which is shown in their endurance in the midst of difficulty.

On the other hand, the different weak characters of the Filipinos are shown in their extreme personalism, extreme family-centeredness, lack of discipline, passivity and lack of initiative, colonial mentality, “kanya-kanya” syndrome, and lack of self-analysis and self-reflection (Licuanan, 1994).

Filipinos are person-oriented, and relationships with other people are very important in their lives. However, in the extreme, this person-orientation results in a lack of objectivity and an indifference towards universal rules and procedures so that everyone, despite these relationships, is treated equally (Licuanan, 1994).

Family-orientation may be a strength of the Filipinos but it becomes a serious defect in the extreme. Too much concern for the

family produces an in-group to which the Filipino is severely devoted, to the loss of concern for the larger community or the common good (Licuanan, 1994).

In the Filipino scale of values coming from the closed family kinship system, there are three traditional values given primacy such as authoritarianism, personalism, and small-group centeredness (Gorospe, 1998). It is very important for the Filipino to be approved by those in authority like the parents, teachers, and leaders who are in power. The individualism or personalism and small-group centeredness of the Filipino have hampered rather than helped towards nation-building and towards the growth of the Church in the Philippines (Gorospe, 1994). Unfortunately, Filipinos lack social consciousness of the common good.

Filipinos are known for their lack of discipline. This often results in “inefficient and wasteful work systems, the violation of rules leading to more serious transgressions, and a casual work ethic leading to carelessness and lack of follow-through” (Licuanan, 1994, p. 35). This character is linked to “*ningas cogon*.” By all standards, it becomes negative because it begins fervently and dies down as soon as it begins (Quito, 1994). This trait makes the individual inactive and unable to start things or to persevere. This is usually due to lack of discipline.

Filipinos are normally passive and lacking in initiative (Licuanan, 1994). They often wait to be told what has to be done. There is a fervent dependence on other people. Filipinos are inclined to be unworried, and

there seldom is a sense of pressure about any problem. In many ways, they are too patient and “*matiisin*,” too easily submissive to one’s fate. Therefore, Filipinos are easily oppressed and exploited.

Colonial mentality of the Filipinos has two dimensions: a lack of patriotism or love of the Philippines, and an actual preference for things foreign (Licuanan, 1994). It is often demonstrated in the hostility of the superior ones from their roots and from the masses, and in the essential feeling of national weakness that makes it difficult for Filipinos to interact as equals with the Westerners.

“Kanya-kanya” syndrome may be associated with the so-called “crab mentality.” Filipinos have a selfish, self-serving attitude that generates a feeling of envy and competitiveness towards others, particularly one’s peers, who seem to have gained some status or prestige (Licuanan, 1994). It is often manifested through “*tsismis*,” intrigues and unconstructive criticism to bring others down. One becomes self-centered; one has no regard for others (Quito, 1994). This results in the diminishing of cooperative and community spirit and in the refusal of the rights of others.

Filipinos tend to be superficial. In times of serious problems, they lack analysis and reflection. They seem to be satisfied with superficial solutions to problems. This lack of self-analysis and self-reflection is bolstered by an educational system that is frequently more

of form than substance and a legal system that tends to switch law for reality (Licuanan, 1994).

Roots of the Filipino Character

The strengths and weaknesses of the Filipino have been influenced by many factors. These include the home environment, the social environment, culture and language, history, the educational system, religion, the economic environment, the political environment, mass media, and leadership and role models (Licuanan, 1994).

Home Environment. The home environment consists of childbearing practices, family relations, and family attitudes and orientation (Licuanan, 1994). In a big family, the children are motivated to get along with their siblings and other relatives where “*pakikipagkapwa-tao*” is learned. In an authoritarian family atmosphere, children learn respect for the elderly. They also learn to become passive and reliant on authority. In the family, children are trained to value family and to provide it chief importance.

Social Environment. Social structures and social systems such as interpersonal religious and community interaction compose the social environment (Licuanan, 1994). The Filipinos are raised to be dependent on relationships with others in order to survive. This makes them in-group oriented.

Culture and Language. Filipino cultural values are characterized by warmth and person orientation, devotion to family, and a sense of joy

and humor which are strengthened by different forces such as family, school, and peer group (Licuanan, 1994). Filipino culture is characterized by an openness to the external factor that incorporates foreign elements without an essential consciousness of the heart of the culture. This could be linked with the Filipinos' colonial mentality and with the use of English as the medium of instruction in schools. The use of English may explain the Filipino's lack of reflection and analysis (Licuanan, 1994). This is the result of one's thinking in the native language but expressing oneself in English.

History. Filipinos are the product of colonial history which is generally considered as the perpetrator behind the lack of nationalism and colonial mentality (Licuanan, 1994). The American influence is more embedded in the Philippines because the Americans established a public school system where people learned English and the American way of life. These colonial influences are fortified by media and the Filipino elite by their western ways.

The Educational System. The Filipino students and teachers are forced to use school materials that are irrelevant to the Philippine setting due to the lack of suitable local textbooks and dependence on foreign textbooks. This results in a mind-set that things learned in school are not related to real life (Licuanan, 1994).

Religion. Filipino optimism and his capacity to accept life's difficulties are rooted in religion (Licuanan, 1994). This factor inculcates

in the Filipino attitudes of resignation and anxiety about life-after-death. Because of this, Filipinos are likely to become victims of opportunism, oppression, exploitation and superstition.

The Economic Environment. Many characteristics of the Filipinos are traced in poverty and hard life which most Filipinos experience. This drives them to take risks, to work hard, and to survive (Licuanan, 1994).

The Political Environment. The political power in the Philippines is depicted by a centralization of power (Licuanan, 1994). This power is concentrated in the hands of the few elite. The inefficiency of government structures yields a lack of integrity and accountability on the part of the public servants.

Mass Media. Mass media strengthens the Filipino's colonial mentality, passivity, and "*porma*" (Licuanan, 1994). They admire models who have "*mestizo*" or "*mestiza*" looks, and patronage imported goods that are seen or known through the mass media. They fantasize good life rather than confront poverty because of the escapist movies, television shows, comics, etc. that feed passivity.

Leadership and Role Models. Licuanan (1994) writes that Filipinos find their leaders as role models. Hence, when the leaders defy the law or manifest themselves as self-serving and drawn by personal interest, there is a negative bearing on the Filipino.

Assimilating the American Culture

Filipinos come from a nation where people of diverse descent are many and socially accepted. Filipinos do not have the cultural barriers against marrying outside their own racial group (Takaki, 1995). Filipino men, in particular, find it easier to meet and associate with white women compared to other Asian immigrants. They have been familiar with Western culture because their homeland had been under the Spanish and American regime for a very long time (Takaki, 1995). According to Takaki (1995), many early Filipinos in America saw themselves as Americans rather than foreigners because they had been educated in American schools and were able to speak English to some extent.

On the other hand, Coroner (1997) has presented his views about the failure of Filipinos to make a difference in American public life. According to him, Filipinos have been coming to the United States as immigrants for about a hundred years. However, they “have yet to build a community at par in clout with the other immigrant peoples who have come to compose this country’s mosaic of races” (Coroner, 1997, p. 107). Filipinos have found obscure the unity that binds a people into a unified community even within their own racial society. The Filipino Americans’ pursuit for power lacks this unrealized clasping of hands together.

Gendrano reviews the book of Nestor Mercado entitled “God bless America: A Discussion of Family Values” in Heritage Magazine (<http://home.earthlink.net/~vgendrano/heritage.html>). Mercado’s family, his wife and five children, immigrated to the United States in the mid-

70's to look for a better life for the children. In the book, Mercado narrates how he and his wife successfully raised their children and how they coped with the hardships of daily living, keeping the traditional Filipino values while they were sensibly embracing some American values that strengthened theirs. It is also claimed that parents' delicate balancing act of meshing both Filipino and American values helped the Mercados succeed in raising the children the right way.

The Filipino culture may not be very different from the American culture. The Americans, like the Filipinos, value family traditions. They teach their children the principles and values of free individuals in a free society (<http://www.americanfamilytraditions.com/values.htm>). They work hard to become men and women of integrity, self-discipline, productivity, humility and empathy. They believe in the principle of universal harmony that sustains their families by living harmoniously with the earth and the universe (<http://www.americanfamilytraditions.com/values.htm>).

There is part in the American culture whether spoken or unspoken that shows itself in everything that the people say, do, or think. One example is that they expect to compete in every aspect of their lives, and at the same time, they also expect to be given equal opportunity to realize their potential. They believe that everyone has equal rights under the law (http://www.americanfamilytraditions.com/american_culture.htm).

The Filipinos may adapt this part of the American culture but this would

not be very easy for them. Filipinos tend to be submissive. However, because of ability and determination, adapting to this culture may not be very hard for them.

Mercado (<http://home.earthlink.net/~vgendrano/heritage.html>) offers a plain model of the symbiotic relationships among the various institutions: the school, family, government, church, and the community. He explicates the interaction and effect of each other, and he compares the Filipino and other Asian values to the Americans'.

Anne Paulin (anne@pop.net.com) mentions in her e-mail write-up that "a sixth of the total immigrants in the United States are Filipinos and one million of the seven million foreign-born residents are from the Philippines." She is one of them. She asks herself, "How is immigration working for the Filipinos, their lifestyle, family values and their perception of our Homeland?" (anne@pop.net.com).

Paulin ran a survey in the Internet for a few days and there were one hundred fifty-five Filipinos who were willing to participate in her survey. Most of the respondents were petitioned by somebody in the family while others were either born in the U.S. or first generation Filipino immigrant in the family (anne@pop.net.com). Paulin's father, being the first member in their family who came to the U.S., shares the same difficult experience of other immigrants that they have gone through in assimilating the American culture, and at the same time, coping with the pain of leaving the family behind. For him, it was very

hard because he belongs to a closed-knit family. The same thing must be true for most of the immigrant Filipinos.

Coming to the United States, Filipinos are prepared with educational background and sound communication skills (anne@pop.net.com). With such ability and capacity, they can easily look for work as compared to other immigrants. The first generation Filipinos were working hard to immerse themselves in the American community as much as possible. Some have even gone to the extent of teaching only English to the children to facilitate their life and be liberated from discriminatory practices of the natives. However, while the Filipino-Americans may speak good English and know good grammar and usage and spelling, they have different way of pronouncing some English words (<http://www.filipinoweb.com>). Anne Paulin herself is a “product of the struggles of her parents to assimilate at the sacrifice of loss of language, custom, and overall Filipino culture” (anne@pop.net.com). She had “identity crisis” because she did not know how to ask her parents about her culture and her background.

Many young people from east to west have embarked on their personal quest for their Filipino identity. Unexpectedly assimilation is out and separate identity is stylish, and Filipino pride takes on a new meaning. Even children born and raised in the U.S. of Filipino parents have soared in the bandwagon expressing their bittersweet experiences

as minority students, as different and treated as such, in primarily white school (<http://www.home.earthlink.net/~vgendrano/identity.html>).

The children are very likely to take hold of and search for their roots and to identify themselves with the Filipino culture (anne@pop.net.com). Some respondents to Paulin's survey commented on their Filipino-hood. One mentioned that he was able to learn the importance of his Filipino-hood in college after going through a long period of trying to assimilate the American culture. He went through a period of anger and fervent root-searching. He is now in a period of synthesis. Another respondent found the Filipino culture so rich, so diverse, and so beautiful. He was aware of the strengths of the faith and values of the Filipinos as well as the qualities that keep the Filipino families together. Filipino customs and family values are still firmly enforced in most of the Filipino homes in the U.S. These include showing respect to elders and regular visit to parents. One respondent mentioned that Catholic upbringing is still sustained and practiced. Attending masses, novenas, prayer sessions and charismatic movements are very popular among the Filipinos in the U.S.

According to Anne Paulin (anne@pop.net.com), many Filipinos still find good life back home in the Philippines but what would one do if his or her father sacrificed over ten years of his life to offer the family the chance to fulfill their American Dream? She writes that she came to the U.S. because her loved ones have been there and her family is the most

important thing in her life. However, that does not stop her from being patriotic to her homeland and she will always look forward to coming back home to the Philippines.

In raising their children, the Filipino-American parents try to inculcate in their children's mindsets Filipino values such as respect for elders, good values, and good morals and right character. The children are taught to act like Filipinos and should not forget the good things about being Filipinos and their culture (<http://www.filipinoweb.com>). In other words, Filipino-American children are trained to live in two worlds: being Filipinos and being Americans.

Theoretical Framework

The vanishing Filipino cultural values among the Fil-Am families are observed nowadays. How can these Fil-Am families regain their Filipino identity and cultural values? In order to answer this inquiry, one has to find the different Filipino cultural values that those Fil-Am families either continuously practice or no longer practice today, and the factors affecting the practice or non-practice of such values.

Bauzon (1994) claims that there are two possible models that can be used in knowing and clarifying the Filipino values. These are the ***eclectic model*** and the ***holistic model***.

The eclectic model, Bauzon (1994, p. 93) states, "is similar to a shopper in a supermarket. The shopper picks out the grocery items he wants to buy and cooks the food according to his taste."

On the other hand, the holistic model, Bauzon (1994) continues, can be likened to the systems approach in which the person is seen as one totality. This model respects the nature of the person. As the person grows older, he becomes expert of things as he improves his thoughts and ways.

Statement of the Problem

The study tried to find the different factors that affect the practice and non-practice of the cultural values of Filipino-American families in a foreign land.

Specifically, this study aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the Filipino cultural values that the Fil-Am families in the US still consider/remember at present?
2. Which among these Filipino cultural values do they still cherish and practice today?
3. What factors contribute to the continuous practice of such cultural values?
4. What factors affect the non-practice of such values today?

Scope and Limitations

This study only tried to find the different factors affecting the continuous practice as well as the non-practice of Filipino cultural values

of Fil-Am families living in several states in the United States for at least three years.

This study had a limited number of respondents. The researcher sent survey questionnaire through e-mails with the help of her friends. Unfortunately, only one respondent replied through the e-mail. She learned from a friend in the US that it was difficult for the would-be respondents to reply back to the survey questionnaire through the e-mail. There was something wrong in the process. Due to such problem, she only received replies from 63 respondents from the US through the postal mails.

Significance of the Study

The results of this study will be significant to the following:

Filipino-American Parents. The Fil-Am parents can teach their children about their Philippine roots, the Filipino customs and traditions, in order for them to appreciate and still live their Filipino-hood.

Filipino-American Children. The Fil-Am children can search together for their own Filipino identity, and help each other to cherish and practice their Filipino cultural values.

Filipino-American Community in the United States. The Fil-Am community can strengthen their Filipino cultural values by celebrating and practicing their customs and traditions together.

Filipino Relatives in the Philippines. The relatives of the Fil-Am families in the Philippines may give support to their relatives in the

United States in their struggle to live the Filipino cultural values in a foreign land through regular communication and reminders.

Values Education. This study may be used as a guide or reference for Values Education Program that will help students or young people who have lived abroad, in the United States and other foreign countries, to be rooted in their Filipino culture, and appreciate and live the values that the Filipino culture provides.

Researchers. This study may serve as a reference for future researchers. This may influence a further analysis of a related topic.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research design, respondents, the instrument/tools used in the study, the data-gathering procedure, the sources of data, and the data analysis plan of the study.

Research Design

This study used the descriptive-exploratory method of research, using survey questionnaire. It is descriptive because it identified and presented the different cultural values that the Fil-Am families still practice and no longer practice today. It is exploratory because it investigated the different factors that have been affecting their continuous practice as well as the non-practice of such cultural values.

A series of interviews was conducted with some Fil-Am students and visitors staying in the country in order to find the values that they either still practice or no longer practice today, and the factors that have been affecting these practices or their non-practice.

Respondents

There was a total of 78 respondents of the study. Among these 78 respondents, 12 are Fil-Am students from De La Salle University-

Dasmariñas, 3 are Balikbayan visitors, and the rest are staying in the US at present. The respondents staying in the US sent their responses through postal mails with the help of the researcher’s family members in the US. Only one among these respondents sent her reply through the e-mail.

The different tables below show the profile of the respondents of this study. **Table 1** presents the different states in the USA where the respondents come from. The 78 respondents come from 10 states in the US: 22 come from California, 2 from Connecticut, 1 from Guam, 12 from Maryland, 1 from Massachusetts, 26 from New Jersey, 9 from New York, 1 from Pennsylvania, 1 from Philadelphia, and 3 from Tennessee.

Table 1		
States Where the Respondents Come from		
State where they come from	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
California (Ca)	22	28.21
Connecticut (Ct)	2	2.56
Guam (Gu)	1	1.28
Maryland (Md)	12	15.38
Massachusetts (Ms)	1	1.28
New Jersey (NJ)	26	33.33
New York (NY)	9	11.54
Pennsylvania (Pa)	1	1.28
Philadelphia (Ph)	1	1.28
Tennessee (Tn)	3	3.85

Tables 2, 3 and **4** show the Religion to which the respondents belong, the status of their residency, and the length of their stay in the US, respectively. The respondents are composed of 75 Catholics and 3 Born-Again Christians. 54 are US citizens and 24 are permanent residents. Among them, 3 have lived in the US for 3 – 5 years, 18 for 6 –

8 years, 8 for 9 – 11 years, 10 for 12 – 14 years, and 39 for 15 and more years.

Table 2		
Religion of the Respondents		
Religion	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Catholics	75	96.15
Born-Again Christians	3	3.85

Table 3		
Status of Residency of the Respondents in the US		
Status of Residency	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Citizen	54	69.23
Permanent Resident	24	30.77

Table 4		
Length of Stay in the US		
No. of Years of Stay	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
3 – 5 years	3	3.85
6 – 8 years	18	23.08
9 – 11 years	8	10.26
12 – 14 years	10	12.82
15 years - above	39	50.00

Instruments/Tools

A survey questionnaire was primarily used in this study. An interview guide was also used in this study for some Fil-Am students and visitors. The questions used both in the survey questionnaire and interview guide were constructed in an open-ended form to allow the respondents to freely describe and explain their responses or ideas. Probing and follow-up questions were done during interviews.

The survey questionnaire and interview guide were composed of specific questions that helped generate insights and find answers to the study.

Data-Gathering Procedure

The procedure employed in this study consisted of three phases.

Phase I. The Preparation Stage. This stage was devoted to the preparation of survey questionnaire and interview-guide questions. The research instruments were validated by three DLSU-Dasmariñas faculty, one of them lived and studied in the U.S. for eight years.

The researcher, in this stage, tried to find possible contact-persons in some places in the US where she could possibly conduct her study through e-mails and letters. She started to send communication to those people as soon as the research proposal was approved.

Phase II. The Data-Gathering Stage. This phase was the period of sending survey questionnaire to possible Fil-Am family-respondents in the US through e-mails and postal mails. At the same time, this phase was also the actual interviews with Fil-Am students and visitors in the country for a period of about three months.

Phase III. The Data-Processing Stage. This stage involved processing of all data gathered in Phase II, and the actual writing of the results of the study.

Sources of Data

The data were gathered primarily from the responses of the family-respondents through e-mails and postal mails, as well as from interviews with some Fil-Am students and visitors in the country.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis was used in this study whereby the researcher searched for patterns in the responses and for ideas that help explain the existence of those patterns (Bernard, 1994). Semantic and observational data were the main sources of insights in this study. As ideas about cultural values and practices were developed, the researcher tested them against her observations which have somehow modified such ideas.

The concept of theme was used in the presentation and discussion of the data that were gathered from the responses. The researcher analyzed the data and group them into some possible categories like family values, social values, religious values, etc.

To validate systematically the respondents' replies and the researcher's observations, she always bore in mind the following guidelines suggested by Bernard (1994: 361-362):

1. Look for consistencies and inconsistencies among knowledgeable informants and find out why informants disagree about important things.
2. Whenever possible, check informants' reports of behavior or of environmental conditions against more objective evidence.
3. Be open to negative evidence rather than annoyed when it pops up. When you encounter a case that doesn't fit your theory, ask yourself whether it's the result of : (a) normal intracultural variation, (b) your lack of knowledge about the range of appropriate behavior, or (c) a genuinely unusual case.

4. As you come to understand how something works, seek out alternative explanations from informants and from colleagues and listen to them carefully.

5. Try to fit extreme cases into your theory, and if cases won't fit, don't be too quick to throw them out. It is always easier to throw out cases than it is to reexamine one's ideas, and the easy way out is hardly ever the right way in research.

The emergent patterns in the replies of the family-respondents and interviewees to the specific questions that were asked in this study helped the researcher explain the respondents' insights about the Filipino cultural values either still practiced or no longer practiced by Fil-Am families today. To analyze the data, the study utilized frequency, percentage, and ranking.

Similarities, differences and common patterns with that of the reviewed literature were also noted.

Chapter 3

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter contains the answers to the specific problems posed in the study, as well as some discussions about them.

Specific Problem No. 1 What are the Filipino cultural values that the Fil-Am families in the US still consider/remember at present?

Table 5 shows 6 different Filipino cultural values that were ranked no. 1 value that is still considered or remembered by Filipino-American families in the US, but these are not necessarily practiced by the respondents. These values are “utang na loob,” “pakikisama,” belief or faith in God, family gatherings or reunions, family ties and connections, and respect for elders.

Belief in God ranks first among the no. 1 Filipino cultural values that are still considered or remembered by Fil-Am families. There are 54 respondents or 69.23% who ranked this value as no. 1 Filipino cultural value that they still consider or remember.

Table 5			
Filipino Cultural Values Still Considered or Remembered by Fil-Am Families (Ranked No. 1)			
Values	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Values as No. 1	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
“Utang na Loob” (Indebtedness)	2	2.56	5.5.

“Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	2	2.56	5.5
Belief / Faith in God	54	69.23	1
Family Gatherings / Reunions	4	5.13	3.5
Family Ties or Connections	4	5.13	3.5
Respect for Elders	12	15.38	2

Table 6 presents 7 different Filipino cultural values that were ranked no. 2 value that is still considered or remembered by Filipino-American families in the US, but these are not necessarily practiced by the respondents. These values are “amor propio,” “utang na loob,” “pakikisama,” “bayanihan,” family gatherings or reunions, family ties and connections, and respect for elders.

Family gatherings or reunions ranks first among the no. 2 Filipino cultural values that are still considered or remembered by Fil-Am families. There are 22 respondents or 28.21% who ranked this value as no. 2 Filipino cultural value that they still consider or remember.

Table 6			
Filipino Cultural Values Still Considered or Remembered by Fil-Am Families (Ranked No. 2)			
Values	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Values as No. 2	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
“Amor Propio” (Inner Strength)	4	5.13	6
“Utang na Loob” (Indebtedness)	2	2.56	7
“Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	6	7.69	4
“Bayanihan” (Cooperation / Teamwork)	5	6.41	5
Family Gatherings / Reunions	22	28.21	1
Family Ties or Connections	20	25.64	2
Respect for Elders	19	24.36	3

Table 7 shows 9 different Filipino cultural values that were ranked no. 3 value that is still considered or remembered by Filipino-American

families in the US, but these are not necessarily practiced by the respondents. These values are “amor propio,” “pakikisama,” “pagkamatiisin,” “hiya” or “delicadeza,” faith or belief in God, family gatherings or reunions, family ties and connections, respect for elders, and superstitious beliefs.

Family ties or connections ranks first among the no. 3 Filipino cultural values that are still considered or remembered by Fil-Am families. There are 27 respondents or 34.62% who ranked this value as no. 3 Filipino cultural value that they still consider or remember.

Values	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Values as No. 3	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
“Amor Propio” (Inner Strength)	6	7.69	5
“Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	6	7.69	5
“Pagkamatiisin (Endurance)	3	3.85	8
“Hiya”/ “Delicadeza”	6	7.69	5
Faith / Belief in God	3	3.85	8
Family Gatherings / Reunions	15	19.23	2
Family Ties or Connections	27	34.62	1
Respect for Elders	9	11.54	3
Superstitious Beliefs	3	3.85	8

Specific Problem No. 2 . Which among these Filipino cultural values do they still cherish and practice today?

Table 8 shows 6 different Filipino cultural values that were ranked no. 1 value that is still cherished and practiced by Filipino-American families in the US. These values are “pakikisama,” “pagkamatiisin,”

belief or faith in God, family gatherings or reunions, family ties and connections, and respect for elders.

Belief in God ranks first among the no. 1 Filipino cultural values that are still cherished and practiced by Fil-Am families. There are 44 respondents or 56.41% who ranked this value as no. 1 Filipino cultural value that they still cherish and practice.

Table 8			
Filipino Cultural Values Still Cherished and Practiced by Fil-Am Families (Ranked No. 1)			
Values	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Values as No. 1	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
“Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	6	7.69	4
“Pagkamatiisin (Endurance)	2	2.56	6
Belief / Faith in God	44	56.41	1
Family Gatherings / Reunions	5	6.41	5
Family Ties or Connections	12	15.38	2
Respect for Elders	9	11.54	3

Table 9 presents 7 different Filipino cultural values that were ranked no. 2 value that is still cherished and practiced by Filipino-American families in the US. These values are “amor propio,” “utang na loob,” “pakikisama,” belief or faith in God, family gatherings or reunions, family ties and connections, and respect for elders.

Family gatherings and reunions ranks first among the no. 2 Filipino cultural values that are still cherished and practiced by Fil-Am families. There are 21 respondents or 26.92% who ranked this value as no. 2 Filipino cultural value that they still cherish and practice.

Table 9			
Filipino Cultural Values Still Cherished and Practiced by Fil-Am Families (Ranked No. 2)			
Values	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Values as No. 2	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
“Amor Propio”	2	2.56	7
“Utang na Loob” (Indebtedness)	4	5.13	6
“Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	10	12.82	4
Faith / Belief in God	5	6.41	5
Family Gatherings / Reunions	21	26.92	1
Family Ties or Connections	18	23.08	2.5
Respect for Elders	18	23.08	2.5

Table 10 shows 8 different Filipino cultural values that have been ranked no. 3 value that is still cherished and practiced by Filipino-American families in the US. These values are “amor propio,” “utang na loob,” “pakikisama,” “hiya” or “delicadeza,” belief or faith in God, family gatherings or reunions, family ties and connections, and respect for elders.

Family ties or connections ranks first among the no. 3 Filipino cultural values that are still cherished and practiced by Fil-Am families. There are 19 respondents or 24.36% who ranked this value as no. 3 Filipino cultural value that they still cherish and practice.

Values	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Values as No. 3	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
“Amor Propio”	6	7.69	5
“Utang na Loob” (Indebtedness)	4	5.13	6.5
“Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	4	5.13	6.5
“Hiya” / “Delicadeza”	3	3.85	8
Faith / Belief in God	15	19.23	3
Family Gatherings / Reunions	10	12.82	4
Family Ties or Connections	19	24.36	1
Respect for Elders	17	21.79	2

Specific Problem No. 3 What factors contribute to the continuous practice of such cultural values?

Table 11 shows the different factors that were ranked no. 1 factor that have been contributing to or affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Filipino-American families. These factors are family, peers, religion or Church, work or studies, the presence of Fil-Am community in their vicinity, and rootedness in the Philippines or love of country.

Family ranks first as the no. 1 factor that has been affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. There are 54 respondents or 69.23% who ranked this factor as no. 1 in affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families.

Table 11			
Factors Affecting the Continuous Practice of Filipino Cultural Values by Fil-Am Families (Ranked No. 1)			
Factors	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Factor as No. 1	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
Family	54	69.23	1
Peers	4	5.13	4
Religion / Church	9	11.54	2
Work / Studies	3	3.85	5
Presence of Fil-Am Community in the Vicinity	6	7.69	3
Rootedness in the Philippines / Love of Country	2	2.56	6
Filipino Traditions	0	0	
Media	0	0	

Table 12 shows the different factors that were ranked no. 2 factor that have been contributing to or affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Filipino-American families. These factors are family, peers, religion or Church, work or studies, the presence of Fil-Am community in their vicinity, rootedness in the Philippines or love of country, and Filipino traditions.

Religion or Church ranks first as the no. 2 factor that has been affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. There are 36 respondents or 46.15% who ranked this factor as no. 2 in affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families.

Table 12			
Factors Affecting the Continuous Practice of Filipino Cultural Values by Fil-Am Families (Ranked No. 2)			
Factors	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Factor as No. 2	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
Family	10	12.82	3.5
Peers	13	16.67	2
Religion / Church	36	46.15	1
Work / Studies	0	0	
Presence of Fil-Am Community in the Vicinity	6	7.69	5
Rootedness in the Philippines / Love of Country	10	12.82	3.5
Filipino Traditions	3	3.85	6
Media	0	0	

Table 13 shows the different factors that were ranked no. 3 factor that have been contributing to or affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Filipino-American families. These factors are family, peers, religion or Church, work or studies, the presence of Fil-Am community in their vicinity, rootedness in the Philippines or love of country, and Filipino traditions.

Filipino traditions ranks first as the no. 3 factor that has been affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. There are 21 respondents or 26.92% who ranked this factor as no. 2 in affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families.

Table 13			
Factors Affecting the Continuous Practice of Filipino Cultural Values by Fil-Am Families (Ranked No. 3)			
Factors	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Factor as No. 3	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
Family	6	7.69	5
Peers	3	3.85	2
Religion / Church	15	19.23	6.5
Work / Studies	10	12.82	4
Presence of Fil-Am Community in the Vicinity	20	25.64	2
Rootedness in the Philippines / Love of Country	3	3.85	6.5
Filipino Traditions	21	26.92	1
Media	0	0	

Specific Problem No. 4 What factors affect the non-practice of such values today?

Table 14 presents the different factors that were ranked no. 1 factor that have been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Filipino-American families.

There were only 68 respondents who ranked the enumerated factors since 10 respondents mentioned that there were no factors affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values. 10 factors were chosen by the respondents as no. 1 factor that have been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. These are family, peers, religion or Church, work or studies, non-presence of Fil-Am community in the vicinity, no sense of Filipino history, modern technology or industrialization, media, colonial mentality, and comfort or convenience in life.

Non-presence of Fil-Am community in the vicinity ranks first as the no. 1 factor that has been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. There were 14 or 17.95% who ranked this factor as no. 1 affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values.

Factors	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Factor as No. 1	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
Family	2	2.56	11
Peers	10	12.82	3.5
Religion / Church	3	3.85	8.5
Work / Studies	9	11.54	5
Non-Presence of Fil-Am Community in the Vicinity	14	17.95	1
No Sense of Filipino History	3	3.85	8.5
Modern Technology / Industrialization	3	3.85	8.5
Media	3	3.85	8.5
Colonial Mentality	12	15.38	2
Comfort / Convenience in Life	7	8.97	6
NONE (No factor affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values)	10	12.82	3.5

Table 15 shows the different factors that were ranked no. 2 factor that affects the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Filipino-American families. There were only 68 respondents who gave no. 2 rank since there were 10 respondents who believed that there were no factors affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families (see Table 14).

There were only 6 factors preferred by the 68 respondents as no. 2 factor that have been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. These are peers, work or studies, non-

presence of Fil-Am community in the vicinity, no sense of Filipino history, modern technology or industrialization, and colonial mentality.

Work or studies ranks first as no. 2 factor that has been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. There were 21 respondents or 30.88% who ranked this factor as no. 2 affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values.

Factors	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Factor as No. 2	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
Family	0	0	
Peers	20	29.41	2
Religion / Church	0	0	
Work / Studies	21	30.88	1
Non-Presence of Fil-Am Community in the Vicinity	9	13.23	3
No Sense of Filipino History	8	11.76	4
Modern Technology / Industrialization	6	8.82	5
Media	0	0	
Colonial Mentality	3	4.41	6
Comfort / Convenience in Life	0	0	

Table 16 presents the different factors that were ranked no. 3 factor that have been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Filipino-American families. There were only 68 respondents who gave no. 3 rank since 10 of them believed that there were no factors affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families (see Table 14).

There are 9 factors chosen by the 68 respondents as no. 3 factor that have been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by

Fil-Am families. These are peers, religion or Church, work or studies, non-presence of Fil-Am community in the vicinity, no sense of Filipino history, modern technology or industrialization, media, colonial mentality, and comfort or convenience in life.

No sense of Filipino history ranks first as no. 3 factor that has been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. There were 14 respondents or 20.59% who ranked this factor as no. 2 affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values.

Factors	No. of Respondents who Ranked such Factor as No. 3	Percentage (%)	Percentile Rank
Family	0	0	
Peers	6	8.82	6
Religion / Church	3	4.41	8
Work / Studies	12	17.68	2
Non-Presence of Fil-Am Community in the Vicinity	9	13.24	4
No Sense of Filipino History	14	20.59	1
Modern Technology / Industrialization	10	14.71	3
Media	2	2.94	9
Colonial Mentality	6	8.82	6
Comfort / Convenience in Life	6	8.82	6

Analysis and Synthesis

There are differences among the Filipino cultural values decided by the respondents as values that are still considered or remembered and still cherished and practiced by Fil-Am families. Some values that are still considered or remembered are not necessarily cherished or practiced. However, it could be noted that although there are

differences, the values that ranked no. 1, no. 2, and no. 3 among those that are still considered or remembered and among those still cherished and practiced by Fil-Am families are the same. *Faith or belief in God* ranked no. 1 Filipino cultural value that is still considered or remembered and still cherished and practiced by Fil-Am families. It is followed by *family gatherings and reunions*, and *family ties or connections* as no. 2 and no. 3 values respectively in both categories.

The *family* ranks as no. 1 factor that has been affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. It is followed by *religion or Church*, and *Filipino traditions* as no.2 and no. 3 factors, respectively, that have been affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values.

Only 68 respondents ranked the enumerated factors as no. 1, no. 2, and no. 3 that have been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. 10 of the 78 total respondents believed that no factors have been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values. Among the factors affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values chosen by only 68 respondents were *non-presence of Fil-Am community in the vicinity*, *work or studies*, and *no sense of Filipino history* that ranked 1, 2 and 3 factors, respectively.

The different Filipino cultural values chosen by the respondents could be categorized into the following: *religious values*, *family values*, and *socio-historical values*.

Religious Values

Being a Catholic-dominated country, the Philippines, it is no surprise that *faith or belief in God* would be the no. 1 value that the Filipino-American families still remember, cherish and practice even though they are already in a foreign country. Religion or the Church has become a great influence, being the no. 2 influential factor, on the development of such value. Most of the respondents, 96.15% of them, are Catholics, and the rest are Born-Again Christians. Most of the interviewees mentioned that their elders, especially their parents, have introduced to them their faith. The elders taught them about God and religion. They would even go to church together on Sundays to celebrate the Holy Mass with the Christian community.

Religious responsibility is familial rather than church-centered (<http://www.ci.glendale.ca.us/hrc/phlip.htm>). Every home has a family altar. This shows that family is really a great influence on the faith of the individual that even if he or she is in a foreign land, the family helps him or her to know God and have faith in Him.

Family Values

Based on no. 2 and no. 3 values, *family gatherings and reunions*, and *family ties or connections*, that the Filipino-American families still remember, cherish and practice in a foreign land, family is basically important in their lives. Family is even the no. 1 factor that influences the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by those Fil-Am

families. It may be noted that both *family gatherings and reunions*, and *family ties or connections* are manifestations of family values. The value that was ranked no. 4 by the respondents as remembered, cherished, and practiced by Fil-Am families which is *respect for elders* (see Appendices D and E) is still an expression of family values.

In Philippine society, the interests of the family, not of the individual, are the priority. Because of close family ties, even among the adolescents, the Filipino's close friends do not replace the family. They merely widen their social circle (<http://www.filipinoweb.com>). The interests of the family or even just the family name are treasured much more than that of the individual. Many values unite the individual to the family, making him or her to consider how a decision will impact the family (<http://www.fasgi.org/cultural/cul0.html>).

Socio-Historical Values

Family is the basic unit of the society. Social values start with the family. The Filipino family is the nuclear unit around which social activities are structured (<http://www.ci.glendale.ca.us/hrc/philp.htm>).

The responses of the respondents and interviewees show that the presence of Filipino-American community in their vicinity helps a lot in developing their Filipino cultural values. As a community, they celebrate together their Filipino traditions. With the help of their families and the Filipino-American community, they can trace their Filipino history and culture.

On the other hand, without the presence of Filipino-American community, their sense of Filipino history and culture is affected especially if they are much occupied with their works or studies. Celebrating together the Filipino traditions enhances their Filipino cultural values. They do not practice it only within their respective family units but with the whole Filipino-American community in the vicinity. This is especially true among the respondents from California where there are more Filipino-American communities compared with those from other states. In fact, Los Angeles in the State of California has the largest concentration of Filipinos in the world outside the Philippines, with 223,276 Filipinos (1990 Census), making them the largest Asian group after the Chinese (<http://www.fasgi.org/cultural/cul0.htm>). Most of the respondents who mentioned that there was no factor that affected the non-practice of Filipino cultural values come from this state.

Those who come from a neighborhood where there are only few Filipino-American families or no Fil-Am families at all almost forget their Filipino cultural values and they are now very much “americanized.” This enhances their colonial mentality which is one factor that has been affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values.

In this study, one may see that the religious, family, and socio-historical values are important Filipino cultural values among most of the Filipino-American families living in the United States. The values

and the factors affecting such values always influence each other. As seen in family values, the family itself is a main factor that influences the continuous practice of such values. Likewise, the Fil-Am community is also a great influence in the continuous practice of socio-historical values. According to the respondents, there may be other factors that could affect the practice or the non-practice of Filipino cultural values. However, if the family and even the Fil-Am community support one another and share and practice those values together, their being Filipinos will always remain.

Based on the results of the study, the Filipino-Americans either use any of the eclectic model or the holistic model, or use both models in their practice or non-practice of Filipino cultural values in the United States. The parents and the elders in the family and in the community show, teach and practice the Filipino cultural values they still remember and cherish. The young ones pick the values they appreciate and feel good. Bauzon (1994) calls this eclectic model. On the other hand, there are some who first observe and respect the practice of the Filipino culture without necessarily appreciating it. As they grow older and mature they become appreciative and expert of the culture as they improve their thoughts and ways. This is called holistic model (Bauzon, 1994).

Both models may be used, one after the other. One may start with the eclectic model by simply picking the values that he appreciates, then

he becomes expert of such values as he grows older and matures, and improves his thoughts and ways.

Chapter 4

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This present study tried to find the different factors that have been affecting the practice and non-practice of the cultural values of Filipino-American families in a foreign land.

Specifically, the following questions were answered:

1. What are the Filipino cultural values that the Fil-Am families in the US still consider/remember at present?
2. Which among these Filipino cultural values do they still cherish and practice today?
3. What factors contribute to the continuous practice of such cultural values?
4. What factors affect the non-practice of such values today?

This study used the descriptive-exploratory method of research, using survey questionnaire. A series of interviews was conducted with some Fil-Am students and visitors staying in the country in order to find the values that they either still practice or no longer practice today, and the factors that have been affecting these practices or their non-practice.

There was a total of 78 respondents of the study. Among these 78 respondents, 12 are Fil-Am students from De La Salle University-Dasmariñas, 3 are Balikbayan visitors, and the rest are staying in the US at present.

The survey questionnaire and interview guide used in the study were composed of specific questions that helped generate insights and find answers to the problems specified in this study. The data were gathered primarily from the responses of the family-respondents through e-mails and postal mails as well as from interviews with some Fil-Am students and visitors in the country.

The procedure employed in this study consisted of three phases: the preparation stage, the data-gathering stage, and the data-processing stage. For data analysis, the study utilized frequency, percentage, and ranking.

After analyzing the data, the following results were gathered:

1. What are the Filipino cultural values that the Fil-Am families in the US still consider/remember at present?

Faith or belief in God was ranked as no. 1 Filipino cultural value that is still considered or remembered by Fil-Am families. It is followed by *family gatherings and reunions*, and *family ties or connections* as nos. 2 and 3 values respectively.

2. Which among these Filipino cultural values do they still cherish and practice today?

Similar to the answers to no. 1 problem, *faith or belief in God* ranked no. 1 Filipino cultural value that is still cherished and practiced by Fil-Am families. It is also followed by *family*

gatherings and reunions, and family ties or connections as nos. 2 and 3 values respectively.

3. What factors contribute to the continuous practice of such cultural values?

The *family* ranks as no. 1 factor that has been affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values by Fil-Am families. It is followed by *religion or Church*, and *Filipino traditions* as no.2 and no. 3 factors, respectively, that have been affecting the continuous practice of Filipino cultural values.

4. What factors affect the non-practice of such values today?

10 of the 78 total respondents believed that there was no factor affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values. Among the factors affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values chosen by only 68 respondents, *non-presence of Fil-Am community in the vicinity* ranks no. 1, *work or studies* no. 2, and *no sense of Filipino history* no. 3.

The different cultural values have been classified as religious values, family values, and socio-historical values.

Conclusion

After analyzing the findings above, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. Religious values are of primary importance to the Filipino-Americans because of the influence of the family and

religion. The family itself is an influential factor in their lives so they also give importance to family values. The larger community of the Filipino-Americans help one another to cherish and practice their socio-historical values.

2. Filipino-Americans who live near one another or within a Filipino-American community, tend to cherish and practice the Filipino cultural values better than those who live far from a Fil-Am community. Living and celebrating their culture together drive them to cherish and practice their Filipino values better.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusion above, this researcher recommends the following:

1. Regular gatherings of Filipino-Americans in their respective communities in the U.S. to celebrate Filipino traditions should be done.
2. More write-ups, newspapers and magazines should circulate among the Filipino-American communities about Filipino culture and values, as well as websites, that will allow the Fil-Americans especially the younger generations to know, appreciate and practice their culture.

3. Further studies may be undertaken to know and understand the effects of Filipino cultural values on the life of the present generation Filipino-Americans in the United States.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF REQUEST FOR INSTRUMENT VALIDATION

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DE LA SALLE UNIVERSITY-DASMARIÑAS
Dasmariñas, Cavite

10 June, 2003

Dear _____:

Greetings!

I am presently working on a research entitled “Factors Affecting the Practice and Non-Practice of Filipino Cultural Values of Filipino-American Families in a Foreign Land.”

The idea of this research study has come out from the background that follows. The Filipino cannot be separated from the cultural values and attitudes where he has been brought up. These values have become a great part of his personality that makes him different from other people. Values, according to Andres (1996), give life to the individual’s spirit and uniqueness to his being. In this view, values can be a blessing or a curse to a Filipino depending on how he manages these values positively or negatively.

As regards cultural values, we can say that “every culture is unique and each has its own set of value systems” (Andres, 1996). Although there are some cultures that are closely related, there are some unique factors which differentiate one from the others. People may only find it when they are already in a new cultural setting. We may refer it to a “culture shock.” This is usually experienced by people having migrated to a foreign country whose culture is far from theirs. However, a new culture setting may either bring positive or negative influence to a person that may lead the practice or non-practice of one’s own cultural values.

With the abovementioned ideas, this researcher has been led to find the different factors affecting the practice and non-practice of Filipino cultural values of Filipino-American (Fil-Am) families in a foreign land.

This study uses two (2) data-gathering instruments: survey questionnaire (to be sent to family-respondents in the US through mails and/or e-mails), and interview guide (to be conducted with Fil-Am students/visitors in the Philippines. In this connection, I would like to request you to validate my survey questionnaire and interview guide as my data-gathering instruments.

Thank you very much.

In St. La Salle,

FELINORE ANGELICA H. VALERA, EdD

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear **RESPONDENT/S**,

I am a faculty-researcher of De La Salle University-Dasmariñas, Cavite, Philippines working on a paper entitled “**Factors Affecting the Practice and Non-Practice of Filipino Cultural Values of Filipino-American Families in a Foreign Land.**”

The idea of this research study has come out from the background that follows. The Filipino cannot be separated from the cultural values and attitudes where he has been brought up. These values have become a great part of his personality that makes him different from other people. Values, according to Andres (1996), give life to the individual’s spirit and uniqueness to his being. In this view, values can be a blessing or a curse to a Filipino depending on how he manages these values positively or negatively.

As regards cultural values, we can say that “every culture is unique and each has its own set of value systems” (Andres, 1996). Although there are some cultures that are closely related, there are some unique factors which differentiate one from the others. People may only find it when they are already in a new cultural setting. We may refer it to a “culture shock.” This is usually experienced by people having migrated to a foreign country whose culture is far from theirs. However, a new culture setting may either bring positive or negative influence to a person that may lead the practice or non-practice of one’s own cultural values.

With the abovementioned ideas, this researcher has been led to find the different factors affecting the practice and non-practice of Filipino cultural values of Filipino-American (Fil-Am) families in a foreign land.

In this connection, I would like to solicit a little of your time and effort to answer this **Survey Questionnaire** that will greatly help my research study. This survey questionnaire consists of two (2) parts: I. Profile of the Family-Respondent, and II. Survey Questionnaire. Kindly answer this questionnaire honestly and sincerely.

After answering this questionnaire, kindly send this back to this sender. I will appreciate it so much if you could forward this questionnaire to many of your Fil-Am family-friends.

Thank you very much! God bless your family!

Respectfully yours,

F.ANGELICA HORNILLA-VALERA, EdD

DLSU-Dasmariñas College Professor

Part I. PROFILE OF THE FAMILY

Name of the Family: _____ Religion: _____

E-Mail Address: _____

Permanent Address: _____

Nationality: Father _____ Mother _____

Occupation: Father _____ Mother _____

Number of Children in the Family: _____

___ No. of those in the Pre-school ___ No. of those in College

___ No. of those in the Grade school ___ No. of those Working

___ No. of those in High School ___ No. of those Married

Number of Years of Stay in the United States: _____

Status of Residency in the US: ___ Citizen ___ Permanent Resident

Part II. Questionnaire

Direction: A. Kindly check at least three (3) and rank from 1-3, 1-5, 1-8, etc. (1- the most, highest no. – the least) the different Filipino cultural values that you and your family still consider or remember at present as well as those that you still cherish and practice today in the United States.

B. Kindly check at least three (3) and rank from 1-3, 1-5, 1-8, etc. (1- the most, highest no. – the least) the different factors contributing to your practice of Filipino cultural values, and the factors affecting the non-practice of such values.

You may also give your comments/remarks at the end of each section of the questionnaire.

A. 1. What are the different Filipino cultural values that you and your family still consider or remember at present?

CHECK	RANK
___ “Amor Propio” (Inner strength to win)	_____
___ “Utang na Loob” (Indebtedness)	_____
___ “Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	_____
___ “Bayanihan” (Cooperation/Teamwork)	_____
___ “Pagkamatiisin” (Endurance)	_____
___ “Pagkamasayahin” (Being cheerful and happy)	_____
___ “Hiya”/Delicadeza	_____
___ Belief / Faith in God	_____
___ Family gatherings / Reunions	_____
___ Family ties or connections	_____
___ Respect for elders	_____
___ Superstitious beliefs	_____
___ OTHERS (Pls.specify) _____	_____

REMARKS:

2. What are the different Filipino cultural values that you and your family still cherish and practice today?

CHECK	RANK
<input type="checkbox"/> “Amor Propio” (Inner strength to win)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> “Utang na Loob” (Indebtedness)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> “Pakikisama” (Getting along with others)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> “Bayanihan” (Cooperation/Teamwork)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> “Pagkamatiisin” (Endurance)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> “Pagkamasayahin” (Being cheerful and happy)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> “Hiya”/Delicadeza	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Belief / Faith in God	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Family gatherings / Reunions	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Family ties or connections	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Respect for elders	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Superstitious beliefs	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> OTHERS (Pls.specify) _____	_____

REMARKS:

B. 1. What are the factors contributing to the practice of Filipino cultural values of your family?

CHECK	RANK
<input type="checkbox"/> Family	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Peers	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Religion / Church (e.g. Christian community)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Work / Studies	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Presence of Filipino-American community in the vicinity	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Rootedness in the Philippines / Love of country	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Filipino Traditions	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Media	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> OTHERS (Please specify)_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> OTHERS (Please specify)_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> OTHERS (Please specify)_____	_____

REMARKS:

2. What are the factors affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values of your family?

CHECK		RANK
<input type="checkbox"/>	Family	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Peers	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Religion / Church (e.g. Christian community)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Work / Studies	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Non-Presence of Filipino-American community in the vicinity	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	No sense of Filipino history	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Modern Technology / Industrialization	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Media	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Colonial Mentality	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Comfort / Convenience in life	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS (Please specify)_____	_____
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<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS (Please specify)_____	_____

REMARKS:

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear **RESPONDENT**,

I am a faculty-researcher of De La Salle University-Dasmariñas, Cavite, Philippines working on a paper entitled “**Factors Affecting the Practice and Non-Practice of Filipino Cultural Values of Filipino-American Families in a Foreign Land.**”

The idea of this research study has come out from the background that follows. The Filipino cannot be separated from the cultural values and attitudes where he has been brought up. These values have become a great part of his personality that makes him different from other people. Values, according to Andres (1996), give life to the individual’s spirit and uniqueness to his being. In this view, values can be a blessing or a curse to a Filipino depending on how he manages these values positively or negatively.

As regards cultural values, we can say that “every culture is unique and each has its own set of value systems” (Andres, 1996). Although there are some cultures that are closely related, there are some unique factors which differentiate one from the others. People may only find it when they are already in a new cultural setting. We may refer it to a “culture shock.” This is usually experienced by people having migrated to a foreign country whose culture is far from theirs. However, a new culture setting may either bring positive or negative influence to a person that may lead the practice or non-practice of one’s own cultural values.

With the abovementioned ideas, this researcher has been led to find the different factors affecting the practice and non-practice of Filipino cultural values of Filipino-American (Fil-Am) families in a foreign land.

In this connection, I would like to solicit a little of your time and effort to answer this **Interview** that will greatly help my research study. This interview consists of two (2) parts: I. Profile of the Respondent, and II. Interview Proper. Kindly answer this interview honestly and sincerely. Thank you very much! God bless your family!

Respectfully yours,

F.ANGELICA HORNILLA-VALERA, EdD
DLSU-Dasmariñas College Professor

3. What do you think are the factors contributing to the practice of Filipino cultural values of your family?

4. Why do you think these factors contribute to the practice of Filipino cultural values of your family?

5. What do you think are the factors affecting the non-practice of Filipino cultural values of your family?

6. Why do you think these factors affect the non-practice of Filipino cultural values of your family?

**Title: Role of the Family in the Cultural Overlaps of Half
Japanese/Latin Americans**

Topic: Mixed Ancestry

Betsy Forero Montoya
Doctoral candidate

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Role of the Family in the Cultural Overlaps of Half Japanese/Latin Americans

Forero Montoya Betsy

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Doctoral candidate

Introduction

The Japanese history of colonization and war and the most recent active patterns of migration have motivated the increase of Japanese/non-Japanese couples giving birth to offspring of mixed ancestry. Among this group of *haafu*¹, colloquial term derived from the English word 'half', there is an increasing number of individuals of Latin American and Japanese mixed parentage who have not been widely studied. This paper looks at Latin American-Japanese *half* individuals raised in Japan, focusing on the characteristics and practices of their family. It examines how every family lives with a mixture of elements that seem compatible, contributing to the creation of identifications that admit the mixture of cultures. Residing in Japan certainly signifies a powerful influence that supports the construction of more Japanized manners of socialization, but the culturally combined input at home not only maintains but also reinforces their overlapping being.

Theoretical Framework

Studies on mixed individuals around the world have discussed the possibilities and difficulties to deal with more than one cultural background. Benet-Martínez and Haritatos² referred to how bicultural individuals perceive their cultural identities as 'compatible' or 'oppositional', and argued that individuals construct and integrate their cultural identities in different manners depending on particular personality dispositions, contextual pressures, demographic variables and acculturation. These scholars support the claim that bicultural people depend on how they are motivated or allowed to be identified with the non-majority and the dominant culture. Bicultural individuals are assimilated; integrated; separated or marginalized into the dominant culture. Christian³ affirms that middle class children who interact with the ethnic majority or dominant group feel more affiliated to this majority even though they might live with people (family) belonging to the minority group. In relation to this, Tizard and Phoenix⁴ argue that if the racialized composition of the family is linked to social status, the latter influences the social position children take. Research by these scholars has shown differences between multicultural families from distinct social strata and has pointed out that the economic circumstances of working classes have contributed to their experience of racism in a manner that middle-class families have not. This has made difficult the plural identification of mixed individuals. Studies in the last two decades have demonstrated, in general, that identities are more dynamic. This paper follows the plural character of identity and the assumption that it is in constant construction, so it might be contradictory⁵. Multicultural identities are less problematic since children tend to comprehend

¹ Other terminology referring to half in the academia are: bicultural, biracial, of mixed ancestry, of mixed parentage, mixed race, mixed blood, multiethnic, multiracial, international and mixed among others.

² Benet-Martínez, Verónica and Haritatos Jana 2005 "Bicultural Identity Integration (BII): Components and Psychological Antecedents" *Journal of Personality* August pp:1015-1050

³ Christian Mark. 2000. *Multiracial Identity: An international Perspective*. Macmillan Press Ltd., Britain

⁴ Tizard, Barbara and Phoenix Ann. 2002. *Black, White or Mixed Race? race and racism in the lives of young people of mixed parentage*. Routledge. NY.

⁵ Weedon, C. 1987 *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

the mixture of their identity and develop it in a context where both (or more) cultures are presented positively, and they do not favor one over the other. New approaches allow individuals to escape from choosing to be *one* or *the other* and accept the overlap of cultural influences. Although mixed people have in common the multiplicity, they differ in their identifications depending on their social and cultural experiences and the contexts that surround them. The particular case of Latin American-Japanese living in Tokyo and their families will be examined. Their case proves the family to be a site that has the faculty to promote the cultural overlap during the process of individuals' identification.

Methodology

This paper is based on the information obtained from ten in-depth interviews that were conducted to older adolescents and young adults of Japanese and Latin American⁶ mixed ancestry (hereafter LJs) in Tokyo. Several casual interviews also took place with relatives or closely related people such as religious leaders. In eight cases informants answered in Spanish, using a few single words in Japanese, and two people preferred English. The qualitative interview method was used, so an instrument was elaborated, but questions were not asked in a fixed order and depending on every case, other questions were added. There were also subsequent meetings to confirm or clarify the answers.

The Family as a Center of Cultural Overlaps

To begin with regarding general information, it is important to say that they all are nuclear families who have been in Japan at least 15 years, but in some cases their children (not necessarily the informant, but their brothers or sisters) were born in Latin America. Their parents met when their fathers were working in the country of origin of their mothers; eight mothers are Latin American, and two, Japanese. Three informants are married and live with their spouses outside their parents' household, and one of them has children. However, when talking about the family, they always referred to their parents, brothers and sisters, not to their own marriage.

The analysis clearly showed that the family is the social network where both cultures are more clearly combined and smoothly produce instances of cultural overlapping. Father and mother are the first and most determining keys for the understanding and attitude of the intersections of cultures that LJs may live. The kind of relationship with the culture of the foreign spouse directly influences the transmission, the mixture or the imposition of any or both cultures in the mixed offspring at home, according to what informants showed. From one parent there should be some varied cultural input, and from the other, there should be acceptance or cooperation. While school, friends and their Japanese parent usually allow LJs to interact in the Japanese society easily, the level of closeness to Latin America is directly proportional to the strength, constancy and variety of the Latino elements brought home, and to the level of support of the Japanese parent to the foreign culture. Data revealed specific elements that seem to characterize the cultural mixtures and overlaps that LJs develop: practices at home, religion and language.

Practices at home

Casual and simple everyday life activities inside the household were very recurrently mentioned by all informants. These were mainly related to their food habits and their access

⁶ One Argentinean, one Bolivian, three Colombian, three Mexican and two Peruvian.

to popular media, which evidenced what seems to be a smooth combination of cultural practices. Regarding food, there is a marked difference between families who usually have Latin American ingredients at home and those who do not. When the Japanese parent likes Latin American food, or when the Latin American parent insists on cooking their food, it is common to have traditional dishes at home or a combination of both elements even in the same meal, which is not a rare outcome for LJs. Mothers, who cook in all LJs families, may create new dishes to cope with the likes of the members of the family and to take advantage of the resources of both cultures. Some of the dishes LJs mentioned are: toasts with red beans and avocado, avocado with soy sauce, potato salads with *sashimi*, scrambled eggs with *nira*, Japanese rice with a few lentils and garbanzo beans, a lunch including *tsukemono* and rice, chicken with yellow chili sauce, radish and lotus root with *mole*, *tofu* with chili meat balls and with eggs, coke or juice at lunch time. Their interest in Latin American food has made them grow chili plants in their terraces, build *planchas* for tortillas or have their relatives in Latin America send them special ingredients.

“She (her Latina mother) cooks original things, well, such as Japanese food or Bolivian (food) mixed. One doesn’t know. She invents, no? Well yeah, she also cooks stuff that she knows, Japanese food...and Bolivian food too, no?”

“I’ve even put a slice of salmon or *maguro* inside my tortilla [Laughs] but well, neither of my parents like it.”

“Sometimes I don’t know if I’m eating *mole* or curry because we eat them both with rice, bread or *tortilla* and they both have the same, meat, vegetables..., and they’re both spicy.”

However, these instances do not account for all cases. There are three Latino mothers who learned to cook in Japan and do not know how to cook their own regional food. These LJs have only Japanese food at home, and do not even try Latin American food regularly when they eat out. Besides, the interest and knowledge about Latin America is more limited, and at least regarding food habits LJs are more Japanized.

“My dad only eats Japanese food at home (...) I barely eat Latin or Peruvian food because I don’t know any good place. There was one (...) and my mother said we should go, but she never made serious plans. (...) Maybe there are other restaurants (...), I think. Mmmm, well, but I haven’t looked for (...) If I am eating out, I prefer Thai, Korean or from the West, good, no? Yeah, that is good and easy to find.”

“She tried to make *frijoles*, but...they were just a red paste. She overcooked them, and didn’t add anything!!! Not even salt [Laughs]. I didn’t like them.”

Similarly to food, some entertainment forms at home reveal that what parents do may determine the posture of LJs towards both cultures and the relation between them. It was found that popular culture, mainly music and soap operas, tend to familiarize LJs with Latin American culture, and become the means parents use to contact their offspring with a culture that is geographically distant. In fact, the exposure to Latino culture originates a sense of closeness and more sensibility despite they are inside the Japanese society. Except for one LJ that prefers television and music in English, all other LJs watch Japanese television and listen

to Japanese music regularly, but they are also in contact with Latino popular culture. Some informants referred to the musical interests of their mothers and insinuated how this stimulated their sensitivity towards Latin America. In this manner, LJs associate Latin American music with positive feelings, from tranquility to happiness, and may even feel nostalgic. Despite the distance, the music means familiarity, too.

“Since I was a kid, she (her mother) has listened to this music (...). This music makes me feel good and think about the mountains in Peru, and the people there. And the birds, the condors. It’s part of the music at home”

“She had her project of a cultural center, and learned traditional dances. I was the oldest, so my dad told mum that I should help her with her project, and mum started teaching me the names of songs and rhythms...porro, cumbia, bambuco... even vallenato! And I was in charge of the tape recorder during the rehearsals (...) That was good because now when I am in Colombia, I feel like...wah!... good I didn’t lose this (music) while being there (in Japan).”

“The other day I was thinking why I like to listen to ballads in Spanish when I’m alone, when I...in moments of calm and self...self...in my time. I remember that was the music that my mum used to listen to when I was a kid...everyday.”

In a different way, since the media input at home is very frequently the unique and closest reference to Latin America, it may signify limited or ambiguous representations of their Latino parent’s country. When LJs access visual media and confront those images with what they know or have imagined, they may accept, doubt or reject those constructions. They may be aware that somehow those representations might be fiction.

“The other day, I was watching a telenovela, and I thought, ‘do all secretaries wear mini-skirts in Mexico?’ You know, there, they always wear mini-skirts and tight and small blouses. So well, I don’t know if that is true. All that make-up, and those girls flirting [Laughs]. And the bad ones, they always steal money. They only want money. Bad people are super bad and good people are exaggeratedly good. And the rich ones have those mansions with two long stairs and many maids, but you know 50% of the population is poor. (...) Anyway, the music at the beginning and at the end is good. *Mekishikan-poi!* [Smiles]”

Due to the geographic distance and the long time since their last visit to Latin America, their conceptions and images of Latin America come from old memories and specially from elements at home such as food and music, and are influenced by their circumstances in Japan. Having permanent contact and knowing about tastes, rhythms or kinds of TV productions and even knowing particular terms in Spanish means a cultural link that is part of daily life and constitutes what Latin America is for them and what makes them different from Japanese. In fact, the level and quality of Latino elements in daily life and their integration with Japanese elements varies among LJs. Most of them frequently cook Latino food, but the presence of other elements at home widely differs. Apart from music and television, LJs also mentioned reading newspapers, magazines and internet sites, and playing children’s games that they also taught to their friends. All LJs have a minimum degree of contact with Latino culture at home that allows them to understand and find a place for it everyday. The

introduction of elements at home is the first tool contributing to the interception of cultures because outside, in the Japanese world, this possibility is very limited.

Religious beliefs and customs

Religion was an element that came up in the interviews when talking about the family. This might be explained because it is tied to the most rooted customs and beliefs in Latin America and represents a level of commitment and rigidity that Latino parents might have brought. The significance of religion for the Latin American parent due to their traditional education makes them exert some influence, which is usually opposed to the Japanese parent, to whom religion implies more liberty and openness and does not require much rigidity. Out of ten marriage ceremonies, seven were Catholics, and one of the Japanese mothers affirmed to have seriously converted. In this way, LJs have at home the combination of both traditions. Most of them assign to Catholicism the freedom that religion has in Japan, so they do not feel compromise to be faithful only to the Catholic Church, but they can participate in it and in Shinto and Buddhist rituals. In fact, their parents do not seem to find inconvenient to exert the practice of both rituals. For instance, six LJs were baptized when they were children and two of these were also taken to a Shinto temple to be presented to the Gods as part of traditional Japanese rituals. Moreover, Japanese parents may accept celebrations at home such as Christmas, and allow their children to participate outside home in other Catholic activities although they may or may not accompany their partners and offspring. In either case, however, the sample and informal interviews show that LJs stopped accompanying their parents approximately in the adolescence, except for one college student that continues attending these events.

“When I was a kid, my father said no, I’m tired, and he wouldn’t go again with us to the church. Now, I know he doesn’t like it. (...) We are Buddhist, but she is Catholic. I (...) I also go [to the important celebrations]. I do go to Yotsuya [where there is a church], but well, I, I don’t pray... I almost don’t pray, but when my mother is sick, I pray “Our Lord”. [Do you know this prayer?] Yeah, when I was a little girl, I used to pray, and well, the body (I) remembers and prays.”

This feature was evident in the process of finding the interviewees when in religious activities the researcher met Latino Japanese couples with their young children and other parents, whose Japanese partners and/or 15 years old or older sons and daughters preferred to stay home, according to their parents. In the interview all LJs declared to acknowledge the importance of religion for their parents, and even though none of them expressed to follow these beliefs, they claimed to respect them.

The festivities LJs celebrate show their exposure to two cultures and could show cultural intersections that they seem to manage successfully. LJs often attend festivals in shrines of their cities although it is clear that they do not necessarily attach a strict religious meaning to these events as a Latin American would do with Catholic celebrations. Their perception of religion is very flexible, and they talk about Catholicism as they talk about Buddhism or Shinto. This is a posture that does not oppose to other religions and does not require constant practice or activity, so they make both kinds of celebrations part of their life in Japan as Latino-Japanese. Hence, Catholic rituals are only related to the family while Buddhist and Shinto celebrations might also include friends.

When they were asked about other important celebrations in their families, they mentioned

the O-bon festival and one person mentioned Easter Week, but she clarified that only her Latina mother goes to the church during those festivities. The traditions that were mentioned by all the informants and that most clearly evidence the integration of costumes that LJs do, are Christmas and New Year's. They all celebrate Christmas as Latin Americans traditionally do while New Year's is a Japanese celebration. In December, almost all of them make a Christmas tree and a Christmas crib, but they also have a traditional Japanese ornament on the door after December 25th. The night of December 24th, when Latin Americans usually celebrate Christmas, they have dinner together as a family and half of them have a short pray too; in fact, one family (except for the Japanese father) goes to the church. Regarding this day, seven LJs expressed that they began to slightly conflicting with their parents when they had their first boy/girlfriend. They had to "negotiate" this day with their parents, and as a result, they invited their partner to have dinner or they were allowed to spend the whole day before dinner outside home with their boy/girlfriend or friends.

"That day we have dinner together...mmm...I have my boyfriend and my younger sister too [Laughs], so we have to talk to my mother, and we do something...because...well, yeah, some time ago, I was so angry that I couldn't go into a date with my boyfriend while all my friends from school were planning their dates. (...) Now, I am older [Laughs] and understood the importance of this for my parents, for both of them. And now [mother, sister and the informant) make a Christmas cake, and at that time she (her mother) used to say that cakes were only for birthdays!!!"

For New Year's, as most Japanese, they have a Japanese meal by December 31st and visit their relatives and the temple during the first days of January. In the morning of January 1st, when it is midnight in Latin America, LJs usually also talk to their relatives since their parents call them to wish happiness and prosperity for the New Year. Therefore, LJs combine both cultures trying to maintain a balance between the significant rituals for their parents and also for themselves. They live both festivities, but the fact that they live in Japan strongly influences their behavior towards Japanese traditions. On the one side, from the Japanese context, they equal Latin American and Japanese religion, so they are just with both of them, and there is no conflict. However, they are not like all Japanese people who usually do not know about Catholicism. On the other side, they may participate in some rituals, but from a strict Latin American religious and cultural perspective they would not be considered Catholics since they are not committed with Catholic beliefs, and for instance, they worship other gods. Therefore, they mould customs of both traditions according to their cultural overlapping and situation.

Language

The language used by the members of the family is determined by the level of Japanese and Spanish of the parents, and it clearly influences the language level of the informants. Only one LJ does not speak Japanese, but English. The others are fluent in Japanese and can communicate in Spanish. In all cases the Japanese parents have a low or intermediate level of Spanish. None of them can speak perfectly according to all informants, but they can communicate with their extended family, and if their Latin American partners can not speak Japanese, they always speak in Spanish to them.

"When she came to Japan, yeah, there, she was trying at school. Yes, but then, she, yeah, she already has the idea of going back to her country, so she

thinks that learning Japanese is not necessary [smiles]. So, well, that's it. But, she understands the words, the easy words, no?" [This mother has been in Japan for 25 years]

The question "How do you feel more comfortable speaking in Spanish or in Japanese?" was asked, and it was evident that there are feelings associated to the use of Spanish and Japanese. A girl, who was born in Japan, but went to different Latin American countries during her elementary school years (kindergarten in Bolivia; first and second year in Paraguay, third year in Japan, fifth year in Costa Rica and afterwards Japan) answered: "Now, I feel...mmm...more Japanese. Japanese is better, but when I am at home or something like that, more tranquil, more Spanish. With Spanish I feel, I feel relaxed". Another LJ said: "Japanese for school or serious things, but when I want to be spoiled or feel affection, Spanish is better".

The language choice varies depending on the character of the family. If the Latin American parent does speak Japanese, they may alternate Spanish and Japanese with their offspring or speak only one of these languages. Four Latin American parents, all of them mothers, speak Japanese. One never uses Spanish with her offspring, the second one never uses Japanese and the other two alternate both languages. If the Latin American parent does not speak Japanese, Spanish is the language spoken at home. Nevertheless, in several cases the use of Spanish with the Latino parent was related to the proximity or (avoided) distance between parents and children. In addition, sometimes Japanese was associated with negative feelings.

"I wanted to have mum and dad. Once I came from school and talked to her in Japanese, and she got really angry...but wah! angry. I was just getting accustomed to Japan, no? Mmm...and I was speaking only Japanese outside home 'cause I was in a public school, and she was the only one who spoke to me in Spanish. She told me that I could never talk to her in Japanese again. (...) And my dad, he, the same. In Colombia, he was always saying '*supeingo hanasuna! supeingo hanasuna!*' so, see? If I wanted to have mom and dad I had to speak both languages."

"If I want to make her angry, I speak to her in Japanese. She understands what I say, but she would assume I am not talking to her."

"She used to get mad when I was in Secondary and my friends came home and they, or we talked too fast in Japanese, off course. She was always around but couldn't understand, so she was always saying 'Speak clear. You don't want me to understand, don't you?'"

The language(s) spoken by the LJs is determined by the conditions both at home and the school. While in most cases Spanish is the first language spoken and is later combined or replaced by Japanese, in one case English was the lingua franca at home. This family preferred to use English because after their two daughters entered an international school, English apparently became the most comfortable language for all of them. Nonetheless, the Japanese mother has recently felt that their adolescent daughters are losing their cultures and are being isolated in the society where they currently live, so she is intending to use Japanese as much as she can, and she insists her Latino husband to force their daughters to speak Spanish. Their older daughter, who was interviewed, does not seem enthusiastic about this. In fact, she prefers to continue speaking English, and mentions her interest in other languages

different from Spanish. She seems to be less connected to Latin America.

“When I was born, my first language was Spanish (...). When I came to the international school, I learned English and Japanese and forgot my Spanish (...) I plan to go to college to the US...maybe, or to the UK. And my mother, my father and my sister can speak English, so I think that we understand each other. I have studied French at school and would prefer to learn more French or Italian since my father is Italian by blood.”

The language used with the family influences the level of cultural overlapping. Several variations on the use of language were found among the mixed racial families; in all cases, better or more Spanish input definitely means more proximity to Latin American culture or more possibilities to include it in their Japanese surrounding. Their familiarization with sounds, words and expressions in Spanish while being immersed in another cultural environment, insinuates possible closeness to Latin America and facilitates their contact with it and the relationship between both cultures.

A glimpse of LJs outside home

It was expected that as other interracial people in Japan, LJs conformed a group or at least got along with interracial people like themselves, but there was no such evidence. One of the reasons explaining this might be the fact that most Latino-Japanese are younger than 17 years old, so there is not a visible quantity of adults or young adults who could promote the integration. In addition, until now, LJs do not manifest to feel close to other *half* Japanese, but some did express their interest in meeting other Latino-Japanese. School and work are the instances to meet friends, and since their interaction outside home is mainly in Japanese, their friends are Japanese too. Therefore, the ways of socialization are typical of Japanese people; for example, they go karaokeing, eating and drinking in *izakaya* or to game centers. In general outside home, LJs are surrounded by Japanese people and successfully interact with them. There are aspects that do favor or negatively affect these interactions, which might be discussed in other paper. This was the case of eight LJs, out of ten interviewed, and also the common pattern according to information by LJ parents and leaders of the Latin American community. The two exceptions correspond to an informant who attends an international school and mainly socializes with foreigners, and the other, to a LJ who moved to her mother's country several years ago, and interacts more closely with Spanish speaking people.

Conclusion

The analysis showed the family to be a site of negotiation and avid cultural intersections. This social group constitutes the base for half Japanese/Latin American to conserve a link with Latin America and also successfully integrate Japanese society, characteristics that do not describe all groups of *half* Japanese living in Japan. The negotiations and interactions inside the family group have been crucial for the development of LJs because they permanently prove the possibilities for these cultures to intercept and normalize situations of mixture. If the family does not provide this, Latino-Japanese *haafu* may have difficulties developing and conciliating their plural background, or even accepting only one of their cultures. Once LJs have left their home, their spouses bring with them cultural practices that may or may not reinforce their Latino-Japanese being. In fact, for married informants the site of mixtures and conciliations of differences was mainly their parent's home. They consider the negotiations in their marriage are more related to their personality than their Latino-Japanese character.

Respondents seem to be aware of two different cultural practices that occur almost simultaneously simply because they know both cultures, but they do not necessarily feel in a constant transition from culture to culture. LJs speak with their father in Japanese and with their mother in Spanish or eat *frijoles* and then *soba*, but they do not experience any conflict or have any sense of dualism. Their identification is a mixture of cultural practices that seem compatible and are particular to their overlapping being, not to only Japanese or Latin American individuals.

In addition to the mixed cultural input at home, other reasons may contribute to the non-conflicting mixture of Japanese and Latin American practices while living in Japan, which should be explored further. First, LJs belong to middle class families and access all services usually offered to Japanese people. LJs are not in the condition of Japanese descendents that have come back to Japan and usually become part of Japanese working class. Second, this is a group of *haafu* that is increasing but has not reached visibility; hence, Japanese people have not associated their identity with specific characteristics that may lead to stereotyping, but the situation may change as the number of Latino-Japanese grows. Indeed, LJs self identification is affected by several aspects that are not directly related to the family group. Subsequent studies of Latino-Japanese individuals could contribute to the understanding of what some scholar have called the multiculturalism of Japan⁷.

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Contributions of Age Factors to L2 English Phonology

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Second Language Studies

Contributions of Age Factors to L2 English Phonology

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine whether age factors contribute to L2 English Phonology. The participants in this study were 20 international students: 10 young learners and 10 adult learners. Participants read a paragraph and it was recorded in order to be graded by 3 native speakers of English. Close analyses revealed that if students start learning English after the age of 14, they were not able to reach a native-like accent. Implications for educators are discussed.

Many scholars have studied the relationship between age and eventual attainment in Second Language Acquisition. The issue of age in SLA is very controversial as some scholars support the critical period hypothesis, or CPH, while others refute it. As I am an adult language learner myself, this study started with my curiosity on CPH, which argues that children acquire languages most efficiently before puberty. According to Marinova-Todd *et al.*, with the first introduction by Penfield and Roberts (1959), CPH was further elaborated by Lenneberg (1967) (p.10). When applied to SLA, many scholars refute CPH, because Lenneberg's based his claim on the first language using the example of Genie, a feral child who did not have any linguistic input until the age of 13 and lacked linguistic ability even after seven years of support (p.11). However, many scholars such as Krashen and Long claim that CPH does apply to SLA as well.

Krashen, Long and Scarcella (1979) create three generalizations considering the contributions of age factors on eventual attainment in second language acquisition in their research. Krashen *et al.* suggested that for the matters of syntactic and morphological development, adults learn faster than younger children. However, in the matter of *eventual* attainment of second language acquisition, young learners do perform better than adult learners. For the purpose of this study, the last claim of eventual attainment was examined: "child second language acquirers will usually be superior in terms of ultimate attainment (younger-is-better in the long run" (Krashen *et al.* 1970, p. 573). In fact, these researchers found that those learners who come to English-speaking countries as children have higher eventual attainment and that the factor of length of residence does not play a role. Along with Krashen, Long (1990) also supports CPH: "while somewhat weaker than the claim for a critical period for FL learning, the claim for a sensitive period for SLA is still a strong and interesting one" (p. 253). Further, by observing psychologists and educators who maintain that maturation plays a significant role in "human development sequences," Oyama (1979) claimed that the factors of maturation plays as crucially on language learning as well (p. 254). Finally, Fathman (1975) conducted an experiment of 200 children between 6-15 years old who had lived in the United States from 1-3 years. From the study, Fathman found that even though the older group did better on morphology and syntax (which supports Krashen *et al.*'s three generalizations as well), the younger group was indeed superior at pronunciation (p. 261).

Based on this literature, the research hypothesizes that adult learners who started L2 English after the age of 14 will not reach a native-like accent while younger learners who started learning before the age of 14 are able to do so. The current research bases its main idea on a question: in the long run, does acquiring L2 English at an earlier age lead to having

a native-like accent, while learning L2 English as an adult learner place a cap on phonological ability?

Method

Participants

Twenty international students, ten female and ten male, participated in this study. A convenience sampling was used. All participants were from a social group called Korean Student Association from University of Pennsylvania. An email was sent out to the potential participants indicating that the participants would be asked to read a paragraph. The fact that the participants would be recorded was stated in the email as well. Forty people responded to the email out of fifty people. From those emails, twenty participants were selected who met the criteria of the study. Ten of them are students who started their L2 English after the age of fourteen while the other ten students started it before the age of fourteen. Every student has lived in the United States more than four years. The mean age for all participants was 22.65. Ethnically, 90% (18) of the participants reported as Korean and 10% (2) of the participants reported as Korean-American. Three native speakers of English participated as graders of 20 recordings. A convenience sampling used in the study somewhat hinders the generalization of the results. Thus, further research using broader participants is recommended. To maintain confidentiality in the study, each participant was asked to meet the researcher individually. As soon as the paragraph was distributed to the participants, the researcher started the recording in order to avoid time for practice.

The participants were limited to be the learners who had interacted with Native Speakers since receiving instruction from Non-Native Speakers is a whole different study. In addition, the experiment only concerned with the matter of phonology supporting Krashen *et al.* and Fathman's findings. The researcher agrees with these findings that older learners are better achievers of second languages in terms of morphology and syntax, but for the matter of phonology, the younger is better. Further, all of the participants are current university students who have been in the states more than 4 years. In other words, no matter when they started second language learning (either young or old), the amount of exposure to the target language is high. This limit was set to avoid Rasher's (1978) hypothesis relating length of residence (LOR).

Instrumentation

Each participant's pronunciation/accent was measured with a paragraph from "accent analysis archive." Participants were asked to read a paragraph and it was recorded by the researcher at the same time. The recordings were analyzed by native speakers of English. Three native speakers of English participated as graders of 20 recordings on a five-point scale from 1 (non-native accent) to 5 (native accent). The paragraph read by the participants is shown in Appendix A.

Results

The research question concerned the contribution of age factors in eventual attainment of L2 English phonology. Table 1 shows the raw scores as well as the means on young learner participants' recordings and Table 2 shows the same on adult learner participants' recordings. As shown in the two tables, the mean score for young learners of English was calculated as 4.31 and that of adult learners of English was calculated as 2.89. It was significant that none of the young learners received a grade

below 4 while 6 out of 10 adult learners received a grade either 2 or 3. Also, everyone from the group of young learners did receive a grade 5 at least once. There was one adult learner participant (A8) who did receive a grade 4 by two native speakers of English. Interestingly, A8 started his/her L2 English learning at the age of 15, which is as early as other young learners. However, considering the fact that A8 did not actually receive a grade 5 as other young learners, one can see that age factors do contribute to L2 phonology.

Table 1

* N refers to Native Speakers who gave the grade on a scale of 1(non-native accent)-5(native accent)

* Y refers to Young Learners who learned English before the age of 14

* A refers to Adult Learners who learned English after the age of 14

	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y5	Y6	Y7	Y8	Y9	Y10
N1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
N2	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4
N3	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	4
AVE.	5	5	5	5	4.3	4.6	5	4.6	4.6	4.3

AVE. $43.1/10 = 4.31$

Table 2

	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10
N1	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	4	3	2
N2	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3
N3	4	3	2	3	2	4	2	3	3	2
AVE.	3.3	3.3	2.6	2.6	2.6	3.3	2.3	3.6	3	2.3

AVE. $28.9/10 = 2.89$

Discussion

Showing the relatedness with Long's argument that age factors highly contribute to eventual phonological attainment of second language, the findings show the same results and support the hypothesis: adult learners who started L2 English after the age of 14 will not reach a native-like accent while younger learners who started the learning before the age of 14 are able to do so. In this particular study, where adult learner participants were all Korean, problems arose from the effect of their L1 Korean. According to Lee (2001), in Korean language, /ŋ:/ is pronounced "as a pure /o/" (p.326). Therefore, also acknowledged by native speakers who evaluated the recordings, adult learners were often recognized from the beginning where they had to pronounce "call [kŋ:ɪ]." Also, Koreans use English /r/ and /l/ as allophones of the same phoneme (p. 327). Thus, most of the adult learners pronounced "red" not as [red], but [led]. Finally, when pronouncing /ɹ/ and /ð/, Koreans often pronounce them as /s/ and /d/ respectively (p. 327). Indeed, this affected the adult learner participants' pronunciation of "these" as [diz] and "three" as somewhere between [sri:] and [tri:]. Indeed, unlike those younger learners who were able to pronounce the English words in a standard way, adult learners had problems affected by their L1.

The findings suggest several implications: 1) when teaching L2 English to adult learners, educators should be aware of the contribution of age factors and thus, be tolerant with

students' progress in pronunciation, and 2) rather than focusing on eventual attainment of phonology for L2 adult learners, it would be better to help them have gradual improvements focusing more on pragmatic issues: such as dealing with real problems in everyday life. The limitation of this study is that participants were all either Korean or Korean-American. In fact, learners from different countries have different phonological systems. Therefore, a study considering the different phonological systems using various participants from different countries might be a good addition to the current research.

Appendix A

The speech accent archive (Weinberger, 2009)

Please call Stella. Ask her to bring these things with her from the store: Six spoons of fresh snow peas, five thick slabs of blue cheese, and maybe a snack for her brother Bob. We also need a small plastic snake and a big toy frog for the kids. She can scoop these things into three red bags, and we will go meet her Wednesday at the train station.

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Title: Arousing College English learners' linguistic and cognitive awareness by readability statistics from in-class writing

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Abstract

Writing is a very powerful tool when we want to communicate with other people either synchronously or asynchronously. With computer being used both as a research tool and as an instructional resource, it will make significant contributions beyond current conceptions of its utility for writing. Microsoft Word (WORD) installed in every computer could be a great helper for a writer at his or her initial stage of writing because it can provide a readability statistics when a writer finishes his or her writing in a computer. Taken this statistics as a reference, writers could revise their writings through their existed linguistic and cognitive knowledge individually or collaboratively. According to Freeman (1989), awareness is the capacity to recognize and monitor the attention one is giving or has given to something. Meanwhile, meaning of the text is found rather than imposed by the reader.

In this research, 18 texts were collected from one English writing classroom in a Chinese university. With these statistics, the author wants to look for whether WORD helps the revision of the writing from a reader's perspective as well as a teacher's. Secondly, from the interviews with these EFL writers, I wonder whether the interpretation of the readability on the texts has some hints in arousing EFL learners' linguistic and cognitive awareness and encouraging them in the improvement of their writing. At last, I hope that the EFL learners become critical and effective reader and writer with the aid of the technology.

1. Introduction

Writing is a very powerful tool when we want to communicate with other people either synchronously or asynchronously. Learning to write well is a necessity for young people because success in school and the world of work depend upon it. Writing abilities are not naturally acquired and automatically accompanies maturation (Lieberman and Lieberman 1990); they must be culturally transmitted in every generation, whether in schools or in other assisting environment (Grabe and Kaplan, 1996). With computer being used both as a research tool and as an instructional resource, it will make significant contributions beyond current conceptions of its utility for writing (Bruce et al. 1993; Bruce and Rubin, 1993; Tuman, 1992).

Despite the importance of writing in school, there is notably less research with this skill for the sake of College English¹ (CE) writers and readers on their own self and peer assessment with the aid of technology. Microsoft Word (*Word*) installed in every computer could be a great helper for a writer at his or her initial stage of writing because it can provide a readability statistics on the surface characteristics of language form, such as the word length, average length of the sentence and complication of language expression.

Nearly all the CE learners know how to use *Word* in proofreading but pay less attention to the readability statistics: *Flesch Reading Ease (Ease)* and *Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level (FK grade)*. Flesch Formula in *Word* is a simple approach to assess the grade-level of the reader which are designed to indicate comprehension difficulty when reading a passage of contemporary academic English (Flesch, 1948). The variables used in the readability formulas, such as average words per sentence, and average sentences per paragraph, show us the skeleton (form) of a text. It is up to us to substantiate that objective value of Ease and FK grade with our thoughts, ideas before reviewing or commenting on the design of the writing according to the principles or criteria of good writing.

With all these concerns, the author designed a formative writing test for CE learners in one Chinese university and 18 volunteers participated in May, 2008. It consists of 2 writing tasks based on listening and reading. Task 1 is the summary of listening and reading. This summary may either be a spring board or elicit writing Task 2. In this paper, the author focused 18 texts on task 2: “*why some people enjoy life while others don't?*” The analysis from the perspective of readability in word processor can only show part of their writing ability and demonstrate the weakness they presented in their writings. The author, from a researcher’s and CE teacher’s perspective, wants to find out:

1. In Readability statistics, which aspect should be weighed more, Flesch reading ease (*Ease*) or Flesch-Kincaid grade (*FK grade*) to CE writers?
2. What does the readability statistics mean to writers in their self or peer-assessment process?
3. What implications of *Ease and FK grade* could be drawn for CE instructor and learners?

To answer these questions, all the articles are typed into computer by the author. Via analysis of the texts and reflection on the readability from reader’s perspective, I hope this research can have a positive influence on College English teaching and learning of writing in China. Most importantly, I hope with the basic function of *Word* — readability statistics, CE learners can criticize and revise their writing on their own and exchanging perspectives between peers, and collaborate on the final version. The last and most important purpose is to help the learners learn how to monitor and assess their writing abilities and make more revisions autonomously beyond the surface level through *Word*.

¹ College English (CE) refers specifically to English taught to non-English-major undergraduates in China, who constitute the majority of English learners in the university.

2. Background

Writing is useful when the reader is removed and remote from the writer. No matter who the possible reader maybe, the writing itself should be clear, fluent, and develop effective communication of ideas. This section is trying to look for the characteristics of such writer-based writing, understand the meaning of readability statistics and importance of using self or peer-assessment to CE writers.

2.1 Seeking CE writers' self-awareness and accuracy in revision process

According to Freeman (1989), awareness is the capacity to recognize and monitor the attention one is giving or has given to something. Thus, one acts on or responds to the aspects of a situation of which one is aware. Meanwhile, meaning of the text is found rather than imposed by the reader. Readers must always integrate linguistic and contextual assumptions to recover relevance and meaning from utterances (Sperber and Wilson, 1995).

For much of the 1970s and 1980s, theories of the writing in L2 contexts (Carrell & Connor, 1991; Carson, 1993; Cumming, 1998; Kroll, 1990; Sasaki & Hirose, 1996; Silva, Leki, & Carson, 1997) followed closely on English L1 views of writing and theories of the writing process. Most recently, specific researches (Leki & Carson, 1994, 1997; Matsuda, 1998; Silva, 1997; Silva et al., 1997) that draws attention to the distinctions between L1 and L2 writing have been synthesized into a set of influencing factors.

To CE writers, their writing context is a totally different L2 context where they only practice their writing in classroom. Meanwhile, their potential reader is their teacher or examiner. Therefore, their writing and their writing often begin with writer-based prose and then revise it to make it easier for another reader to read, that is, to make it reader-based (Flower and Hayes, 1980; Richards and Schmidt, 2002) or reader-friendly.

As we know, there is no exact parallel form between two different languages and social contexts. The differences call for the need for writers to accommodate (Grabe, 2001) in their writing and make them understood in the process of writing. That is to say, a CE writer should bear in mind that his or her proposition in the writing is clarified and enhanced through the interpretation and interaction from the reader's perspective in an EFL² context. Whatever they have written should be easily understood by the reader who shares with the same implicit rules (Abraham, 1989).

² EFL stands for English as a Foreign Language.

2.2 Understanding construct of readability statistics

Flesch Reading Ease Formula is considered as one of the oldest and most accurate readability formulas that we can rely on without too much scrutiny (Farr et al. 1951; Kincaid et al. 1975; Rudolf, 1948). This formula is best used on school text. However, primarily, we use the formula to assess the difficulty of a reading passage written in English.

When *Word* finishes checking spelling and grammar, it can display information about the reading level of the document, including the following readability scores.

$$Ease = 206.835 - (1.015 \times ASL^3) - (84.6 \times ASW^4)$$

$$FK\ grade = (0.39 \times ASL) + (11.8 \times ASW) - 15.59$$

If we were to draw a conclusion from the Formula, then the best text should contain shorter sentences and words. For most standard documents, aim for *Ease* score is approximately 60 to 70. The *FK Grade* translates the 0–100 score to a U.S. grade level: 0-12, making it easier for teachers, parents, librarians, and others to judge the readability level of various books and texts. It can also mean the number of years of education generally required to understand this text.

The following table is also helpful to assess the *Ease* of readability in a document:

90-100	Very Easy
80-89	Easy
70-79	Fairly Easy
60-69	Standard
50-59	Fairly Difficult
30-49	Difficult
0-29	Very Confusing

Table 1: corresponding meaning of values of *EASE*

According to Webster dictionary, readable means able to be read easily and interesting to read. Although through readability statistics, one may get a rough measurement on the reading *Ease* and *FK grade* immediately after his or her writing on *Word*, it cannot show whether the reading is interesting or not. It is up to our readers to substantiate that formula with our thoughts, ideas and construct the design of the writing according to the principles or criteria of good writing. Therefore, if one can write an article to be read easily while keeping at his or her grade level, it could be of a good article for a reader to comprehend.

³ ASL = average sentence length (the number of words divided by the number of sentences)

⁴ ASW = average number of syllables per word (the number of syllables divided by the number of words)

2.3 Using self and peer assessment in CE writing

Since English is a foreign language in China, CE learners normally practice English writing in classroom context and under pressure: to finish a compulsory assignment which is set by their language teachers or for the test. Meanwhile, the time for their accomplishment is generally limited to 30 minutes in class or shorter if they are going to do after class.

What assessment for learning highlights is that this is far more than just a summative collection of information about learners' achievements: it is also a vital part in the learning process and impacts on the course of pupils' learning (Harlen and Winter, 2004). Self-assessment has the potential of putting the learner firmly in the centre of the picture as well as the possibility of adding valuable information to our total picture of how and why second languages are learned (Heilenman, 1990). The use of self-assessment and peer assessment aims to motivate CE students to take responsibility for the development of their own writing via involving them in the process of writing. A peer's responses can open up fresh avenues (Bolton, 2005) which could make assessment become a tool for learning rather than focuses on exclusively examination performance and standards.

With the widely adoption of computer in CE learners' daily life, the score of *Ease* and *FK grade* from the Microsoft Word be used by CE learners as the self and peer assessment before their final draft in writing. It can also encourage them to bring their own knowledge, cultural backgrounds, and personal histories into their writing. After sharing their existed knowledge, they can collaborate on their writings or provide meaningful comments on their peer's writing and reflect their own as well.

3. Data collection and Analysis

Data for the paper come from task 2 of one formative test in College English classroom and an overall analysis from a reader's and a teacher's perspective brief in the second part of this section.

3.1 Data collection

This formative writing assessment consists of 3 parts which integrates the listening, reading, and writing into two writing tasks and lasts for 45 minutes which is just one period of the normal teaching in the university. To eliminate the stress, all the participants are told that the test is formative and will only be used for diagnosis on their English proficiency anonymously. At last, 18 CE students volunteered to attend the test.

At the beginning, all the students will listen to a short episode on the topic of ‘*money and taste of wine*’ from VOA special English programmes for twice in 7 minutes. Then they will read a 500-words article on ‘*money can buy happiness?*’ written by a native speaker in 5 minutes. After that, they are asked to finish two tasks, the first one is writing a **100-words summary** on what they had listened and read in 15 minutes; the second task is to write **a 200-words essay** on a similar topic: “*why do some people enjoy life and others don’t?*” in 30 minutes. The data using in the analysis of this paper is the writing task 2 done by the students.

After their performance, all the writings are typed into the computer and saved in **Word** document separately in order to get the readability statistics (See appendix 1). To provide more evidence from the perspective of teacher, I also asked one of my experienced colleagues, who has been teaching CE for 14 years in the university, to grade these articles through the criteria in College English Test in China (See appendix 2, **15** is the full mark.).

3.2 Analysis

All the statistics are listed in the following table for an overview.

Text	words	Paragraphs	Sentences	ASL	ASW	Ease	FK Grade	Grader 1
1	36	1	3	10	4.8	69.7	6.0	4
2	73	2	6	12.1	4.3	80.9	4.9	6
3	110	1	5	22	3.8	70.6	8.8	8
4	117	4	5	23.4	4.7	63.7	10.1	8
5	140	3	9	15.5	4.5	75.0	6.6	10
6	158	3	14	11.2	4.4	69.5	6.3	8
7	162	6	10	16.2	4.2	76.5	6.6	11
8	163	1	9	18.1	4.2	69.5	8.0	13
9	173	2	14	12.3	4.2	84.2	4.5	12
10	177	3	16	11	4	92.8	3.0	11
11	179	3	10	17.9	4.4	65.7	8.5	12
12	180	3	11	16.3	4	79.3	6.2	8
13	181	3	12	15	4.4	70.4	7.1	12
14	205	2	16	12.8	3.8	91.8	3.6	10
15	207	1	12	17.2	4.5	72.0	7.4	10
16	217	6	18	12	4.7	68.6	6.6	12
17	217	4	12	18	4.3	69.9	7.9	13
18	228	4	11	20.7	4.3	69.2	8.7	12

Table 2: readability statistics of 18 articles

The accepted and normal readable text will have an **Ease** from 60 to 80 with an **FK grade** at 7 to 8. From the above table, we can easily locate that there are only 8 out of 18 texts reach this criteria. Five of them have 3 to 4 paragraphs, with a word limit from 117 to 228 while the rest has only 1 paragraph. The most outstanding

characteristic of these 8 texts is their score of *ASL*: all over 15 and 2 even over 20 which shows these CE writers use long and complicated sentence structures. From the teacher's grade in these 8 texts, 6 got a rather high score: 10 to 13. There will be a discount in score if the writer cannot reach the word limit. All these 8 texts have a teacher's grade over 8 which mean all of them have been effectively addressed and used some details to support or illustrate an idea. Although there are errors in usage and sentence structure, they are adequately organized as a coherent article and well developed as a whole.

Also from the above table, all the texts have reached an acceptable *Ease* over 60. According to the equation of *Ease* ($=206.835-84.6*ASW-1.015*ASL$), *ASW* weighs more than *ASL*. Since there are no significant differences in *ASW* and *Ease*, in the following analysis, I will focus more on the *ASL* and *FK grade* and their relation with the self or peer assessment from a reader's and a teacher's perspective.

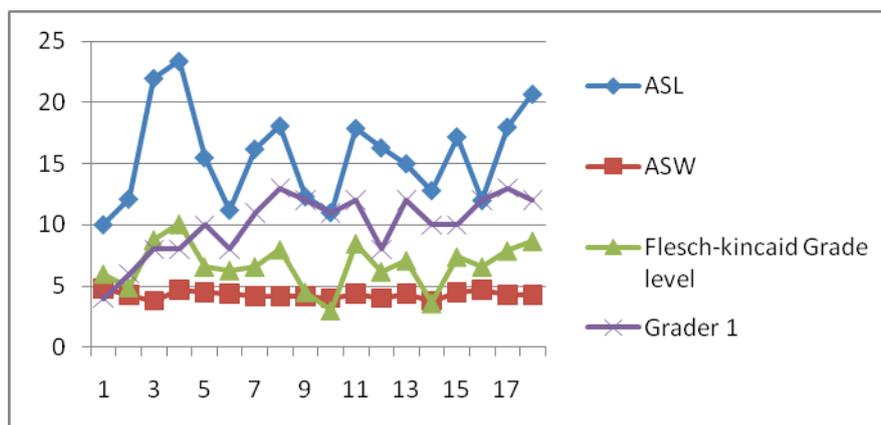


Figure 1: Relationships of *ASL*, *ASW*, *F-K Grade* and teacher's grade

From the above table and figure, we can find out that the trend of the grader and FK grade are alike except article 4, 10 and 14.

Text	words	paragraphs	sentences	ASL	ASW	Ease	FK grade	Grader
4	117	4	5	23.4	4.7	63.7	10.1	8
10	177	3	16	11	4	92.8	3	11
14	205	2	16	12.8	4.5	91.8	3.6	10

Table 3: Significant differences among 3 articles

If we compared these scores with Teacher's grade, Articles 10 and 14 have a teacher's grade of 11 and 10 while article 4 only has a teacher's grade of 8. Ignoring the difference in the numbers of words in the whole article, article 4's *ASL* score is nearly twice as that of article 10 and 14. From the equation of *FK grade* ($=0.39*ASL+11.8*ASW-15.59$), the strength of *ASL* plays an important role in the scoring if there is only slight difference in *ASW*. To the computer, the highest score in *Ease* does not necessarily match a higher *FK grade* and vice versa. These had been evidenced from the above explanation.

But to a grader or reader, clarification in content, style, and structure plays the decisive role in their understanding and assessment. Although texts 10 and 14 have a lower **FK grade**, they are rated over 10 by the grader. Part of the reasons may be their high reading ease. Short and simple sentence structure make the writing easy to be understood although there are flaws in grammar and coherence in organization. Meanwhile, small and short word will impress readers because it will cost them fewer efforts in comprehension and communication with the writing.

From a reader's perspective, **Word** could be a patient and untiring Grader. Take text 1 as an example:

Because different people have different valus on life. Someone knows how to get and also know where and when should devote. They can make themselves happy by help other people. They know what should and wether

After checking on spelling and grammar in **Word**, it was given **Ease** at 69.7 and **FK Grade** 6 with 2 spelling mistakes and one grammar mistake. When these surface mistakes are corrected with the help of the computer, the reading **Ease** becomes 64.7 and the **FK Grade** to 7.9. If we go further on the rules of grammar, such as the first two sentences can be combined into one and the following sentence with the correction of the verb form: *helping*. The statistics change again to 61.8 and 8.3. As a reader, this experience in assessment and revision is really positive and rewarding. Just by clicking and second thought, the figure could have a change which means the writer could revise and proofread as many times as he or she likes while practicing language at word or sentence level to demonstrate ideas.

More supporting details could be found in these 18 texts and because of the space limit, we cannot specify them one by one.

4. Discussion

Based on the analysis in the above section, I will have a detailed discussion on the application of readability statistics in the CE instruction and learning process from a reader's perspective as well as a CE teacher. Therefore, the research questions I proposed in the first section will be reviewed to find out how the statistics be used to arouse the CE writer's linguistic and cognitive awareness.

*Research Question 1: In Readability statistics, which aspect should be weighed more: Flesch reading **Ease** or **Flesch-Kincaid grade**?*

According to the test participants in this study, we do know that after having learned English for at least 6 to 7 years, the development of the whole testing group is at an appropriate level of their writing proficiency as their average **Ease** is 74.4 with an **FK**

grade of 6.71. But when we go to the reading of individual writing, there are great differences among them. The top two highest *Ease* articles with 3.8 to 4 *ASW* and their *FK grade* level is around 3 while others at 4.3 *ASW* or more. Their *ASL* (average sentence length) is only half of the highest *FK grade* article. Simple sentence structure, repetition of words, fragmentation, and misuse of pronoun are their commonalities. From a reader's perspective, high frequently used words and simple sentence structure is a good way to avoid big mistakes either in spelling or grammar. Accordingly, we can draw a conclusion that the length of the word will help improving the grade level.

Compared with CE learners learning history, *FK grade* around 3 is underdeveloped and unacceptable. From a teacher's view, I felt these statistics will help writers and readers to understand their proficiency level and provide assistance in their self or peer-assessment. Although participants have already had a basic knowledge on the conformity of language form and idea, they are intended to take fewer risks in achieving syntactic variety and appropriate word choice. After initiating CE learners' writing process, readability index can be used to arouse writer's awareness on their composition. With the high score in *ASW* or *ASL*, it is easy to ensure the *FK grade* which is more important than *Ease* to a CE learner who had learned English over 6 years.

Research Question 2: What does the readability statistics mean to readers or writers in their self-/ peer- assessment?

With acceptable *Ease*(60-80) *and FK grade*(7-8), further understanding of the readability statistics will help a writer or a reader to revise and perfect their writing on their own (See table 4).

Text	words	Paragraphs	Sentences	ASL	ASW	Ease	FK grade	Grader
3	110	1	5	22	3.8	70.6	8.8	8
4	117	4	5	23.4	4.7	63.7	10.1	8
8	163	1	9	18.1	4.2	69.5	8	13
11	179	3	10	17.9	4.4	65.7	8.5	12
13	181	3	12	15	4.4	70.4	7.1	12
15	207	1	12	17.2	4.5	72	7.4	10
17	217	4	12	18	4.3	69.9	7.9	13
18	228	4	11	20.7	4.3	69.2	8.7	12
Mean			9.5	19.0375	4.325		68.875	8.3125

Table 4: Acceptable Readability statistics and grader

We can also have a positive correlation between readability statistics and grader. In Chinese university, grading scale of the writing is from 0 to 15. Generally speaking, if one can get a score of 8, he/she can express his/her idea clearly with simple but sufficient naturalness of English and not many errors. All these 8 articles have the grades above the normal, 2 at 8, 1 at 10, 5 over 12. As structure, design, style and

content contribute to *Ease*, I will take Text 17 as an illustration of constructs of readability statistics for self or peer-assessment.

Firstly, from the structure and design of the article, it has four paragraphs which is the most popular structure adopted in writing because it states the opinion clearly at the very beginning and echoes at the last part with the supporting ideas in the main body from two contrastive perspectives. 12 sentences are distributed among 4 paragraphs. After first filter in surface language errors with checker in spelling and grammar in Word, both the writer and peer assessors can make improvements on the contents of the sentences rather than on the words form.

Then from the style part, the writer adopted many semantic and syntactic elements in his writing. He initiates his statement with a common shared idea: *different people have different lives. Some people like to help others, but some people just consider for their own.* In the body part, the writer demonstrates these ideas by means of coherent contents and by way of transitive cohesions, such as *at first, in addition and at last.* All these contribute a lot in the grader's grading and reader's echoing in understanding. In the end, he restates his opinion by *we can help each other and get more happiness.*

With impressive ideas, logical and effective organization, the writer shows his individual and appropriate voice from his own feeling which is very important when a reader could be involved in the reading by the usage of pronoun: *we.* Although there are many avoidable spelling mistakes, it is quite persuasive and fluent in clarifying idea which could impact the reader.

Of course, readability statistics cannot tell us so much. All the analyses are from a reader and a researcher's perspective with the values of statistics and grader. Local revision, at sentence level, is almost too easy on *Word.* Feedback from others can play an important part to gain overall improvement (Hedge, 2002:317).

Research Question 3: What implication of Ease and FK grade could be drawn for CE instructor and learners?

There are several implications learned from the above analysis on the readability statistics from a reader's and a researcher's perspective.

The first one is that *Word* allows a high degree of differentiation. Individual writer can write freely on the screen and get an objective value on their writing proficiency immediately. Meanwhile, with the support from their peers and instructors, they can review other's writing to test whether their understanding of the diction, sentence structure and representation are in a communicative way and take the readers into consideration.

Secondly, a high degree of learner motivation and involvement makes teaching more efficient, since the teacher can focus more on supporting learners rather than having to focus on providing content. Influenced by the Confucius teaching idea, Chinese students most often expect a teacher to answer his or her own questions and believe the authority of the teacher and they generally had no role to play other than to complete the assessment requirements under the conditions set for them (Boud, 1995). When students are asked to rate them on a marking scale, relatively able and mature students are able to do so in a way which is identical to the way in which they would be rated by teachers and some are quite critical in their assessments (Boud, D. and Falchikov, N. 1995).

5. Conclusion

In spite of the markedly positive tone of readability statistics in the revision stage for CE writers, a number of questions and problems still remain.

First and foremost, the small-scale exploratory study we reported here does not allow us to draw any firm conclusions with regard to long-term achievement in writing proficiency. Readability statistics can help the writer to know more about his or her development of writing proficiency without an extrovert grader. The advantages of *Word* are clear: learners who have previously struggled with handwriting in English are greatly assisted; *Word* enables sustained periods of composition, and the speed of processing can assist the generation of ideas and their rapid noting in any order as they come into the mind. Another advantage is that rapid drafting is possible, leaving error-correction until later, and this can be trained through techniques such as oral dictation (Hyland, 1993).

To the CE learners, writing process with *Word* could be of self-assessment in their own language development. Although CE learners' linguistic and cognitive awareness could have been aroused by the Readability statistics, it was really difficult to assess their proficiency or improve their weaknesses on their own. More training and practices will be done in the future instruction as well as understanding the criteria for good writing. Nevertheless, *Word* and computer are not an answer to all the problems in CE writing instruction and learning. *KF grade* can only be taken as a reference index in the development of CE learner's proficiency.

Undoubtedly, it needs more collaboration among computer, readers and writers. When I typed articles into the computer written by the CE learners, I had to ignore deletion, insertion, underline, and scrambling in their handwritings which may greatly influence the reader's assessment and interaction with the text. Readability statistics could play as guidance in writing, not only on the typical language errors, but also for the development of language proficiency. As a reader and teacher, I found that

collaboration between peers and instructor will play a different decisive role in the writing process. It needs further research and survey on these issues.

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Appendix 1

18 texts for review

1. Because different people have different values on life. Someone knows how to get and also know where and when should devote. They can make themselves happy by help other people. They know what should and whether
2. Some people are happy everyday. This is nothing can make them sad, because they have a good move. They think about the good rather than the bad.

But some people don't enjoy life. The most important reason is that they don't feel full. Just like an old Chinese said: "poor people are tired of food and classes everyday, rich people always think they are not rich and think about how to become richer."

3. In my opinion, it is due to the element what people like to do. If some people have a good job, a warm family, a friendly scholar, he loves his work, enjoy his partime with his family and friends, everything is well to him. He certainly enjoy his life, but if he loses his job or he doesn't like his job, he may feel bored, senseless and have no patience to the family life. His motion is brown, everything is meaningless to him. Life is just a way to waste the time after a sequence of courses, he may have no idea about life, how to talk about enjoy life.
4. There are two kinds of people, one enjoy life, another don't, but why?

Many researchers have done a great number of experiments on different people, and they point out that whether people enjoy life or not largely because the income, job and their attitude to the surroundings.

They first asked the volunteers to write down their job, their income, and then write their thoughts about that. Through analysis, they find out that income and job surely can have effect on persons life, but the attitude to the surrounding play the biggest parts on people's life.

The people who treat life optimistic, they can more enjoy life than others though they have not good job and high income.

5. Our life is colourful and meaningful because we all live in this colourful world. But to each person, we may have different lifestyles and different thought about life. Some people enjoy their lives while other people may think life is meaningless.

The people who enjoy their lives should have some different look about their lives. They can enjoy themselves through giving or offering helps. For example, If they helped a blind people cross the street, they may feel happy because they think it is meaningful. But at the same time, if those people who don't enjoy their lives may do this thing, too, but they may regard it as a boring and meaningless thing.

In a word, different thought about life may lead people's view about life. If you want to live happier, you should take another look at life.

6. To most people, they could lead a plain as well as happy life. They could feel more comfortable everyday. Seldom will they encounter a huge hit in life. So this part of people often enjoy life.

Conversely, some others hate life. A host of negative impact, such as pressure from society, competition in daily life, and difficulties in social context, make up a wall in their heart. And a sense of hopelessness will up to their brain. Over time, it may destroy them and cause daily manner.

We can see from the root of these two perspectives that the different opinions different people holds all are the result of the surrounding of their life. And the environment can lead to different character. Also, character affects people largely. A person enjoys his life. He may be optimistic and happy. So we also can think that a person who hates life must be passive and lack of confidence in life.

7. When talking about this topic we should know what will make life enjoyable and what doesn't.

Money is an important part of this, it can meet our daily need and to make our matter life varieties, it's an important part but not the only.

Families and friends can not be deducted. They make our feeling world true and to share our happiness and unhappiness. This is the most important part of life.

Do some things to help others when they need.

When we make the above things clear we talk about the topic again. Those who enjoy life may have not much money, but they know how to use the limited money to make himself/herself and others get out of trouble and to do significant things. These people have many friends and often get well with people who around them.

The others don't enjoy life may have many reasons, but I think the most important is that they are greedy.

8. In a certain degree, people who enjoy life harbour an outgoing personality. Everything in daily life seems to be the original source of happiness in their eyes while it is opposite to others. For example, one receives an apple from a friend which has quarrelled with him before, the people who enjoy life may look on it as a gift while the other would think whether the apple can be eaten. For my own part, one who enjoys life or not depends on his way of thinking. It is impossible to own a life that no bitterness or pain. The key word is to keep on it as challenges that everyone must experience on it as challenges that everyone must experience if he wants to live a good life. Remember that complaining too much may disturb your good mood and make you nervous. Nothing is big if you really have a wide heart. So just enjoy life, you will never miss one happiness.

9. In our true life, people's attitude on life differ. Some people enjoy their life by many ways. Because they think that life to one person is so limit that they should do funs to make their lifes colourful and meanful. So they don't care of money and the attitude of people around them. they just to live on their own way. They like freedom and pursue it. In their eyes life means enjoying and enrich themselves.

But on the othe side, some people don't enjoy life. They think that enjoy means need more money so that they should work harder and harder to earn more money. Besides, they are afraid of falling so they put much of their time on jobs and familes. They live in press, noverous. In this condition result to they have no time to enjoy life. Because in their eye, work is the most important thing. They hardly feel happy, even feel that there is no happiness around them, and all around of them is just work and press.

10. As I see, when people just think of their own, they can't get happy, they never try to know about others and help otheirs. They don't understand that life is hard to us. Only if we help each other, we may get success. To the nature, only one is so small that one person can't do great things. And if you don't try to know and help others, others wouldn't.

Then when you come to the hard things, you won't succeed. At this moment, you certainly get pain. At last, you start to hate life.

But others know the life. They are helpful to contact with others. They try their best to help and know others. At this moment, when they get pain, they can talk with others and get help. So they aren't so painful. And whey they get success, they can own their feelings with others. At this moment, they will be happier, so they enjoy life. I remember one sentence that says "how you deal with the life, how the life deal with you".

11. In modern times, people who may easily get upset are becoming a large part of those who need help. Then, why do some people can enjoy life to its fullness when leading a life on the go whole others do not?

As to my eyesight, those who are happy now and then belong to the poor or the ones having a lower status in society. They are considering about the simplest thing of life, thus having little time risking his head to find ways to hurt others' benefits. They can easily feel content and comfortable with their incomes as long as there're great difficulties comeing to his family or job. In contrast, the ones who can be easily annoyed by simple thing are largely the white collars. High education and intelligence, rich profits and high and special tastes lead them to a habit of being careful with as many things as possible. They eat well, dress well..... If one of these won't satisfy them, they get unhappy.

In short, one's happiness are largely based on your expectations from life.

12. In my opinion, the attitude towards life is very important, when something happens, some of us may think it was really a bad day, he may think why the god always play tricks with him. He may feel life is dull. It is really unentrusting. On the other hand, the others have the ability to enjoy life, when the same thing happens, they don't feel sad, maybe they have another attitude towards the thing, this can help them get out of the trouble, and then lead a happy life.

Setting a goal is also a good way to enjoy life. But the goal setted shouldn't be too different. We should adjust our ability and then set a goal weither too easy nor too hard. Then we have energy to make our goal come true. When we reach the goal, we may think life is really so wonderful, and this would make you have more energy to make the next goal come true.

So this is life, with so many goals can you make it come true. It is really interesting.

13. Nowadays, some people enjoy life and others don't in the developed society. I think there are several reasons.

For the people which can enjoy life. The reasons of their enjoyment are different. Some people may be born in the old society where they didn't have enough food to eat, and they usually felt cold because they have no coats. However, they can eat enough food and make them warm because the society today has many better policies. That is, they are satisfied with today's life. Other people may have a comfortable family: a beautiful wife and a cute daughter or son, what's more, they have a steady income. On weekends, they can travel about with their family. Maybe they were not born in the old society, but they can enjoy today's fashion, they are happy too. As far as I'm concerned, if people are satisfied with today's life and can create their enjoyment, they may enjoy life.

For the people which can't the life, they maybe not satisfied with the life, and they usually feel tired with the burden of life.

14. As we know, there are many people who live a happy life, we can say they enjoy their life. But at the same time, we also find many people who work hard and is tired all the day. They have no time to relax and take themselves our from work. The reasons for that are diverse. In my view, the most important is money, just maybe. Suppose you have much money, do you want to work any more? I think the answer in your heart is No. of course, having so much money doesn't mean we can do nothing. I just mean we have no need to work as hard as those who live by the money they get from work. Their income is only from that.

In other side, I think the awareness is also the reason for that. It's not difficult for us to find some people who have much money still working hard. They just want to work, regardless of money. At the same time, some people know they have only one chance to live. They don't want to be tired all their life. So,

maybe they just have money to buy food, they are happy. They will smile all the time.

15. Naturally, many people don't enjoy their life, largely because they are under great stress, coming from family, friend, associate or themselves, while others may be in the same situation but they are good at adjusting themselves to adapt it. Many people don't enjoy themselves just because they don't have enough money, even though they are standing in the rich in other people's view, they don't think so. They have to drive themselves to higher and higher stair. So the life is like a bag full of sands, pressing them to death. Of course, they can't live their lives, let alone enjoy themselves. Money plays a prominent role in social life. But it isn't all, together with money, health is another element to limit people's life, who have a desire for enjoying life but they can't. That's objective. They struggle their life to great length and definite the life as their attitude towards life, that's respectful. Throughout the history, many people have no passion or no health or, even more, neither of them, but they also can enjoy their life to the minute. The point is, as far as I can see, the attitude. Just as the saying puts it "when you laugh, the life laughs to you!"
16. Every people regard their life with different attitude. So some people enjoy life and others don't. The following is the reasons.

People take different things seriously, such as money, time, emotion, friendship and so on. When they get or lose the most important things in their eyes. They will enjoy life or not.

People who live in different country and live through different experience may make themselves have different idea. Americans and Chinese are in the contrary. Every year, many people commit suicide which tell us that they can't adjust to the life.

People work on different job may have different spirit and belief. For example, a teacher maybe enjoy their life or not by the gains, students who study their preferable may be enjoy their life, others may don't.

The obvious difference is between people in different age. Usually, the young and the healthy elder will enjoy their life. While the adult must be busy on their job to take care of their children and parents. They are under pressure. Their life may lack of colour.

There are also some people enjoy life, though they are not rich and they have little knowledge, by devoting themselves. Such as the countryside teacher Xu Benyu, the more they do for the country or social, they will be happier.

17. Different people have different lives, some people like to help others, but some people just consider for their owns.

Some people enjoying life have several reasons. At first, life is very important for us, and everyone should take care of it. Whatever, it is poor or wealthy,

just do what you can do and satisfy yourself. In addition, they think everyone should be equal, and they should try their best to help others. When others get help, they feel happy, and they think money can buy happiness, only if you spend it on someone else, they like to devote themselves to make others happy. At last, enjoying life is good for our health, and everyone should put health first.

To the contrary, some people have enough money, but they don't enjoy life. To begin with, they have much desire, when they get some, they want to get a high one, so they are not happy. Furthermore, sometimes money is trouble, when someone has enough money, they are afraid others will steal the money. To worse, maybe others will kill them.

To my opinion, we should enjoy our life, whatever we are poor or wealthy, and everyone is in the earth, and we have a community house, so we can help others, and get more happiness.

18. Why do people enjoy life while others don't? wow, that's really a very interesting question. It just like "why you love me while I don't love you" or "why you love me while I like her?"

Yes, the point is different people have different situations or ideas, or we can say more clearly, the situation people experienced are different. In my opinion, some people enjoy their life because they have a good and beautiful experience, they love it and enjoy it, they feel happy and excited, while others may don't. It because they may have a bitter or unhappy experience, they hate it and want to forget it, but usually the fact is they feel more bitter and unhappy, they couldn't drop it, and on the other hand, they usually think of them.

Yet, there maybe some people couldn't understand their life, usually the wrong idea is to own enough money and power, while they may succeed, but they never satisfied with what they have got. So most of them spend lots of time and energy to get what they want, and never satisfied with what they have got. In fact, most of these people usually get nothing when they get time to remind of their experiences. So in the last, they feel regret and don't enjoy life.

So, above all, the point is the situations are different!

Appendix 2 Criteria for writing

Grade	Evaluation	Characteristics
0-3	Very poor	Serious disorganization or underdevelopment Little or no detail, or irrelevant specifics Serious and frequent errors in sentence structure or usage
4-6	weak	Addresses the writing topic adequately but may slight parts of the task Inappropriate or insufficient details to support or illustrate generations Inadequate organization or development Serious errors with focus
7-9	pass	May address some parts of the task more effectively than others Uses some details to support a thesis or illustrate an idea Is adequately organized An accumulation of errors in sentence structure and/or usage, with some serious errors
10-12	good	Effectively addresses the writing task Uses details to support a thesis or illustrate an idea Is generally well organized and developed May contain some errors that occasionally obscure meaning
13-15	Very good	Effectively addresses the writing task Uses details to support a thesis or illustrate an idea Displays facility in use of language Is well organized and well developed Demonstrates syntactic variety and appropriate word choice though it may have occasional errors

**“(HU)MAN-MADE” MONEY IN LINDA HOGAN’S *MEAN SPIRIT* AND
KAREN TEI YAMASHITA’S *THROUGH THE ARC OF THE RAIN FOREST***

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The ecological age is a reality in a world dominated by consumerism and globalization. The destruction of the natural world is the other side of the coin that almost anybody seems to notice. However, ecologists, environmental philosophers and ecocritics try to emphasize the connections between money and nature, whether they are negative or positive.

The aim of this work is to analyze the economic and ecological factors in the novels *Mean Spirit* by Linda Hogan, and *Through the Arc of the Rain Forest* by Karen Tei Yamashita. An ecocritical perspective would highlight how these two texts are inevitably linked by main topics related to environmental conservation, ecological denunciation, or anti-globalization reports. Apart from this, the exploration through the settings and the characters would help me to establish clear similarities between the stories.

In both *Mean Spirit* and *Through the Arc of the Rain Forest* the new, burgeoning business is related to the exploitation of natural resources. To a large extent the exploitation of human beings is also present, given that people suffer the consequences as much as the environment. Ironically, this exploitation is also caused by “(hu)mans.” In both novels “corrupt” business is held by men, hence the parenthetical term “(hu)man” to intensify the fact that it is the human being who destroys nature in the novels, and not only this, they are men, not women. On the one hand, in *Mean Spirit* Hale is the ringleader of oil business and the instigator of the numerous murders. On the

other, Tweep is the representative without scruples of GGG, the absorbing American company that gets profits from the Matacão in *Through the Arc*. Male characters are in both cases the ones who perpetrate the cruelest attacks against the environment. Hale represents the villain in *Mean Spirit*; J.B. Tweep is the personification of fierce Western capitalism and greed in *Through the Arc of the Rain Forest*.

The murder of Grace Blanket is the first example of human greed involving money in *Mean Spirit*. Belle, the main protagonist in this novel, suspects that Grace's death is part of a plot, "since [her] land was worth so much in oil" (Hogan, *Mean* 29). Belle laments the discovery of oil in Osage territory because it smells "like death to her" (29). The speculation created around Watona, the setting of the novel, is likewise related to other businesses dealing with the tapping of natural resources. Hale's greed is behind all the destruction we witness in the novel. Apart from the devastating images of his oil derricks crushing the land of Watona, he is the obvious forerunner of the several mysterious murders related to the possession of oil. Hale "hire[s] Indian men to help him cut, burn, and clear their own land" strategically (54). With this trick he insures himself the support of the Natives who work for him, and at the same time he shows the world that not all the indigenous people care for the land, since they help to destroy it. According to Yonka Krasteva, this is a "stunning illustration of [the] self-deprecation and internal colonization" that helps "the intruders destroy their community and ultimately their way of life" (51). Hale's plot in Walker's death is also evident, as we know that he had "a life insurance policy on Walker" (Hogan, *Mean* 125). Later in the novel, it is discovered that "the man named Bird had been released from jail in order to commit the murder of Walker. The sheriff had been involved, but the idea was Hale's" (327). In the same way, Hale coerced China to marry John Stink to get his fortune, and when he discovers that John is dead he goes "to the courthouse and file[s] a lien on

Stink's money" (352). Hale's corrupted business is endless throughout the novel.

However, Watona depends on him economically: the cars and the fine clothes Natives buy come from oil income.

At this stage it is important to bring up the polemical dual ethics of biological conservation. As James D. Proctor puts it, there is a strong confrontation between what is ecologically correct and humanly convenient. In his article "Whose Nature? The Contested Moral Terrain of Ancient Forests," he exemplifies this dichotomy with a true story about the listing of the spotted owl as a threatened species in the Lane County Convention Center in Eugene, Oregon. On the one hand, and through the testimony of the director of Save Our Ecosystems, we know that the considerations of the meeting "are not really about owls, ... These hearings are about whether the timber industry shall be allowed to continue consuming our Northwest forests until there is nothing left..." (Proctor 269-270). On the other hand, another of the participants in the Convention implores them not to destroy the industry of 100 families that depend economically on this timber company (Proctor 271). The same situation can be found in *Mean Spirit*, since we see some Natives working for Hale's oil company and some others fighting against him to protect what he is destroying, that is, the natural and cultural heritage of Watona. A well-known Native proverb wisely tells us that "[o]nly when the last tree has been cut, the last river has been poisoned, and the last fish has been caught, you will realize that you cannot eat money" (Feest 12). Hale's greed gets to the point in which he does not hide his shady deals and he dares to expand the boundary lines, invading Belle's land to his profit and putting Belle's beehives in jeopardy: "Hale had no remorse," and even at the final trial he faces, he "smiled and shook hands with several of his friends [...] He looked, in an odd way, handsome and untouched by the weight of events" as if nothing could be done against him (325).

Towards the end of the novel the crimes against Native people are compared to the “clearing of the land for your farm, or hunting the food you eat” (327). Indigenous inhabitants put themselves on a similar level with the earth since they believe they are interrelated; however, the whites use this “idyllic” union to their own benefit, placing Natives under them. Whites do not have the same vision of the planet, whites think they are “superior” to the other inhabitants of the world, and this gives them the right to manipulate them, whether they are humans or non-humans.

Concentrating on the effects of money in local people, it is worthy of mention Eric Anderson’s study in “States of Being in the Dark: Removal and Survival in Linda Hogan’s *Mean Spirit*”. Anderson equals money and oil, and presents them as “dark presences in the novel,” generating conflicts between Indians and between Natives and Non-Natives (59). In view of the fact that the oil company has to pay the Natives for the use of their land, money enters their lives and transforms them into “the richest people in the world,” according to Eugene E. White (qtd. in T. Wilson 268). The oil businessmen “disliked the way Indian people displayed their wealth,” buying expensive cars, “wearing bright clothing, and joking back and forth about dollars and cents” (Hogan, *Mean* 56). As Krasteva openly claims, Native Americans “can be tolerated as long as they stay in the margins of society, as long as they remain poor,” (52) but once they become rich, they also become the centre of criticism. It is difficult for them “to take their wealth seriously” since the concept of richness is new for them (57). One of the most ironical scenes related to the inappropriate spending by an Osage citizen takes place when Jim Josh, “a man who loved plants, was said to have bought several useless claw-footed bathtubs even though he lived in a shack with no running water” (Hogan, *Mean* 56). This “ironic” scene links both novels inevitably, parodying “contemporary discourses regarding developing countries, technology and industry, and ecology”

(Wallace 147). When in Yamashita's novel Kazumasa starts to give his money to the people he realizes about the "ephemeral" use of wealth as he discovers that "a woman who received a washing machine had no plumbing to run water to it" (Yamashita, *Through* 148)¹. This explicitly shows the "stark contrast between extreme poverty and luxurious wealth" in the novel, and emphasizes the irony of introducing technology where it is virtually useless (Simal 210). Just like the Osage people Kazumasa does not know what to do with the money obtained in the lottery, and he starts to give it away to the people who ask for it, but as his donation system develops, he becomes aware of the fact that he cannot "perform miracles," as people ask for "health, a lost arm, vision, hearing, babies" (Yamashita, *Through* 61). Obviously, people take advantage of Kazumasa and lie to him in order to get his money, to an extent that Kazumasa's "altruism [becomes] corrupted by greed" (63). Thanks to Kazumasa's disinterested behavior, the main characters of Yamashita's novel start their own business. Mané and Batista DJapan become rich with feathers and pigeons. Hiroshi benefits from the karaoke business². Even Chico Paco takes advantage of "God's Will" and of the popularity of his pilgrimages, and sets up his own business with Kazumasa's money: Radio Chico, which turns out to be an overnight success (128). Kazumasa himself becomes a businessman as a "plastic hunter" once Tweep appears in the scene.

Jonathan B. Tweep and GGG go hand in hand throughout the novel. The former is the personification of the latter just like Hale personifies the entire oil extraction business in Hogan's novel. GGG is a company settled on a twenty-third floor in New

¹ This same fact is also mentioned in an interview with the author as she quotes her husband's words about a poor person in Brazil going to "a lot of trouble to buy a refrigerator" but not having "electricity to hook the damn thing up" (Yamashita "Interview" 50).

² According to Yamaguchi, Hiroshi represents the Japanese "snobbism" of the 1980s and the "models of consumerism and consumption" that the Japanese introduced in Brazil (27).

York³, and its presence in *Through the Arc* indicates the constant “intervention” of big companies from rich countries in poor countries. As Wallace convincingly argues, although the Brazilian government tries to keep the Matacão under its control, “it is the American transnational corporation, GGG, which exercises the greatest control over the new resource,” and turns the town into a “hyperactive money-making machine” (150; Chen 616). In fact, through the innocent eyes of the illiterate Mané Pena, Tweep is the representation of American/US progress and development, and Tweep’s third arm is the final indication for Mané to consider and say that “Americans certainly were more advanced!” (Yamashita, *Through* 74). The Matacão, the main setting for Yamashita’s novel, soon becomes the centre of speculation and business for many companies. Among others, “travel agencies [find] it lucrative to expand their activities to include the promotion and sponsoring of events on the Matacão” (101). This place turns into a tourist attraction like Watona, where “even before it began, the trail had turned into a kind of celebration for onlookers who gathered as if it were a holiday” (Hogan, *Mean* 323). Whereas in the Matacão acrobats perform their shows and the World Hockey play-offs take place there (Yamashita, *Through* 101), in Watona merchants start “making their profits by selling miniature stick derricks and hand-painted statuettes of Indians” (Hogan, *Mean* 324).

Very soon Tweep discovers Kazumasa’s ball’s attraction to the Matacão material, and his greed activates his thirst for power. Given that Kazumasa’s ball had felt the same attraction in Pará, Tweep concludes that “there [might] be other uncovered Matacões” awaiting him, there might be other waste dumps all over the world (Yamashita, *Through* 107). Tweep’s greed is different from Hale’s: murder does not

³ Oddly enough, there are thirty-two chapters in the novel, precisely the inverted number. This can be analyzed as a simple coincidence or as an indication for a possible inverted end and a consequent apocalyptic reading of the novel taking as a parallel the inversion of the Christian cross to indicate a satanic symbol, which is, at the same time, related to the number 666, resembling clearly the company name GGG.

come directly from his hand. However, “for precaution’s sake,” Tweep “had an assistant come in and velcro Kazumasa to his bed at night” (110). Kazumasa and his ball are “the key to this incredible source of wealth” (144). He is “oblivious to any obstacle in [his] path,” even “great government hydroelectric dam projects” that leave plants and animals “bulldozed under, rotting and stinking for miles in every direction,” or Native American homelands with “their populations decimated by influenza” (144). In the end, Tweep’s promising words in favor of “environmental conservation” and “ecologically responsible” promotions for people sink into oblivion, and leave instead devastating scenes such as those and others to follow (113)⁴. However, once again greed is involved, and as Susana Hecht states in *The Fate of the Forest*, “there was money to be made; survival to be sustained in cleaning forest” (193).

Disease is caused by overpopulation of pigeons in *Through the Arc*, and typhus spreads throughout the Matacão affecting people and animals, since DDT spraying is the measure taken to prevent the infected birds from spreading the plague. But this poison is not only a “birdicide”: in the long term, as Carson had already announced in her 1962 best-seller, the storage of this substance in the human body can cause “chronic poisoning and degenerative changes of the liver and other organs”(Yamashita, *Through* 199; Carson 21). Later, a furious bacteria eats the Matacão and disintegrates all that is made of this plastic, creating a collective hysteria in the novel (207). This “apocalyptic collapse” of the Matacão “symbolizes a moment of resistance by the colonized” (28), as Yamaguchi puts it, and, as I see it, this image of self-destruction is an invitation on the part of the writer to reflect on the consequences of our behavior toward this planet.

⁴ Apart from this negative vision of Tweep, Yamashita provides us with a humorous depiction as he tries to adapt to Brazil. For him “nothing seems to work in this country,” and the humidity interrupts his work and atrophies his third arm (74). Ironically, the fact that the one who complains the most about this country is a US citizen shows the American notion of the backward situation regarding developing countries, and at the same time he contradicts the Brazilian motto on order and progress in its national flag (Bang 133).

Corruption and business proliferation in *Mean Spirit* and *Through the Arc* have irrevocable consequences regarding environment and people. On the one hand, murder takes away human lives and business desolates the land. On the other hand, business culminates in disease and death, both human and non-human. Even if our examples here point to male greed, the inevitable truth is that, as Barbara Cook claims, “[h]uman actions have ecological consequences that in turn have effects on individuals and communities” (Cook 41), and all the money obtained from environmental exploitation is given back to the human being in a devastating form of payment by this same environment, which just as Tweep, is oblivious to any obstacle in its path.

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Cover Page

Title: De-creation and Re-creation of Self in Japanese and British Fantasised World

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Dani Cavallaro identifies Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland* (1865)¹ as one of the most prominent sources of Hayao Miyazaki's *Spirited Away* (*Sen to Chihiro no Kamikakushi*) (2001), as he claims, '*Spirited Away* shares a taste for preposterous metamorphoses and for weird characters are driven by both benevolent and reprehensible intention'.² This 'taste of preposterous metamorphoses' refers to the sharing interest of Miyazaki and Carroll in illustrating a girl's growth in a fantasised world, which is specifically referencing to the cultures that the director and the author were experiencing during the production. The plot development of the two texts is similar, but, owing to the differences in cultural backgrounds, Miyazaki's Chihiro and Carroll's Alice are subjected to grow in opposite directions. This paper will then look into Chihiro and Alice's growing processes, which require them to 'de-create' their old selves by abandoning values acquired in reality; and 're-create' new selves by taking up the lessons that Chihiro and Alice have learned in the Japanese and British fantasised worlds respectively.

Passiveness and idleness of the girls are indicated in the beginning of the animation and text, reflecting their problematic characters and conceptions acquired in the real world. *Spirited Away* begins with Chihiro's annoyance at moving to a new environment. She lies on the backseat and complains about the loss of friends and school. To Miyazaki, Chihiro is dearth of passion and curiosity. Chihiro's skinny legs and her sulky face symbolise her enlarged fragile ego, for the reason that children of modern Japan, in Miyazaki's opinion, cannot feel that they have to work hard to survive in this world.³ In other words, it is because these children live in modern society safely, they do not see the difficulties of survival. Chihiro concerns her personal loss and unhappiness rather than accepting new environment and people. She has big disappointment towards the withering of her flower, a subject of fancy and impractical. In the early stage of the animation, Chihiro is probably, as Yubaba claims, a spoiled and lazy child. In Carroll's work, comparably, Alice shows her weariness towards life and challenges. The boredom of Alice, analysed by Ando Satoshi, is caused by her sister's book that suggests 'boredom and dullness of the adult world'. Alice gets tired of sitting with her sister by the bank and so she peeps into the book that her sister is reading. Alice is displeased as there are 'no pictures or conversation in it'.⁴ In the age of puberty, Alice perceives 'the sense of incongruity caused by acknowledging that she is approaching the boring world represented by the book'.⁵ Even though she should be prospecting adulthood, she still has the desire of pictures and conversation, symbols of children's tales. Satoshi reads Miyazaki's and Carroll's beginning as representing a 'girl's transition period'.

¹ In the original text, Cavallaro has mistaken the name of Lewis Carroll's book *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland* (1865) as *Alice in Wonderland*.

² Dani Cavallaro, *The Animé Art of Hayao Miyazaki* (London: McFarland & Co. Inc., 2006), p.137

³ Hayao Miyazaki, 'Chihiro's Mysterious Town', *The Art of Miyazaki's Spirited Away* (*Studio Ghibli Library*) (San Francisco, CA: Viz Communications, Inc., 2002), p.15

⁴ Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass: and what Alice found there*, Penguin, 1998), p.9

⁵ Ando Satoshi, 'Regaining Continuity with the Past: *Spirited Away* and *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland*', *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature*, 46:1 (2008), p.24

Accordingly, the two protagonists are not excited to their adulthood and changes in the future. The lack of energy presented in the beginning of the texts, therefore, will dramatize the changes that would be experienced by the two protagonists.

The fantasised worlds isolate Chihiro and Alice from the logic and reality that they used, forcing them to make changes to their problematic characters. They are required to de-create their original selves, so as to acclimate themselves to new environment. When the two girls first enter the fantasised worlds, they are isolated. When Chihiro finds out that her parents are turned into pigs and her body is vanishing, she hides herself in the corner of the river bank. Likewise, after losing the sight of the white rabbit, Alice sits in an empty hall that she cannot get out of, except through a door that is too small for her. She cries, 'I am so very tired being alone here'. Without much help from external agents, isolation forces them to change themselves. Starting with their physical bodies, Chihiro takes herbal remedy from Haku while Alice takes the mixed flavoured drinks from the bottle and the small cake in a little glass box. The food then effectively changes their bodies, as Chihiro's body stops vanishing and Alice starts changing her size until she is small enough to leave the empty hall. Taking in the food, therefore, symbolises the adjustment and submission that the protagonists have to succumb to before they can exist or enter the fantasised world. Still, after leaving the isolated corner, the girls are alienated because of their unfamiliarity to the logic and knowledge of the new worlds. Chihiro is the only human in *Yuya* (Yubaba's bathhouse), and she is despised by the workers of the bathhouse, as they claim that she has terrible human stink, which symbolises the dirt and impurity of human world. Alice's alienation is taking place when she loses control over the size of her body. She is misunderstood as a serpent, and she is treated like a monster when she is in White Rabbit's house. Also, James Suchan summarises the reasons of Alice's alienation in three points: her 'sadistic treatment of the Wonderland animals', 'her refusal to accept the nonsense and chaos which is a "given" in Wonderland, and finally, her 'persistence in interjecting rational, above ground vales into the Wonderland environment'.⁶ Both protagonists cry and get confused of their sudden misfortune and uncontrollable fate, and coincidentally, after their tears, they obtain some other food, rice balls for Chihiro and another cake for Alice.

However, in the case of alienation, more than physical bodies should be concerned. Rather than de-creating their physical bodies, one's spirit and soul should be de-created by abandoning the logic adopted from reality. Miyazaki disagrees with Chihiro's old self, which is created under the influences of modernized Japan. Mick Broderick comments that, 'The post-industrial age for Miyazaki is tempered by a sense of loss, not so much of innocence, but of origin where the importance of space, place and context need reinvigoration'.⁷ In *Spirited Away*, Miyazaki aims to show the depravity of Japanese cultural values in the new generation. Japanese culture, as presented in the bathhouse, is 'a culture that is constantly in danger of being soiled by both outside influences and internal corruption'.⁸ In the opinion of Susan Napier, the traditional culture presented in the animation should be 'seen in ghostly and occasionally demonic terms', which evokes that "'Old Japan" has faded into myth and folklore and can no longer be

⁶ James Suchan, 'Alice's Journey from Alien to Artist', *Children's Literature*, Vol.7, 1978, p.79

⁷ Mick Broderick, 'Interactions: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context', Issue 9, August 2003, http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue9/broderick_review.html#n3

⁸ Susan Napier, 'The Problem of Existence in Japanese Animation', *Proceeding of the American Philosophical Society*, 149: 1, (March, 2005), p.76

approached in reality'.⁹ A mythical presentation of Japanese culture will therefore suggest the distanced and unrealistic values between the modern world and the traditional Japanese society. The cultural recovery is explicitly elucidated by Miyazaki, as he states, 'Surrounded by high technology and its filmish devices, children are more and more losing their roots. We must inform them of the richness of our traditions',¹⁰ and 'A man without history, or a people that forgot its past will have no choice but to disappear, like a shimmer of light or to lay eggs endlessly as a hen and consumed'.¹¹ With reference to Miyazaki's stress on the importance of national and personal history, Chihiro is deemed to develop her self regressively, or in other words, to look back to the Japanese traditional values and their relation with her self. Nevertheless, Miyazaki's disagreement as to modern society does not mean that he rejects value existing in other places. Shiro Yoshioka proposes that, even if the values of old Japan is essential, Miyazaki views a person's Japaneseness should also be included the diversity of Japanese cultures. In the opinion of Yoshioka, in the fantasized world of Miyazaki, 'Japaneseness is not absolute or objective.' His world is a "mosaic" that combines Asian and Western culture'.¹² The Japanese fantasized world of Miyazaki is constructed with 'both Japan's "historical" past and of Miyazaki's own personal past as extension of the contemporary "real" Japan in that belong to audience'.¹³ Accordingly, Chihiro is then surrounded by a mixed valued Japanese culture, her de-creation is seen as an adjustment of the values of reality and fantasised world.

In order to illustrate the loss and gain in a diverse Japanese culture, Chihiro's de-creation of old self happens through the loss and gain of her name. When Chihiro is signing a working contract with Yubaba, the sorceress takes away her name 'Chihiro Ogino', and renames her as 'Sen'. The transformed self of Chihiro is immediately shown when she walks up to the stairs next to the bridge in the morning. Compare to her hilarious and fearful walk to the Boiler Room in the night before, she is then much more confident and at ease to walk on the same stairs in the next morning. Additionally, she becomes courageous in dealing with supernatural characters. In the night before, she is shudder in fright when she sees Yubaba and *Kaonashi* (No-face), but in the next morning, she could bow to Kaonashi and talk to him face to face. She is also able to ask the foreman for token and to work well in the bathhouse. Apparently, the renewed Chihiro is formed when her old identity is forgotten, but Chihiro is specially placed when her old self is not totally left out by the director. In the scene which Haku comforts Chihiro under the flowery bushes, he gives her back the clothes that she used to wear, along with the card written with her real name 'Chihiro'. By remembering her real name as well as keeping the name 'Sen' in this magical world, she is a conglomeration of real and fantasised self. This echoes Yoshioka's analysis, in which Miyazaki does not intend to forget everything of the modern world as he understands that the children of Japan, at that moment, should acquire the modernized values and also be reminded with the traditional ones. The completion of the de-creation of Chihiro happens when she helps the River God (*Kawa no Kami*) to clear the rubbish and dirt that pollute him in human world. The god compasses her with water, signifying the purification of her soul and body. The

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Miyazaki, p.16

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Shiro Yoshioka, 'Heart of Japaneseness: History and Nostalgia in Hayao Miyazaki's *Spirited Away*', *Japanese Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime*, Ed. By Mark W. MacWilliams (London: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), p. 272

¹³ Ibid., p. 257-8

clearance of human dirt, therefore, ends the alienation and integrates the protagonist to the community of the bathhouse.

On the other hand, Alice's de-creation of soul is indicated along with the changes of her physical body. She correlates her physical changes to her identity, and thus she bewilders by her own identity. Alice tries to explain who she is by mathematics, geography and comparison to those she knows in the reality, but still she cannot assure her identity. As a result, in the early stage of the story, she cannot remember who she is. She could not answer the caterpillar, saying that, 'I can't explain myself... because I'm not myself.' For Carroll, a sense of loss is rendered by rapid industrialization and modernization of the nineteenth century. The Victorians, as Nicola Bown perceives, viewed themselves as 'makers and maters of the modern world', and 'they were most anxious to pass on to posterity. But they also felt oppressed by their responsibilities, fearful of the future and doubtful of the unalloyed benefits of progress'.¹⁴ When the Victorians were torn between their historical positions, nostalgia to childhood is resulted, providing an imaginative and romantic escape for the Victorians. In *Secret Garden: the Golden Age of Children's Literature*, Humphrey Carpenter claims that Carroll was living with social suppression and pressure. Different from Miyazaki's cherishment to tradition, Carroll's work replaces the nostalgia towards the past with the celebration of childhood. Alice is not an archive of old values, instead, she is the champion that represents the preciousness of childishness. For this reason, Alice's growth tends to be excessive in nature, so as to comfort those who lose their childish happiness. In the early parts of the book, the changes in her size baffle her greatly. Still, gradually she understands the logic of the Wonderland through these transformations of her bodies. After two transformations in the empty hall, Alice realizes that she has to drop the fan that she is using, before she stinks too rapidly and uncontrollably. After this, when Alice is in the White Rabbit's house, she expects that having cakes would trigger interesting changes in her body. And at last, her de-creation of the old self is completed when she gets into a 'right size'. She nibbles the two sides of the mushroom carefully, 'first at one and then at the other, and growing sometimes taller, and sometimes shorter, until she had succeeded in bringing herself down to her usual height'. More than getting into a right size of her body, Alice's de-creation happens when she adopts knowledge from her experience and adventures in Wonderland.

In these two materials, Chihiro forgets and regains her old self along with her new identity, while Alice is totally confused by who she is and de-creates her old self along with understanding the logic of Wonderland. Even though the girls are gaining knowledge from their experiences in the fantasised worlds, the de-creation of the two protagonists spark off with a series of losing control of their own bodies and identities. Reflectively, these deformations of self are written with the depravity of the society perceived by the director and the author in accordance to their cultural backgrounds. Miyazaki concerns the loss of values of a nation, and Carroll concerns the loss of self in each individual, their ideas are then coincidentally encapsulated in Kaonashi. He is a phantom like character that represents the loss of individuality under the influence of industrialization and materialism. He is effaced and alienated from the past and future. The absence of self is reflected in the physicality of Kaonashi, whose face is covered with a mask. He can hardly talk, unless he swallows someone and takes its voice for his use. Kaonashi is a pathetic figure as he does not know how to build up his self. When he sees that Chihiro is

¹⁴ Nicola Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.1

asking for a token, he thinks that token is the medium of exchange for his friendship with the protagonist. Also, when he sees that workers of the bathhouse are thrilled to see the gold given by the River God, he thinks that gold is the means to gain respect and pleasure. Kaonashi represents those Japanese who follow materialism blindly. Materials become the only way for Kaonashi to communicate with others. At the same time, there are too many people and values in the bathhouse, and by this, Kaonashi, who is new to the environment and is dearth of self-consciousness, re-creates his self mistakenly and randomly. The incapability to select the values of Kaonashi, in addition, reflects the confusion of individuality; and this is similarly presented in Carroll's Alice when she first enters the Wonderland. Alice is bewildered by the uncanny characters and their logics, as they are all new to her. The variety and illogic in the fantasised worlds make both Kaonashi and Alice mess up in the beginning of the development of their selves. Kaonashi, therefore, is an interesting antithesis to the growth of the girls, who establish their individuality by selecting materials and values that suit them. Through Kaonashi, Miyazaki portrays the negative results of the economic bubbles of Japan. Kaonashi is not only mirroring the values of Miyazaki, but is also correspondingly echoing Carroll's work.

After the de-creation of the girls, their re-creations begin when they acquire the values of the fantasised worlds. The re-creation of Chihiro happens by integrating Japanese community and adopting the cultures and values. One of the ways to retrieve Japanese values is through labouring. Yubaba claims that if Chihiro does not work, she will turn from a child into a pig, indicating that only working can validate the values of a man. Same as Osmond's analyses, '*Spirited Away* has a similarly offbeat work regime with Chihiro tending Japanese gods and leaning responsibility and purpose. This is less to do with stereotypes of the industrious Japanese than with Miyazaki's own leftist leanings and beliefs in empowerment through labour'.¹⁵ Still, no matter this is a stereotypical image of Japanese or Miyazaki's leftist leanings and belief, labour is a great factor that transforms Chihiro. Within a very short time, she turns from the idle girl in the backseat to a worker in a bathhouse. Even if at the beginning, she feels uncomfortable to her new status, she learns the hardship of working when she cleans the bathhouse and the use of wisdom when she serves the River God. Labouring, subsequently, empowers Chihiro with strength and enhances her capability in integrating herself in a community. More than simply working, Japanese etiquette and ways of living is revived. For instance, the bathhouse is decorated with Japanese ornaments and workers are dressed in traditional uniforms. Throughout the film, Chihiro is taught to take up Japanese politeness. This starts when Lin requests Chihiro to answer her properly, and asks her to thanks Kamaji. 'Bowing', also, is insistently stressed throughout the film, in which Chihiro bows to Kamaji, Oshira-Sama, foreman, Kaonashi, Kawa no Kami, lamppost and Yubaba. The sorceress also, constantly reminds the etiquette towards customers. When Stink Spirit arrives, Yubaba requests Chihiro to show her respect to the spirit by not covering her nose. Yubaba welcomes the Stick Spirit herself, showing the politeness and veneration to every customer. Hence, the newly behaved Chihiro, indeed, is re-creating herself by looking back to Japanese practice and values that have long been forgotten by modern society. More than etiquette, Hiroshi Yamanaka attributes Chihiro's transformation also to her 'web of persona relationships'. He sees Chihiro as 'a joiner who quickly becomes socially integrated in her new workplaces, gaining admiration and respect from her colleague precisely because she

¹⁵Andrew Osmond, 'Gods and Monster: Film of the month: Spirited Away', *British Film Institute*, <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sightandsound/review/1237>

works so well in the group'.¹⁶ The integration of Chihiro indicates that Japaneseness presented in Miyazaki's animation also concerns a person's relation to community. Napier comments that *Spirited Away* is about 'cultural recovery' or 'cultural rehabilitation, in a corrupt postindustrial society'. This animation is 'a quest to rediscover the reincorporate element of purity, self-sacrifice, endurance, and team spirit, all of which have been historically regarded as quintessentially Japanese, and reintegrate them into a form that has resonance for the contemporary world'.¹⁷ Napier points out the stereotypical images of Japaneseness concern a person's development in endurance and purity, and simultaneously, a person's contribution and relation to community. By practicing Japanese etiquette and adopting values, Chihiro grows positively and regressively, as historical evidence is the main influence received by her. Miyazaki claims in an interview that, *Spirited Away* is 'not a story in which the characters grow up, but a story in which they draw on something already inside them, brought out by the particular circumstances'.¹⁸ Miyazaki sees that Chihiro is reviving some values that embedded in her self, yet, there is no contradiction of the past and growth if the revival of values are also be read as a way to grow with learning of the past. It is a form of 're-creation' of self that proceeds by applying useful and essential values of the past into future.

Chihiro is comparatively more passive in taking in the values of the fantasised world, as the re-creation of Alice refers to the retrieve of childishness as well as developing her character until she can overwhelm the values of the Wonderland. The sense of loss shown in *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland* was resulted by the nostalgia towards childhood in the nineteenth century Britain. It is a general feeling towards the loss of imagination that renders the triumphs of children protagonists in nineteenth-century children's literature. Pointing out by Cheshire Cat, the logic of Wonderland is chaotic. It claims that everyone in this fantasised world is mad. There are no specific reasons for such madness as it is the fact that only madness could lead a person to Wonderland. Thus, as Alice is also in the land, Alice is mad too. James Suchan analyses that the illogic of the inhabitants of Wonderland is caused when these characters lack a sense of self-consciousness and 'the anarchy of the kingdom constantly re-affirms the irrationality of their behaviour'.¹⁹ Hence, Alice is 'mad' when she lacks self-consciousness. Yet, Alice gradually affirms her identity, which is externalized by re-creating her physical body into a right size. It is obvious that, after she finishes nibbling the mushroom, she finds a sense of self-consciousness. Thus, when the Queen asks who she is, Alice could reply firmly that, 'My name is Alice, your majesty'. Suchan claims that 'if Alice could "accept" the "madness" of Wonderland, she could escape her alienated condition by becoming all child, a member of the Wonderland kingdom, and not a constant opponent or its nonsensical values'.²⁰ However, the re-creation of Alice is completed when she goes one step further than Suchan's suggestion. Therefore, it is essential for Alice to outlaw the magical context and the new logic of the Wonderland, so as to romanticize the triumph that children could possibility possess in fantasy. 'The romantic child could become a currency only too easily seized by the writer who had every good reason to seek its comfort in

¹⁶ Hiroshi Yamanaka, 'The Utopian "Power to Live": The Miyazaki Phenomenon', *Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime*, Ed. By Mark W. MacWilliams (London: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), p.245

¹⁷ Susan Napier, 'Matter Out of Place: Carnival, Containment, and Cultural Recovery in Miyazaki's *Spirited Away*', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 32:2 (2006), p.289

¹⁸ Toyama, Ryoko, (trans), 'Interview: Miyazaki on Sen to Chihiro and Kamikakushi', Nausicaa.net, May 2001
<<http://www.nausicaa.net/miyazaki/interviews/sen.html>>

¹⁹ James Suchan, p.87

²⁰Ibid.

ace of a sense of personal failure and shame'.²¹ Alice has to realise the illogic of Wonderland, and overthrow it. The new acknowledgment of Alice is shown when she said, 'it's no use going back to yesterday, because I was a different person then'.²²

In order to re-create a self, Miyazaki and Carroll put the female tyrants, Yubaba and the Queen of Hearts, to mirror the values for the girls to follow, even if these female tyrants could hardly be argued as maternal figures of the protagonists. Geographically, both tyrants are placed in the position of the ultimate power. Yubaba's chamber is placed at the top of the bathhouse, whose vertical structure echoes the traditional vertical class system of Japan. The Queen of Hearts is located in the 'beautiful garden' where Alice has a glimpse on it in the early stage of the story. Carroll's story is vertically structured, as shown with Alice's journey, she has to go to one place after the other until the garden. The ultimate positions of the tyrants are the destinations of the girls, symbolizing the female tyrants are goals to reach. Besides, Yubaba possesses magical power but still has to abide to the rules of her magical world, while the Queen has her absolute power on others, but not having any transformative or magical capability. The sense of integration of Yubaba to the natural law is highlighted, reflecting Japanese spirit in community and team building. This sense of Japaneseness happens to who ever in the community, regardless to their status and power. While in the case of The Queen of Hearts, her despotism shows that strong individuality is should be developed in a person's growth. Although the Queen does not have any magical power, her dominate character and authority make her the ruler of Wonderland. Hence, when Alice has to represent triumph of childishness, she has to be as stand out as the Queen.

According to Noriko T. Reider, Yubaba is one of the recalling images of *Yamauba* in Japanese folklore. Yubaba resembles *Yamauba* in her images and motherhood. In kabuki, *Yamauba* is often a white-hair lady accompanied by his son, *Kintaro*, a gigantic-sized boy who wears red *harakake* with the character 'Kin' on it. Similarly, Yubaba's son is enormous in size and strength, and is wearing a *harakake* with his name 'Boh'. Yet, even if Yubaba relates to a mythical character of Japan, the image of Yubaba outstands other characters of her bathhouse because she is the only character lives in a Westernized setting and wears Westernized costume. The hybrid cultural references inherited in Yubaba's images assimilate the transformed identity of Chihiro. Correspondingly, the girl re-creates herself with traditional Japanese cultures and customs, which include both Asian and Western values. It is just that Chihiro's re-creation transgresses the fantasised world as well as the modern world. Yet, both Yubaba and Chihiro emphasize the importance of following rules and regulations. Almost at the end of the animation, Yubaba posts a test for Chihiro, asking her to identify her parents among twelve pigs. This test is necessary, as Yubaba could not cancel it even if her son asks her to do so. Similar to Yubaba, Chihiro does not reject the test and regulations set in this Japanese fantasised world. With consideration of the obedience and politeness, the two stereotypical characters of Japanese, it seems that Chihiro and Yubaba both acknowledges rules are necessary to a person's development and to a community.

²¹ Peter Coveney, 'Escape', *Alice in Wonderland*, ed. by Donald J. Gray (London: W.W. Norton, 1992), p. 331, originally printed in Coveney's *The Image of Childhood* (London, 1967)

²² Carroll, p.91

While Yubaba is embedded with rich Japaneseness, the Queen of Hearts is then representing lawlessness. She is the ultimate despot of the Wonderland, and her authority exerts without regards to logic or situation. Unlike Yubaba, the Queen of Hearts does not possess any magical power. Yet, she would like to set all the rules of the fantasized world. In the croquet field, there is no regulation of the game except the Queen's rules. She even attempts to reverse the order of verdicts and sentences in the trial. However, the Cryphon says that the absolute power of the Queen is merely her fancy. Even if she frequently proclaims execution, 'they never execute nobody'. Considering Alice's growth with the influence of The Queen of Hearts, Alice does not simply follow the capriciousness and irrationality of the queen. Alice succeeds her re-creation of self because she realises the madness of Wonderland and overthrows the illogic of Wonderland. She attempts to demolish Wonderland by re-inserting the order, or by stating out the fact. Carpenter sees that *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is anti-fantasy, as when Alice realizes the characters and the world of Wonderland are merely fancy, and hence, the Wonderland is 'constantly uncreating itself'.²³ Throughout her adventure, Alice learns to 'uncreate' the fantasy in Wonderland. When she meets the characters of the playing cards, she understands that she does not need to be afraid of the queen and all other characters, as to her, they are simply a pack of cards. She builds up a sense of superiority by acknowledging the real faces of the characters in Wonderland as well as their nonsensical behaviour. This sense of authority is as significant as the Queen, who could only exert her power and reverse orders in Wonderland. Alice's superiority establishes when she can see the illogic of Wonderland by comparing the fantasised world to reality. The re-created self is once again externalized on her body. During the trial, Alice's body starts growing up till two miles high, even though she does not take in any food. This is a sign of her realization of facts, and so her power is overwhelming all the inhabitants of Wonderland. The re-creation of Alice is succeeded because of her excessive development of self-consciousness. She does not simply pick up values of Wonderland and apply them on herself but looks into the big pictures of Wonderland, which she interprets as a land of fancy. The characters are not fearful as they are not real. And therefore, with the individuality developed in Alice, her growth exceeds the knowledge and logic of Wonderland.

Still, it should be aware that the de-creation and re-creation of the two girls are limited in the fantasised worlds. There is no evidence that they will bring the lessons they have learned to reality. For Alice, Wonderland is a dream. When she wakes up, her adventure is followed by her compliance to her sister, who asks her to tell the adventures and to go back for tea. For Chihiro, at the end of the journey, she only gives a look to the tunnel. Although she brings along Zeniba's hair band to the reality, there is no sign that she remembers the adventures she had. Despite the difference or the oppositional directions of the two cultures, both Miyazaki and Carroll leave an open ending of the growth of the girls to readers.

The protagonists of Hayao Miyazaki's *Spirited Away* and Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland*, Chihiro and Alice, respectively, have re-built their selves when they are in the fantastic worlds. They have left the old values that are taken up in reality and developed their way of knowledge and logic during their adventure. The stories have demonstrated that, in Miyazaki's word, the protagonist 'manages not because she has destroyed the "evil", but because she has acquired the ability to survive'.²⁴ While the de-creation is mirroring the destruction of

²³Humphrey Carpenter, *Secret Garden: The Golden Age of Children's Literature* (London: Unwin, 1985),p.67

²⁴ Miyazaki, p.15

corrupted social values, the re-creation shows to be more than just regaining the loss when a new self is established with reference to both cultures. Subsequently, it is because of this sense of loss, Chihiro rebuilds herself by picking up the traditional Japanese values, as the director intended. It is a regressive progress of growth. While Carroll's Alice re-establishes herself by demolishing the authority and logic of the new world. The growth of Alice is excessively progressed as she develops herself by understanding and realizing the truth of Wonderland. She could see the nonsensical issues in the fantastic world. Hence, she interjects rationality to correct the fantasy, and by which she crushes the Wonderland. The triumph of Alice, a figure of romanticised heroine, is successfully created with reference to the nostalgia to children memory of British readers in the Victorian period.

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**Japan's Basic Trust System toward East Asia in the Cold War Years:
An Ontological Security Perspective**

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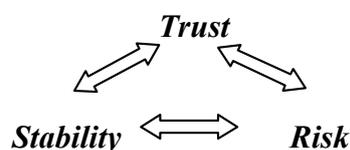
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Introduction

Firstly used by Ronald David Laing (1960) in psychology and elaborated by Anthony Giddens (1991) in the field of sociology, the concept of 'ontological security' was recently brought to International Relations (IR) literature and applied to 'state level' by Brent J. Steele (2005) and Jennifer Mitzen (2006). Giddens (1991, p. 243) defines 'ontological security' in terms of sociology as follows: "a sense of *continuity* and *order* in events, including those not directly within the perceptual environment of the individual". In point of fact, Steele (2008, p. 68) here posits that all actors seek ontological security by emphasizing in particular the basic need of actors. Admittedly, as conceived by Steele's point of view, what makes ontological security a basic need is *a deep fear of uncertainty*, which constitutes a threat towards the actor's identity.

At the individual level, ontological security emerges with the conviction that the biographical narrative rests on a strong ground. On this account, Kinwall (2004, p. 747) asserts that, by making reference to Giddens' explanations, to be ontologically secure an individual needs a basic trust of other people. Obtaining such trust is required in order for an individual to maintain a sense of psychological well-being and to avoid existential anxiety. In a condition of ontological security, the individual will know how to behave and how to evaluate the possible threats and the means to realize his/her aims. Conversely, ontological insecurity points to a serious inability to discriminate between the dangers to be confronted and those to be ignored. In such a case, an individual will focus on immediate necessities and may not be able to choose the right means to be used to reach his/her goals.

In ontological security, I assume that an important place is occupied by the *trust-stability-risk triangle*. The relation among its three components is of direct as well as of inverse proportion. This concept can be illustrated with the formulation proposed here: trust can help maintaining a stable environment as well as increase potential risks. Very much in the same way, stability can foster trust but also pave the way for increased risks. Up to this point, the relation among these pairs of factors is of direct proportion: a raise in the level of one of the terms causes an increase of the other. On the other hand, when we come to "risk", the relationship is of inverse proportion: indeed, to a higher level of risk corresponds a lower level of stability as well as a lower level of trust.



According to Giddens (1991, pp. 39-40), the term 'trust' is "a protection against future threat and dangers which allows the individual to sustain hope and courage in the face of whatever debilitating circumstances she or he might later confront". He stresses that society should be conceived as social practices which are bound to time and space. These social practices are densely interwoven by relations of trust.

Trust in the systems brings a *stable cognitive environment* to the individual's life and fosters a feeling of security. In this respect, Mitzen (2006, p. 345) notes that this need for security implies a relatively stable understanding of the individual's self identity. Nevertheless, stability does not exclude change, which is indeed necessary for learning and self development. As a source of regularities in social relationships, trust is only created through routinization. Given that routines support the development of identity, the individual attaches to these routines, whether good or bad, regardless of their content (2006, p. 347). Individuals thus accomplish ontological security by routinizing their relations with 'significant others' (2006, p. 342).

It follows that the concept of trust is inextricably linked to the concept of risk although it maintains, to some extent, a stable environment. In the modern world, an individual continually assesses to what extent his/her actions involve risk and whether they can obtain positive results. In the occurrence of unexpected results, trust could cause an insecure environment (Kaspersen, 2000, p. 100). Risk here refers to hazards that are actively assessed in relation to future possibilities (Giddens, 2002, p. 22). Accordingly, the life of an individual is characterized by a dilemma between trust and uncertainty (Kaspersen, 2002, p. 102).

Ontological security lays at the basis of an individual's own identity and certainty about the social and material worlds appearing before him/her. It creates a shield protecting the self from strong anxiety. With a strong ontological security, an individual develops his/her self identity and thus the ability to recognize the others' identities. Moreover, an individual's self identity allows him/her to find answers and models to the problems to be tackled in modern life. If answers and models cannot be found to the existing puzzles, then anxiety will appear (Kaspersen, 2002, p. 103). At this point, with the term 'anxiety' is referred to a threat toward identity, causing a cognitive instability of the individual. On the assumption that an individual cannot find suitable answers to questions regarding acting and being, as argued by Roe (2008, p. 783), he/she will feel him/herself to be ontologically unguarded.

Mitzen (2006, pp. 351-353) contends that *states* also seek ontological security like *individuals*. As a justification for translating this concept from the level of individuals to that of states she offers three arguments. First of all, in IR theory states are commonly seen as seeking physical security, as if they were human beings in need to protect their bodies from harm. The body of state in this case is territory. However, while an animated being's body has parts that are essential for its functioning, like brain and heart, in the case of the state it is not clear which elements are essentials for the functioning of a state. Alternatively, the state's body can be seen as the sum of its members' bodies. In any case, considering the state as an individual has, for Mitzen, a heuristic value because it helps to explain the way states act in world politics.

Secondly, it can be assumed that states seek ontological security because of the need for ontological security of their members. In this respect, she argues that a society needs cognitive stability to secure the identities of individuals, thus fostering their attachment to stable group identities. In fact a critical element for any society is its distinctiveness with

respect to other societies. Such distinctiveness is maintained by routinizing relations with other groups. Such routines support identity coherence and give individuals some ontological security. In other words, by ensuring a sense of group distinctiveness the state protects the ontological security of its members.

Thirdly, considering states as ontological security seekers allows providing a sociological explanation of why different decision-makers, with distinct personalities and orientations, living in different times and conditions, can reproduce the same patterns of behavior. Likewise, most states tend to respect international law, mainly in a routinized or automatic manner, no matter the type or regime, the characteristics of its leader or its position in the balance of power.

Steele (2008, p. 68) also postulates four sets of factors playing an important role in ontological security-seeking behaviors for states: (1) reflexive and material capabilities; (2) crisis assessment; (3) biographical narratives; and (4) discursive framework by co-actors. Although the context in which such factors appear may vary, all states are confronted with these issues in their search for ontological security.

Contrary to what might seem obvious, he points out that states possessing more material capabilities, for example great powers, can in fact be “somewhat imprisoned by their ability to influence more outcomes in international politics”: as such, material capabilities reduce their level of freedom. Moreover, their reflexive capabilities make them aware that even unintended consequences may change in case they act differently, thus increasing anxiety. Less endowed states, instead, can have a higher level of emancipation in that the reduced number of choices available to them because of their lack of material capabilities lowers their level of anxiety and thus, in a sense, increases their freedom of action (Steele, 2008, p. 68).

Crisis assessment, according to Steele (2008, p. 72), refers to the evaluation and construction of events in terms of identity crises during the production and reproduction of identity. In this respect, it is important for actors to succeed in determining the identity costs of implementing or refusing a certain policy. In the modern world, states depend on the information provided by independent agents, such as the media or non-governmental organizations. Moreover, they rely on military intelligence to evaluate the material costs of any possible move. Such material costs entail political costs; hence have the potential to bound state leaders in their policy making.

The biographical narrative is fundamental because it is where agents build up their understandings of social settings and the position of their identities within those settings. Narrative is the kind of discursive consciousness agents utilize in order to give a meaning to their actions. A biographical narrative is composed by four interrelated processes dealing with the actor’s understanding of (1) what provokes or drives events; (2) the meaning of a given event for the actor’s identity; (3) the importance of those events to the actor’s interests; and (4) the policies to be pursued by the state in order to realize those interests. Narration, for Steele (2008, p. 72), is the most important political act of a state because it determines and explains what the state itself is.

The last factor points to the discourse strategies adopted by co-actors (states or other international entities) which can strategically build up the situation in order to force a state to take certain actions. For example, members of the international community can jeopardize the

ontological security of a state by utilizing a *language* constructed so as to remind its past failure. Here states assume that other states will refrain from committing the same mistakes in the future in order to avoid the anxiety produced by their outcomes (Steele, 2008, p. 74).

Like individuals, Steele (2008, p. 10) argues that states as actors in the international system also behave in terms of identity construction. A state's biographical narrative is composed by specific acts of narration connecting a policy with a description of a state "self". Thus, biographical narrative is the starting point to understand the way in which self identity limits and provides for states to perform certain acts instead of others.

The identities of states in the international system are built by state agents through biographical narratives. Such narratives are critical to go beyond the "spatial" level of existence of a state and create a sense of continuity. States have an ontological security since their biographical narratives have been continuously formed by agents in the past, the present and the future (Steele, 2008, p. 10).

Biographical narrative is studied through 'discourse analysis' to explain the meaning of states' acts of narration. Given that actors have to attribute a meaning to their actions in order to ensure consistency with their identities, state agents must explain and justify the meaning of any policy in relation to such identities. Steele (2008, pp. 11-12) posits that discourse analysis has three functions when applied to case studies. Firstly, it explains the way in which actors link a policy alternative to a particular narrative about identity. Secondly, it indicates when ideas about identity lead to a certain policy choices. Thirdly, it reveals how the actors build up meanings not only of their ideas of state identity but also of identity threats.

Clearly, for states physical security is significant; however, comparatively, ontological security is more significant. Steele (2008, pp. 2-3) makes this point because of the following reasons: First of all, with ontological security, it is confirmed that there is such a state in the international system, namely there is a confirmation of state's physical existence. Secondly, ontological security also affirms in which forms state perceives itself and wants to be perceived by others. Thus, the identity of states is built up and preserved by using biographical narrative vitalizing their routinized foreign policy activities. Routines in relations can be interrupted when a state's foreign policy activities reflecting its narrative do not relate any longer to its self perception. In such a case, state will search ways for re-establishing routines, which are compatible with its self identity.

In sum, applying the ontological security approach to state level allows to predict the way in which states with different levels of trust interact. On the one hand, actors having a high level of trust are able to take more rational decisions and to learn from the past while adapting to a changing environment. On the other hand, actors with a low level of trust tend to stick to rigid routines stabilizing their interactions, thus presenting a lesser ability to learn and to express creativity. Moreover, they do not involve in activities aimed at reflexive self-monitoring and updating of their biographical narratives (Krolikowski, 2008, p. 115).

Testing Ontological Security on Japanese State Identity

The end of the Second World War marked a critical turning point in Japanese foreign and security policy. In this sense, as many scholars highlight, in Japan the pre-war and post-war periods were completely different when compared to each other. In the pre-war period, Japan

had followed increasingly militarist and expansionist policies that, at their peak, started to threaten the international system. In the process following Japan's dramatic defeat in the Second World War, Japanese institutions and values, in other words, the political and military system that had taken Japan into war, were reshaped within the framework of the new vision of post-war international order (Pyle, 2007, p. 211).

Having a look at the general picture of the early post-war period, it is seen that Japan's role in the international system is mainly a product of the political order imposed on it by the victors. This order, aimed at demilitarization and democratization, rested on the notion that Japan would not menace again the peace of the world. The pragmatic acceptance of such impositions by ruling Japanese political leaders led the country to a condition of passivity in international politics. This passivity characterizing the early post-war years is ordinarily interpreted as a result of a number of factors, namely wartime trauma, unconditional surrender, nuclear allergy, the restraints imposed by the 1946 constitution and sometimes bureaucratic immobilism.

However, at the end of the 1940s, increasing Cold War tension in Asia Pacific brought about a change in the United States (US) foreign policy toward Japan's future. As a consequence, though being under occupation, Japan was given a crucial importance within the US Cold War strategy for East Asia because of its strategic location and potential role, thus turning into a key ally for the US (Miyashita, 2002, p. 146).

How could Japanese ruling authority respond to this rapidly evolving environment and to the expectations of the US? Doubtlessly, the Cold War would make Japan strategically important; however, on the other side, an early engagement in Cold War politics would construct an image of Japan as a rapidly remilitarized country and defer its economic rehabilitation and the social recovery of Japanese people. Nevertheless, the political authority in Japan thought that it was necessary to guarantee the country's national security and to revitalize its foreign policy capability in an environment characterized by rising tension (Pyle, 2007). In terms of trust, risk and stability triangle, this period can be seen as one of increasing risks and low trust, bringing forth an unstable environment in East Asia. At that time, trust among states was its lowest level, while the occupation of the Korean Peninsula and the breaking out a civil war in the Chinese continent were also jeopardizing stability.

Within this context, the so-called Yoshida Doctrine was a landmark in Japan's post-war foreign policy and security culture. The prime minister's pragmatic strategy was based on three major points: (1) Japan's economic rehabilitation should be the prime national goal. Political and economic cooperation with the US was necessary for this purpose. (2) Japan should remain lightly armed and avoid involvement in international political-strategic issues. (3) To gain a long-term guarantee for its own security, Japan should provide bases for the US army, navy and air forces. Yoshida's pragmatist approach to foreign and security policy had the potential to shake Japan's sense of self for the sake of more practical aim of economic reconstruction (Pyle, 2007, p. 239). As also argued by Pyle (2007, p. 240), his strategical outlook was initially focused on the timeframe necessary to achieve economic recovery. Nevertheless, this practical approach was adopted and embodied in a doctrine by political ruling elites succeeding him.

Reflecting on these facts, it is evident that a multitude of factors contributed to shaping Japan's new posture in world politics. Within this complex framework, Japanese political

leaders tried to construct the meaning of this period for themselves, thus opening the way to a change in Japanese state identity. Looking at these events from the perspective of ontological security, these new arrangements, such as the peace-based constitution of 1946 and the security treaty with the US, contributed to creating a trust mechanism and routinizing relations between the US and Japan, thus starting to provide a more stable environment in the region. This in turn reduced the risk of the rapid emergence of a conflict involving Japan.

In fact, the dramatic defeat suffered in the Second World War and the ensuing events forced Japan to build a new self-image to be projected both at domestic and regional/global level. This new identity rested on two main pillars, namely antimilitarism and a strong focus on economy (Berger, 1998). As a matter of fact, Japan aimed at reassuming a major role in world affairs by revitalizing its economy. Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru strongly emphasized that a defeated nation could reconstruct itself and become a part of the peace. In other words, the national purpose of Japan, according to him, would be to contribute to the development of a peaceful environment and to abstain from getting involved into any armed conflict (Pyle, p. 227). These antimilitaristic sentiments were later translated into various restraining measures, such as the three non-nuclear principles (that Japan would not possess, manufacture or permit the introduction of nuclear weapons on its territory), and the prohibition on participating in collective defense activities (Miyashita, 2007, p. 104). Also from the 1970s on, despite having become one of the leading global market economies, Japan continued to abstain from policies that could negatively affect the country's growth and to pursue a foreign policy aimed at protecting its economic interests and emphasizing the antimilitarist posture.

However, the credibility of a self image depends on the creation of a boundary between self and other. This boundary creation is an active and ongoing part of identity formation (Neumann, 1996, p. 167). In other words, an actor's identity and values shall be recognized and endorsed by the others. In this sense, the US was doubtlessly a 'significant other' for Japan, one that served as an important counterpart for its identity building process. Other significant counterparts were East Asian countries: if so, how did East Asian countries perceive and respond to this new self image of Japan? This paper argues that, by concentrating on its economic rehabilitation, Japan brought forth a stable cognitive environment and fostered a feeling of security among states in the region. Its newly constructed antimilitarist identity led neighbor countries to progressively reduce their perception of Japan as a threat towards their identities and security. Furthermore, after regaining its economic capacity, Japan tried to foster trust by providing Official Development Assistance (ODA) to states in the region, and especially to China. As such, Japan's ODA supported the achievement of a number of foreign policy objectives and represented, at the same time, a confidence building measure, a solution for bilateral problems, a demonstration of economic power and global leadership and a way to acquire power and influence in different international organizations (Trinidad, 2007, p. 96).

In other words, also at regional level Japan tried to build a trust mechanism that would in turn guarantee stability, both in terms of foreign relations and ontological security. To this end, economic aid was conceived as a way to improve and routinize its relations with neighbor countries. By doing this, it managed to reconstruct a different and coherent self-image and to project it both inside and outside its borders, while maintaining a solid perspective. In fact, Japanese ruling leaders aimed at compensating for military weakness with economic power in order to enlarge the country's field of responsibility. In this sense, by increasing the degree of

influence on neighbor countries, Japan systematically tried to give, in a way, a kind of great power image to the international community.

Nevertheless, assuming the role of a great power implies a number of constraints and risks. In fact, while the alliance with the US and refraining from sharing the security burden at regional level gave Japan a relative security, both ontologically and physically, on the other side, it was bound to limit Japan's aspirations once it had rebuilt a solid economy. Actually, Japan could legitimately aspire to take on a more active role in East Asia given the comparative magnitude of its economic capabilities. In this sense, it could, at least in part, revive its pre-war regional strength. But this would mean taking a considerable responsibility within its area of influence. Such responsibility would in turn increase its level of anxiety, thus having the potential to jeopardize Japan's newly constructed state identity. In fact, in terms of ontological security, to a higher degree of material and reflexive capabilities corresponds a lower degree of freedom. As mentioned above, great powers are expected to actively engage in the international system in order to solve existing problems or to prevent possible ones. However, their vast material capabilities allow for a large number of choices, each possibly implying unwanted results or side effects. So a great power needs also high reflexive capabilities in order to discern, evaluate and choose among the available options. This comes at a high price in terms of ontological security because of the anxiety generated by such a heavy responsibility. On the contrary, choosing to remain a less powerful state as to material capability means being able to exert only a limited influence on other actors and not being expected to make a decisive contribution to the solution of major problems. Such a limited possibility of action contributes to fostering ontological security, as it reduces anxiety and potential threats to state identity. From this point of view, a state possessing less material capabilities can be said to enjoy a higher level of freedom. In the early post-war period, by renouncing to share the security burden in order to give precedence to economic growth, Japan plausibly enjoyed a high degree of freedom. From the 1970's instead, the accelerating pace of its economic involvement at regional level and the assumption of more responsibilities entailed also a limitation of its freedom.

Throughout the Cold War, East Asia was one of the most turbulent areas, characterized by sudden changes and conflicts. Generally speaking, the aim of Japan was to reduce the intensity of the existing security threats in East Asia. To this end, it chose to keep a relatively moderate military capability and a strong relation with the US (Kawasaki, 2001). On the assumption that taking extra security measures would increase risk in the region and bring a serious financial burden on Japan, the alliance with the US can be said to have had a deterrent effect, in that it maintained the probability of military campaign against Japan at a relatively low level. At the same time, it presumably boosted trust and stability in Japan's relations with its neighbor countries, as they could feel assured that Japan's potential military power would be limited within the framework of alliance relations. Conversely, it is generally argued that had Japan chosen to heavily remilitarize and to project a militarist image, an arms race could have ensued, resulting in a huge financial burden on Japan (Kawasaki, 2001). This situation could then both reduce the pace of economic development and create a state of ontological insecurity. As a matter of fact, a sudden remilitarization would cause a lack of coherence within the newly constructed Japanese state identity.

Nevertheless, although Japan maintained an antimilitarist identity, a closer look at actual data relating to Japan's military spending, especially from the 1970s, opens up a different perspective that highlights the existence of a quandary between identity and reality. In spite of

having a defensive posture towards the international community, Japan in fact is not a small country in military terms: actually, it was able to convert itself into a sophisticated military power. Lind (2004, pp. 93-95) strongly argues that analysts undervalue Japanese conventional military capacity because they are misled by just taking into account “defense spending as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP)”. That around one percent is allotted from Japan’s GDP to its military spending apparently shows that Japan is a small-sized military power. Nevertheless, if a state with a huge economy allocates one percent of its GDP for defense spending it means that this state has a high level military capacity. On the contrary, countries having a relatively small economy with a huge military spending as a percentage of their GDP give the impression of having a high military capacity, while their actual spending is rather limited. In 1987, Japan ranked sixth in terms of actual military spending after the Soviet Union, the US, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain. Thus, it is evident that the level of GDP allotted to military spending only tells part of the story.

This evidence indicates that identity is not necessarily a perfect reflection of reality; state identity building is a process developing within discourse and reflecting itself on biographical narrative. In other words, as individuals adopt different behaviors towards social and material environments to maintain a solid ground for their identity, states also try to maintain a reliable environment through their foreign and security policy discourses. To illustrate, foreign ministries of states play a leading role in identity building by presenting a specific narration connecting a policy with a description of state’s self identity. The aim of foreign and security policy discourse here is to constitute a stable connection between representations of identity and the proposed policy. In particular, in the case of Japan, the state identity building process is marked by major breaking points, by traumatic events that compelled state elites to pursue pragmatic policies and to reshape state identity accordingly. Within this framework, the language used by ruling authorities in order to construct the meaning of events plays a crucial role. At the same time, also the discourses elaborated by other states can strategically build up the situation in order to exert a pressure and compel a state to take certain decisions. To illustrate, after imposing disarmament and offering a security umbrella in the early post-war years, the US gradually pushed Japan toward taking the responsibility of its own security and hence remilitarizing. In particular, the Nixon doctrine developed at the end of the 1960s and urging Japan to share the security burden contributed to the emergence of a contrast between Japanese antimilitarist state identity and pressures coming from the international reality (Litwak, 1986, p. 134). Such pressures were particularly relevant as they came from a strategic ally and “significant other”. Moreover, other external factors were instrumental in bringing pressure to bear on Japan’s self image. For example, the oil crises of the 1970s exposed Japan’s vulnerability as an economic power (Yorke, 1981, pp. 434-435).

As a result, although continuing to preserve an antimilitarist self image, from the 1970s Japan actively sought to expand its military capacity again. This resulted not only in the adoption of the National Defense Program Outline and the creation of the US-Japan Defense Cooperation Subcommittee in 1976, but also in the drafting of the Guidelines for US-Japan Defense Cooperation in 1978. In fact, in parallel with its rapid economic growth, Japan increased its military spending from \$ 4.4 billion to \$ 14 billion between 1975 and 1985. This was possible in spite of the 1% GDP upper limit on military spending that was established by Prime Minister Takeo Miki in 1976 (Moses, 2009, p. 75).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the concept of ontological security can be used to explain some aspects of Japanese foreign and security policy toward East Asia. Japan systematically increased its influence capacity on the region especially by using economic means and emphasizing its antimilitarist posture. This posture allowed it to build up a new self image after the end of the Second World War and to improve its relations with East Asian nations. However, the sharp growth of Japan's influence and power in this area has brought forth some worries about its political consequences. At the same time, taking more responsibility, for example via Official Development Assistance, arguably increased the country's anxiety, thus reducing its ontological security.

All in all, in the period taken into account in this paper, Japan seems to have been able to take rational decisions and to learn from the past, thus transforming its identity and behaviors in order to adapt to a rapidly changing environment. It was able to modify its biographical narrative and routines and to reshape its relations with both the US and East Asian countries according to the new international order in a relatively short time. In this sense, Japan seems to present the peculiar characteristics of a state with a high level of trust.

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Climate Change as a Catalyst for Internationalisation: The non-Kyoto Member Taiwan

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Abstract:

Addressing global warming requires action from every nation in the world. However, the island nation of Taiwan maintains a unique and delicate political position since it is faced by exclusion from major international organisations, including UN affiliated environmental bodies. For some time, Taiwan ignored the issue of climate change, but under the new administration, efforts are being made to position Taiwan as a responsible climate partner. This study explores the developments and efforts of a non-Kyoto member seeking to upgrade its international profile through the field of climate policy. It not only discusses the domestic difficulties and prospects of unilateral actions, but also includes an international perspective.

KEYWORDS: Taiwan, Climate Policy, Greenhouse Gas Emissions Reduction, Climate Diplomacy

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Introduction

Climate change has emerged as the agenda-setting issue of the new century. Its scale and trans-boundary nature make it a global matter. However, with so many nations involved in climate negotiations, and so many diverging interests being brought to the negotiation table, it seems to come as no surprise that international climate change policy efforts face severe difficulties. Historically, developed nations have been primarily responsible for the accumulation of greenhouse gases (GHG) in the atmosphere. However, developing and newly industrialising nations have raised increasing international concerns, since their aggregate emissions have already surpassed those of the developed countries, and are increasing rapidly. In order to stabilise atmospheric carbon dioxide emission concentration below 450 ppm by the end of the century, it seems to be inevitable that every nation needs to join global efforts to curb emissions output.

Taiwan's annual 294 million tonnes of CO₂ emissions represent about one percent of the total global emission output. However, due to its difficult political situation, it is denied participation in climate relevant international organisations, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) or the Kyoto Protocol. Thus, it is also not bound to any carbon reduction targets, allowing the country to take the role of a free-rider and only make minimal efforts in order to avoid sanctions. Nonetheless, Taiwan is attempting to comply with international climate regimes and has increased its climate efforts. The new administration has stepped up its domestic climate mitigation efforts and aims to cut the annual CO₂ emissions to the 2005 levels of 257 million tonnes by 2020 – a remarkable 30 percent cut to the 2020 business-as-usual scenario – and half that by 2050.¹ With such an ambitious target, Taiwan has not only set the most stringent target throughout Asia, but has also

¹ Ralph Jennings, "Taiwan to use Africa as back door for carbon credits", *Reuters*, March 17, 2010, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE62G18Y20100317> (accessed March 20, 2010).

received international attention. In the latest Climate Change Performance Index, Taiwan ranks poorly behind India, Indonesia, Thailand, Japan, Singapore and South Korea as 47th among 57 countries.² Surprisingly, in terms of climate policy, it takes 7th place. Furthermore, the government is actively using climate change in order to build up international links and also gain access to carbon reduction schemes.

Studies have focused on explaining why nations join or defect from climate regimes, but little research has been conducted on countries that are willing to contribute to international climate regimes but are limited in doing so. Taiwan represents an interesting case since it faces exclusion from major international climate relevant organisations and regimes but is voluntarily seeking compliance with international climate norms, even though it is not eligible to gain direct benefits in return, as it is also barred from participating in international carbon reduction schemes such as the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM).

This paper seeks to explore what is driving Taiwan's increasing ambitions for compliance with international climate norms. Climate policy might offer new opportunities to re-position the country within the international community. The paper analyses if and to what extent climate change can be seen as a catalyst for increasing international links, and considers how Taiwan's climate initiatives can be evaluated regarding the country's poor historical climate mitigation record.

The paper is divided into six parts. The following section frames the theoretical background of the work and introduces three models to explain a country's environmental policy choices. The third section explores developments in Taiwan's greenhouse gas emissions output and analyses its energy structure. The fourth section illustrates how climate issues have been elevated on the political agenda in Taiwan, and provides a historic account of the establishment of a climate legislation framework. Furthermore, this section provides insights into the domestic climate policy formation process. Section five draws a picture of the foreign policy elements within the climate issue, and part six draws conclusion based on the findings.

The Analytical Framework

Climate change mitigation represents a complex matter to be solved, since it is not only entangled with many policy areas, but also imposes high costs and involves

² Germanwatch, <http://www.germanwatch.org/klima/ccpi.htm> (accessed February 10, 2010).

uncertainties. Stabilisation of the atmospheric greenhouse gas concentration requires strong and concerted efforts from the international community, but efforts often interfere with national interests, such as energy security, national sovereignty and economic development. In order to explain a country's environmental policy choice, scholars have applied different models: the unitary rational actor model, the domestic policy model and the social learning model. Each individual approach sheds light on particular perspectives, but for the most comprehensive depth of understanding of Taiwan's climate policy choices, all three models should be applied simultaneously.

The Unitary Rational Actor model represents an interest-based model where the state is seen as the major actor, and domestic actors, internal policy processes and structures are ignored. International structures lead in certain directions and limit the number of policy options available. The state is assumed to be in full control of its society, ignoring the possibility that domestic sub-actors may have objectives differing from national interests. The state evaluates policy options in terms of costs-benefits-calculations regarding its sets of goals and objectives in order to maximise net national gains. Thus, the state's perception of its vulnerability and abatement costs plays a decisive role in its policy choice.³ Since a country will be reluctant to implement costly climate policies without benefits in return, policy makers may tend to adopt "no-regret" measures.⁴ Since climate policy measures compete with other issues on the political agenda, issue linkage is likely to enhance the probability of implementing new climate policies, as they serve several national targets.

Unlike the URA, the Domestic Policy Model sees the government not as the sole decision-maker, but also includes domestic constituents in the analysis. This model claims that besides national costs-benefits-calculations, the internal domestic distribution of costs and benefits also need to be considered for policy formation. Theoretically, a country's government is authorised to independently make policy decisions. However, with upcoming elections in mind, a government will also take domestic political circumstances into consideration. Climate change mitigation measures impose costs on certain sectors, whereas others gain benefits from cost

³ Detlef Sprinz and Tapani Vaahtoranta, "The interest-based explanation of international environmental policy," *International Organization* 48, no.1 (December 1994): 77-105. John Barkdull, Paul G. Harris, "Environmental Change and Foreign Policy: A Survey of Theory," *Global Environmental Politics* 2, no. 2 (May 2002): 63-91; Duncan Snidal, "Rational Choice and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaea, Tomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons. London: Sage Publications, 2001; Rowlands, Ian, "Explaining National Climate Change Policies," *Global Environmental Change* 5, no. 3 (June 1995): 235-49.

⁴ "no-regret" measures gain benefits even if negative climate change effects do not occur.

reductions. Domestic actors are not primarily concerned with national welfare, but follow subjective goals. A new policy alters the internal distribution of costs and benefits among actors and thus influences their behaviour, and groups with common interests may jointly engage decision makers. Thus, the power and influence of domestic constituents may influence national policy formation. Diverging interests influence a country's climate policy and may even result in the inability of the government to build up a climate policy framework.

The constructivist social learning approach is more concerned about how normative factors shape the decision makers' interests.⁵ Actors engage in policy formation processes with a certain set of information and a will to learn. Policy formation seen as a learning process allows changes in decision makers' interest and preferences during the policy making process, since they are constantly confronted with new information which has an influence on their perception of the matter. Policies develop greatly through learning, and international actors with a high level of relevant competency take on the role of providers of ideas and knowledge. International institutions spread norms across countries that may also influence decision makers' behaviour as well as their perception of interests.⁶

While a change in an actor's behaviour without changing its preferences or re-evaluating its overarching targets will result in policy choices primarily focusing on reactive adaptation measures that satisfy international concerns, real commitment shows deeply rooted changes in policy makers' climate related preferences, ideas and also identities. Thus, if Taiwan has gone through such profound changes, we should be able to trace evidence of it in its policy formation processes.

Emission Development and Energy Structure

In the last decades, Taiwan's economy has undergone a tremendous industrialisation process, resulting in rapidly expanding economic activities accompanied by surging energy demands and rapidly growing greenhouse gas emissions.⁷ Carbon emissions

⁵ Jeffrey Checkel, "Why comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change," *International Organization* 55, no. 3, (August 2001): 553-88.

⁶ Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics" *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 391-425; Arild Underdal, "Explaining Compliance and Defection: Three Models," *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 1. (1998): 5-30; Jeffrey T. Checkel, "International Norms and Domestic Politics: Bridging the Rationalist- Constructivist Divide," *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 4 (1997): 473-95.

⁷ Taiwan Environmental Protection Agency, <http://www.epa.gov.tw> (accessed March 1, 2010).

increased by 138 percent over the past 16 years – an increase no other country in the world has experienced. In 2006, the International Energy Agency listed Taiwan 22nd in the world for fuel based carbon dioxide emissions, emitting some 270 million tonnes annually. Thus, the island is responsible for nearly one percent of the global greenhouse gas emissions. However, on a per-capita basis, Taiwan – with about 11 tonnes per person – ranks higher than for example Japan, South Korea and many Western countries. The manufacturing sector has been very important for economic development in Taiwan. Although Taiwan has seen the closure of thousands of carbon emitting factories or their relocation to the mainland, national greenhouse gases have continued to rise. Mounting economic difficulties and rising unemployment over the past few years have influenced climate policy formation, since the largest carbon intensive sectors – petrochemical, textile, steel, cement, electrical engineering and paper, employ about half a million workers and account for about one third of the manufacturing sector’s revenue. In Taiwan, about 70 percent of its GHG emissions stem from state owned enterprises. The three largest state companies alone – China Petroleum, Taipower, and China Steel – account for 30 percent of the carbon emissions. Thus, climate mitigation measures must be developed in a way that finds acceptance among state companies.

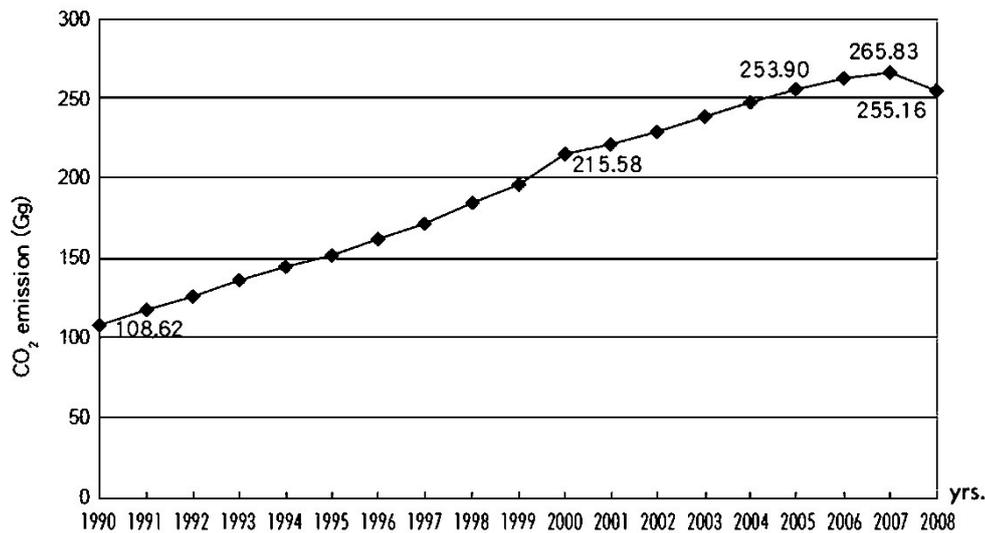


Figure 1: Taiwan’s CO2 emission from fossil fuel combustion (Taiwan Environmental Protection Agency)

The production of greenhouse gases is closely linked to energy issues, and Taiwan’s energy mix is heavily based on fossil fuels. Energy productivity in terms of GDP and energy usage is lower than in industrialised economies, thus Taiwan needs more energy for its economic growth. The industry takes the largest share of the total

energy consumption. Currently, the island imports about 99 percent of its energy needs and this makes the country vulnerable to changes in the world energy market. However, weak economic incentives are responsible for the slow development of alternatives. The energy market has been largely liberalised, but state enterprises still dominate the market by providing about 70 percent of the total supply. All of the previous administrations focused on keeping energy prices low. Although efforts have been made to phase out subsidies on electricity and oil, Taiwan still has very low energy prices compared with other countries in the region, and this represents a serious obstacle for the development of renewable energy sources.⁸ Costs for developing renewable energy as well as energy efficiency measures are higher in Taiwan, since it is not a member of international organisations that could help to lower transaction costs.⁹

Vulnerability and Abatement Costs

Taiwan is one of the leading climate victims for several reasons. By the time low-lying islands are submerged due to rising sea levels, parts of Taiwan will be underwater, including regions with major industrial facilities. Already now, the fishing industry is suffering from the relocation of fishing grounds which is increasingly leading to conflicts with neighbouring countries. Records have shown that the annual mean temperature on the island has risen by 1.4 degrees Celsius over the past century, and the island is increasingly confronted with weather extremes, water shortages and flooding.¹⁰ Only since typhoon Morakot hit the island in August 2009, causing severe damage in central and southern parts, has global warming started to attract public attention.

Climate change mitigation costs are high, as Taiwan lacks major domestic natural resources, and the industrial sector contributes the largest part to the national income. Moreover, the lack of comprehensive carbon reduction legislation has prevented substantial domestic and foreign investment in the island's green industries. As a consequence, domestic carbon mitigation measures are more costly than in other

⁸ Hsiu-chuan Shih, "Green firms want wind energy prices to increase," *Taipei Times*, January 12, 2010, <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2010/01/12/20034> (accessed February 5, 2010).

⁹ W.T. Tsai, Y.H. Chou, „Overview of environmental impacts, prospects and policies for renewable energy in Taiwan," *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 9 (April 2005):119–47; Jim Hwang, "Weighing the Policy Options," *Taiwan Review* 56, no. 4 (April 2006). <http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/site/Tr/ct.asp?xItem=1197&ctNode=119> (accessed December 2, 2009).

¹⁰ Taiwan Environmental Protection Agency, <http://www.epa.gov.tw/> (accessed March 1, 2010).

countries.¹¹ Implementing strict domestic climate change mitigation measures is thus believed to negatively affect Taiwan's international competitiveness and also its overall national emission reductions.¹²

Climate Change on the Political Agenda

Internationally, climate change concerns were elevated to the global political arena following the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, where the UNFCCC was adopted. While 154 countries signed the framework which went into force in 1994, Taiwan – due to its political status – was not able to join the convention. Nonetheless, Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui articulated his willingness to comply with the climate convention. However, as history proved, Taiwan was neither able nor willing to take a proactive position in international climate negotiations.

In 1997, the Executive Yuan (the Cabinet) formed the National Sustainable Development Council as the responsible body for the evaluation and coordination of sustainable development strategies. The council is composed of ministers, but also includes representatives from academia and from non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Responding to the formation of the Kyoto Protocol, Taiwan organised its First National Energy Conference in 1998, aiming to promote the development of renewable energy sources, review national energy and industrial policies and establish a greenhouse gas emissions reduction programme. Although Taiwan has been promoting alternative energy resources since the 1990s, domestic capacities have never reached significant levels. When President Chen Shui-bian took office in 2000, he vowed to transform Taiwan into a *Green Silicon Island* and to provide renewed support for the Kyoto Protocol. In 2000, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) drafted the Greenhouse Gas Control Act aiming at reducing emission levels, and in 2002, the Development Program of Renewable Energy Sources was adopted. Financial mechanisms were included to support the installation of wind or solar energy facilities. However, overall domestic climate mitigation measures were insufficient to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and, contrary to international

¹¹ Wei-ming Huang, Grace W.M. Lee. „Feasibility analysis of GHG reduction target: Lessons from Taiwan's energy policy.” *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 13, no. 9 (December 2009): 2621–28.

¹² Tser-yieth Chen, “The impact of mitigating CO2 emissions on Taiwan's economy,” *Energy Economics* 23, no. 2, (March 2001): 141-51.

developments, domestically, the climate drive lost its momentum. Climate policy remained a low-profile matter until Russia's ratification in 2004 initiated the Kyoto Protocol implementation process. The Cabinet established the supra-ministerial Climate Change and Kyoto Protocol Response Task Force to evaluate responding strategies, involving the EPA, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Council for Economic Planning and Development, as well as the National Science Council. The climate change issue returned to the island's political agenda when President Chen reiterated Taiwan's willingness to comply with the climate agreement. In 2005, the draft of the *Renewable Energy Act* passed the Executive Yuan, and the Chen administration called the Second National Energy Conference in order to formulate strategies responding to the mandatory reduction targets set under the Kyoto Protocol. However, the conference failed to reach a consensus on a national reduction goal. In 2006, the Ministry of Economic Affairs established the Taiwan Industrial Greenhouse Office to coordinate industrial GHGs' management, promote industrial emissions reduction and develop low-energy but high value-added industries. The EPA accelerated its efforts in drafting *The Greenhouse Gas Reduction Act*, which should serve as the legal foundation for the implementation and enforcement of domestic emission reduction measures. In February 2006, the EPA submitted the *Greenhouse Gas Reduction Act* to the Executive Yuan for review. The National Sustainable Development Conference which was held in April illustrated once again economic interests prevailing over environmental concerns. As a result, the draft bill submitted to the Legislative Yuan for deliberation in September 2006 did not include any reduction targets. While the Legislative Yuan completed the review in May 2007, the term of the legislators ended and the act had to be resubmitted by the new legislators. According to the Act, emission cuts would be enabled in three stages: voluntary reduction by the industry sector, enhancing efficiency standards and establishing a cap-and-trade scheme.¹³ The bill has drawn attention from the domestic industry sector since the EPA planned to include mandatory carbon emission reductions, and also a carbon tax was considered. The industry sector expressed its strong concerns, mobilised against the bill and as a consequence, those ministerial bodies closely involved with the economy also opposed the bill. The position of the EPA is too weak to withstand pressure from the industrial sector, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and also the Council for Economic Planning and Development. As a result, the deliberation of the Act has been delayed.

¹³ However, there is no clear schedule for the implementation.



Figure 2: Taiwan’s Step-Wise Emissions Reduction Strategy (Taiwan Environmental Protection Agency)

After President Ma Ying-jeou took office in 2008, the new administration has introduced *Guidelines for Sustainable Energy Policy* in order to renew impetus on the climate front and to re-orientate the national energy policy. On World Environment Day 2008, the EPA initiated the *Citizens’ No-Regret Carbon Reduction Action Plan* promoting ten steps for everybody to curb emission output and raise public awareness of energy conservation and carbon reduction. In addition, the government increased efforts to promulgate climate relevant regulations, such as the GHG Reduction Law, the Act for Renewable Energy, the Act for Energy Tax, and the Energy Management Act.

The Industry Involvement

The industrial sector has expressed its strong concerns about stringent GHG legislation including carbon reduction goals and suggested that incentives to encourage reduction through voluntary agreements should be extended. In recent years, some industry sectors have responded to governmental climate protection efforts, for instance the IT sector. In 2004 and 2005, the EPA was able to sign Memoranda of Understanding with Taiwan’s TFT-LCD Association and the Taiwan Semiconductor Industry Association for PFC emission cuts, resulting in the reduction of 38 million tonnes of CO₂e.¹⁴ Since many internationally operating high-tech suppliers are embedded in global supply chains, they are already confronted with the disclosure of information on emission levels. Thus, certain sectors are more

¹⁴ “Taiwan’s chip industry sign pact to cut PFCs emission,” *Taiwan Economic News*, July 26, 2005, http://news.cens.com/cens/html/en/news/news_inner_9703.html (accessed November 12, 2009).

responsive to stringent domestic climate measures than others. However, since Taiwanese companies are not eligible to obtain carbon credits for their reduction measures, such companies would gain benefits from increased international climate cooperation. These enterprises could play an important role in the build-up of a national climate framework.

In order to widen participation in voluntary reduction measures, a National Greenhouse Gas Registry was established by the EPA in 2007, where domestic entities can report their emission inventories and receive assistance for creating an inventory. As of December 2009, 192 entities from the power, cement, steel and iron, paper, petrochemical, and semiconductor sector reported their emissions, covering over 70 percent of the aggregate emissions. However, the divide between economy and environment could not be completely bridged.

The Non-government Sector

Environmental non-government organisations (ENGOS), such as the Taiwan Environmental Protection Union and the Taiwan Environmental Action Network, are actively involved in the climate change issue. Not only are they urging the government to set clear carbon reduction targets, but they have also established an important link to the international arena. Through their participation at international conferences on climate change, they have been able to represent the country and also improve knowledge transfer. Up to now, the influence of ENGOS on domestic decision makers on the climate issue has been limited. Nevertheless, a group of 33 environmental groups has urged President Ma to call a national convention on climate change and impose energy taxes and cut income tax to stimulate green sectors.

Improving International Visibility

For Taiwan, the climate issue involves important foreign policy elements. Since Taiwan is not part of the UN, it is not eligible to join the UNFCCC or the Kyoto Protocol. It can thus only participate in the Conferences of Parties (COP) as an observer and, up to now, the EPA has represented Taiwan in the status of an NGO. However, the delegation is only able to address the parties during the plenary meetings, and has no right to vote.

Under President Ma's "flexible diplomacy" initiative, ties between Taipei and Beijing have relaxed tremendously. With a softer approach, Ma is seeking to avoid China's

objection to Taiwan joining relevant UN sub-organisations in the fields of health, the environment and climate issues. The change in strategy has proven to be successful, with Taipei obtaining observer status at the World Health Association in 2009. Thus, Taiwan has new hope that it might be able to expand its participation in international organisations, including the UNFCCC, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization. A recent resolution passed by the European Parliament in support of Taiwan's participation in the UN International Civil Aviation Organization and the UNFCCC can be attributed to this new diplomatic approach.¹⁵

However, already in the past, Taipei has shown its commitment to taking on responsibilities within the international community. The government has specifically focused on the field of environmental protection. For instance, Taiwan adheres to the *Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer* and the *Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer*, the *Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal* and the *Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants*. Even though Taiwan is not a signatory country, experiences with international conventions have shown that compliance is in Taiwan's best interest in order to avoid international sanctions. Although no country has applied carbon duties on imports from nations without a carbon reduction strategy, calls for such measures do exist within the European Union.

However, complying with international climate regimes not only ensures that Taiwan's export products can retain market access in developed nations, but also serves foreign policy ambitions. Taipei currently maintains official ties with 23 countries. Among them are six Pacific Island States¹⁶, which are directly affected by rising sea levels. Furthermore, some of its African allies¹⁷ are also threatened by global warming.¹⁸ Since the promotion of strategies to fight global warming will strengthen these ties, Taiwan vows to provide climate related assistance to its allies. Taipei aims to engage in international carbon trading by supporting its ally countries

¹⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The European Parliament Passed a Resolution to Support Taiwan's Participation in International Organizations," <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/webapp/content.asp?culItem=43862&ctNode=1036&mp=6> (accessed March 10, 2010).

¹⁶ Kiribati, Tuvalu, Nauru, Solomon Islands, Marshall Islands and Palau.

¹⁷ Burkina Faso, the Gambia, Sao Tome and Principe, and Swaziland.

¹⁸ "Global Warming Threatens Survival of ROC's Pacific Allies: Envoys," *China Post*, March 22, 2010; <http://focustaiwan.tw/SearchNews/doDetail.aspx?id=201003220015&q=greenhouse+gas> (accessed April 2, 2010).

in Africa and the Asia Pacific to develop clean energy projects.¹⁹ On President Ma's recent trip to the South Pacific, climate change was one of the top issues on the agenda. Some allies have already pledged their support for Taipei to join the international climate regime. Furthermore, international cooperation opens new opportunities for more cost-effective carbon reduction measures. Taiwan is also attempting to engage its allies in providing assistance for Taiwan to join international carbon emission trading mechanisms.

Clean Development Mechanisms

The Asia and Pacific region is the heartland of CDM projects, hosting about 75 percent of all registered projects. Countries in the region are engaged in developing CDM projects to sell carbon emission reduction credits (CERs). As of March 2010, there were 752 projects registered in China, 43 in Indonesia, 40 in the Philippines, 20 in Vietnam and 36 in South Korea.²⁰ However, Taiwanese enterprises are barred from participating in CDM activities, unless they have branches in signatory countries of the Convention, and Taiwan is not be eligible for the credits gained from such emission reductions. In recent attempts, Taipei has been seeking international partnerships among its diplomatic allies to obtain carbon credits for Taiwanese emitters by promoting green technology, including solar energy and bio-fuel power plants. The acquired CERs can then be used to offset emissions. There are also plans to open a climate registry with Germany in order to facilitate access to international carbon trading mechanisms.²¹ Through international cooperation, Taiwan hopes to meet its targets while supporting ally partners to cut carbon emissions with clean development.

Conclusion

This study reveals some interesting insights into Taiwan's climate policy setting. First, the government is still reluctant to impose carbon reduction costs on its major emitters, indicated by its preference for no-regret measures and voluntary reduction agreements.

¹⁹ "Taiwan Keen to Help Africa Adapt to Climate Change," *Central News Agency*, March 17, 2010, http://www.etaiwannews.com/etn/news_content.php?id=1205604&lang=eng_news&cate_img=49.jpg&cate_rss=news_Society; "Taiwan Plans to Save Pacific Ally from Rising Sea," *Reuters*, March 23, 2010, <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/TOE62M02L.htm> (accessed April 2, 2010).

²⁰ UNFCCC, <http://cdm.unfccc.int/Statistics/Registration/RegisteredProjByRegionPieChart.html> (accessed March 25, 2010).

²¹ "Taiwan Seeks to Open Account in German Registry," *Carbon Point*, March 18, 2010, www.pointcarbon.com/news/1.1424449 (accessed March 26, 2010).

Economic interests prevailing over environmental concerns suggests that there has been no substantial change in the overarching governmental development goal.

Second, unlike in European countries where climate initiatives are backed by its people, environmental groups and to some extent business actors, Taiwan's government faces massive obstacles in the domestic arena to building up a strong climate framework. As a consequence, climate policy follows a rather centralised top-down approach, mainly focusing on securing economic interests. Non-governmental actors are involved, but their influence on policy making is limited. The long debate about the inclusion of carbon reduction targets illustrates the big divide between economic and environmental concerns. Nonetheless, there are fragile signs of growing climate change awareness and increasing receptiveness of climate policy measures by industrial actors. However, low levels of climate awareness not only distort risk assessment but also constrain the unveiling of new opportunities. By 2020, clean energy will be one of the largest global industries. Since Taiwan has a technologically advanced economic base, it could gain benefits from the exploration of new technology markets. The government plans to create a climate friendly industry for the export of green technology, and substantially increase the production value of low-carbon industries, estimated to contribute about 6 percent to the total production value of the manufacturing industry.²² In 2009, Taiwan invested about 1 percent of its GDP in green technology.²³ This green sector would create some 110,000 jobs.²⁴ However, up to now, the potential is mainly untapped.

Third, although all former administrations stated their willingness to comply with the international climate regime, the policy outcomes were disappointing. While pre-Kyoto climate policy proved to be mere lip-service, the implementation of the Kyoto protocol triggered responses in Taiwan, but since it was only affected indirectly, climate change policies primarily aimed to avoid potential trade sanctions. Due to its difficult international political situation, Taipei mainly focused on developing national mitigation policies, with limited success, however, as absolute emission volume continued to rise rapidly until 2008. Recently, the Ma administration has expressed its

²² "Taiwan Pushes New Industry Roadmap," *Taiwan Economic News*, May 18, 2009, http://cens.com/cens/html/en/news/news_inner_27650.html (accessed March 2, 2010).

²³ "Taiwan's Green Investment Accounts for 1% of GDP: CEPD," *Central News Agency*, April 11, 2010, http://www.etaiwannews.com/etn/news_content.php?id=1224747&lang=eng_news&cate_img=35.jpg&cate_rss=news_Business (accessed April 13, 2010).

²⁴ Yvonne Chann, "Taiwan Unveils \$1.3bn Green Energy Investment Package," *Business Green*, August 19, 2009, <http://www.businessgreen.com/business-green/news/2248054/taiwan-unveils-3bn-green-energy> (accessed November 20, 2009).

willingness to take carbon reduction seriously. However, it is still struggling to enact the legal foundation needed for implementing and enforcing mandatory reduction mechanisms. Without support from the private sector and the public, his ambitious reduction targets seem to be unobtainable. It is also yet to be seen whether the administration is committed enough to take action that might inflict short term welfare losses, despite the fact that a stringent climate policy framework would improve the international competitiveness of its industry and ensure access to developed nations' markets in the long run.

Fourth, climate change involves major foreign policy elements. The ambitious goal setting and increased climate protection efforts are part of the current administration's attempts to engage the international community and raise Taiwan's international profile as a responsible partner. This may lead to new cooperation and international exchanges, as the newly established channels for climate change cooperation between the EU and Taiwan has shown.²⁵ Taiwan hopes to be rewarded with increased international recognition and expanded participation in relevant climate organisations such as the UNFCCC. Since climate policy may also serve foreign policy goals, it may be supportive to domestic groups in favour of a rigid climate framework. Taipei seems to be standing at a crossroads, since internationally it is endeavouring to explore new opportunities by creating new international linkages, but domestically it is facing severe obstacles. As of now, Taiwan is not yet at the forefront of the climate change mitigation race, but important steps have been taken in the right direction. Only if Taiwan can overcome its domestic obstacles and escape from its dilemma of previous climate shortcomings will it be able to position itself as a proactive member of the international arena. Hopefully, Taiwan will soon emerge as an innovative participant and driver of international climate policy efforts.

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²⁵ Martin Banks, "EU Seals Landmark Climate Change Deal with Taiwan," *The Parliament*, February 18, 2008, http://www.theparliament.com/no_cache/latestnews/news-article/newsarticle/eunbspsealsnbsplandmark-climate-change-deal-with-taiwan/ (accessed March 10, 2010).

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What Makes You Happy? A Further Analysis on the Happiness Indicators of Malaysian and Indonesian Adults

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What Makes You Happy? A Further Analysis on the Happiness Indicators of Malaysian and Indonesian Adults

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Abstract

Although there have been many studies investigating the happiness indicators in Western countries, relatively little is known about it in the Eastern societies. To determine what makes Malaysian and Indonesian adults happy, 40 respondents were interviewed. Qualitative analyses were conducted and the results indicated that, as predicted, the welfare of groups, especially family, takes precedence over personal achievements. The implications of the results are then discussed.

Introduction

The concept of happiness has been given a lot of attention since the beginning of the 20th century when psychologists realised there were more aspects to life than the negative aspects of behaviour such as mental illness, depression, and stress.

What is happiness or subjective well-being? There are many terms and definitions used by many psychologists, sociologists and economists but the most general definition is that it is an internal experience of a positive state of mind which can be induced through various means (Lu and Shih, 1997).

Among issues studied by psychologists is what constitutes happiness? So far, the majority of the studies which address happiness have been conducted in Western individualistic countries. In the east, there have been studies on the happiness of the Koreans (Kim, Kim, Cha, & Lim, 2007; Lee, Park, Uhleman, & Patsula, 1999), the quality of life and happiness of the Japanese (Inoguchi & Fujii, 2009; Kan, Karasawa, & Kitayama, 2009; Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Uchida & Kitayama, 2009), the happiness of high school students in Taiwan (Su & Lu, 2009), subjective well-being of migrants and older adults in China (Cheng & Chan, 2005; Knight & Gunatilaka, 2009; Ku, Fox & McKenna, 2008; Lam & Boey, 2005; Monk-Turner & Turner, 2009), the quality of life and life satisfaction of the Chinese in Hong Kong (Cheung & Leung, 2002; Sing, 2009; Wan & Lau, 2004), the quality of life in Singapore (Tambyah, Tan & Kau, 2009), the personal well-being of Thais (Ingersoll-Dayton, Saengtienchai, Kespichayawattana & Aunguroch, 2004; Yiengprugsawan, Seubsman, Khamman, Lim & Sleight, 2009), happiness of the Turks (Eryilmaz, 2010), and the Pakistanis (Suhail & Chaudhry, 2004). An impressive study was done by Lu and Shih (1997) on the sources of happiness and the study has been cited ever since. Obviously, all these studies show that there are some distinctive features of the happiness of the Eastern people (see also Nakamura, 1985). The people in the East usually belong to a collectivistic society. Apparently, collectivistic values have some significant influence on the things that makes them happy. In other words, the concept and definition of happiness have, up to this point, been based on a Western ideal that places great emphasis on individualism and liberalism which is in contrast to collectivistic cultures that place importance on a harmonious relationship with other members of the society (Lu & Gilmour, 2006; Lu & Shih, 1997). In collectivistic Confucian-based cultures and societies such as the Koreans, the Chinese and the Japanese, moderation rather than extremism is held in greater esteem. In other words, extreme happiness and satisfaction are not considered ideal in such collectivistic societies (Lu et al., 2001). Therefore, it remains to be seen whether the well-established concept of happiness of the Western societies are observed in the Eastern societies or do the Eastern societies do have some distinctive contributing factors of happiness.

In Malaysia and Indonesia, the number of studies on happiness is growing gradually but still only a small number is available. In Malaysia, Husain (2006) studied the happiness in marriages and Haslina (2010) conducted research on the relationship between personality and subjective well-being. Other studies include those on the well-being and the happiness of women (Ba'yah & Kamsiah, 2002, Noraini, 1999), the subjective well-being of the aged (Asnarulkhadi, 2006), the life satisfaction of the aborigines (Howell, Howell & Schwabe,

2006), the relationship between life satisfaction and general health (Swami et al., 2007), and more recently, the happiness of the Malaysians and Indonesians (Jaafar, Muhamad, Che Tak, Afiatin & Sugandi, 2009). Likewise in Indonesia, there are studies on the quality of life of the aged in Indonesia (Lamb, 1996; Wada et al., 2005), successful aging (Lamb & Myers, 1999), the relationship between gender and well-being (Ofstedal, Reidy, & Knodel, 2004) and the life satisfaction of adolescents in Indonesia (Diponegoro, 2004).

Not only that happiness of the Eastern societies are underrepresented, but the studies from this side of the world are also substantially on the Chinese, but some of them are also economically and management-based. Therefore, it would seem that the limitation of the current literature highlights the necessity of documenting the meaning of happiness in Eastern cultures which, in fact, comprise not only the Chinese but also the Vietnamese, Cambodian, Thai, the Philippines, Malaysians and Indonesians. There have been little or no studies have been done on the happiness of the Malaysians and Indonesians. Jaafar et al. (2009) found that the happiness of the Malaysians and Indonesians are based on group welfare. In our first study, the respondents were asked in a questionnaire to write the things that make them happy. One of the limitations of using a questionnaire is that it only gives little input on the aspects investigated.

Therefore, this present study attempts to go further by investigating the meaning of happiness of Malaysians and Indonesians. Specifically, our aim is to interview the respondents and examine deeper the things that make them happy. It is predicted that by using a qualitative method, the answers elicited from the respondents will be more profound. In 2009, it was found that Malaysians and Indonesians are generally happy and they interpret their happiness according to the collectivistic values and norms. Will these values be reflected again in an in-depth study?

Method

Respondents

Forty adults (20 Malaysians and 20 Indonesians; 20 males and 20 females), ranging from 21 to 66 years old, in Kuala Lumpur and Bandung respectively, were interviewed. They answered up to three questions voluntarily. Convenience sampling was used.

Measures and Procedures

Interviews were conducted at a convenience place for the respondents and no time limit is set. Three questions were asked, viz., “What makes you happy?”, “What do you need to make you happier?”, and “What are the characteristics of happy people?”. The responses were recorded and immediately transcribed.

Analysis

The data were transcribed and classified into meaningful categories. In other words, the data were sifted through to examine the significant statements which indicate the contributing factors of happiness.

Results and Discussion

We found that there are 12 themes in the sources of happiness for Malaysians but, only 10 themes in the Indonesians.

The Malaysians' sources of happiness are as follows:

1. Family

Example: "My family makes me happy"; "My children make me happy" ; "I'm happy watching my children growing up"

2. Health

Example: "I'm happy if I'm healthy"

3. Achievement at work

Example: "If my business is good, then I'm happy"

4. Absence of negative feelings

Example: "I'm happy when I'm not depressed or when I'm joyful"

5. Religion

Example: "Respect one's religion"

6. Education

Example: "Schools are easily available; there are many universities"

7. Harmonious interpersonal relationships

Example: "Having good relationships with all people from all walks of life"

8. National prosperity

Example: "It is a peaceful country"

9. Self autonomy and self actualisation

Example: "Achieving the goals in my life"

10. Wealth

Example: "If I have more money, I would be happy; I can do a lot of things with it"

11. Leisure activities

Example: "Going on holidays with my family"

12. Basic needs

Example: "I have enough to eat and drink"

The themes for the Indonesians are as follows:

1. Family

Example: "I'm happy when I'm with my family"

2. Harmonious interpersonal relationships

Example: "I'm happy with people whom I love and when nobody hurts me"

3. Health

Example: "I am happy when I'm healthy"

4. Free from negative feelings

Example: "I'm not depressed, I'm not alone and always happy"

5. Wealth

Example: "I'm happy when I have more money"

6. Self autonomy and self actualisation

Example: "Getting or achieving what I wish for"

7. Achievement at work

Example: "I'm successful in my career"

8. Education

Example: "I'm able to further my studies"

9. Religion

Example: "I'm happy being a Muslim"

10. Basic needs

Example: "I will be happy when I am able to fulfil my family basic needs, especially when my children are ill"

What are the similarities and differences between the things that make the Malaysians and Indonesians happy? Basically, they are the same except that the Indonesians do not consider national prosperity and recreation as their sources of happiness. It is possible that in a

developing nation of 226 million, there are other things which make them happy. In other words, these findings may have some connection with economic factors. According to the Gross National Income (GNI) report issued by the World Bank in 2006, Indonesia falls in the lower middle income (\$906—\$3,595) category while Malaysia is in the upper high income (\$3,596—\$11,115) bracket. The per capita income of Malaysia is \$11,300 whereas the per capita income of Indonesia is \$3,950 (<http://siteresources.worldbank.org>). Family, basic needs, achievement at work and the other factors have to be met first while national prosperity and recreation remain secondary. This may also explain why although wealth is important, it is on the lowest rank of the happiness indicators (Jaafar et al., 2009).

Apart from the two indicators above, both societies believe there are 10 things that make them happy. They are family, intergroup relationships, health, career or professional achievement, absence of negative feelings, religion, education, self-actualisation, wealth and basic needs. As with past studies on other Eastern societies, these findings demonstrate that the Malaysian and Indonesian societies which are collectivistic naturally uphold collectivistic values which put family and group welfare first. Earlier research has shown that happiness in Eastern societies is based on six dimensions, viz., relationships with other individuals, respect toward others, financial status, work achievements, less emphasis on social status but maintaining harmony (Lu et al., 2001), harmony and stability in life (Lee et al., 2001), wish to be respected, harmonious interpersonal relationships, career achievements, an easier life, *schadenfreude*, self-control and self-actualisation, positive feelings, joy and health (Lu & Shih, 1997), relationships with children, relationships with parents and siblings, marital relationship, life goals, relationships with others, finances, health, positive attitude, self-efficacy, self-acceptance, autonomy, self-growth, freedom and recreation, social status, kindness, appearance, social environment and relationships with loved ones. Similarly, Santos (2008) found 12 sources of happiness for the Filipinos, that is, family, friends, achievements, recreation and travelling, material possessions, emotional well-being, religion, good physical health, culture, peace and prosperity, pets and sexuality. Therefore, the present study findings are somewhat parallel with past studies on the Eastern society's happiness indicators.

What are the main themes in all the studies? All of them put family (children, husband, and wife, relatives) and harmonious relationships with others as first and foremost. The main difference in all these studies is that some researchers classify some aspects together under the same themes while others do not. For example, Lu and Shih (1997) categorise family under harmonious interrelationships. Lu and Shih do not have religion (which is a unique component in the Muslim and the Filipino Catholic societies) but discuss their findings according to Confucianism. However, one must understand that Confucianism is a philosophy of life of the Chinese.

What do all these tell us? Obviously, Eastern societies have some similarities with the Western societies in which both put great importance on families but at the same time both societies are different where interrelationships and group welfare are concerned. It seems that the people in the East believe more than the West do that these two factors determine their happiness. The results here (and in other studies mentioned earlier) have only one “individualistic” indicator of happiness which is self-actualisation. Even when the respondents mentioned achievement at work, this was mentioned within the context of the family; the individual hopes to be a success in his career for his family.

Are the present study findings more profound than those of the earlier study (Jaafar et al., 2009)? It seems that both studies reveal the same themes or indicators which includes family, social relationships, health, wealth, education, religion, basic needs, national safety, self-autonomy, emotional well-being, achievement at work, and recreation needs. However, when the data are closely examined, vital details of the indicators are provided in the present study. The respondents provide elaborate details of their happiness sources. For example,

“I’m happy looking at my children growing up. Watching them playing...
when they are successful in their lives, I’m happy.”

Male, 46 years old, Malaysian

“I’m happy when my family is happy; my children listen to what I say:
my children are successful at school, get excellent results in their exams”

Female, 50 years old, Malaysian

“I’m happy when my kids complete their studies at the universities; my family is healthy,
we can get by in our lives financially, God willing, and have long lives”

Male, 54 years old, Indonesian

“I’m happy if I can make my parents happy. To make my parents happy
is my wish now and in the future. Apart from that, I wish I can get a
good job, be successful in life and in marriage too.”

Female, 23 years old, Indonesian

Conclusion

The findings from the present study highlight the importance of considering people’s happiness within their own context. In this case, a collectivistic society emphasises some

distinctive values. The Western society's concept of happiness cannot be generalized totally onto other societies. Perhaps in the future, when these distinctive values are taken into consideration, a comprehensive method which will pick up all these treasured values can be formulated.

Malaysians and Indonesians have some similarities and differences where happiness indicators are concerned. Both societies also have a few distinctive values which separate them from the Chinese, Koreans and Japanese.

The present paper is an interim report of a bigger study which attempts to understand the happiness of the Malaysians and Indonesians.

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Cover

Title: “Imported Animal-Human Relationships in Japan: The sustainability of Friend and Food”

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“Imported Animal-Human Relationships in Japan: The sustainability of Friend and Food”

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Introduction

My doctoral research focused on industrial dairy farming in the north-central Tokachi region of Hokkaido, Japan. Staying true to classic notions of participant observation in anthropology, I worked for one year as a full-time employee on an industrial farm and then continued research in more bookish environs while based at Hokkaido University for an additional eight months. The original focus was on the lives of young dairy farmers (aged 18-35); locals, *furiita*- (free-timers), and foreign workers such as the growing number of Chinese, officially labelled ‘trainees’ but who are, in fact, exploited migrant labourers (Hansen 2010). What soon became clear in working on a dairy farm however was that the historical relationship in Hokkaido between bovine and human was an interesting and, as of yet, understudied one.

Currently, I am researching a topic that stemmed from these doctoral interests while based at Japan’s National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku). The focus is on canine and human relationships in the Osaka area (2009-2010). This research also entails a great deal of participant observation; walking dogs, interviewing owners or pet store workers, and so on. And, while there is research in this area in Japanese, it would seem that the work of historian Arron Skabelund stands alone in Anglophone scholarship on the topic of modern domestic dog and human relationships in Japan (2005; 2009).

Japan’s modern relationship to both dairy cattle and pet dogs was, and continues to be, heavily influenced by ‘the West’ - notably America in the first instance and Europe in the latter. There are interesting and intersecting elements in both of these Japanese fieldwork areas and the following paper addresses some of these issues; not exhaustively, but more as an opening to research projects that are essentially still works in progress. I discuss the movement of cattle away from their mid-modern symbiotic and spatial nearness to humans and the movement of dogs from being distant, often distained, creatures in the mid-modern period to today sharing human foods, lives, and slowly but surely, graveyards with their ‘companion’ humans.

The outline for this paper is as follows: First, in historical terms, I address how relationships between humans, dogs, and cattle have changed. Second, in philosophical terms I address what these relationships mean and question if such meanings are shifting. And finally, in practical terms, I address how can or should these relationships be managed. Obviously perhaps, one cannot look at the entire history of these relationships in such a brief paper, thus I will start from the beginning of the Meiji Period (1868-1912) with an eye towards today. Thus the lion’s share of data is used to examine contemporary relationships. I will conclude the paper with questions regarding the shared future of humans and animals.

The (De)rangement of Hokkaido Dairy

The current popular image of Hokkaido dairy farming is pastoral and nostalgic. Tokachi tourist pamphlets have statements like... '*gaikoku ni kitamitai to omoudarou*' (you will think you came to a foreign country) as found in the *2006 tokachi de asobu: kurukuru hando bukku* (Have fun in Tokachi: a Tourist Handbook). Thus, the nostalgia in Hokkaido is interesting in that it often demarks Hokkaido as something 'not quite' Japanese; as a location that looks like pastoral Europe or North America. This history has been recently covered for the first time in English by Ann Irish (2009). From a historical perspective Hokkaido's colonisation is much like North America's, but I am going to avoid that controversial topic in what follows (Siddle 1996; Walker 2001).

The key point here is that dairy cattle were essential for *tondenhei* (samurai settlers) and *kaitakusha* (pioneers) to survive in Hokkaido. Tokachi is a region where in the early 20th Century rice would not grow, temperatures would frequently plunge below minus twenty degrees Celsius, and snow could cover the ground six months of the year. In such a climate, cattle could not survive without winter feed and settlers survived off a diet of milk, meat, and tuber vegetables such as potatoes, not rice and fish as the popular Japanese diet is imagined. Cattle worked in a variety of roles for humans, but generally in Hokkaido, and unlike on the Japanese mainland of Honshu, they were not used as traction. Horses were used for that purpose. Yet dairy cattle proved essential to the 'opening' of Hokkaido; they provided milk, their male offspring provided meat, their excrement provided fertiliser, and their bodies provided heat. Thus, the bovine and human relationship was more or less mutually dependant. Cows were treated like valued family members. And, often a single cow with a name lived near a family. Or a few cows lived in a human settlement like that of Yoda Benzo in the late 1800s on the southern shores of Tokachi. In Some cases livestock were offered funerary monuments and services upon their deaths.

In contemporary Hokkaido farmers are popularly depicted as parent-like in their care for cattle as this early modern image of cow and human relations still persists. Such images are carefully promoted in rural areas like Tokachi, where one can find advertisements playing off of these Meiji era themes of nature, purity, and communal animal-human bonds. Farms are shown in a pastoral and idyllic light; with verdant pasture, wood fences, rolling hills, and in the distance a time worn barn and farmer waiting patiently for milking time. Cartoons (*anime*) are everywhere in Japan and in rural areas popular depictions of animality are common; cartoon cows are shown as almost human, they are co-operative with smiling faces, happy to be milked.

While such images of pastoral nostalgia are used in the promotion of milk products and the promotion of areas such as rural Hokkaido, the actual contemporary production of milk is a very different story. Tokachi dairy farms no longer house one or two cows, as was the case during the Meiji era and the *kaitakusya* or *tondenhei* period, nor even the average of 40 cows a few decades ago (MAFF 2005). The farm I worked on had a milking herd of 1700 plus cattle with 30 full-time employees; a massive operation by any standard and far from a mixed family farm.

Modern dairy farming methods were introduced by 'the west' (Hansen 2006), and similarly today Japan is rapidly developing mega farm mono-culture industrialisation similar to that found

in Europe (Holloway 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007; Grasseni 2005, 2007) and North America (Grandin 2009; Harper 2001; Maclachlan 2001). This is rapidly changing the way humans relate to cattle, other forms of wildlife, and to the production of food (Pawlick 2006; Pollan 2006). On a modern rotary parlour dairy farm the notion of symbiosis is nearly gone. It has been replaced with a model of rational management. Much in the way that Foucault describes Jeremy Bentham's panopticon prison design, bovine bodies are progressively seen as docile equipment (Foucault 1977). Cattle are viewed as parts of a machine, often a rotary parlour capable of milking sixty cattle simultaneously. They are working components that can be manipulated, through Artificial insemination I and genomic technologies, repaired through feed, supplements, and antibiotics, and finally replaced. While the average life of a cow in pasture is twenty years, cattle in an industrial dairy regimen seldom live beyond six years of age.

In short, *we*, 'West' and progressively 'East', have distanced ourselves from cattle. Not just in Tokachi or Japan, but progressively in the 'developed' world. What was once part of our family, part of our home, part of our diet, part of or means of production has become removed from our daily experience beyond increasing consumption. Importantly for what follows, we no longer have face-to-face interactions with real cattle. Indeed, even farmers are having such interactions with less frequency. They too are part of what I call the Animal-Human-Machine, vamping of Maley's rather dark prophesy about the ends of Weberian rationalisation (Maley 2004). Cattle are being 'de-ranged' – taken out of families and farms and relocated in iron and concrete barns for the duration of their working lives. The result of such a de-rangement, as argued below, is a host of human derangements – failing family farms, food security issues, and poor human health for example (Hansen N.B).

Going to the Dogs

On the flip side, there is an interesting modern history with Japanese and dogs as well. Dogs were once working animals. If not used hunting, then they were distant guard dogs. They were, according to Skabelund, not regarded as house pets until the *Taisho* period (1912-1926) and then only by very wealthy urbanites seeking to copy European customs through purchasing lap dogs (Skabelund 1995: 231). Native Japanese dogs such as the *Akita* or *Shiba inu* were considered to be inferior to other breeds or even treated as pests.

However, Skabelund also notes this image changed with the rise of Hachi in public consciousness (2009). This was a dog in the right place at the right time. He resembled the perfect nationalist citizen. Hachi was admired for his qualities of honour and loyalty thought to well surpass those of humans and was popularised in the mass media. More to the point, these were desired traits for a population increasingly under military rule as Japan was from the 1930s on. This case is made in popular culture as well. The 1987 film *Hachikomonogatari* (Hachi's Story) can be compared with the newer, rather awful, Hollywood remake *Hachiko: A Dog's Story* (2009). While nationalist essentialism exists in both films, in the most recent version, Hachi is seen more favourably by all involved; the American assumption being that beyond dogs being an occasional nuisance, they are always loveable family members. In the earlier Japanese version it is clearly acceptable to be a good person who simply hates dogs. I suspect a recent shift here, but can only offer tentative fieldwork experience - events witness while walking and

comments made in passing - in contemporary urban Japan to hate a dog would seem as 'uncivil' as it would in North America.

Of course dogs are seldom used for hunting in Japan today. It would be hard to imagine one of the dogs I borrow for fieldwork, Ms. Koko a Chihuahua mix, stalking a deer or bear. Moreover, Ms. Koko, charming as she may be, is a useless guard dog; her wrath likely more comical than concerning to any potential criminal. But, she is not a pest. Like the family in cow in Hokkaido pet dogs they have become loved members of human families.

One must not go too far with this analogy. Cattle were clearly working animals in terms of product production, milk, meat, and through their excrement and occasional toil, potatoes. But as this form of production has changed in wider society, dogs have come to offer a form of affective labour that is perhaps indicative of social changes. People hold them like children, they are dressed like humans, and I am frequently told they do actually perform a valuable service for their owners. I have been told countless times that they offer *iyashi* (healing). Moreover, some, unlike Koko chan do work more tangible work as guide dogs, rescue animals and *etcetera*.

Recent statistics note that pets, dogs in particular, are displacing human children in Japan. (<http://www.petfood.or.jp/topics/0901.html> - Japan Pet Food Association, accessed via Google April 1 2010). And the domestic pet industry offers a stunning array of goods designed for dogs; specialty dog foods, dog clothing from boots to dog sunglasses, and dog prams. You can dress your dog up to be a dragon or strawberry or buy it a fancy dress to go out for dinner. Indeed there are dog restaurants, hotels, and spas (<http://www.rakuten.ne.jp/gold/pluxe1/index.html> - P and Luxe homepage accessed April 1 2010). One store called Mother Garden exclusively sells both children's AND dog's clothes in the same space divided only by the ends of the shelves. There are *manga* (graphic novels / comic books) devoted to dog human relationships. These are amongst many, along with children's books and how to manuals. If cattle have been drawn away from daily life with humans dogs have surely become closer to the majority of urbanites.

Becoming Human

What underlies this shift – dogs moving inside while cattle move further away? Many informants have told me it is because Japanese eat beef but not dog. First, in Japan this is historically inaccurate. Dogs were eaten in the south of Japan until the Meiji period, and before the Meiji period and western influence, eating beef was rare. Second, it would do a poor job of explaining case where both dog and cow are on the menu, or conditions in neighbouring Korea where one can have a pet dog and eat dog. Clearly, the story is not so simple.

With the work of scholars such as Donna Haraway (2008), Tim Ingold (2000), and Cary Wolfe's edited work (2003) to name a few, the study of human-animal relations has become a fertile a meeting ground for Philosophy, anthropology, and the sciences. The work of Jacques Derrida is famously complex, but below I focus on one concept building off of Lacanian psychoanalysis and notions of 'the other' and of 'face'.

Regarding...the question called that of the animal and of the limit between the animal and the human...*all* philosophers...[also Calarco (2008) on this point]...have judged that limit to be single and indivisible, considering that on the other side of that limit there is an immense group, a single and fundamentally homogeneous set that one has the right, the theoretical or philosophical right, to distinguish and mark as opposite...Interpretive decisions (in all their metaphysical, ethical, juridical, and political consequences) thus depend on what is presupposed by the general singular of this word *Animal* (Derrida 2002: 408-409 italics Derrida's).

Later in the article he asserts,

I would like to have the plural of animals heard in the singular. There is no animal in the general singular, separated from man by a single indivisible limit. We have to envisage the existence of “living creatures” whose plurality cannot be assembled within the singular figure of an animality that is simply opposed to humans...it is rather a matter of taking into account a multiplicity of heterogeneous structures and limits...there is an immense multiplicity of other living things that cannot in any way be homogenised, except by means of violence and wilful ignorance (Derrida 2002: 415-416).

In simple terms, our relationship with the other is based on that other having a face we can identify and empathise with. Thus, “East” or “West” we generally feel empathy with an injured cat but not as much with an injured tree. Derrida is also working with, or better against, Heideggerian philosophy – moving beyond the limit of *being* defined in strict Cartesian terms (Calarco 2008). Opening the above quoted article, Derrida asks the reader (borrowing from Montesquieu) if animals have a face, and outlining why they do, is the presence of it not something beyond our limit to fully understand? And further, this being the case, then why do we generalise animals (with so many different faces, not just dogs and cattle, but breeds of dog, even specific dogs) in opposition to humans when in fact we are in a series of complex individual relationships. For Derrida, both human and animal are linguistic categories that need to be deconstructed to see that at the core there exist inter-subjective relationships.

My point here is a simple one. The way we think about animality can be witnessed within these philosophical notions of otherness, limits, and face, whether in the East, West, or all the points between these fictional bookends. Before refrigeration, mechanised transportation, and the rotary or robotic parlour systems housed in distant mass holding centres, cattle were one part of human daily tactile experience. They had, simply, a face. To work with cattle was to have a particular embodied way of knowing in what Haraway has called “the contact zone” with their otherness (2008: 205). This otherness has been increased and also abstracted through modern technology and rationalisation – as cattle become numbers and not names, identified via coding equipment and not human contact and memory – they become part of a faceless bio-mechanical machine. Alienation is the net result; cattle removed from human handlers, consumers from producers, and wants from needs. Enter into this dark modernist tale the post-modern affective labour of the pet dog. Throughout my current research, and with alarming regularity and predictability, I have been told dogs are replacements for children, for friends, and even for the desire of a warm touch and protection ‘like a lover’ (*koibito mimitai yo*) from one young female

informant. While we are divorced from the productive labour of bovines, canines, it seems, are being seen as progressively familial – replacements for what is missing in alienated human lives.

Seeking Sustained Relationships

Are these relationships desirable – even sustainable – however? The limit of facelessness in regard to livestock has been reached. As noted above, they have become part of a panoptic apparatus; alienating human and bovine alike. While this is the case in the West and increasingly the East, Japanese agriculture has no future in this mode of production as philosopher Soda Osamu has warned (2006) and his conclusions are backed up by hard data that places Japanese dairy farms as the least sustainable in Asia (Beghin 2006). Moreover, with technologies that exist now developing further, cloning, robotic milking or synthetic meat, the likelihood that we will continue to farm animals the way we do is unlikely; not only in ethical but pragmatic terms. For example, robotic milking increases time farmers can spend with their cattle and their families. Why spend the money to produce the cow if the end game, cow flesh, can be produced for less cost and less bother? In the future I suspect that cattle will decrease in number and regain a face in Japan, perhaps they will remain on eco-farms, hobby farms, or be utilised to produce specialty products responsibly. Robotic milking on one end and hobby farming on the other are both increasing trends in the UK (Holloway 2001, 2005). I suggest that Japan will become ever-aware that it is dependent upon importation as industrial scale agriculture is unsustainable and hobby farming too limited to supply the nation with foodstuffs. While programs like Food Action Nippon have been directed at making the nation self-sufficient, I would argue, though not in detail in this conclusion, that this is undesirable but not so far as it is impossible given demographics and landscape alone (Hansen 2010).

Adam Miklosi notes that dogs are the most genetically varied mammals on earth and their face value, so-to-speak, has grown with an estimated one third of humanity sharing their life with canines (2009). This has much to do with our closeness to them genetically, physically, and our centuries of a shared history. For example, while pet dogs are only a century old phenomena in Japan, Japanese perform funeral rites for dogs today (Ambros: 2010). Indeed, one of my most interesting interviews recently was with a woman who works for a *butsudan* (a Buddhist altar to memorialise the dead) design company. While they do not specifically design fashionable apartment sized *butsudan* for pets, they are often asked if they make pet *butsudan*. In short, I was told that the company is aware that, though official company policy is in line with official Buddhist doctrine, people are definitely buying *butsudan* for their pets and so treating them as deceased family members. The Osaka neighbourhood where I conduct fieldwork has had the number of registered dogs double in ten years. Given these trends, a scenario whereby dogs would not become an increasing feature within Japanese society is hard to imagine.

This paper, as noted in the outset, only provides an outline of these issues. Yet while many questions arise in looking at these shifting relationships of human, bovine, and canine, one must, I think, return to Derrida and the central question of face, otherness and ethics. Beyond issues of sustainability related to economics, ecology, policy or politics; the question is, can we continue to exploit some animals for food and others as replacement family members or friends? The discussion that needs to be had in East or West alike is in regard to our ethical or socio-cultural decisions: Are these sustainable in our relation to friend or food? The answers to such questions

are only starting to be addressed, for example in the work of philosopher Martha Nussbaum or the edited works of Cary Wolfe (Nussbaum 2006, Wolfe et.al 2008), and it is in this area, fieldwork finished, that my own work will move.

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Cover

Seeking Sustainable Cattle Production in Protected Forest Areas of Northern Thailand

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Key words: animal-human relationship, feeding damage, maize, hill tribe, political ecology

Seeking Sustainable Cattle Production in Protected Forest Areas of Northern Thailand

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to outline some of the problems that arise from grazing cattle in the government established Protected Forest Areas (PFA) that surround a Thai hillside village. And further, to explain how local residents tackled problems through discussing the sustainability of cattle grazing in forested settings. In short, the results of the study are as follows. In 1992, the villagers kept twenty cattle but a decade later this number had increased radically to 130 cattle. However by 2005 the number had declined to only ten cattle. The reason for the sharp decline in the cattle population was directly related to problems of ecological and economic sustainability. One minor reason for the instability was that the increased foliage of the PFA did not allow sunlight to penetrate to the forest floor. And so, while the forests were beautiful, insufficient fodder was produced for the increased herd sizes. The key reason however was the expansion of maize croplands adjacent to the PFA. In the mid-1990s, alongside the steep increase in cattle herds there was a steep increase in lands opened for maize agriculture. There was no barrier between the PFA and the new croplands were destroyed by the excessive number of roaming and hungry cows. By the early 2000s most of villagers gave up keeping cattle. However the villagers are still seeking solutions in maintaining ecologically and economically sustainable forests, croplands, and cattle production.

Key words: animal-human relationship, feeding damage, maize, hill tribe, political ecology

Introduction

There is global concern about the sustainability of forests. Due to concern in regard to excessive deforestation, Protected Areas have been established all over the world. However, the establishment of Protected Areas has limited the land able to be utilized for agriculture by local residents. In Thailand, some of rural residents started forest grazing their cattle in Protected Area and watershed management area in order to make a profit. In this paper, forest conservation area and tree plantation area in watershed management area are called Protected Forest Area (PFA).

Smallholders in Southeast Asia not only conduct farming but also engage in multiple other subsistence and economic activities, for example livestock husbandry. They have raised various livestock such as cattle, buffalo, pig and chicken. Most of them do not treat livestock husbandry as their main subsistence activity but they have had a close relationship with livestock (Takai et al., 2008: 146). Those livestock are sold for cash income and harvested for household consumption as well as being utilized as sacrificial animals. The importance of livestock as a significant source of cash income for smallholders has been recognized in Thailand (Chantalakhana and Skunmun, 2002). And the shifting role of large livestock roles, for example as such as roles of draft animals was pointed out in northeast Thailand (Simarks et al., 2003).

The objective of this paper is to outline some of the problems that arise from grazing cattle in the government established PFA that surround a Thai hillside village. And further, to explain how local residents tackled problems through discussing the sustainability of cattle grazing in forested settings.

Materials and methods

Study village

The field research for this project was conducted at Pha Daeng village in Phayao Province, northern Thailand (Fig.1). This village is a hillside village, which is located at about 950 m above sea level (Photo 1). The population of the village is 21 households totaling about 130 people in 2009. At least 100 years have passed

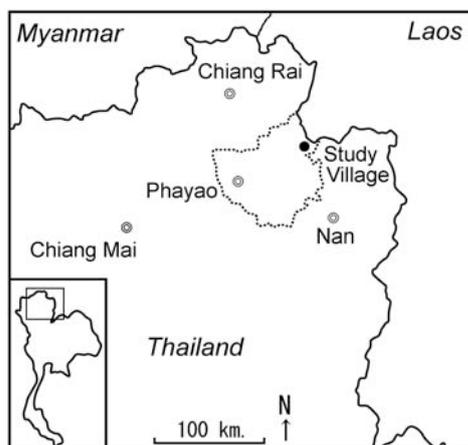


Fig. 1 Study site



Photo 1 Study village

since the foundation of the village. The main subsistence activity is agriculture. Villagers grow upland rice for subsistence and hybrid maize for cash income. Since mid 1990s, the villagers have switched from shifting cultivation to permanent farming (Masuno and Ikeya, 2008). Both crops are grown once a year during the

rainy season. The average cultivated area was 7.5 ha per household in 2005. Upland rice and hybrid maize accounted for 9% and 88% of the total area, respectively. All households used herbicide and chemical fertilizer for upland rice and hybrid maize cultivation in 2005.

The villagers are Mien (Yao) people, who are one of the ethnic minorities in Thailand and originated from south China. Each household cultivates their fields and also keeps several livestock such as chickens, pigs, dogs and cattle (Table 1). Most of households raise chickens and pigs. But raising cattle raising was not popular in 2007. The villagers frequently sacrifice chickens (Masuno 2008; Masuno and Ikeya 2010) and pigs (Masuno and Nakai 2009) for Mien rituals. But the Mien rituals which require cattle sacrifice are extremely-limited. They raise cattle in order to make a profit.

Table 1. Number of livestock raised in the study village (August 2007)

Types of livestock	Total number	Number of livestock per household			Household owning livestock	
		Average	Standard deviation	Range	Number	Percentage
Chickens*	257	12.2	6.92	4-30	21	100.0
Pigs	188	9.0	5.62	0-21	19	90.5
Dogs	22	1.1	0.84	0-3	15	71.4
Cats	7	0.3	0.56	0-2	6	28.6
Cattle	16	0.8	2.99	0-14	2	9.5
Ducks	2	0.1	0.43	0-2	1	4.8

* Chickens are limited to adult birds
 Source: Masuno (2009)

Protected Areas in Thailand

Thailand's protected area system was inaugurated in the 1960s following enactment of the Wild Animals Reservation Act in 1960 and the National Parks Act in 1961 (ICEM, 2003). These acts established National parks, Wildlife sanctuaries and Non-hunting areas as protected areas and the total area of protected areas reached 96,160 square kilometers in 2007 (Table 2).

Table 2. Thailand's protected areas (2007)

Current protected areas	Number	Area (square km)	Percentage of Thailand's surface area (%)
National parks	108	54720	
Wildlife sanctuaries	57	36208	
Non-hunting areas	60	5232	
Total existing protected areas	225	96160	18.7
Preparing for gazettelement	58	21134	4.1
Grand total	283	117294	22.8

Source: The author modified Usher (2009: 174)

The RFD (Royal Forest Department) continues to establish protected areas so the area increases year after year. Usher (2009) reported that 21,134 square kilometers of protected area was under preparation in 2007.

In addition to the protected area noted above, the Royal Forest Department (RFD) has claimed watershed areas to manage forest of upland area since mid-1980s (Forsyth and Walker 2008:42). That is to say, a classification system using a range of classes, 1A, 1B, 2, 3, and 4 are found around the study area. These classes are used to enforce more strict governmental regulation on the use of lands by local people. For example Forsyth and Walker note that 18 to 30 percent of lands are classified under the strict code of 1A throughout Thailand (2008: 43). The RFD established the Dooi Phaamon watershed management area in the area discussed in this paper to protect the upland watershed. The RFD started to manage this area in 1991. This watershed management area covers 201 square kilometers in total.

Data collection

Statistical data regarding livestock are provided from the Department of Agriculture in Thailand. The author visited the study village in 2003 for the first time and has repeatedly visited there every year. Yearlong field research at Pha Daeng village was conducted in 2005 and direct observation and interview research with the villagers was also conducted. And the interview research with the officer of the RFD in Dooi Phaamon watershed management area was conducted in March 2007. In addition, a supplemental investigation was conducted in April 2009 and February 2010.

Results

Establishment of PFA by the Royal Forest Department

The RFD started to manage this area in 1991. They constructed a management office 2 km west of the study village. Inside this watershed management area, the RFD established a forest area in which cultivation was prohibited. This forest area consists of two parts, a forest conservation area and a tree plantation area (Fig. 2). After the trees were planted, the tree plantation area was treated in the same way as the forest conservation area. The RFD did not have a map showing the planning zone of the forest conservation area until the mid-1990s. RFD officers and local villagers therefore negotiated over setting the boundaries of the forest area. The upland area of the management area was established as the forest conservation area. Since the late 1990s, the RFD in this management area has used a six-class classification (Forsyth and Walker 2008: 44) to manage the watershed area. Classes

1A, 1B, 2, 3, 4 are found around the study village. In addition to the establishment of the forest area, the activities of the RFD in the watershed management area include road maintenance and management of the production of tree seedlings.

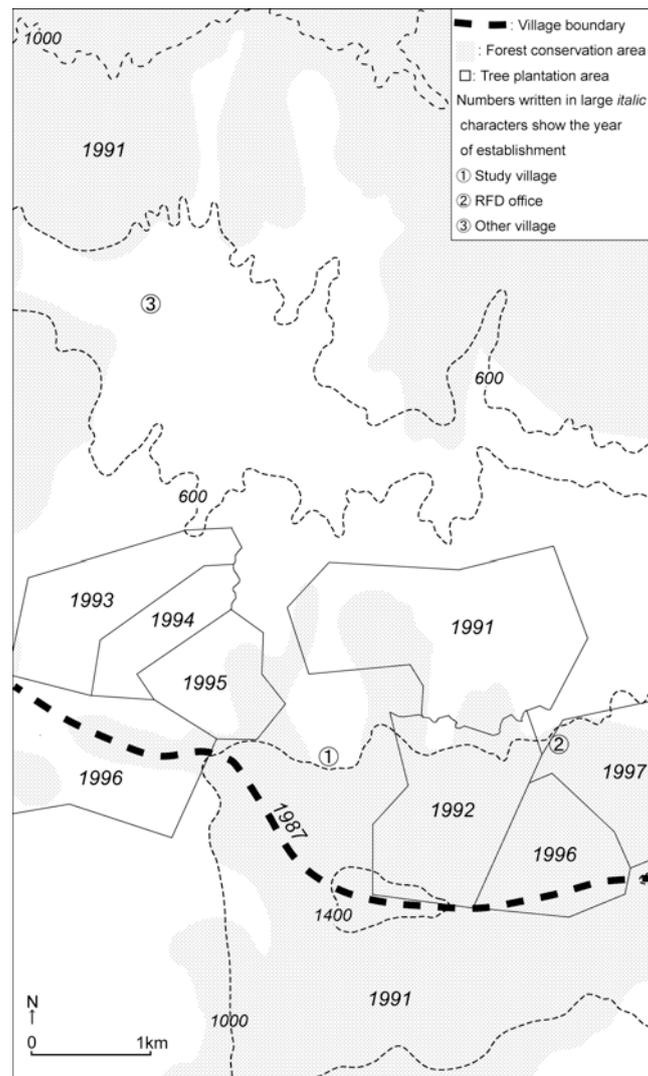


Fig. 2. Distribution of protected forest area (PFA)

Note: The PFA consists of forest conservation area and tree plantation area. RFD stands for Royal Forest Department. Numbers shows the year of establishment.

Source: Land use map provided by the RFD

Historical changes of cattle raising

The villagers said that they started cattle grazing in PFA in 1992. The lowland Thai people, *kohn muang* in Thai language, offered cattle grazing in the forest area around

the village. Two villagers started to keep lowland Thai people's about 20 cattle. They sent their cattle to graze in the forest conservation area to the south of the study village (Photo 2). They left the cattle in the forest and went to see them two or three times in a week. No fence to enclose the PFA was made. The cattle could go anywhere. The villagers said that few villagers occasionally kept a small number of cattle and buffalo before 1991. Cattle raising in the 1990s was substantially successful and they made a profit by selling the cattle.

After this success, lowland Thai people quit cattle husbandry. And many villagers of Pha Daeng started to raise cattle in the PFA. At least nine households out of 20 households kept cattle and the total number of the cattle in the village was estimated to be nearly 130 cattle in 2002.

However in the same period, feeding damage by the cattle to maize occurred frequently (Photo 3). The cattle love to eat the young shoots of maize. The maize fields adjacent PFA were damaged. In 2003, the author observed several incidents of feeding damage to maize by the cattle in the study village. The cattle damaged not only the fields of Pha Daeng village but also the fields of lowland Thai people. The cattle owners must pay compensation to the owners of maize fields. Consequently, many of the villagers could not afford to pay the money and stopped raising cattle.

In 2007 only two households kept 17 cattle in total. These two households raised 30 cattle in 2010. The problem of the feeding damage was not overcome and their cattle still damage the maize fields. Thus the two households still suffer from the problem of paying compensation for feeding damage.



Photo 2. Cattle are grazing in forest



Photo 3. Maize fed by cattle

Discussion

The villagers started cattle husbandry in 1992. This was just after the RFD started

to manage the PFA. In that time, the villagers sought a way of effective utilization of the RFD. The villagers sacrifice chickens and pigs in their Mien rituals on a daily basis but they seldom use cattle as sacrifice animal. The villagers keep cattle for making money. During the early to mid-1990s Thailand was experiencing an economic boom. Thus, the author suspects that this lead to an increase in speculation within the livestock market and this leads to an increase in the number of cattle raised by local people.

In 1992, the villagers kept about twenty cattle but a decade later this number had increased radically to 130 cattle. The villagers kept more than 100 cattle in the early 2000s. However by 2007 the number had declined to only 17 cattle. The reason for the sharp decline in the cattle population was directly related to problems of ecological and economic sustainability. One minor reason for the instability was that the increased foliage of the PFA did not allow sunlight to penetrate to the forest floor. And so, while the forests were beautiful, insufficient fodder was produced for the increased herd sizes.

The key reason however was the expansion of maize croplands adjacent to the PFA. Since mid 1990s, the villagers have switched from shifting cultivation to permanent farming (Masuno and Ikeya, 2008). The villagers have depended on hybrid maize as their main source of cash income since the late 1990s. In the mid-1990s, alongside the steep increase in cattle herds there was a steep increase in lands opened for maize agriculture. There was no barrier between the PFA and the new croplands were destroyed by the excessive number of roaming and hungry cows. By the early 2000s most of villagers gave up keeping cattle. Many villagers did not want to make an effort to stop the feeding damage caused by the cattle, erecting fences for example. Thus they stopped keeping cattle and cultivated maize more intensively to get money.

Most of villagers chose maize cultivation rather than cattle husbandry in order to make a profit. But cattle husbandry is still one of the important choices to make efficient use of PFA around the village. The villagers are still seeking solutions in maintaining ecologically and economically sustainable forests, croplands, and cattle production.

Acknowledgements

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Why cattle is easier than water buffalo: lessons in sustainability from Nepal

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Introduction

This paper considers the sustainability of cattle farming for Nepalese farmers. Through analyzing field data, notably the composition of livestock and households, I discuss why cattle herds are increasing more rapidly than water buffalo herds.

Cattle have been raised in South Asia to compliment food supplies and to engage in other aspects of agriculture such as traction. In short, Cattle are benevolent creatures for farmers. While it is well known that the eating of beef is taboo in the Hindu religion, cattle are used for the production of milk. Moreover, they provide the means to easily plough fields and produce their own fertilizer. Cow dung is even used for cooking fuel and flooring inside the home.

In strict economic terms cattle are not more profitable to raise when compared water buffalo. Due to the introduction of high yield buffalo into the Indian Plains region, villagers can actually produce a greater income so as long as they are capable of producing the increased fodder needed to feed these animals (Nakazato 2004; Ikeya 2006; Nakatani 2008). “White revolution”, it is called in India, is limited among the mountain area of Nepal, local buffalo also produce more milk than local cows.

However, this tendency is not solely understood by economical profit. Relationships of the human and livestock must be considered social phenomena. Now some villagers insist “Cattle are easier than water buffalo”. What these relationships are and why they are seen as ultimately more sustainable? This paper aims to outline social change of animal husbandry.

Field research is carried out 1.5 months in 2009 and 2010. Interviews are conducted quantitatively and qualitatively including making of livestock census of all households. Livestock composition must be analyzed since it reflects difference of the caste, and household strategies.

The village and the livestock

The village, Rumjatar is located at 200km east of Kathmandu and 100km south of Mt. Everest. Topographically, altitude of the village is 1300m and it lies on the midlands mountain. The climate is effected by monsoon rain and annual precipitation is about 1800mm. Maize

and millet are cultivated in dry fields and there are also paddy fields where irrigation water are available. Administratively, the village is approximately equivalent for Rumjatar VDC (village development committee) of Okhaldhunga district. VDC consists of 9 Wards. Total household of the VDC is 566 and population is estimated more than 3000 (in 1998).

Table 1 shows caste composition of ward No.5. Dominant ethnic group of the villager is the Gurung and they occupied more than half of village household. They are middle caste and an ethnic group of Tibet-Barman language group, but they speak only Nepali as their mother language and can't speak the Gurung language even among old generations.

Rumjatar is known for the neighbors as the village of sheep herders(Watanabe 2005). But, in 1998, there are only 26 households (4.59%) among entire village and 6 households (6.98%) among Ward No. 5, where I lived in. As far as these days, only few households rear the sheep. According to the sheep herders, there were more herders in the past. I tried to ask some villagers if there was a herder in their household. Then, there were 2/3 of households among Ward No 5 had herders. However, this estimate must be deducted because there is a possibility of over counting the same persons in some households.

Today, selection of job is expanded among the villagers. There are many Gurkha soldiers in this village¹. Their income and pension have effected to village economy considerably. After their 18 years of duty, and retired from army, they get pension. This high standard property is invested to their houses and lands. Expired soldiers tend to hire agriculture laborers and care for their children's education. In case of Ward No. 5, all expired Gurkha soldiers below 40 yeas old live in Kathmandu. Employment of the Gurkha is decreasing since late 1980s. Nowadays it is said that only few people pass the examination of the Gurkha. Alternately, after 1990, labor migrations to Middle East or South East countries are increasing. Also, much of students go to university of Kathmandu and live there after the graduation. In such situation, village youth, including the sons of sheep herders, dislike the job of herders because of its physical hardness (*dukha*). This is same for herders themselves. They also wish their children go to school and get better jobs (Watanabe 2007; 2009).

Variety and use of livestock

What kind of livestock the villagers raise? Variety and use of livestock should be pointed out (Table 1). Here, cattle and water buffalo must be explained among them.

Cattle are raised widely. Bull (*gol*), castrated male, is used for cultivation. Agricultural mechanization as seen in Indian plain is limited in mountain region of Nepal. Tractor is not

1 The Gurkha is brigades of Nepali soldiers of British army. In World War 2, many solders fought in Burma fronts. After independence of India, their camp moved to Hong Kong, Singapore, Brunei, and UK.

introduced into the village, and a pair of bull still ploughs the fields as before. Cow (*gai*), female cattle, is used for reproduction and milking. Recently, “developed ox (*bikas gol*)”, higher yield ox, is tried to introduce by government veterinary office in order to increase income from milk. However the hybrid offspring has not matured to the stage of milking.

Water buffalo is also popular among the village. Female buffalo (*bhainsi*) produce more milk than cow, and male (*rago*) is fated for meat. Sale of meat is mediated by contractors. They collected a whole head of water buffalo from surrounded villages. They dissect and sell it at periodical market or cross roads. In case of the former, every parts of meat are available by buyer’s choice, however in case of later, all parts of meat are mixed and are divided equally by the weight. Higher yield type of water buffalo (*bikas bhainsi*), which is said to produce much more milk than local buffalo, is not introduced into the village.

Both cattle and water buffalo are kept on the shed usually. However, sometime cattle are grazed among the forest or open fields. Grazing grounds are situated on steep slope near the river, and the area has increased among last ten years because abandoned fields expanded considerably. Emergence of abandoned fields is reflected by globalization. Now so many village youth has gone to outside countries, and women, old men, children couldn’t afford to their agriculture by themselves. So, some households that have enough income from outside of agriculture, or that has enough lands, tend to stop cultivation near the forests.

Number of Livestock and Caste

Caste difference is also reflected among composition of livestock. Villagers select cattle or water buffalo according from both cultural and economical standard.

Cultural standard is reflected among caste taboo. Restriction of meat-eating is pointed out (Table 2) . In case of water buffalo, there is not difference. Every caste can eat meats of water buffalo. In case of cattle, there are some differences. The Hindu can’t eat the meats. Some ethnic groups of Tibet-Burman gropes, such as sub-groups of Tamang, Magar, or Tibetan ethnic group like Sherpa can eat meats of cattle. However, there are no such kinds of households among the village. In case of Sarki, low caste tanner who can eat meats of cattle traditionally, insist now they have stopped the practice. So, there is no person who eats meats of cattle among the village. Villagers say when cattle will die, the body is thrown from a cliff.

The numbers of livestock, cattle and water buffalo, is shown (Table 3). Difference of the caste is not clear. Number of the cattle is much more than water buffalo. However, seen from average number of rearing households, both animals are raised within 1-2 heads. This means cattle are more widely raised among the village. While cattle are preferred among almost all of the caste, and water buffalo tend to be raised by middle caste or low caste, there is not so considerable difference. Now every caste can sustain large animal even among low caste.

Seen from economical standard, water buffalo is more profitable than cattle. Water buffalo provides more milk. The amount is about 6 ℓ (12 *Mana*) a day. On the other hand, cattle provides only half, about 3 ℓ (6 *Mana*) a day. The price of milk is not different (0.5 ℓ =20Rs. US\$1=70Rs in 2009). In case of water buffalo, income from the meats will be added.

Yet in such a situation, however, why people raise more cattle than water buffalo? One of the reasons is related sustainability. Water buffalo needs more feed than that of Cattle (Table 4). Water buffalo eats double of cattle. It eats double grass, fodders, and maize mush (*khole*). So, the owners must be compelled more input of labor or money.

Which livestock the villagers select?

Case 1. Cattle are easier: a case of middle caste man.

Mr. O (50s) is Gurung. He is a retired sheep herder, and now he lives in house with his wife. His children live in outside of the village. His son works in UK as a mercenary of British Army, and his daughter lives in Kathmandu with her husband. He manages agriculture, and he has 3 heads of cow and a head of female water buffalo. While he milks a cow and makes butter (*ghiu*) as his daily work, hired laborers engage in agricultural works and collection of fodder. When I ask him why he doesn't manage more water buffalo, he replies cattle are easier than water buffalo. He explains cattle are sustainable because water buffalo needs more amounts of fodder.

Case 2. Only a head of cow is sustainable: a case of middle caste man.

Mr. KC is Gurung. He is also retired sheep herder. He has only one head of cow. While he has 10 heads of goat, he kept them to his related sheep herder. He can get all of infants of the goats because he shares a part of expenses of the herder. He lives in alone in his house. All of his family members live in Kathmandu. Now, he doesn't engage in agricultural works. He lent his fields to share croppers. While he must give a half of their products, it's enough food for living alone. He spends most of his time at Hindu temple for worship and service.

Case 3. Male stock is better for business: a case of low caste men.

Mr. BR is Damai. He has two heads of bull and one head of water buffalo. He raises the bull for cultivation. He ploughs for other farmers in order to earn money. He fats male water buffalo for sale. He engages in wholesales of livestock. He collects water buffalo or pigs from surrounding villages in order to sell on periodic market. He has three pigs and eight chickens. While pig bears four or five piglets, he can't sustain to fat more pigs because pig eats so much maize. He divided house with his brother, but he still share the shed of livestock. He gets food from his own fields and a half of products by share cropping.

Case 4. Water buffalo is profitable: a case of middle caste woman.

Mrs. M is Gurung. She has one head of water buffalo, one head of goat, and 12 chickens. She was gifted the water buffalo from her native home. The goat was brought from grazing camp by her husband who retired sheep herder. She hasn't her own field, so she get foods from share cropping. In addition, she works making rugs or home made liquors for sale. She insists water buffalo is profitable than cow. Her son works in Qatar, and she is assisted by her daughters the works such as agriculture or collecting of fodder.

Conclusion

Yet despite strict economic incentives villagers raise more cattle than buffalo. This relates to demographic changes in the mountainous Nepal region. Due to globalization, notably the economic draw of urban centers and other migration, rural regions mostly comprise of the elderly, women, and children. Thus, villagers find relationships with one or two cows more useful. This is seen as ultimately more sustainable.

On the other hands, we should not forget other type of choice. Now, caste or ethnic group is not sole index of livestock composition. Every castes hold large animals even among low caste. Pursuit of the economical profit is seen notably among poor households of low caste or middle caste. They must compensate their income even extend their labor impute. Family labor among the village is concentrated for collected of fodder or cutting of grasses for livestock. In addition, considering about recent shortage of male labor, almost of their works is sustained by women.

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Table.1 Numbers of Households and Livestocks

Caste	Households	Cattle (Heads)	Water Buffalo (Heads)	Goat (Heads)	Sheep (Heads)	Pig (Heads)	Chicken (Heads)
●High Caste							
Bahun	2	4	0	3	0	0	0
Chetri	3	3	3	6	0	0	15
●Middle Caste							
Newar	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gurung	47	69	13	163	2	0	314
Bhujel	6	8	3	9	0	0	14
Rai	2	8	0	6	0	1	22
Magar	2	1	1	6	1	0	7
Tamang	4	6	5	9	0	0	32
●Low Caste							
Damai	17	21	11	13	0	15	88
Sarki	10	14	3	4	0	0	51
Kami	1	0	1	2	0	1	2
Total	95	135	40	221	3	17	545

Reserch: Rumjatar Ward No.5 in August, 2006

Table. 2 Caste Taboo of Eatingng the Meat

Caste	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Goat	Sheep	Chicken	Pig
●High Caste						
Bahun	×	○	○	○	○	×
Chetri	×	○	○	○	○	×
●Middle Caste						
Newar	×	○	○	○	○	×
Gurung	×	○	○	○	○	△
Bhujel	×	○	○	○	○	○
Rai	△	○	○	○	○	△
Magar	△	○	○	○	○	○
Tamang	×	○	○	○	○	○
●Low Caste						
Damai	×	○	○	○	○	○
Sarki	×	○	○	○	○	○
Kami	△	○	○	○	○	○

Abbreviation: ○ approved. △ not desirable. × prohibited

Table. 3 Numbers of Livestocks and Rasing Households(Cow and Water Buffalo)

Caste	Total Households	Cattle			Mean (Heads)	Water Buffalo			Mean (Heads)
		Heads	Rasing H.H.	%		Heads	Rasing H.H.	%	
●Hi gh Ca ste									
Bahun	2	4	1	50	4.0	0	0	0	0.0
Chetri	3	3	2	67	1.5	3	1	33	3.0
●Mi ddl e Ca ste									
Newar	1	1	1	100	1.0	0		0	0.0
Gurung	47	69	35	74	2.0	13	9	19	1.4
Bhujel	6	8	6	100	1.3	3	3	50	1.0
Rai	2	8	2	100	4.0	0	0	0	0.0
Magar	2	1	1	50	1.0	1	1	50	1.0
Tamang	4	6	3	75	2.0	5	2	50	2.5
●Low Caste									
Damai	17	21	10	59	2.1	11	7	41	1.6
Sarki	10	14	8	80	1.8	3	2	20	1.5
Kami	1	0	0	0	0.0	1	1	100	1.0
Total	95	135	69	73	2.0	40	26	27	1.5

Reserch: Rumjatar Ward No.5 in August, 2006

Table.4 Necessity of Grazing and the Required Amount of Daily Feed

Livestocks	Grazing or Keep in shed	Head(s)	Collected Grass	Maize Mush(<i>Khole</i>)	Maize(grain)
Cattle	Sometimes grazing in forest	1head	1 basket	1-2 Mana	×
Water Buffalo	Everyday keep in shed	1head	2 baskets	2 Mana	×
Goat(Castrated)	Everyday keep in shed	1head	1-2 bundle	0.5 Mana	1Mana
Goat (♂ ♀)	Sometimes grazing in forest	1head	1-2 bundle	0.5 Mana	1Mana
Sheep(♂)	Everyday keep in shed	1head	1basket	1-1.5 Mana	?
Pig	Sometimes grazing in forest	1head	-	8 Mana(until 3 months)	8 Mana(after 4 months)
Chicken	Everyday released in courtyard	10 heads	-	-	1-2 Mana

Source: Interviewed in Rumjatar Ward No.5 in August, 2009.

1 Mana=approximately 0.5?

Title:

Drama and Cultural Awareness

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Topic:

Cultural issues that arise while using drama in a classroom with members of differing cultural backgrounds.

Title: Drama and Cultural Awareness

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Culture is an important part of who we are. As Edward T. Hall has illustrated in his seminal works (Hall, 1959, 1989), we know who we are, but are unaware of the extent that our behaviour and thinking has been formed by our culture. Drama is an oft used tool in the language classroom. Many people are familiar with the most basic type of drama technique; the role-play. Our first introduction to language learning may well have included memorizing a brief scene in a restaurant, then acting it out in front of classmates. While not preparing us for a career on the stage, the language teacher was allowing us to use the role-play to experience the language in a 'natural' setting. By doing so, we should then be able to replicate the language outside the classroom.

When we teach in a culture not our own, we bring with us many preconceptions and ideas. As good teachers we not to devalue the host culture, while at the same time, we have to give proper due to the culture we represent. Adhering to local custom, while maintaining our own values and customs is healthy sign for living abroad. The old adage may be rephrased to something like, "*When in Rome, understand what the Romans do.*"

It is unnecessary, and I would suggest, impossible, to jettison the culture in which we were raised. Who we are has been formed by not only what we have consciously learned or studied, but by what we have absorbed. To remove these traits we would first have to identify them, then decide to erase them. The task moves into the realm of the impossible because of the sheer range of things we have absorbed. We learn when it is our turn to speak, when to make eye contact and when to make room on the seat beside us for another person. While it may be arduous to indentify these social graces, noting when they are broken is often quite simple.

If a woman in her seventies were to stand when a youthful twenty-year-old man walked into the room, this is clearly a breach of normal behaviour. It may not be inappropriate, but a further explanation would be required. If the genders were reversed, a common belief would be that the man was acting in some courteous fashion. In other words, breaches of norms are easily recognizable, and require an explanation. While taking public transit, a bus or train, we have a smaller personal space than when we are in a classroom. If we were to apply the rules of personal space for a train at rush hour to a classroom, it would be clear that social rules, customs, our cultural norms are being violated. Even if we could not specify what exactly the right amount of space in a classroom is, we know the wrong amount of space when we experience it. We learn the rules even if though we may not be able to explicitly express them nor if we have never taken implicit instruction in them.

Our culture is often implicit. It is integrated into our behaviour, and our belief system without our awareness or our control. This manifests itself into our daily life when we encounter an idea or behaviour that is in contrast to what we expect. Much like the

septuagenarian standing for the twenty-year-old man, it doesn't feel right and requires an explanation.

This is the situation our students are in when meeting a teacher from another culture. This foreigner standing in front of the class is going to exhibit different behaviour and have different expectations than a native teacher. As Li (Li, 1999) points out, this results in a number of problems for classrooms. What I would like to focus on here is not that problems exist, but that those involved miss that the problem is born from differing expectations of the others' behaviour. There will be a belief that the other side is being unreasonable. This is both common and understandable. I may be optimistic, but I believe that most teachers who enter positions in cultures foreign from their own are sensitive to other cultures and have an awareness of the potential problems and try and preempt problems before they arise.

For the drama teacher this is especially true. When selecting a play to use in the classroom, either to perform or to study as literature, there needs to be an understanding of the culture being taught. The good drama teacher will introduce cultural points for greater understanding. The Arthur Miller play *The Crucible*, for example, is the story of a witch trial that takes place in puritan America. Understanding the time it is set is important to understand the play. Equally important would be to know that witches were believed to be fictional. If a reader were to believe that witches were in fact an option of the play, then the questions play has a very different meaning. It is safe to assume that most teachers would not spend time discussing whether witches exist.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, examples like this are likely less common than the more mundane. The more mundane aspects of cultural difference include understanding of time, of space, of the right-wrong paradigm, non-verbal cues indicating the variety of positive and negative judgments. At this level we are into everything that controls our behaviour and judgment. Culture is so much a part of us, we are unaware of what is in the realm of opinion and what falls under predetermined cultural bias.

A play I use in my class for training purposes is a two-person play about someone being late for an unspecified appointment, and the late party claiming to have been detained by an Angel. The Angel (Nelson, 1999), apparently appears for the sole purpose of having a brief chat. From a cultural perspective, using this script would require that the learners understand a Christian concept of an angel. They would also have to have some reference about the role of Christianity in American society. What is less obvious are the cultural references that fill the opening few lines of the play:

A: You're late.
B: I know-
A: What time is it?
B: It's two o'clock.
A: It's two o'clock.
B: I know. I'm sorry.
A: I said twelve thirty.
B: I know-
A: I've been waiting for ninety minutes.

A common interpretation from a North American perspective is that B is late and A is angry. After a 90-minute wait it would be natural for A to be angry. The questions that is never posed is ‘why is A angry?’. In some cultures, 90 minutes is not along time to wait.

In my experience in both Thailand and Vietnam I have been given the excuse ‘thai-time’, or ‘local-time’ after being kept waiting all day for someone to show up for a meeting. Time, and adherence to an agreed upon time to meet, is a cultural viewpoint. However, it is possible that differing points of view on time are not introduced to learners. The fact that A has been kept waiting for 90-minutes is sufficient to move the action forward.

Another aspect of culture that may be overlooked is gender and communication. If A, the injured party, was played by a woman, and B by a man, how should A express her anger? Should she speak loudly, while directly facing her male companion with her legs apart? Should she avoid direct eye-contact, bring her arms close to her body to take as little space as possible and speak in a soft submissive tone trying to avoid any rebuke in her voice? These suggestions reflect different ways students have reacted to the use of this play in the classroom.

Students with no direction have reverted to the posture that is most comfortable, most familiar, when introducing this play for the first time. I’ve taught this play to students from Indonesia, Thailand, China, Vietnam, South Korea, Japan, America, and Australia. How students feel about being left for 90-minutes varies depending on gender and their perception of time. The most apparent difference seems to be that two boys will be much more aggressive than any other combination. When a male is playing the role of the waiting A and a female is playing the late B, it is not surprising when the boy is both stern and patronizing.

The most surprising reaction I’ve had to this play was in regard to the word ‘waiting’ in the last line of A’s above. A Vietnamese student questioned why A was *waiting*. The student introduced me to the idea that she wouldn’t have been waiting. Waiting itself is an activity. She would have been doing something. B would have showed up at some point, but A’s time should not have been spent “waiting.”

A teacher may provide students a model to follow. Believing that model to be the ‘correct’ form of expression. What would make the class fuller is to identify for students that they are being introduced to the culture of communication of the teacher and the playwright, rather than merely the story.

When a script is used in a class there are a number of obvious cultural points to be made. The less obvious ones are more difficult to identify, and are potentially more meaningful. It may be said that students chose to study a language knowing that culture is part of it. I don’t believe that students fully appreciate how many differences there are between cultures. I also am doubtful that many teachers, myself included, fully appreciate the limits that our own culture influences us.

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BACKGROUND MUSIC AND THE ESL/EFL LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

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ABSTRACT

Music is often used in the ESL/EFL classroom by teachers in many different ways to help second language learners acquire a second language. The use of background music in the ESL/EFL classroom can create an open atmosphere for learning that is enjoyable for students. By creating an open atmosphere for an ESL/EFL communication class, students are more relaxed, and therefore, more receptive to speaking. This paper will report research on the effects that background music can have on an ESL/ESL class and present student opinions from a survey of Japanese university students on their opinion of background music in an ESL/EFL conversation class.

INTRODUCTION

Creative teachers have often found various uses of music in class in the form of lesson activities to help ESL/EFL learners acquire a second language. This paper will provide an alternative use of music in the class, by looking at music in the classroom not as a lesson activity, but as a way of influencing the atmosphere of the ESL/EFL communication classroom. This paper will look at the efficacy of background music as a vehicle for first and second language acquisition by the creation of class atmosphere, making the entire learning process in an ESL/EFL communication class more enjoyable for students, creating an open atmosphere for communication in the classroom. The paper will then look at student who participated in an ESL/EFL communication class using background music opinions on background music in a communication ESL/EFL class from an in-class survey.

Recently, the effect of background music on the language skills of language learners has been gaining attention. Studies have shown that music can improve concentration, improve memory, bring a sense of community to a group, motivate learning, and relax people who are overwhelmed or stressed, make learning fun, and help people absorb

material (Saeki, 1994), These are but a few of the benefits associated with music use in the second language classroom. These benefits are not surprising, since the literature abounds with positive statements regarding the efficacy of music as a vehicle for first and second language acquisition.

Outside the classroom

Outside of the classroom, there has always been a significant use of music in different situations to bring about desired effects in people. Shopping malls use music to stimulate people to spend money, doctors rely on music to soothe nervous patients, and employers use music to relax employees. English as Second Language (ESL) teachers and foreign language teachers began exploring efficient methods for their use in language skill acquisition (Daniels, 2003; Gan & Chong, 1998; Hatasa, 2002; Hayashi, 1997).

The use of background music in the classroom is a relatively new concept. Although, the concept of using music while studying is not new to students. Students and music go hand-in-hand. Students often complete homework while listening to music. Cantril and Allport (1935) conducted a study on students and music. They found that sixty-eight percent of students do school work with the radio on. A similar study conducted later by Beentjes, Koolstra, and van der Voort (1996), showed that students regularly combined their homework with listening to the radio. With the introduction of MP3 players, many more radio stations, and expanded music technology; it would only make sense for that practice to continue. With this in mind, it becomes important for educators to understand the effect music has on the student's learning process and concentration. The majority of the evidence tends to support background music due to its positive implications. Cool, Yarbrough, Patton, Runde, and Keith (1994) conducted a study that proved radio noise generally was considered somewhat helpful to students while studying, allows sensory integration to take place, and improves concentration abilities.

Inside the Classroom

Using background music in the communicative ESL/EFL classroom makes sense. Background music can create a relaxed classroom atmosphere that encourages communication, providing an atmosphere in the classroom that promotes positive social interaction among students. Background music constructs atmospheres that can reduce student stress, relaxing students and motivate communication. Background music has been shown to have an effect on the mood of the classroom, by creating a more relaxed classroom, which is desired in an ESL/EFL conversation class. By calming students, certain types of music can be a powerful catalyst in creating a classroom atmosphere.

Eight teachers at Brookewood Elementary School in Grovetown, Georgia did a study on the use of background music. The study found that both teachers and students benefited from quieter, more orderly students. Brookewood kindergarten teachers used background music in their classes during thinking and working activities. Comments by the teachers were that students were:

- "Very effective in helping children settle down quietly."

- "During work time, the children were more attentive and quieter."
- "The students have to work quietly to hear the music, so the music helps to remind them to work and not talk."

Two teachers of Grade 3 classrooms at Brookewood used Thinking and Concentration CD's during independent work sessions. They reported:

- "Calming, students more focused, appears to be more concentration, room quieter."
- "Better focus. Seem to attend to task longer. The students ask for the music."

Three teachers of Grade 5 classrooms used background music reported:

- "Students like them, they ask for the music."
- "It appears that students are working more diligently and getting better grades."
- "Calms students, settles them down, has a soothing effect. Beautiful, relaxing music helps students focus more."

She also wrote that all the teachers in the school reported value in the music, and paraprofessionals who tend to be in a number of classrooms commented how much they liked being in a classroom that was playing music. She added, "I believe that background music has improved the learning environment for students."

Whether it is setting a mood, settling students, masking distracting noises, de-stressing the teacher or inspiring creativity for a writing assignment, music from background music has proven to be a welcome addition to the classroom.

Student Emotional State

Many students feel stress speaking a foreign language in class with their peers. Recently, the aspect of student stress in second language acquisition and a learner's emotional state was studied (Shiels, 2001; Takahashi, 2001). Shiels (2001) interviewed immigrant students about the factors of stress caused by second language acquisition and enculturation including school, the enculturation process, and prejudice. She described helpful teaching strategies for the students, including giving modified or alternative assignments and tests, and using cooperative learning techniques, both manipulative and visual. While Shiels (2001) focused on stress factors, Takahashi (2001) developed an exhilaration scale for learning Japanese as second language for college students based on interviews with Japanese learners, and he implemented the scale with college students learning Japanese. Then, he found that there was high correlation between motivation for learning and a cluster of positive emotional states encountered when learning Japanese as a second language.

Background music can have a relaxing effect on students, lowering student stress and anxiety. Relaxation is another factor that is mentioned by several authors that write about music in their works. Dubin & Olshtain (1977, p. 198) consider that the inclusion of music in English lessons is effective because "music is a pleasurable outlet...is a good way for students to relax and feel more at ease in using the new language". Coromina (1993, p. 27) says rock songs "provide a break from the textbook and workbook routine". Eken (1996, p. 47) says: "These activities provide a relaxed, friendly and cooperative classroom atmosphere".

In addition, it is interesting to see that Saeki (1994), working only with background music, found several similar reasons shared by other teachers working with music. Saeki (ibid. p. 30) says that music can be used for many purposes in language teaching: "BGM (background music) is important because I believe it can do the following: (1) relax students, (2) activate students, (3) get students to be attentive, (4)

let students have fun, (5) Change the classroom atmosphere, (6) create learning situations". Saeki also mentioned a very interesting fact dealing with the psychological aspects of the use of music, "Music may also engage the right hemisphere of the brains more, and make learning a more holistic experience". On the other hand, the use of songs is directly related to the identity of the people who listen to it, and the use of songs within the classroom can help the class to overcome indifference from the students due to the inclusion of their interests. Segura & Villalba (2005, p. 70) mention that using songs related to the students' interests can help the class to engage willingly and meaningfully in the activities involving things, they like.

According to Horwitz and Young (1991, p. 1), there are two general approaches to identifying language anxiety; 1) language anxiety can be viewed as a transfer of other general types of anxiety (e.g. test anxiety or stage flight); 2) language anxiety occurs in response to something unique to language learning experiences. These two approaches represent different perspectives of how language anxiety can be conceptualized, and they are not necessarily taking opposing stances with each other, but the efforts of both sides are considered complementary to the mutual goal of understanding the phenomenon more thoroughly. Such feelings of apprehension that second/foreign language communicative contexts induce are often accompanied by fear of negative evaluation from others. Watson and Friend (1969) characterize it as "apprehension about others' evaluations, avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectations that others would evaluate oneself negatively" (p. 448-51). Even in small group class discussions, for instance, some of the learners might feel anxious for fear of negative evaluation from their peers, possibly ending up being quiet and reticent, contrary to their initial intention to participate. Such psychological dilemmas of L2 learners between willingness to speak up in the classroom and fear of losing their self-esteem in front of others, thus, seems to be a quite ubiquitous phenomenon in second/foreign language classroom settings (Bailey, 1983)

Application

The following framework was used while applying background music in the classroom:

1. Select music, to fit the activity students are engaged in doing.
2. Playing background music at an excessive volume can be a distraction. Keep the volume low. This means students should still have the ability to speak at a conversational level without raising their voice. The music should be in the background creating a filter for unwanted noise in the classroom throughout the day. This creates the body relaxed, mind alert state.

METHOD

An in-class survey was used to seek student's opinions on their experience with the use of background music in their classroom and whether the use of background music make the entire class atmosphere less stressful, more enjoyable and whether it created an open atmosphere for their communication class. The tool for data collection was a survey consisting of seven questions, which were open-ended and close-ended (See Appendix 1). The data collected was descriptive in nature and served as an initial step toward constructing their attitudes toward the use of background music in the

classroom. The close –ended questions directed the student’s attention toward a specific area of background music. Students were also encouraged to write their own opinion about the question topic under the question. The open-ended questions were more flexible and asked for the student’s opinion. The open-ended questions and student opinions were especially helpful in soliciting new topics of concern.

Background music Questioner:

1. Does music make the class more relaxed?

Yes

No

Comments:

2. Does background music reduce the stress of speaking?

Yes

No

Comments:

3. What kind of background music is best for class?

Rock

Pop

R and B

Slow

Classic

Any kind

Foreign Music

Comments:

4. Is background music good or bad? Why?

Good

Bad

Comments:

5. Is the mood of the class different?

Yes

No

Comments:

6. Does music distract from the class?

Yes

No

Comments:

7. Are there times that music is bad in class?

Yes

No

Comments:

Appendix 1.

Procedure

One hundred seventy five first and second year university students in Japan were played background music during a communication class for fourteen weeks during the semester. Students were played a variety of background music during communicative portions of English communication class. During the fifteenth week of the class, students were asked to anonymously complete the background music survey and to write any comments or opinions about the use of background music in class.

Results

The results of the student survey are as follows (Appendix 2). The survey reveals student answers to eight questions. The survey first reports the student's answers to the survey question and then reports frequent comments that students wrote in the comment section of the survey.

Background music Questioner:

1. Does music make the class more relaxed?

Yes	No
82%	18%

Common student comments:

- I do not like a silent class.
- Music helps people talk.
- Music changes the atmosphere of the class.
- Music makes the class friendlier.

2. Does background music reduce the stress of speaking?

Yes	No
65%	35%

Common student comments:

- I don't feel as much stress when music is played

3. What kind of background music is best for class?

Rock	Pop	R&B	Slow	Classical	Any Kind	Foreign Music
12%	12%	8%	16%	16%	16%	17%

4. Is background music good or bad? Why?

Yes	No
92%	8%

Common student comments:

- Sets a good mood for the class
- Lets the students relax
- Makes class feel fresh
- Makes the students feel closer
- Music is not used in reality

5. Is the mood of the class different?

Yes	No
88%	12%

Common student comments:

- Makes the mood of the class better
- More relaxed
- More fun

6. Does music distract from the class?

Yes	No
6%	94%



7. Are there times that music is bad in class?

Yes	No
8%	92%



Common student comments:

- When the teacher is talking
- During Tests
- During activity explanation

Considerations

For future, the effects and possibilities of active and passive types of learning should be further examined and explored more thoroughly. Common learning methods in the classroom and home often are passive learning; such as listening and watching, a teacher taking notes, watching TV or listening to music. Future studies should be carried out with and other types of students.

The research was framed in a qualitative research paradigm because it was my interest to explore, to describe and to analyze students opinion of background music in the, rather than to find any measure accounting for its effectiveness. The idea of using this kind of material was to motivate students to practice English outside classrooms and to help them relate their interests with learning a language. Future research should be done studying the learning effectiveness of background music in the classroom.

Discussion

In the frame of a case study, my intention was to see how background music could create a classroom atmosphere conducive to English conversation. Through an in class questionnaire, looking at student answers and opinions. The survey found that students felt that background music did help create an atmosphere conducive to an English conversation class. Students felt that the use of background music, brought a sense of community to the class, motivated learning, and relaxed students who are overwhelmed or stressed, make the class more relaxed and fun. Some students did express concerns that background music in the classroom could be distracting during tests or when the teacher was talking. Other students expressed concerns that background music was not providing a realistic conversation environment that music is not played outside of the classroom.

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Redesigning the Artistic Heritage of the Ancient Civilizations in K.S.A.

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Redesigning the Artistic Heritage of the Ancient Civilizations in K.S.A.

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Introduction

Art is probably the most common language which is globally recognized, among all nations. Throughout history, many cultures received global recognition through their artistic heritage. Among the cultures renowned for their richness in art are the ancient civilizations that flourished in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The artistic heritage of those cultures is characterized by its simplicity and richness with high flexibility. Such simplicity and flexibility made this heritage distinct in its adaptability for creative ideas and modernization while preserving its originality. This paper attempts to redesign parts of that heritage using a kind of art that reflects its beauty in a modern context. The ultimate goal of this research is to find new and creative methods for modernizing and redesigning some elements of the artistic heritage in KSA. This could be achieved by designing artistic innovative units which embrace the profundity of KSA's original heritage preserving the spirit of the era, and then, producing them through the use of the most modern materials. Thus, this artistic heritage would be more appreciated by the people of other nations.

The Artistic Heritage of the Ancient Civilizations in KSA

Contemporary scientific research in Saudi Arabia shows that the era of human settlement in the Arabian Peninsula dates back to the oldest prehistoric times, and signs of new discoveries of ancient stone settlement areas in the east and southeast of the Kingdom reflect the deep background of the past living stability on the land of the Arabian Peninsula. Eventually, it has become clear that some of these settlements are about 40,000 years old. It has been confirmed that the eastern part of the peninsula has effectively contributed to the existence of one of the earliest human civilizations, known as "Sumer" civilization which flourished in the land Ma Bain Alrafedain (to the south of Iraq) ^(Alagalany, 32). This fact is evident from the remains of the settlements, found in the eastern region of the Kingdom, which date back to more than a thousand years before the establishment of Sumer. Moreover, the belief of many prominent anthropologists that the peninsula was the cradle of the first Semitic people is another proof that the peninsula contributed much towards the formation of the civilization of those nations in various parts of the ancient Near East. The

monuments in the ancient villages: Ola, Taima, Faw, Najran, and the Eastern Region were the concern of the historians and archaeologist who searched for the origins of each civilization and decided on how old and how original they were. The civilizations of (Aldadanyen), (Allhyanin), (Nabataeans) and others were only a civilization built on other ones (Al – AlSaikh, 22)



Drawings found on Mount Prince in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia represent abstract forms of people dancing (Al – AlSaikh, 43)



**An exterior wall in the groove, on which Sabaa inscriptions are carved
Najran, south-western region** (Al – AlSaikh, 87)

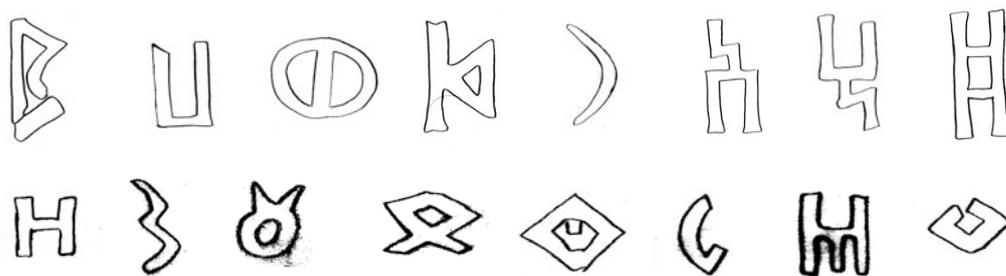
Designing Process:

Certain elements of the heritage have been selected for their simplicity and flexibility and drawn manually. Some changes in their shape have been made with a view to redesign. These changes are based on the different processes of design considering the idea of dealing with the element as a single unit because of its smallness, oldness and originality. When we focus on the element as an individual unit, we remind the beholder of its value. These changes are made by Coral Draw 12 program, a program that helps the designer to make lots of effects on one element. Certain tools have been selected such as “ripple”,

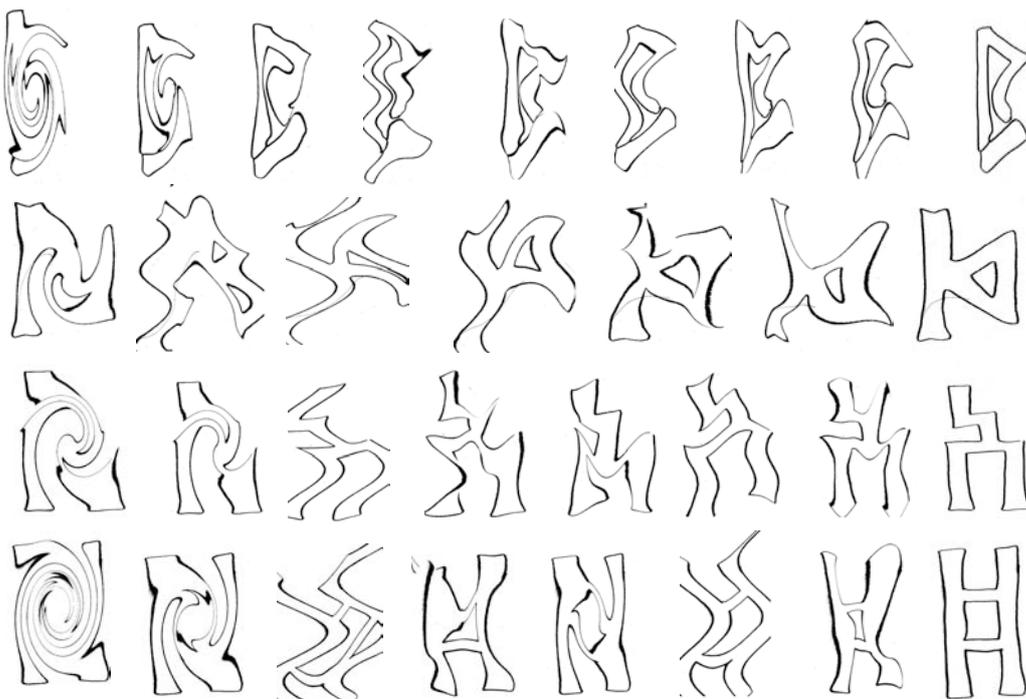
“swirl”, “mesh”, and “warp”. The researcher has moved gradually from the more simple to the more complicated processes while preserving the distinct nature of the element and maintaining its authenticity and historical characteristics.

The following are several examples of what the researcher has done to a set of written and human elements:

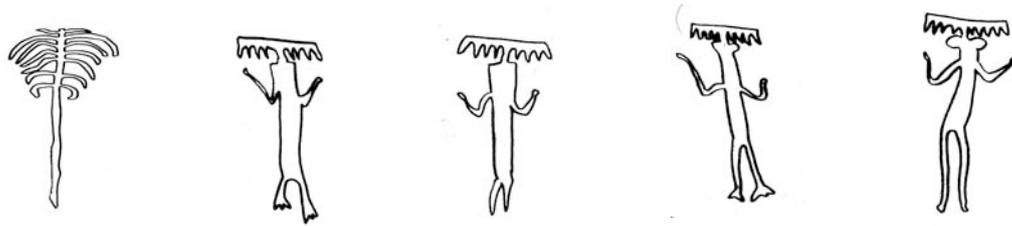
The written elements of the artistic heritage of the ancient civilizations in KSA before redesigning:



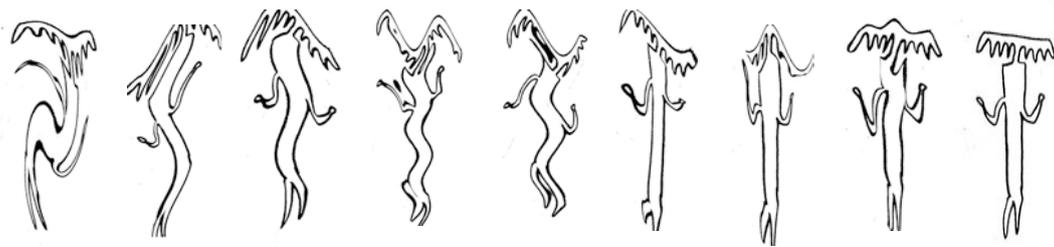
Changes made on the written elements:



The human elements of the artistic heritage of the ancient civilizations in KSA before redesigning:



Changes made on the human elements:



Designing techniques:

There is a close link between each of the raw material as used for formation and expression, and the technique as a means to represent the new shape that is based on the expression in the work of art. Thus the raw material and the technique are equally important factors for the creativity of work; the technique is part of the nature of the material. Having a role in presenting the final shape, both the material and technique contribute to the expression process.

The application:

After redesigning the selected elements, clay is used to implement these designs through the best technology with which the character of the element and the heritage fragrance carried in its lines are maintained taking advantage of all the possible ways of formation that exist in the clay. Therefore, Stoneware Paper clay is used for its high potential of formation.

The following steps have been followed in the implementation process:

- The shape is placed on a clay slab and is isolated from the background so that it tells the beholder that this element is trying to liberate itself from the background it is drawn upon. This process happens gradually so that the tiles altogether present the story the element liberation from the background. This technique presents a high sense of motion and an untraditional trend of ceramic tiles.
- The shape is then cut onto a clay slab trying to form the element by squeezing the clay inwards and outwards making cavities in both directions. These cavities are then used taking advantage of the resulted vacuum during the formation process.
- The shape is then cut off the thin clay slab embodying the element taking it from a two-dimensional surface to a three-dimensional environment through the squeezing process in which all the characteristics of raw material and the factors of vacuum and motion are used.

Here is the final result of that work of art:



Research findings:

- The creation of a new ceramic product whose design is characterized by authenticity and modernism.

Recommendations:

- To help researchers benefit from the artistic heritage of the KSA historical civilizations.

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Asian States' Diplomatic Communications with Medieval China

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Asian States' Diplomatic Communications with Medieval China

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Abstract

Language and communication issues in medieval Asia are inseparable from the impact of the Chinese cultural sphere (which denotes the learning and adoption of the Chinese language and cultural institutions from early imperial China). At a time when most Asian states had not yet developed their own written languages, the Chinese language was commonly used as the lingua franca in diplomatic communications not just with China, but among medieval Asian states as well. For those East Asian states with admirable proficiency in high-style Chinese, such as Paekche and Yamato (known as Japan since 700), communication with China is less of an issue. But how, precisely, did military empires such as the Hephthalites, whose civilization and literacy level were not highly developed, conduct direct linguistic contact with China? This paper investigates the efforts of the Hephthalites in approaching the Kumedhan and the Tuyuhun, sixth-century states from Central Asia, to bridge communications with imperial China in their tributary visit in 520. Based on pictorial and standard archival evidence produced in medieval China, I discuss the Asian states' practice of ghost-writing state letters to be presented to the Chinese throne and the use of relay interpreting to facilitate their diplomatic visits. I argue that China's documentation of foreign envoys' reliance on relay interpretation was not simply due to China's egocentric mindset, but was perhaps a true portrayal of a fact of diplomatic and commercial life in their China visits at the time.

Introduction

Ancient diplomatic contact between Asian states and China has been an intriguing subject given its relevance to historical politics and ideology in Asia. It is intriguing for two major reasons: first, the existence of a good number of small Asian states who spoke numerous vernacular; second, not many states developed their written languages before the early medieval times. How then did these states, with various level of writing and verbal progress, manage their oral and written communication? This article represents an initial attempt to examine such verbal communication from the perspective of translation history. This article will not deal with letters sent in medieval times by Yamato and the three Korean states (namely, Paekche, Silla, and Koguryō), which were generally confirmed to be written in Chinese, not translated, despite the fact that these countries did not usually speak Chinese in their home

countries at all. These Asian states, in fact, were the more active learners of the Chinese language and culture, and their Chinese proficiency can easily be explained.

Specifically, this article reports some of my findings in a historical study of translation in sixth-century Asia. It discusses the case of the Hephthalites (or the White Huns) regarding their ways to resolve their written and spoken communication problems in approaching China in 520. I conclude with conjectures pertaining to possible oral translation scenario and the related scripting strategies practiced in medieval times, based on China's archival and pictorial records. This article is structured into four sections: first, an introduction to the Chinese Cultural Sphere; second, a discussion of commercial interests involved in tributary journeys; and finally, an elaborate account of the Hephthalites' trip to visit Liang China (502–557) and the way in which they resolved their communication problems in the process.

Chinese Cultural Sphere

Since China is one of the earliest civilizations developed in Asia, written Chinese was often used for wider diplomatic communication across countries in Asia in medieval times.¹ This unique linguistic choice was rooted in the concept of the Chinese cultural sphere or the East Asian cultural sphere. The Chinese cultural sphere, roughly formed around medieval times (Gao, 2003), centered geographically round China, although it also covered the three Korean states, Yamato, and Vietnam. According to Han Sheng,

In the context of their shared background as agrarian societies, the country states in East Asia committed to reform themselves through learning from China. The East Asian cultural sphere was thus formed and characterized with the use of written Chinese as their common language of correspondence, the application of the Chinese ritual and legal institutions as their ethical norms, and the adoption of Confucianism as their cultural component. (Han, 2005, p.66; Lung's translation, 2009, p. 165)

Historically, China was well ahead of its Asian neighbors in the development of language and writing, institutions (ritual, political, and legal), and culture. China was thus looked up to as the Asian centre of learning in written Chinese (via standard histories and classics), Confucius learning, laws, and Buddhism, apart from other

¹ See Feng (2004, p.177-190) for state letters presented to China during the early eighth century from Central Asia.

technical and medical knowledge (Gao, 2003). Paekche, for example, actively “asked for collections of Chinese classics and Buddhist sutras [as means of learning] from China during the South dynasty [420–589]” (*Liangshu*, 54, p.805).

Apparently, learning the Chinese writing and language was an important tool to the Asian countries in their pursuit to learning from China in general. The Five Classics and other standard histories of China were therefore typically placed in the core curriculum in the schools set up in East Asian states at the time. In fact, Chinese characters were consciously introduced as early as the beginning of Christian era to Yamato, who had not yet, then, developed its own language.² By the third and fourth centuries, written Chinese was already quite well cultivated among the elite and in the ruling house of Yamato. It was commonplace in the imperial house of Yamato that princes were tutored by Buddhist monks from Paekche, who were masters of the Chinese language and culture. After all, Paekche received earlier and more direct cultural influence from China than Yamato, who was categorized merely as a remote people (*yuanyi*) in the political taxonomy of medieval China.

Communication with Medieval China

Eva Hung (2005) maintains that ‘relay interpreting’, literally the use of two or more interpreters, in the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural discourses archived in the Chinese history should not be understood simply as a pragmatic step to bridge the communication gap. The political significance of conscious and repeated references to ‘relay interpreting’, no doubt, suggest how much the Chinese thrones valued foreigners’ extra effort to come to China to pay tribute. This imperial mentality was closely tied in with the persistent ideology of China’s supremacy over others. The foreigners’ move to rely on translators or interpreters in their China-bound tribute missions, according to Hung, was honestly viewed by imperial China as an act of submission. Moreover, according to Hung, China “could not care less about the foreigners’ communication adequacy and concerned even less the way in which foreigners tackle their linguistic problems” (*ibid.*) when they approached China. However, Hung’s analysis of imperial China’s mindset is paradoxical. On the one hand, China was suggested to place premium on the levels of interpreting taken by foreign envoys to make the China visit possible. On the other hand, Hung maintained that China did not really concern itself to the linguistic barrier confronting the foreign visitors in those days. So ultimately did China care or did China not care?

² Niu Zhigong (2002, pp.422-3) says, “It was not until the eighth century that Japan developed its own written language, based on the Chinese writing system”.

Arthur Wright (1978) points out the practical eminence of written Chinese in sixth-century China despite its extended period of regional disunion before the Sui (581–618) unification. He made references to the instrumental value of written Chinese, which was likened to a common medium in exchanges with medieval China in general. Wright says:

The most obvious element in this common substratum is a written language that permitted communication across all manner of political and cultural barriers. A letter, a poem, a pronunciamento could be written in one corner of the Chinese subcontinent and be read and understood in the opposite corner. Written Chinese, thus described, would seem to resemble Esperanto—a language which indeed makes possible communication between men separated by distance and by culture. But the Chinese written by men of the sixth century communicated much, much more than the bare content of the message. By that time it had been continuously used and developed over a period of two millennia. And, as a result, almost every word and certainly every phrase carried with it from repeated historic use a rich freight of allusive meaning: echoes of men and events, references to places and times, to archetypal situations and much else. In all formal writing, specific historical allusions were omnipresent—used as argument to drive home a point or to refute one. Thus, tribal chiefs fresh from the steppe—once they had Chinese scribes to write communications for them—began to imbibe little by little the whole historic culture of China; and when their sons began to learn Chinese for themselves, the learning process was accelerated, and the moral and aesthetic appeal of the Chinese written heritage began to work upon them. (Wright, 1978, pp.43-4)

Three points are raised from Wright's foregoing observations about written Chinese as a language of power and prestige in medieval Asia. First, the stylistic sophistication of written Chinese in the political register, with embedded literary and historical allusions, would be challenging for foreign readership. Second, in pursuing communication with imperial China, foreign tribal chieftains often had "Chinese scribes" to compose (or translate?) letters for them. Third, as a measure to maintain communication with China, sometimes, sons of these tribal chieftains, in the form of "hostage princes" (zhizi 質子), would be arranged to learn Chinese, among other

knowledge, in China and therefore provide another source of Chinese experts for diplomatic exchange.

Commercial Interests and Translators' Roles in Tribute Journeys

Whether imperial China liked it or not, tributary visits made, through the assistance of interpreters, to China were not necessarily signs of submission in essence. Other commercial agenda was often behind such arduous tributary journeys. Tributary trips were originally conducted to forge ties in ancient diplomacy in Asia, either to lobby military support or to gain recognition for new regimes. As the system evolved, it was significantly blended with commercial interests (Lewis, 2008). In other words, tributary states would present regional products or rare items unique to their countries to curry China's favor. In return, these country states would expect to bring home precious items from China. In short, China's bestowal of gifts to visiting envoys was in principle a barter trade (Lattimore, 1940), although, not infrequently, envoys from strategically important states would be interviewed in the Court of Diplomatic Receptions (Lung, 2008), and possibly given imperial audience for purposes that went beyond commercial concerns.³

Translation is relevant in the discussion of such tributary journeys in the China context, because the act of translation or the level of relay interpreting was typically referred to in archival records documenting such encounters. Chinese archival records on foreign contacts often use the word "*translate*" to describe the way in which foreign envoys made their journeys to visit China. The number of translators employed for foreign embassies to communicate with Chinese officials was then taken as a reference point to indicate, symbolically, how keen they were to establish ties with it. It is totally understandable, then, why self-dramatizing statements about celebrating diplomatic encounters, with distant countries, are often used in China's ancient archives. For example, we have stock expressions "employing relay translators", "taking a treacherous journey and relying on three different interpreters", or "by means of nine interpreters" to pay tribute to China. It would be uncanny, no matter how remote these exotic countries were, that nine interpreters would be required to bridge language barriers concerned, but these inflated discourses should not cloud the plausible observation that relay translation was not necessarily an

³ Nicola Di Cosmo (2002, p.285) states that such gifts exchange between China and the foreign peoples existed as early as fourth-century BC China, as verified by a passage in *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Prince Mu) composed around this time. It reads, "...the chief of western Mo (a tribe in the northwest of China) gave Prince Mu (of western Zhou China) 300 fine horses, 10000 cattle and sheep, and 1000 cartloads of millet. In exchange, Prince Mu gave him 29 golden necklaces, 30 belts of shells, 300 pouches of pearls, and 100 plants of cinnamon and ginger".

exaggerated expression, but perhaps a common contingent measure in inter-lingual communication in medieval Asia.

The Hephthalites

The Hephthalites was originally a nomadic horde of Turkish-Mongolian ethnic origin in the Altai Mountain. It later became a prominent military menace having expanded into a large swath of territories in the present-day Russian Turkestan. It rapidly acquired Samarkand and Bactria by about 440. In its hay days during the early sixth century, the sphere of influence once spanned over Afghanistan, Persia, the Punjab, Sassanid Persia, Kandahar, and Kabul. In 520 when the Hephthalites paid Liang China a visit, it was a dominant Central Asian empire. The Hephthalites paid a total of five visits to Liang China, and the frequent visits must have been motivated by China's material wealth. However, not having developed a written language, how did the Hephthalites produce a decent letter to assert China's 'superiority', which was a required protocol in Asian politics at the time?

Fortunately, and yet not unusually, many of the Central Asian states conquered by the Hephthalites were of more advanced civilizations with scripts developed. The Tokharian region that came under their control, for instance, was Bactrian-speaking and used a Bactrian script, which was linguistically affiliated to the ancient Iranian language (Ma, 2005). Chinese historians (Yu, 1986; Ma, 2005) conjecture that the Hephthalites might have transformed a conquered state in the Tokharian region into a puppet government to govern a swath of sedentary states there, using, probably, Bactrian as the language of administration. This observation is confirmed by the description of this empire in the *Liangshu*:

使旁國胡為胡書，……其言語待河南人譯然後通。(*Liangshu*, 54, p. 812)

[the Hephthalites] asked their neighbor state for a scripting service, using the language of the adjacent state, for written correspondence [...] their spoken language was only communicated [to us] through the interpretation of people from Henan (Tuyuhun).⁴ (Lung's translation, 2008, p. 189)

With the scripting service of their submitted state, the Hephthalites' lack of a script, therefore, would not hinder the China visit. This passage in the Chinese archive was

⁴ The Tuyuhun people was referred to as the Henan people 河南人 in Chinese sources because its leader was bestowed with the title of "king of Henan" by various regimes from the fourth through the sixth centuries (Shi, 2007). Its people lived in "the south of the Yellow River" (the literal meaning of "Henan"), and that was another reason why they were known as the Henan people.

initially perplexing precisely because the power hierarchy between the Hephthalites and their adjacent state was not explained. The scripting service was in effect instructed, not requested, by the Hephthalites.

According to the *Liangshu* (54, p. 812), envoys of three small states next to the Hephthalites, namely, Karghalik 周古柯 (Yarkand), Kabadiyan 柯跋檀, and Kumedhan 胡蜜丹 (regions closed to the frontier between N. Afghanistan and southern most Russia), tagged along the Hephthalites to China in 520. The fact that these three states asked to journey with the Hephthalite envoys may suggest that either they all faced similar language problems or they felt safe to travel in bigger group. As Richard Foltz suggests,

Inner Asia contains vast tracts of inhospitable land, often with little water and sparse human settlements, making them prime grounds for banditry... There is safety in numbers, and caravans could be made up of anywhere from several dozen to several thousand travellers at a time. (1999, p.9)

Which state helped the Hephthalites out with the literary assignment on their China visit? My conjecture is Kumedhan. First, Kumedhan, later known as Dharmasthiti in the seventh century, was in fact located in the Tokharian region in which a number of Bactrian-speaking states thrived under the Hephthalite influence (Xuanzang, 646). We cannot of course claim, with the existing evidence, that Kumedhan was Hephthalites' puppet state. But against this unique political background and considering the geographical and linguistic affiliations of Kumedhan, it is quite possible that Kumedhan was the state that offered the scripting, if not the oral translation, of the Hephthalite letter to China. Second, in the *Zhigongtu* 職貢圖 (tribute-paying painting) produced by emperor Yuan during Liang China around 539, letters from these three small states were actually inserted, at least in part, in the accounts placed next to their envoys' portraits.

Interestingly, it is only in Kumedhan's letter that the Hephthalite visit to China was awkwardly documented. It was awkward because they in fact came nominally as separate states, although they travelled together. The letter reads,

“...今滑使到聖國,用附函啟...” (*Zhigongtu*)

(...Now, the Hephthalite embassy came and visited this consecrated country, and its letter was attached here with utmost respect” [my translation].)

This letter makes no mention of Kumedhan having scripted the Hephthalite letter. Yet the delivering of this letter as an attachment in Kumedhan's letter to China was quite bizarre when obviously the Hephthalite envoys were there as well. I guess the Chinese translator of their letters, having noticed the Hephthalite letter written in the Kumedhan script and learnt of their ghost-writing arrangement, might have chosen to inform the court of this measured effort. Or alternatively, Kumedhan might have wanted to get the credit for being known as the linguistic mediator for the Hephthalites. Anyway, such a ghost-writing practice was not offensive to Liang China at the time because languages were not widely developed in most Asian states. Rather, the Hephthalites' indirect measure to compile a letter to China on its tributary visit was valued highly. Otherwise this practice would not be markedly documented in the account of the Hephthalites in the *Liangshu*. Unfortunately, the Hephthalite letter, somehow, was not documented either in the *Liangshu* or the *Zhigongtu* to throw further light on this subtle (oral) translation event known to have been conducted then.

It was not mentioned in the *Liangshu* if the three adjacent states had any communication problems in their journey to China. It would be a good guess that these states might also require language mediation, since the Hephthalite letter scripted, possibly, by a Kumedhan scribe, was in Bactrian, an Indo-European script, not Chinese. We can safely deduce that none of these three states would have any knowledge of written Chinese. This is confirmed when the Tuyuhun translator was asked to interpret the Hephthalite vernacular to the Liang Chinese court (to be discussed in the next section). However, their linguistic needs obviously were filtered out in the Liang chroniclers' brush, because, apparently, the rhetorical significance of the use of oral translation and interpreters to communicate with China would be more note-worthy with major states, like the Hephthalites, not minor states, in Liang China's diplomatic taxonomy and ideology.

The Tuyuhun

Historically, the Tuyuhun (329–663), originated from the Xianbei people from inner Mongolia, was a nomadic tribe living in northwestern China. In its expansion process, the Tuyuhun people had moved towards the south and the west ever since the fourth century to have exercised control over a stretch of areas around Gansu, Sichuan, and Qinghai, and absorbed sizeable population of different ethnic and language background. Subsequent to the downfall of Western Qin and Xia states, the Tuyuhun took over most of their territories, peoples, and properties. That explained its rise as a prominent state in the medieval times in a critical landmass encompassing the key juncture of China and Central Asia.

The incorporation of various regions in its territorial expansion naturally turned Tuyuhun into a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual existence, which became its edge as a linguistic and cultural mediator between East and Central Asia. In fact, the Tuyuhun people often, over centuries, served as travelling and linguistic gurus for generations of international traders or envoys coming from the remote western regions to visit China in medieval times. Tuyuhun's dynamic trading experience with surrounding regions also empowered its position as the guide to foreign merchants aspiring to transact business with China. For instance, it had commercial ties with peoples from the Mongolian steppe in the north, the western regions and Central Asia in the west, the Tibetan plateau and India in the south, and of course, China in the east.

If we examine the following text about the Hephthalite in the *Liangshu* further:

其言語待河南人譯然後通 (*Liangshu*, 54, p. 812)

their spoken language was only communicated [to us] through the interpretation of people from Henan (Tuyuhun).⁵ (Lung's translation, 2008, p. 189)

it is very likely that the Liang historian intended to relate that language mediation with the Hephthalite delegates was facilitated by the Tuyuhun interpreter(s) they hired to accompany them to China. If it was indeed the situation, the visiting states, in early sixth-century China, seemed to be expected to arrange translators on their own to facilitate the China visit. In this line of thought, the way in which the Hephthalites resolved their communication problems, as discussed here, might have been typical cases of this specific historical practice. In other words, the visiting envoys would consciously approach or hire 'exotic interpreters' during their China-bound journeys when there was no Chinese translator in their home countries. The fact that the Tuyuhun people actually thrived as entrepreneurial mediators on the Silk Road in medieval times serves to make this a convincing argument, if not a credible observation.

Conclusions

The examination of historical texts, verbal and visual, regarding the Hephthalites' China visit in 520 informs us about the peculiar nature of diplomatic interpreting in

⁵ The Tuyuhun people was referred to as the Henan people 河南人 in Chinese sources because its leader was bestowed with the title of "king of Henan" by various regimes from the fourth through the sixth centuries (Shi, 2007). Its people lived in "the south of the Yellow River" (the literal meaning of "Henan"), and that was another reason why they were known as the Henan people.

the sixth century. This case of linguistic mediation documents the practice of relay and oral translation as well as the classic mediating role of the entrepreneurial Tuyuhun people on the Silk Road that ranged from translators, scribes, travel guides, and providers of logistic support at the time. Similar means through which the Hephthalites resolved their communication problems are also documented in the *Liangshu* with reference to Silla's China visit. Seen from this perspective, the Hephthalite case of language mediation was not an isolated event, but probably a feature commonly found in the exchange between China and Asian states in medieval times. This observation, having been placed in proper historical perspectives, is all the more credible considering the language and political background of Kumehdan and the means of survival for the multilingual Tuyuhun people, which regrettably have not often been attended to in the historical study of translation in Asia.

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Zhigongtu , courtesy of http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zhigongtu_full.jpg.

Title: Changes of Chinese Modernity Discourse: A Case Study of Chinese Cultural Conservatism

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Topic: History

Changes of Chinese Modernity Discourse: A Case Study of Chinese Cultural Conservatism

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By historicizing and contextualizing the discourse of Chinese modernity, my paper will delineate Chinese intellectuals' continued efforts to seek for an alternative modernity to the Western way from the semi-colonial and semi-feudal era to the globalization era. It will also explore how the "Chinese alternative modernity", as a discursive-political device, has been produced and packaged with different layers of contents and meanings under different historical, social, and cultural circumstances. It is a comparative study, including a diachronic study of Chinese intellectual currents in different eras, and a cross-cultural study on the interrelationship between Chinese and Western scholarships.

I will focus on an influential group of conservative intellectuals called the Xue Heng School in the 1920s who applied Western theories to defend Chinese traditional culture and criticize Western modernity. Since the voice of the Xue Heng School sounded contradictory to the keynote of Chinese modernity discourse established by the May Fourth Movement, it had been repressed for half a century. However, the long-neglected conservatives have been re-discovered since 1990s. The Xue Heng Study, which restarts promoting cultural conservatism of the Xue Heng School, has become a recent surge of Chinese modern history study. From the Xue Heng School to the Xue Heng Study, the shift epitomizes the continuity and transformation of Chinese modernity discourse. By comparing the historical controversy between the Xue Heng School and the New Cultural Movement camp with the contemporary Chinese modernity debate, I will argue that present Chinese modernity discourse reveals much more uncertainty, hybridity and paradoxicality.

The Xue Heng School: a Paradigm Shift of Modern Chinese Conservatism

The Xue Heng School is an influential group of intellectuals who graduated from Harvard University and founded a conservative journal *Xue Heng* (*Critical Review*)¹ (1922-1933) in China in order to defend Chinese traditional culture and oppose New Cultural Movement's modernization project. The emergence of the journal *Xue Heng* is a turning point in the modern Chinese history of thought, signifying the discourse of Chinese modernity opened a new phase. From late Qing to the early period of the New Cultural Movement, Chinese modernity discourse basically limited itself in the binary framework of "tradition/ modernization", which is embodied by a series of debates on "Chinese culture/Western culture" or "New Learning (*xinxue*) /Old Learning (*jiuxue*)". However, the journal *Xue Heng*, in a sense, marks that the focus of Chinese

¹ I use the journal's Chinese name "Xue Heng" instead of its English name "Critical Review" because the former implies the claim of the journal. Xue refers to "scholarship" and signifies the academic position of the journal, distinguishing it from other political conservative journal, like Jia Yin and Guo Cui. "Heng" means "impartial and unpartisan", which indicates that "the attitude of the *Critical Review* thus is one of moderation of the golden mean in intellectual and cultural matters". See Wu Mi. "A Statement by the *Critical Review*", Xue Heng, issue 13, 1923.

modernity discourse has changed from the dichotomy China/West or East/West into West/West, which means the question which Western modernity project should China adopt, instead of the question whether Chinese culture is available in the modern society, become the motif of Chinese modernity discourse. On the surface, the controversy between the Xue Heng School and the New Cultural Movement camp still lies in their attitudes toward traditional culture, similar to the difference between traditionalists and radicals, but according to the claims of the Xue Heng School, underlying the controversy are different intellectual resources—different Western theories.

"A Statement of the Critical Review" written by Wu Mi in English and published in issue No. 13 of the journal (January, 1923) clearly shows the stance of the Xue Heng School: They actually denied the label of "conservative", but on the contrary, considered they were "indirectly preserving Western tradition, learning and absorbing its spirit, rather than defending and preserving Chinese tradition" (Wu). Another leading member Hu Xiansu also defined the debate between *Xue Heng* and *New Youth* as the Chinese version of "New Humanism vs. Pragmatism", transplanting American controversy between Irving Babbitt and John Dewey (Hu et al. 14). Those claims reveals that the Xue Heng School's assertion of the importance of Chinese culture was no longer based on a nativist rejection of Western culture and modernity, but taking the discourse of critique of modernity to relocate Chinese culture in the map of global civilization to justify the tradition and see its potential contribution. From "China vs. the West" to "the West vs. the West", the debate between *Xue Heng* and *New Youth* epitomizes that after the First World War, China had been the cultural battleground for various Western thoughts and theories. Under the impact of global discourse of "decline of the West", Chinese intelligentsia began to re-examine the values of Chinese culture and Western culture in the framework of global civilization and reconsider the relation between Chinese tradition and modernity from the perspective of universalism. As Shu-Mei Shih pointed out, "modernity was a fact to be reckoned with, to be debated, to be better defined and delineated, all with an eye towards the native cultural tradition, so that modernity would no longer remain the sole property of the West, but would rather be hybridized, revised, and rewritten, and able to be claimed by the Chinese as well without their losing a fundamental sense of cultural confidence. The Chinese tradition was to be handled similarly, with an eye towards Western cultural traditions so that it would no longer remain the property of China but rather be hybridized, revised, and rewritten for larger purposes extending to the world." (Shi 159)

The journal *Xue Heng* also suggested a "paradigm shift" in the discourse of Chinese modernity—the focus changed from "the validity of modernity" to "the project of modernity"; the theoretic basis transformed from the evolutionary view and linear time-consciousness based on the binary opposition of "traditional/modern" into a seemingly dialectical and self-reflective structure. Applying Western modern theoretic tool (New Humanism) to revalidate the value of Chinese tradition, and compete with New Cultural intellectuals for the authority of introducing and importing Western culture, the Xue Heng School's cultural view reveals the self-contradictory quality and paradoxity of Chinese modernity discourse in the 1920s. On the one hand, the attempt to adapt tradition to contemporary needs is not the concern of the Xue Heng School. Instead, they tried to demonstrate that Chinese tradition could be an effective remedy for

the crisis of Western modernity. On the other hand, Irving Babbit's New Humanism, as a modern critical theory, was used by the Xue Heng School as the only criterion to judge the merits and vices of various cultures. Therefore, the Xue Heng School offers a critical but modernization-oriented cultural proposal, which makes modernity in Chinese context both irresistible and problematic category. It is true that the self-critique of modernity and the pessimism on Western culture were already prevalent in the West after the First World War, but Chinese modernity discourse had a distinctive and noticeable characteristic. The critique of Western modernity among conservatives in the 1920s partially rooted in cultural nationalism, and partially resulted from an anachronistic appropriation of Western anti-modernity discourse. Firstly, the relationship between the Chinese nationalism and the discourse of Chinese modernity exposed a dualistic quality: since China's modernization process was compelled by imperialism and colonialism which are outcomes of modernity, it began with a nativist antipathy towards the West. The critical stance toward modernity discourse was undoubtedly an expression of Chinese nationalism. Nevertheless, for a long time, modernization was regarded as the only effective means for self-strengthening China and rebuilding a strong and united nation-state. As a matter of fact, a series of movements, reforms, and revolutions from late Qing to the early 1910s, had more or less westernized and modernized the institutions and configuration of Chinese society in cultural, political and social realms. Therefore, Chinese modernization started and continued with a resistance to modernity itself. Secondly, while western self-reflection of modernity rose when the Western modernity had arrived at a late stage and showed its dark sides, as a victim of Western colonialism, except natural resistance to Western aggression, Chinese conservatives' impressions of crises and problematique of modernity basically formed under the impact of Western discourse of revolting against modernity. Besides the pessimism on their own culture, Western intellectuals began to pay attention to Eastern cultures, including Indian and Chinese culture that represent purely spiritual cultures in their opinions, and attempted to seek for an alternative model to Western modernity. Chinese intellectuals' cultural confidence, which had been lost for a long time, was suddenly encouraged by such "respect" and affirmation. The prevalence of Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* and Bertrand Russell's *The Problem of China* are good examples illustrates how Chinese modernity discourse intertwined with the global modernity discourse.

However, the Xue Heng School and other conservative's anachronistic appropriation of Western anti-modernity discourse cannot be regarded as a theoretic naivety, but is a reflection of the struggle between the traditional culturalism² and the developing modern nationalism in the transitional period. The paradigm of "culturalism to nationalism"³ is widely used by scholars of China study to describe the changes of national identity from ancient China and modern China. According to Levenson, Culturalism and nationalism were competing for loyalty among intellectuals of turn-of-the century and the era was one in which "nationalism invades the Chinese scene as culturalism helplessly gives way." (Levenson) Yet the case of Xue Heng School demonstrates the coexistence and tension between modern national consciousness and cultural nostalgia. On the one hand, the former determines that the cultural proposal of the Xue Heng

² Culturalism, according to Prasenjit Duara, refers to a natural conviction of cultural superiority that sought no legitimation or defense outside of the culture itself. The term is widely used to refer to unique characteristic of pre-modern Chinese national identity. See Prasenjit Duara, "De-Constructing the Chinese Nation", *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, No.30, July 1993.

³ This paradigm was perhaps most eloquently formulated by Joseph Levenson in his first book *Liang Qichao and the Mind of Modern China*.

School is fundamentally modernization-oriented; on the other hand, the latter makes the Xue Heng School strategically appropriate Western critique of modernity to elevate the role of traditional culture in Chinese modernization.

The Xue Heng Study and Neo-conservatism

The long-term canonization of May Fourth discourse that characterized by iconoclasm and radical westernization has been challenged by the intellectual current of “comprehensive reflection on the May Fourth Movement” in the 1990s. In an effort to reappraise the legacy of radicalism and to find the alternative voice in the intellectual history, Chinese contemporary scholars and intellectuals in the 1990s revisited the May Fourth period and rediscovered the underestimated conservative component in the movement. As a spokesman of Chinese modern conservative, the Xue Heng School is definitely a good example for pro-conservatism scholars and intellectuals to break the May Fourth myth and further criticize the radicalism. The academic hotspot is triggered by Yue Daiyun’s influential paper “Reassess the Critical Review---also on the modern Conservatism” published in 1989. In this paper, Yue firstly labeled the Xue Heng School “cultural conservatives” in order to distinguish them from other political conservatives and traditionalists, and then applied the framework—the triad conservatism/liberalism/radicalism to divide the intelligentsia in the New Cultural Movements into three camps. By affirming the value and significance of the Xue Heng School’s cultural conservatism from the perspective of cross-cultural dialogue, this article aroused a trend of “revaluating the Xue Heng School” not only in mainland of China, but also in Taiwan and US academia. The claim of “revaluating” itself implies a subtle research motivation—by reassessing previous negative evaluations on the Xue Heng School and other conservative to deconstruct and de-canonize May Fourth discourse. The Xue Heng Study is an epitome of a “conservative turn” in both cultural and political domains in the 1990s.

The cultural conservatism in the 1990s, as the theoretic background of the Xue Heng Study, had two threads: the critique of radicalism and post-ism’s (後學*houxue*) reflection of modernity. The first intellectual current, the repudiation of “cultural radicalism” in the 20th century, was raised by historian Yu Yingshi’s talk entitled “Radicalism and Conservatism in Chinese Modern Thought History” in 1988 in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Yu saw the whole modern Chinese history as a gradual process of radicalization, starting from the Qing Reform Movement, reaching the peak in the Cultural Revolution and reappearing in the 1980s. Yu accused radicalism for its destruction of Chinese cultural tradition and blind westernization. This repudiation triggered a hot controversy over “radicalism vs. conservatism” in the Hong Kong journal Ershiyi shiji(Twenty-first century), oversea journals Modern China, and Orient(dongfang), Literature Review(wenxue pinglun), ZhongShan and Shanghai Literature(shanghai wenxue) in China.

Obviously, Yu’s observation of Chinese modern history is problematic. For instances, as Zhu Xueqin pointed out, Yu’s view that attributes the disasters of modern China to the cultural radicalism actually simplified the complicated history of 20th century to a pure intellectual history that should be only a facet of changes of Chinese society, but ignores the historical

contingency and complexity. Ironically, Yu's argument shares the common ground with so-called cultural radicalism he criticized: the cultural determinism, which means a belief that regards cultural forces play the determining role in evolution of the society (Zhu 121). Though attempting to confine his discussion to cultural realm in order to show purely scholastic standpoint, Yu's critical review of radicalism in fact conveys his own politics, which combines cultural conservatism and liberalism as well as somewhat anti-communism incline. When Yu Yingshi denounced "radicalism", he especially singled out Chinese Communist Revolution, and regarded the Cultural Revolution as the most radical and destructive practice, which was opposite to preexisting cultures and orders at all times and in all over the world: not only Chinese traditional culture but also the Western modern culture, even including orthodox Marxism. However, Yu's cultural conservatism and political liberalism were widely used by Chinese neoliberals as intellectual and historical license against radicalism, idealism, and utopianism. It is worth noting that in the 1990s, the conservative voices have not all emanated from China, but also come from abroad. Both a large number of exile intellectuals resulting from the 1989 Tiananmen incident, and a number of rising scholars who studied in Europe, the United States and Japan, played important role in this conservatism wave. Therefore, as Liu Kang concluded "the conservative current spreading from the Hong Kong, Taiwan and oversea scholars to the mainland can hardly be seen as politically innocent, especially if it is understood within the context of the antirevolutionary wave in China studies in the West since 1970s that aims to delegitimize the revolutionary legacy." (Kang) In other words, underneath the critique of radicalism in the 1990s is a reflection on socialist practice. Compared to 1980s intellectuals' critique of socialism under the slogan of "anti-feudalism"⁴, the repudiators in the 1990s took the position of cultural conservatism and criticized Chinese socialist movement for its deconstruction of Chinese tradition. Considering the global theoretic context in the 1990s, such "conservative turn" can be regarded as an echo of two prevailing Western intellectual currents: one is the rise of global conservatism, especially American neo-conservatism (Panichas and Ryn); another is the influence of Post-Cold-War ideology— Fukuyama's "the end of history" and Samuel P. Huntington's "clash of civilization". In a word, the critique of radicalism that represents the reflection of Chinese socialist modernity actually belongs to global critique of "communism utopia" after the Cold War.

Another thread of cultural conservatism in the 1990s is the "post-ism", which is basically a transplantation of contemporary Western postmodern and postcolonial theories. As more and more postmodernism and "Orientalism" theories were applied to stress the alternative modernity to the Western model, the cultural conservatism in China evolves as "the Third World criticism" which is characterized by emphasizing the uniqueness of Chinese path and antagonizing Western cultural hegemony ("the First World Criticism") (Xu). Post-ism's simplified parallelism between Chinese status in quo and general post-colonial condition was widely criticized for its theoretical anachronism. Zhang Yiwu, the leading representative of "post-" scholars, insisted that their approach is different from western postcolonial and postmodern:

⁴ In the 1980s, the New Enlightenment criticized Chinese socialism for it follows the feudal tradition. Painting traditional socialism as a relic of feudal tradition was not merely a tactic on the part of the New Enlightenment intellectuals; it was also a means of self-identification. It allowed them to identify themselves with the antichurch and anti-aristocratic European bourgeois social movement. See Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

This exploration tries, first, to find a new position: "the other of the other". While seeking to transcend the old condition of "Otherness" and refusing to take either side of the oppositions of universal/particular, classic/modern, it reflects on both in the context of contemporary culture and offers new insights. Second, it implies participation in contemporary culture --it implies the Gramscian role of the "organic intellectual". It neither stands apart from culture, nor tries to transcend culture, but seeks theoretical advances from within the dialectical thought of transformations in society and culture. It maintains a critique of Western cultural hegemony, but this critique does not imply a decisively nativist conservative perspective. This new perspective allows a new grasp on the "condition" of hybridity in contemporary China. This grasp was made possible by an appropriation of Western theories, but this appropriation does not imply the use of theory to advance interpretations of the Chinese context; rather, it recognizes that the transcendence of theoretical hegemony is dependent on reflection about and critique of theory. This requires the use of theory to critique theory, using contemporary Chinese conditions to reflect on theory, and using theory to match contemporary Chinese conditions, so as to produce a two-sided hermeneutic and gain a new cultural imagination and creativity(Zhang).

It should be noticed that when the post-ism statement attempted to use Chinese condition to examine the applicability of Western theories and further challenge Western theoretical hegemony, it actually lost the original critical position of those "*post-*" theories in Western context. Whether post-modernism or post-colonialism, they offer a challenge to the dominant Western modernity discourse, revealing the self-reflective and self-critical features of Western theories. However, in Chinese appropriation of those "post-" theories, scholars of "post-ism" only echoed Western reflections on the Western model of modernity, but turned a blind eye to the crisis of Chinese modernity caused by inner factors. Thus, those "post-" theories in Chinese context lose the critical thinking, and even on the contrary, cooperate with the official ideology, which are intentionally promoting the cultural nationalism and cynicism in post-1989 era.

Parallel to the cultural conservatism, there is also a neo-conservatism rising in the political realm. Neo-conservatism is loosely used to label a body of arguments calling for "political stability, central authority, tight social control, role of ideology and nationalism."(Chen)Political neo-conservatism continued the thread of neo-authoritarianism debate in the 1980s. Neo-authoritarianism debate, occurring between South School (Nanpai) and North School (Beipai), tried to deal with the conflict between central authority and democracy, and explore their respective roles in China's economic and political reform. The representative of the North School Wu Jiexiang held that China should transplant the existing Western market economy and modern enterprise system and through administrative means to rapidly change old system and achieve marketization; while the South School worried that directly replicating Western economy and political institutions without considering China's national condition would lead to economic, political and social disorder, hence, they insisted that government should rebuild and strengthen their authority first and then gradually reform economy and political system by means of tightening macro-economic control, anti-corruption and maintaining social stability.

Although both North and South scholars are reformists and stressed the importance of

central power and administrative means in boosting modernization and marketization, they had different opinions on the role of central authority: the former attempted to use central power to eradicate the obstacle to modernization and reform in their opinions; while the latter regarded the authority and legitimacy of the regime as the basis of social stability and reform. As the representative of South School Xiao Gongqin summarized, North neo-authoritarianism in nature is a packaged radical democratism and liberalism, while South neo-authoritarianism is a gradualism or belongs to the category of conservatism. This intellectual debate is interrupted because of Tiananmen incident. According to South neo-authoritarianism, Tiananmen incident, is "a bitter conflict between the political order required by the realistic logic of reform and political romanticism and idealism that had overstepped the historical phase,"(Xiao) and finally led to a failure of democratic and liberal radicalism.

Based on the thorough reflection on China's national condition and the momentous changes since 1989, Xiao Goingqin developed his neo-authoritarianism into a more "realistic" and empirically based theory called neo-conservatism. Neo-conservatism theory provides a more systematic and practical political project that can be regarded as a tactic response to emerging domestic and international difficulties and social problems CCP regime faced: a distrust in central authority and a repressed antagonism toward the state caused by the Tiananmeng incident in 1989; a crisis of faith in official ideology, Marxism or Communism, especially spurred by the Soviet upheaval; a cultural nihilism and a new cynicism toward belief systems brought by accelerated and radical marketization and Occidentalism in the 1980s. Confronted with those issues, neo-conservatism re-emphasizes the importance of traditional value system and central authority due to their positive agent roles in modernization and social transition. To neo-conservative scholars, tradition is indispensable to modernization, especially in late-developing countries for following reasons: firstly, social stability must base on people's respect for historical continuity. Secondly, since traditional politic institution is an authoritarian system, some traditional resource and ingredients could be transformed to benefit contemporary social or economic reform, especially effective in coordinating and mediating the relation between neonatal modernization force and existing social structure. Third, as collective memory of a nation, traditional culture is the original source of national identity that can help hold Chinese people together again, especially when official ideology is fading and losing its prestige due to Tiananmen incident and upheaval of Soviet Union. While promoting traditional values, including traditional political system and traditional culture, neo-conservatism is still a modernization-oriented theory in terms of its democratic and market-economy orientation. The fundamental difference between conventional conservatism and neo-conservatism is that the latter argue for traditional value and strong authority more as a means than as an end.

Another emphasis of neo-conservatism is criticizing democratic and liberal radicalism. According to Xiao, radicalism in China has three types: 1) mental radicalism, a mentality seeking to transform society by an immediate eradication of the old system without considering the feasibility and necessary conditions. 2) institutional determinism, which attributes all of China's problems to its bad institutions and thus can only be solved by a wholesale Westernization of Chinese society, viz. copying Western political and economic institutions. Such institutional determinism, similar to cultural determinism in New Cultural Movement, in fact is a kind of

Occidentalism; 3) rationalist radicalism, which roots in political romanticism or perfectionism and bases the social-economic-political programmes upon certain moral doctrines, seeking to construct social system in the light of some abstract and so-called self-evident principles. From the perspective of neo-conservatism, the immediate implementation of liberal democracy, radical and overall changes may break down central authority, cause social chaos and even lead to national disintegration. A series of political events, such as Tiananmen incident, breakdown of Communist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to some extents, have shown that neo-conservatives' worries are not groundless. However, severe critique of liberal and democratic radicalism does not mean that neo-conservative thinkers were against democracy and market reform. For them, "a powerful central authority is always perceived as instrumental, rather than obstructive, to reform."(Feng) Replacing "utopian promise" with more practically "realistic gradualism", using traditional belief system and cultural nationalism as new sources for the legitimacy of socialist ideology to maintain social stability for the market-led reform, the core idea of neo-conservatism is gradualism.

Comparing the cultural conservatism with political neo-conservatism in the 1990s, the similarities, such as asserting traditional value, against radicalism and espousing gradualism, are obvious, yet they represent different positions. The political neo-conservatism basically explores the strategy of modernization from the position of government, while cultural conservatism actually is a projection of intellectual politics. It could be said that the difference reveals the ambiguous and even contradictory interrelationship between intellectual politics and state politics. On the one hand, as mentioned above, cultural conservatism's heightening the importance of traditional culture (especially the Confucianism) and repudiating revolution, to some extents, are delegitimizing the official ideology and socialist modernity. Moreover, the purely scholastic stance of cultural conservatism together with succedent scholastic turn and professionalization in Chinese academia symbolizes intellectuals' retreat from the public sphere and political realm in the post-1989 era. On the other hand, the popularity of conservatism in the 1990s, whether political or cultural, is related to the support of the regime. The most evident example is a document entitled "Realistic Responses and Strategic Choices for China after the Soviet Upheaval" written by several official secretaries and scholars in 1991 after Soviet Upheaval. This article suggested: first, the leaderships should stress the gradual reform under the guidance of realism and pragmatism instead of political romanticism and idealism; Second, since socialism or communism as the official ideology is no longer convincing in the context of post-cold war and post-1989, lofty and noble traditional culture should be incorporated into national ideology to re-establish a cultural bond Chinese people and to avoid social disorder and crisis of faith. This article implies that in order to stabilize the regime and legitimize official ideology, the government intentionally and implicitly promoted the political and cultural conservatism in the 1990s. The paradoxicality suggests that conservatism in the 1990s can be seen as a tactic consensus between the leadership and intellectual circles on how the Chinese modernization should be carried out.

Conclusion

The cultural conservatism of the Xue Heng School can be regarded as the beginning of a search for an alternative modernity when China was just involved in the modernization, while the Xue Heng study that restarts promoting the cultural conservatism, symbolizes another effort to seek for the Chinese alternative in the post-modern and globalization era. From the Xue Heng School to the Xue Heng Study, the shift epitomizes the continuity and transformation of Chinese modernity discourse. On the one hand, the debate on Chinese modernity that began in the New Cultural Movement at the turn of the twentieth century and was suspended in Mao era has restarted in the 1980s. Reviewing the contemporary cultural climates contributing to the rise of the Xue Heng Study, we can see that a set of issues, which were once the central themes of in the Xue Heng School era, have reappeared and revived in the Xue Heng Study. On the other hand, as social, cultural and political contexts have changed, those issues have been re-discussed and re-written in a new way.

In comparison with modern Chinese conservatives' perspectives on alternative modernity, contemporary conservatives' advocacy of "Chineseness" in the global system actually has been more and more explicitly separated from cultural nostalgia and national identity, and become a symbolic capital or a tactical response to the global market. Furthermore, modernity discourse in contemporary China reveals much more uncertainty, hybridity and paradoxicality, and is more deeply intertwined with post-modernity discourse and globalization discourse.

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China, Africa and the “development” question: old wine in new bottles?

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China, Africa and the “development” question: old wine in new bottles?

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Introduction

The ongoing malaise of global capitalism suggests to many that the neo-liberal “Washington Consensus” has irretrievably broken down and that a new model centered on China’s extraordinary growth over the past two decades is all but inevitable. For many, developments on the African continent offer compelling evidence of an ascending and insurgent “Beijing Consensus” in international affairs. The sudden explosion of Chinese OFDI (overseas foreign direct investment), personnel, trade and cultural contact with African countries is reflected in a surge of scholarship devoted to various aspects of “China in Africa”. Attention focuses mostly on the dramatic increase in China’s economic stakes in the continent and especially on the country’s near-frantic search for raw materials such as oil, timber and minerals to fuel its rapidly growing economy. However, comparatively little attention in this literature has been devoted to the unintended consequences of the accelerating ties between China and an ever-increasing number of African countries.

One of the developments that contemporary Chinese authorities do not seem to have prepared for is the emergence of an African presence in a small number of “Chocolate Cities” that have emerged within coastal cities on China’s coast. Without exaggerating the importance of this tiny African community, this paper argues that African communities in China serve as an optic for understanding the sort of cultural changes that global hegemony is likely to stoke in China. Small in themselves, these changes may well compel the Chinese to reassess aspects of their internal history as a necessary condition for acclimatizing China to the inconveniences that aspirant global hegemon inevitably have to deal with, both abroad and at home. Indeed, critical reassessments of Chinese identities in response to the African presence in China have already begun. It should be noted that Japan became a dominant economic player in the international economy but never aspired to political leadership in global world. Also, Japan developed rapidly in the shadow of and *cooperated with* the USA-led “West”. In contrast, China seeks to rewrite both the economic and political rules of the global world. Therefore, neither Japan’s “success story” nor its ability to remain ethnically “pure” for so long is likely to serve as a sort of guide for China’s global aspirations. As in so many things, China will have to discover for itself, and hopefully will embrace the global cultural forces that are already beginning to transform cities located in the Pearl River Delta (Hong Kong/Shenzhen/Guangzhou), on which this paper concentrates.

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In general, this essay argues that China-Africa relations are ambivalent. China will soon be the continent's major trader and investor. Africans generally view China positively, but—at least in some quarters—also guardedly. Within China, there is clear evidence that diaspora Africans live in segregated ethnic enclaves and report high levels of isolation, although there is some debate to what degree these developments are straight-forwardly racist or also fuelled by structural, globalizing changes that have dramatically transformed globalizing cities such as Guangzhou.

China in Africa

For all intents and purposes, the period that we may consider the “early years” of China-Africa relations is a lengthy one, stretching from the era of the Ming dynasty in the 1400s to the Bandung Conference of 1955. Admiral Zheng He (the “Chinese Columbus”) led seven sea-faring expeditions between 1405-1433 and brought back from Africa ivory, gold, exotic animals and even “devil slaves” to serve in the imperial court. Shortly afterward, following Zheng He's seventh mission, the Ming rulers put an abrupt and mysterious end to all engagements with Africa, forbidding further missions, halting all shipbuilding and burning official documents of the voyages to prevent further interest in the matter. During the 15th and 16th centuries, however, Portuguese ships delivered African slaves to Macau, where the African influence lingers on in distinctive cuisines. (Hutchison 11).

The next formal meeting would not happen for another half millennium, when Premier Zhou Enlai met in 1955 with twenty-nine Asian and African countries at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. Delegates from countries opposed to colonialism—including Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Ghana and Sudan—attended the conference in Bandung, Indonesia. In the following years, the PRC undertook minor efforts to assist in the development of these nations, marking, for example, Guinea's independence from France in 1960 with a donation of 30,000 tons of rice (Wei 15; Snow 145).

In general, however, “though the official rhetoric of continuity speaks otherwise, the fact is that from the opening of official ties with Egypt in 1956, China's engagement with Africa has been episodic, shifting from periods of intense activity in the 1960s and early 1970s to outright neglect for much of the 1980s”. (Alden 2007, 9). One of the key developments in this period was China's celebrated construction of the TanZam railway in the early 1970s, linking Zambia to the Tanzanian coastal port of Dar-es-Salaam. This decision was apparently the outcome of a direct request to Mao that the Presidents Nyerere (Tanzania) and Kaunda (Zambia) made. The TanZam project is widely viewed as prefiguring key features of Sino-African relations today, viz. the Chinese sensitivity to African-defined needs and its readiness to accommodate them. Throughout the Cold War era, furthermore, a central goal of the Chinese government was to persuade countries to abandon their official recognition of Taiwan.² These goals—respecting the wishes of

² China proved successful in this strategy. In 1999, Taipei had diplomatic ties with only eight African countries (Burkina Faso, Chad, Gambia, Liberia, Malawi, Sao Tomé and

African states and ending recognition of Taiwan—are central to China’s dealings with Africa today. Some have argued that the unfavorable attention that the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident attracted to the PRC marked a turning point in China’s relations with Africa. To gain international political support and expand its influence in the post-Tiananmen era, Sutter speculates that the government upgraded its relations with Africa by forging what Chinese leaders call “trust-based relationships” between “South-South countries”. A “no strings attached” policy is a fundamental component of China’s “trust-based relationships” with African states. Pragmatic to the core, China expects no more than what it wants from Africa and categorically refuses to link cooperation or assistance to the sort of economic and political conditionalities that govern US relations with developing countries. China has therefore de-linked economic assistance from nettlesome questions about human rights, environmental degradation, developmental priorities and the persecution of regime opponents in Africa. Unsurprisingly, recent research indicates that a majority of African countries prefer to deal with China rather than the US and that more are likely to turn towards the much more indulgent partner in the East. (Sutter 2010, 312; Kitussou 2007, 21).

Rapid economic development is driving China’s fast-track, “non-ideological” rapprochement with Africa. But there is also seems little doubt that Africa finds itself at the end of a veritable bonanza, the beneficiary of China’s “display of “soft power” to secure badly-needed materials while isolating Taiwan diplomatically. For example, at the third meeting of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC, which meets every three years), President Hu Jintao pledged to bring the volume of trade with Africa to \$100 billion by 2010; promised \$3 billion in preferential loans; wrote off part of the debt (\$1.3 billion) owed by countries that maintain or establish diplomatic relations with the PRC (and not Taiwan); established a \$5 billion fund to encourage Chinese enterprises to invest in Africa; widened the duty free access to the Chinese market -by increasing from 190 to 440 the number of tariff-free products to African countries that renounce diplomatic ties with Taiwan; and arranged for technical experts to provide extensive assistance wherever such countries required it. (Marks, in Melberg 2007, 46).

Are such developments “old wine in new bottles?”, a new form of “assistance and cooperation” that merely supersedes the regulatory regime that bodies such as the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank and USAID currently impose on developing countries? Do the animating policies of FOCAC merely place a Chinese face on the sort of exploitative and authoritarian outcomes that have long been associated with Western neo-imperialism and neo-liberalism? Moletsi Mbeki (deputy chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs) has recently warned against continuities he perceives in American “aid models” and China’s rhetoric about “Development with Friendship, Peace, and Cooperation” with Africa: “Africa sells raw materials to China and China sells

Principe, Senegal, and Swaziland). In 2010, only four of those still recognize Taipei (Burkina Faso, Gambia, Sao Tomé and Principe, and Swaziland) (Sutter (2010), p 314). In 1996, Mandela suddenly announced its unique recognition of Beijing after the PRC pledged \$18 billion for the construction of a petrochemical complex. Alden (2007), pp33-34).

manufactured products to Africa. This is a dangerous equation that reproduces Africa's old relationship with colonial powers. [...] China's export strategy is contributing to the de-industrialization of some middle-income countries.” (Marks, in Kitussou 2007, 48) Without a strong tradition of element of public accountability, African leaders who negotiate deals with China are also free to engage in “bait and switch” policies, transferring the products of China’s investments from the public to strategic supporters. Chinese-built civilian homes in Ethiopia, for example, ended up in military officials' hands, eliciting from a Chinese functionary the telling opinion that “so long as Ethiopian officials are happy, our goal is fulfilled”. (Cited in Schiller (2005) in Bond (2006), p 74). China’s principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states not only props up oppressive regimes in Africa but actually undermines the moral conditionalities that Western democracies claim to value. Scholars note that China has aggressively counterbalanced and neutralized Western insistence on “humanitarian” policies in the Darfur region of southern Sudan. For example, in July 2004, Security Council Resolution 1556 “demanded” that Khartoum disarm the rampaging Janjaweed militia and bring its leaders to justice. China abstained on the resolution. Khartoum subsequently ignored it, correctly surmising that the international community would not back up its “demand” with any significant action.³ For many observers, such developments closely parallel the various atrocities and humanitarian violations that Western states and corporations have long either tolerated or even actively encouraged in Africa.

A recent report by Transparency International concludes that China’s impact on Sub-Saharan African countries is reflected in the correlation between the scale of FDI and scores for official corruption. An important finding is that the US invests in relatively less corrupt countries (which share an average level of corruption of 105). Countries that fall within the “Chinese sphere” sport levels of corruption that are 87.5% higher than in the countries in which the US is the major foreign investor.⁴ Although African leaders and media are generally welcoming of China’s growing presence as well as its policy of “non-interference”, they have also complained that Chinese businessmen, officials and workers rarely strike up cordial relations with local African communities, preferring to live in segregated compounds or to cluster in distinct sections of towns and cities.

How do Africans perceive the massive presence of China in their respective countries? In one of just a few systematic empirical studies that address this question, Loro Horto argues that the division of opinion amongst Africans is determined by socio-political status and the nature of China’s presence in different countries. A survey of 67 African officials in six countries revealed that fully 63 expressed positive views of what Ian Birrell describes as “the China invasion”. In contrast, ordinary citizens often pointed out that contemporary Africa has become “the new dumping ground” for cheap Chinese products and a repository for unemployed workers and technicians in China, despite high

³ (Reeves, “Partners in Genocide”, December 2007, retrieved from <http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/partners-genocide>, last access 05/08/2010).

⁴ Transparency International, www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2009/cpi_2009_table, (accessed 03/06/2010)

levels of local unemployment in all African countries? Supported by NGOs, ordinary citizens also complain about the significant environmental damage that Chinese projects cause. Local villagers in Mozambique, southern Sudan, Nigeria, and Equatorial Guinea have attacked and killed members of Chinese oil development teams. In Nigeria, rebels have warned Chinese companies not to enter the oil-rich Niger delta. In contrast:

African elites in general seem to welcome China's new-found enthusiasm for the continent. China provides many African governments with generous and large loans, allowing them to develop badly needed infrastructure, expand agriculture, and strengthen their security apparatus. Perhaps most attractive of all, Beijing asks no questions nor imposes any conditionality on such investments, at least for now.

... Moreover, China's model of a strong government and its focus on economic growth is looked upon by many African despots, and even some democratic leaders, as an example to follow.⁵

In the eyes of Dambisa Moyo, who welcomes the deluge of Chinese investment and the staggering array of ongoing and planned Africa projects, the West's "obsession with democracy" has hindered development in Africa's ethnically fractious countries. Only after a strong middle class has taken firm root will democracy become a reasonable and obtainable African goal—and the Chinese, as Horta's respondents observed, are doing precisely that.⁶ Furthermore, Western companies are attempting to re-enter the economy in response to China's meteoric rise on the continent. Looking beyond China's voracious appetite for the same African oil supplies that it also prizes, the US has not only stepped up its trading and humanitarian policies but has also created AFRICOM, a new command structure responsible for U.S. military operations and relations with all African nations (except Egypt).⁷ Horta concludes that only time will reveal whether elite or commoner sentiment towards China will prevail.

Adams Bodomo has recently taken issue with the standard assumption that China, with its population of 1.3 billion, is destined to remain the dominant partner in its "asymmetrical relationship" with Africa, a continent fragmented into 53 countries. For

⁵ Loro Horta, "China-Africa: continent-wide colonialism flourishes," (29 November 2009). <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20091127123027932> (Accessed on 03/09/2010). Also see Ian Birrell, "This massive invasion will benefit the continent," *The Independent*, (Thursday, 15 October 2009) <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/ian-birrell-this-massive-invasion-will-benefit-the-continent-1802828.html> (Accessed on May 22, 2010). Also see Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong, "African Perspectives on China–Africa," *The China Quarterly* (2009): 728-759.

⁶Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*. New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2009.

⁷ Sean McFate, "U.S. Africa Command: a new strategic paradigm?" *Military Review*, (January-February 2008)

Bodomo, Africa's saving grace is that African countries "often vote mostly *en bloc* on topical international issues"—which is how Africa delivered the Olympic Games to Beijing—and can muster a "massive voting clout at the UN and other international bodies like the IOC and the WTO". Moreover, the success of the South Africa Brewing Company in becoming the largest brewer by volume of beer in China suggests to him that other African enterprises might yet learn how to do business in and profit from China's enormous market. The future of the China-Africa, he concludes, might be more symbiotic than asymmetric.⁸

Africans in China

Whereas the "China in Africa" literature is quite extensive, interest in the reverse development—"Africans in China"—is still embryonic. This latter literature has essentially emerged in response to two related but distinct episodes, both of which strongly suggest a racist Chinese reaction against the presence of Africans within their communities. The first was the spate of anti-black protests and occasional violence by Chinese students against African students in the 1970s and '80s. The second event was the emergence of riots against Africans living in residential quarters in Guangzhou that have come to be known as "Chocolate City". Although these two events were driven by very different logics that should be carefully distinguished, their common effect was to debunk the official view that racism is "uniquely absent" from Chinese intellectual and political history. (Dikötter, 1994) Accordingly, China's ideological ambitions in Africa have much riding on skepticism on the continent about its claim to enlightened leadership over the developing world.⁹

Anti-African students protests

In contrast to the approximately 1 million Chinese on the African continent, fewer than one quarter of that number of Africans reside in a handful of Chinese cities; about 100,000 live in Guangzhou alone, the rest being dispersed across Hong Kong, Macau and a handful of other coastal cities.¹⁰ While traders account for the bulk of diaspora population today, students were the first to establish a something like a "African community" in China when they first arrived in 1960 as fully-funded participants in a program to bolster China's relations with friendly countries. The attempt to off-set US and USSR global hegemony by "winning hearts and minds" in Africa astutely targeted Africa's future leaders, who were all drawn from the ranks of their country's elite. The negative reactions amongst Chinese students that Africans students soon encountered

⁸ Adams Bodomo, "Africa-China relations: Symmetry and Soft Power". Talk at African Studies Institute, Zhejiang Normal University, Jinhua, May 14, 2009. Broadman, Harry. 2007. *Africa's Silk Road: China and India's New Economic Frontier*. World Bank.

⁹ Barry Sautman, "Anti-black racism in post-Mao China," *The China Quarterly*, 138 (June 1994), 413.

¹⁰ A. Bodomo, "The African presence in contemporary China," *The Chinese Monitor*, (January 2009), 4.

were not necessarily racist, however. Many Chinese students resented the relatively high stipends that African students enjoyed while African students themselves ranked race as the last of four complaints they lodged about their experiences at Chinese universities. In the 1970s, Chinese authorities championed the cause of various anti-colonial and revolutionary movements in the developing world and did not countenance attacks on African students. To the contrary, Red Brigades occasionally held rallies in which they appended pro-Third World slogans to the ongoing (and increasingly chaotic) Cultural Revolution.

China's ginger exploration of market-oriented reforms from the late 1970s onwards instigated a change in Chinese responses both to African students and the complaints they lodged. Chinese student hostilities increased while officials, under instruction to downplay "revolutionary"/Third World themes, either tolerated or even excused racially discriminatory behavior. Violent Chinese-African clashes erupted in Shanghai in 1979. In Tianjin in 1982 (where Africans accounted for 1,500 of 6,000 foreign students), Africans--but not white foreigners--were assaulted for having Chinese girlfriends. Inter-racial sexuality was a prominent theme in Chinese students' anger, suggesting that male rivalry sexualized, and perhaps provoked, inter-racial tensions.¹¹ Despite heated threats of violence, threatening public rallies and posse-like hunts for African (who had fled to Beijing), the Chinese authorities declined to act against the students and attributed the incidents to "cultural misunderstandings". Anti-African episodes erupted in Nanjing, Hangzhou, Beijing and Wuhan in 1988-'90, accompanied this time by charges that African "black devils" were spreading AIDS and "polluting Chinese society".¹²

Confronted with angry denunciations from African leaders, Chinese authorities rejected accusations of racism—as Zhao Ziyang (head of the Communist Party) claimed in 1988, racism occurred "everywhere in the world except China". (Sautman, 1994) A range of non-racist explanations arose to present the decade-long antagonism against African students as more complicated indications of deeper tensions in Chinese societies. Some argued that the events were not specifically "anti-African" but reflected a more "general xenophobia" amongst Chinese who bristled at the memory of their own debasement at the hands of foreigners; officials claimed that youthful students had cottoned on or developed "erroneous slogans"; others claimed that the events were confused with frustrations that arose from the mismatch between officialdom's emerging tolerance for market-based wealth and continuing poverty; and, finally, it was suggested that the events, coming as they did a few months before the massacre at Tiananmen Square in June 1989, were outlets for Chinese students' gathering antagonism against the leadership of the Chinese Community Party. None of these "frustration-aggression" explanations has been borne out by empirical evidence, however.¹³

¹¹ Sautman, "Anti-black racism," 414.

¹² Sautman, "Anti-black racism," 414.

¹³ Discussed in Sautman, 419-427. Also see Sullivan, Michael, The 1988-89 Nanjing Anti-African Protests: Racial Nationalism or National Racism, *The China Quarterly*, No 138 (June 1994), pp 438 – 457).

According to Barry Sautman (1994), but especially Frank Dikötter (1994), racism is the most likely and the most compelling explanation. Far from being uniquely inoculated against racism, China's deeply-lodged assumptions about the blood purity of the Han, the vitality in the first two decades of the 20th century of racist Social Darwinist creeds within the intelligentsia, and the latter's rigid, essentialist notions of "Chineseness" might actually have rendered the Chinese *vulnerable* to the more vulgar and virulent strains of racism. Extensive theorizing by Chinese intellectuals about the biological foundations of the racial hierarchy--which placed the "yellow" and "white races" at the top and (according to 1923 *Great Dictionary of Zoology*) ensured that the "black race" at the bottom had "a shameful and inferior way of thinking"—has a long pedigree that predates by several centuries any "hegemonic effects" that Western racial discourse exerted over Chinese thought.¹⁴ Responding to the suggestion that Chinese students' anti-African outbursts in the late 1980s had more to do with the swelling antagonism against the CCCP government, Dikötter writes: "Articulated in a distinct cultural site (university campuses) by a specific social group (university students) in the political context of the reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping since 1978, campus racism demonstrates how contradictory discourses of 'race' and 'human rights' can be harnessed together in politicized oppositions to the state."

Anti-African sentiment against "Chocolate City"

According to official statistics, the number of Africans living in Guangzhou has grown by approximately 30-40% each year since 2003. Most of Guangzhou's 100,000 Africans come from Nigeria, Guinea, Cameroon, Liberia, and Mali. Nigerians constitute by far the single largest national group. Africans in the coastal cities in Pearl River Delta (Hong Kong/Shenzhen/Guangzhou) do not have to contend with the overt anti-African student mobilizations of the 1980s. Instead, their presence has solicited more subtle forms of prejudice that shed light on the massive structural changes that have transformed the cultural, economic and civil fabric of a rapidly globalizing city such as Guangzhou. "Chocolate City", and the ethnic politics in which this neighborhood is embroiled, therefore illuminates the interweaving of local and global forces that have yielded an "emblematic transnational space" in the PRD. **The discussion of ethnic enclaves follows Li Zhang...** If the racial tensions that have recently surfaced in Guangzhou underscore the persistence in Chinese society of deeply rooted anxieties about foreigners and ethnic differences, at the same time they also reveal how ethnic relations are also inscribed in the forces of globalization that continue to bring Africans to urban economies in the Pearl River Delta. It would be premature to apply the term "assimilation" to the Africans of Guangzhou. Yet the struggles they have begun to mount for more reasonable travel visas and greater respect from Chinese authorities for certain inalienable human rights represent the unprecedented emergence in China of a transnational community that originates from countries that are vital to China's own developmental goals. Nevertheless, an African ethnic enclave in Guangzhou was not

¹⁴ Dikötter, "Racial identities," 4089.

¹⁵ Li Zhang, "Ethnic congregation in a globalizing city; the case of Guangzhou, China," *Cities* 25 (2008), 383–395

created by discriminatory policies that imposed residential segregation on Africans. Instead, the ethnic enclave reflected market-based choices by Africans themselves.

Ethnic enclaves are simultaneously part of locally defined place and a global system of relations. The distinguishing feature of contemporary ethnic enclaves, setting them apart from the enclaves that emerged in Western cities in the early stages of industrialization, is their immediate insertion into a dynamic global system marked by a new international division of labor. Guangzhou's economy has undergone a dramatic transformation from a sluggish agricultural region into an increasingly export-oriented urban zone that attracted foreign entrepreneurs. What drew Africans to this city, at first in small numbers and later by the drove, was the opportunity to purchase cheaply produced internationally branded commodities such as electronic goods, cell phones, beauty supplies, garments, luggage and accessory bags and electrical appliances. The traders who flock to Guangzhou are therefore neither the transnational professionals who regularly criss-cross the international borders in the global economy; nor are they unskilled workers in search of minimum wages in the manufacturing or agricultural sectors of host countries. Instead, African "supply-driven petty traders" responded to a niche trading market specializing in inexpensive export commodities. This concentration facilitated the emergence of a distinctive "Chocolate City" composed of African nationals who are fully integrated into the Guangzhou metropolitan economy. Thus, in contrast to the generally isolated Chinese communities and minimal social contact that Chinese in Africa maintain with locals, Guangzhou's African traders lower costs by "cutting out the middle-man" and so deal directly and continuously with Chinese businessmen.

In part, "Chocolate City" emerged as the unanticipated by-product of economic and spatial reforms in Guangzhou. The area is centered on a neighborhood that was once a working class hub composed of production facilities and nearby, low-cost housing for workers and their families. The switch to a consumption-based economy took place in the 1980s, establishing an economic zone marked by rising land values and rent, commercial buildings, office towers and retail stores. The resultant over-supply of commercial space and under-occupancy of buildings created the incentive for apartments to be rented to incoming African migrants as a way of maintaining the vitality of the district. Indeed, city officials welcomed this development, especially once Chinese residents moved away and took their rents with them, and responded by infusing the district with an "African" flavor. For example, shopping malls were reorganized into "foreign trade towns" to enhance African traders' sense of place. Well-known global brand names were liberally advertized (often in English). These changes also pleased local Chinese entrepreneurs who benefited from increased sales—especially mobile card vendors, because Africans used their mobiles to call home. In the end, Chinese locals created a supportive system of networks that benefited both communities, providing visa applications facilities, local transport, packaging and mailing goods, etc. Africans moved into cheap, poorly serviced vacant housing units, creating a hub that attracted incoming streams of migrant traders and quickly culminated in a viable but effectively segregated neighborhood.

Li Zhang describes the result as something of a paradox: a more tolerant business

environment coupled to a virtually complete absence of ethnic interaction within the same neighborhood. In this sense, “Chocolate City” differs from the classic ethnic enclaves that were once ubiquitous in most large American cities. Whereas ethnic entrepreneurs generally employ co-ethnics, Africans own or manage very few stores within their enclave. Almost all enclave stores that sell goods to Africans are owned by local Chinese, a signal of ability of local Chinese to restrict the sale of stores to Africans who, in any case, invariably possess visitor visas that bar them from working in or purchasing stores. Short-term (15-,30- or 90-day) visas serve as perhaps the most important constraint on the formation of the sort of economically viable ethnic enclave that Alexandre Portes and others have described.¹⁶ In the absence of such pillars of the “classic” ethnic enclave, the strength of community in “Chocolate City” is unusually reliant on cultural networks built around churches and mosques.

The optimistic outlook of Guangzhou’s African community differs radically from the jaundiced view of the students in Chinese universities in the 1970s and 80s. Students in the 80s were reported to have deliberately vandalized public property so that they could be arrested and deported back to Africa. In Guangzhou, Africans have injected their cuisine, music and religion into their ethnic enclave. A small number have Chinese girlfriends. They look upon the opportunity to reside and trade in China as “a dream come true”. Perhaps their greatest desideratum is to modify visa restrictions to enable lengthier stays and obtain legal employment in China. Many would not mind remaining indefinitely.

Still, precisely because it is the embodiment of the global and the local, Guangzhou’s ethnic enclave has also attracted the prejudices of local Chinese. Like local citizens in all globalizing cities, Guangzhou’s Chinese are also struggling to comprehend the sudden appearance of a multicultural community in their once all-Chinese city. Morbid symptoms of an unfamiliar “glocalism” in contemporary Guangzhou combine old stereotypes that Chinese students entertained about Africans—that they are loud; uncivil; have designs on Chinese women; and take up valuable resources—now intermingle with complaints that are unique to the logic of ethnic enclaves. African traders are said to be unreliable contractual partners who fail to pay for the goods they order; haggle over even the smallest of prices, such as cab fare; fail to adequately maintain their cramped, often one-room abodes; and overstay their tourist visas and so readily become “criminals”. Despite increased intercultural knowledge in the digital age, many Chinese are startlingly ignorant about race. Reporting in 2006, an African American from Atlanta who is studying at the Beijing Language and Culture University, says he has learned to shrug off questions such as, “Do you take showers? Does the color of your skin rub off?” Online Chinese blog sites repeatedly debate questions such as, “Is it racist to call Serena Williams a black devil?”¹⁷

¹⁶ Portes, A (ed.) (1995) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essay on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

¹⁷ Evan Osnos, Letter from China, “The Promised Land,” *The New Yorker*, February 9, 2009, p. 50. A typical discussion about “Chinese racism?” may be found at <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/china/racism/>

250,000 Africans are much less than a drop in a bucket containing 1.3 billion Chinese. Yet Africans in China are significant for at least two reasons. Strategically, they are the visible face of interlocutors on a continent that is critical to China's development strategy and hence, to its bid for global hegemony. However, it is the second reason that is perhaps more interesting. The cultural significance of Africans in China is not confined to the psycho-spatial borders of China's ethnic enclaves. Instead, their minor cultural presence has gained significant symbolic importance in recent media discussions in China that raise questions such as, "In the age of globalization, what does it mean to be Chinese?" Two recent media debates illustrate the awkward discussions about race/racial difference that appear to await China.

2009 turned out to be an important year for racial discourse in China. Early in the year, Ding Hui, a young athlete from Hangzhou, was selected to China's national volleyball team. In August, 16-year old Lou Jing entered a talent-quest show, *Go Oriental Angel*, and became one of the five finalists from Shanghai. Neither success story would have been unremarkable were it not that both subjects were the bi-racial offspring of black fathers. Lou Jing attracted special attention. Immediately dubbed "Black Pearl" and "Chocolate Girl", Lou Jing became the object of often vitriolic condemnation in the Chinese blogosphere. Some of the kinder terms used to describe her included "Little black devil", "little mongrel", and, given the year of the historic presidential US election, perhaps predictably, "'Could Lou Jing's dad be Obama?" Comments such as the following filled blog sites: "Ugh. Yellow people and black people mixed together is very gross" and "One cannot be shameless to this kind of level!"¹⁸ Virulent racist screeds drowned out the support given the young theatre student, prompting a respected Chinese journalist, Raymond Zhou, to skewer "Chinese racism" in an essay, "Seeing red over black Angel".¹⁹ Zhou argues that rabid antipathy against Lou Jing "is outright racism, but on closer examination it's not totally race based." According to Zhou, "anyone who marries a foreigner is deemed a 'traitor' to his or her race." Chip Tsao, an esteemed Hong Kong-based cultural commentator and journalist, added that the mixed offspring of a Chinese woman and a black male was an "obnoxious novelty" that ignited the deepest fears and prejudices among Chinese: Lou Jing's public shredding symbolized "prejudice against people less well-off than themselves".²⁰ Zhou's admonition seems appropriate, to say the least. "China," he writes, badly needs "some sensitivity training on races and ethnicities if we are going to latch on to the orbit of globalization".

Ever since 1949, the CCCP government has governed on the assumption that China is essentially a monoethnic society and has been one for 5,000 years. This implausible claim has marginalized China's relatively small non-Han ethnic communities—Tibetans, Mongolians, Uighurs, Koreans and many other (often miniscule) ethnic groups. The

¹⁸ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/nov/01/lou-jing-chinese-talent-show/print>

¹⁹ Raymond Zhang, "Seeing red over black Angel," http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2009-09/18/content_8711576.htm

²⁰ "China's black pop idol exposes her nation's racism," <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/nov/01/lou-jing-chinese-talent-show/print>

myth of China's "blood purity" questions the "Chineseness" of the non-Han, pressuring them to disappear by assimilating with the Han majority. By opening up questions about such foundational questions as "What does it mean to be Chinese"?, the segregated presence of Africans in "Chocolate Cities" as well as in the mainstream life of China must surely alarm government officials.

Conclusion

China and Africa are now interpenetrated, perhaps inextricably. The Chinese presence in Africa has prompted governments and commoners alike to re-assess familiar Western shibboleths about the link between democracy and development and raised questions about China's motives for lavishing the continent with such irresistible largesse. To date, the majority of Africans are cautiously of the opinion that the Chinese presence differs from the West's "moralizing", neo-liberal approach to globalization. They suggest that the wine is indeed new; it is the bottle that needs to adapt.

In GZ, Adams Bodomu suggests that the bottle is already being refashioned to accommodate the infusion of African culture into the city. Based on his ethnographic research on Guangzhou, Bodomu cautions against conceiving of "Chocolate City" as either an "ethnic enclave" or an "outpost" that is isolated from the larger socio-economic and cultural space of the city. Instead, Guangzhou's Africans are better approached as "bridge builders". Time will tell whether the "bridge-building" adaptations in Guangzhou that Bodomu describes—the evolving pidgin admixture of Chinese, French and English; the spicing up of local cuisine; the ritual "calculator communication" that yields satisfactory accords over prices—are sufficient to substantially broaden China's racial discourse. His optimistic conclusion, however, is attractive: "The African trading community in Guangzhou serves as a salient emerging bridge between Africa and China that cannot continue to be ignored in efforts to effectively develop socio-economic relations between Africa and China."²¹ To this, one should add that Africans in Africa are also co-authors of the interpenetrated futures of China and Africa. Each will affect the other. Indeed, they already are.

²¹ Bodomu, A. B. Sept 2010. The African trading community in Guangzhou: an emerging bridge for Africa-China relations. *China Quarterly*. No. 203

Taiwanese Junior High School Teachers' Perceptions of TBLT

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Abstract

The purpose of this empirical study is to explore junior high school English teachers' perceptions of task-based language teaching (TBLT) in Taiwan. As an ETL method developed in western context, it is important to see how TBLT is perceived by local English teachers in Taiwan. Is there any adjustment made when TBLT is introduced. The learner-centred approaches are taken into consideration in terms of teaching English as a second language by the Taiwanese government during the education reform movement. Therefore, it is important to investigate English language teachers' perception of TBLT.

The research method for the study involved questionnaires from 136 teachers at about 30 different schools. The findings of the study show that most of the teachers did not have clear understandings of the principles and practices of TBLT and often regarded TBLT as CLT. While there are only a few studies in Taiwanese context addressing TBLT, this study has its importance in enriching the ELT research in Taiwan.

Key words: Task-based language teaching (TBLT), Taiwan, junior high school

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I. Introduction

This paper aims to explore English teaching in Taiwan with a specific focus on the feasibility of the learner-centered language teaching method, Task-based language teaching (TBLT), in junior high school. Ellis (2003) mentions TBLT has become one of the most widely discussed approaches in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) today. This trend has exerted considerably influence on East Asian countries like Taiwan, Hong Kong as Nunan (2003, p. 606) indicates ‘TBLT is the central pillar of government rhetoric’ in terms of teaching English as a second language.

Carless (2007, pp. 595-596) points out, ‘there is a wide and expanding literature on TBLT’ but most of these are related to post-compulsory education. The lack of empirical studies in primary and secondary levels where English language teaching (ELT) mainly takes place is a weakness in the development of TBLT (Candlin, 2001). There are only a few studies about TBLT being practiced in East Asian primary and secondary contexts (see Carless, 2003, 2007; Kuo, 2006; Tseng, 2006). Van den Branden (2006, p. 1) also argues that most TBLT researches were ‘conducted under laboratory conditions or in tightly controlled settings’. Thus, the feasibility of TBLT in real ELT classrooms is still in question.

Moreover, TBLT has largely been developed within Western contexts and its suitability in the Asian context dominated by Confucian-heritage culture may be questioned because it is ‘in conflict with the traditional educational norms’ (Carless, 2007, p. 596). Cultural issues play an important role in English education in Taiwan. For example, the examination culture in Junior and Senior high schools in Taiwan clashes with the ideologies of various ELT approaches advocated in the West. The development of ELT in Taiwan is to some extent a passive process – merely following the teaching approaches developed by Western academics without much consideration for their suitability in Taiwan. With the rising popularity of TBLT, this paper aims to provide more insights as to whether this particular approach to ELT can be successfully implemented in Taiwanese classrooms.

Main objective of this study is to explore Taiwanese junior high school English teachers’ understanding of TBLT and the extent to which they think TBLT is implemented in their classrooms. The questions are as follows:

1. What understanding do junior high school English teachers have of TBLT in terms of its practices and implications for teaching and learning?

2. To what extent do the teachers claim to apply the principles and practices of TBLT in their teaching practices?

This paper starts with an explication of ELT in Taiwanese context that has been an ongoing concern of the Taiwanese public. After setting the context, a review of relevant literature will be provided with some discussions on the relationship between a western pedagogic approach and local pedagogic culture. Then, the third part of this paper will deal with the methodological issues. Data will be described in the fourth part and followed by the analysis of the data. In the ending section, a conclusion including implications, limitations and suggestions for further will be presented.

II English Language Education in Taiwan

1 A General Trend

According to Kachru's (1982) three concentric circles of the global spread of English, Taiwan is an "expanding circle" nation. This is because English has no historical roots or governmental role in Taiwan but is widely used in the country as a foreign language. However, English has a vital role in the Taiwanese education system. For example, the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT), which was created with the official support of the Taiwanese Ministry of Education (MOE), has been widely accepted by the nation and local universities as a requirement for employment and graduation since 2000. In 2007, more than 110 thousand people took the GEPT. It is argued that learning English is a national movement¹ in Taiwan.

2 ELT in Taiwanese Junior High Schools

2.1 Class size

Although the Ministry of Education (MOE) attempted to reduce the class size in junior high schools to 35 students in 2007 (Ministry of Education, 2000), it has only been achieved from year one to year four. The actual average class size is between 38 and 43 students in junior high school and it varies by region.

2.2 English Lessons

The English curriculum in junior high school plays an important role because it is viewed as a key subject. The other key subjects are Chinese, Maths, Science (Physics, Chemistry and Biology) and Social Science (History and Geography). Chinese, English and Maths are often given more attention than any other subjects in junior high school. A typical day in a Taiwanese junior high school comprises seven lessons including flexible hours. Each lesson lasts 45 minutes. Due to highly competitive entrance examinations and pressure from the school league tables in each county, most junior high schools require students to stay for one extra lesson daily – usually called coaching or a tutorial lesson. Therefore, an unofficial daily timetable of eight lessons is practised. There are usually three English lessons per week according to the Curriculum Guidelines. However, as mentioned, English is one of the key subjects given more attention. Many schools use flexible hours and/or coaching lessons for extra English teaching. Thus, in reality, there are 4 or 5 English lessons in a week in most Taiwanese junior high schools.

2.3 Textbooks and Entrance Examination

Within a school, teachers can decide which textbook they want to use and textbooks are designed to meet the requirement of the entrance examination of senior high school. There are no listening and speaking components in the entrance examination. Thus, the textbooks focus more on reading and writing. The ultimate aim of English teaching is to help students get high marks in the entrance examination that emphasizes accuracy and correctness of language use. Many drills

¹ <http://w3.nioerar.edu.tw/newtalk/1015%E4%B8%AD%E5%B8%AB/content/nea.pdf>

and mock tests are used in junior high school to help students prepare for the entrance examination. Although the four language skills mentioned in the curriculum guidelines are given equal importance, teachers remain focusing on reading and writing skills due to the highly competitive entrance examination.

3 The Rationale for TBLT

The move towards TBLT can be viewed as a backlash against the behaviorist ELT approach of Presentation, Practice, Production (PPP). A major criticism of the PPP approach is that it results in learners who are unable to communicate in English effectively. There has been a move towards more 'holistic approaches where meaning is central and where opportunities for language use abound' (Willis, 2005: 4-5). TBLT is a popular and prominent example of meaning-focused ELT approaches and can be viewed as the antithesis to 'teacher-centered' and 'form-oriented' second language teaching (Van den Branden, Bygate, & Norris, 2009: 1). TBLT, as a learner-centered approach, attempts to take learners' language needs into consideration and views them as the starting point of ELT practice (Van Avermaet & Gysen, 2006: 18). This learner-centered approach fits into one of the main themes in the education reform agenda in Taiwan. These rationales seem to portray TBLT as an ideal means of teaching English. However, it is crucial to bear in mind that these positive opinions of TBLT are formed in Western educational contexts. The feasibility of TBLT in Taiwanese educational setting has yet to be proven.

4 TBLT in East Asian Contexts

Although there is not much research related to the application of TBLT in actual classrooms (Carless, 2004), two case studies of TBLT implementation have been conducted in East Asia. In Carless' (2007) research, eleven secondary school teachers and ten teacher educators were interviewed to explore the suitability of task-based teaching in Hong Kong secondary schools. In 2006, Jeon & Hahn explored EFL teachers' perceptions of TBLT in a Korean secondary school.

Results of the studies indicated that although teachers understood TBLT well and regarded TBLT as a good teaching method, the approach was difficult to be fully implemented in their classrooms. Carless highlighted some factors affecting the use of TBLT in Hong Kong secondary schools and these include large class sizes, a highly competitive examination system and the lack of teaching expertise. Therefore, Carless proposed that TBLT should be adapted to suit the Hong Kong ELT context. He also suggested that 'a weak version of task-based teaching is likely to be most suitable for schooling' and reiterated the desirability of context-sensitive ELT approaches (for details, see Carless, 2007: 595).

In the Korean case study, it was found that many teachers did not have confidence in implementing TBLT due to disciplinary problems related to classroom management and large class sizes. In addition, many Korean teachers felt that they lack practical and theoretical knowledge that is required to successfully carry out TBLT. It was suggested that Korean 'teacher education programs, which aim at in-depth training about language teaching methodologies, should properly deal with both the strengths and weakness of TBLT as an instructional method ranging from basic principles to specific techniques' (Jeon & Hahn, 2006).

McDonough & Chaikitmongkol (2007) apply TBLT in ELT class in a Thai university. Unlike the previous two case studies, this is taking place in the university setting. Their findings are: 1. Both learners and teachers consider that TBLT is a good ELT approach, 2. TBLT can fulfil the learners' real world needs and 3. Adopting TBLT makes learners more independent in the learning process. However, they suggest that, in Asian context, TBLT needs to be properly adjusted and the learners need more support from teachers while developing more teaching materials in TBLT is necessary. There is a remark needed to be mentioned here. This research

has been conducted in university setting. The learners have certain level of English competence. Therefore, TBLT functions well.

The three case studies, suggest that despite teachers' positive attitude toward TBLT and official attempts to promote task-based teaching or learner-centred approaches, such teaching methodologies are not widely used by teachers in actual classrooms. This seems to be largely due to contextual constraints such as class size and educational cultures. It seems that adaptations are required to make TBLT function well in the East Asian context as Littlewood (2007) points out in his reflections. Five concerns of the implementation of TBLT in East Asian context are proposed by Littlewood (2007: 244-245): 1. The classroom management, 2. The avoidance of English, 3. The minimal demands on language competence, 4. The incompatibility with public assessment demands, and 5. The conflict with educational values and traditions. These concerns are mostly validated by the above three case studies. Further research is necessary in order to for educators and academics to suggest meaningful adaptations to make TBLT feasible in East Asian classrooms.

III Methodological Issues

1 Instruments for Collecting Data

The research applies quantitative methods of data collection. A questionnaire was employed for data collecting purpose. The questionnaire was semi-structured and consisted of both closed (rating scale and dichotomous questions) and open-ended questions. The rating scale employed was the Likert scale which provided 'a range of responses to a given question or statement' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007: 326).

The six-page questionnaire used for the survey was aimed at exploring Taiwanese English teachers' understanding of TBLT. The questionnaire, comprised of ten dichotomous questions (i.e. true or false), twenty-two Likert-type questions and two open-ended questions, was divided into five parts. The first part contained demographic questions in order to collect data about the teachers' gender, age, educational background and teaching experiences. The second part dealt with the teachers' knowledge of task and task-based language teaching. Ten TBLT-related questions required the teachers to choose an appropriate answer from two options, true or false. The third part was designed to gather the teachers' view on implementing TBLT in their classes. They were asked to answer individual questions by indicating a response on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree). The fourth part investigated possible problems affecting the use of TBLT in the Taiwanese context. It consisted of eleven five-point scale questions and an open-ended question. Finally, the teachers expressed their beliefs and attitudes towards TBLT in Taiwanese English language classrooms in the fifth part which was made up of four five-point scale questions and an open-ended question.

2 Participants and Data Collection

The detailed information of the participants is discussed in this section. The participants were all in-service junior high school English teachers working in the central part of Taiwan. A total of 200 questionnaires were disseminated in 30 junior high schools and 136 responses were returned. The high rate of return was mainly due to the dissemination method – the questionnaires were handed to English teachers while they were having their monthly English panel meeting. Basic information about the participants is shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 3.1 Distribution of gender

Gender	Frequency	Percent
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Male	24	17.6
Female	112	82.4
Total	136	100.0

82.4 % of participants were female which corresponded to the gender distribution of junior high school EL teachers. The majority of teachers teaching language subjects in Taiwanese junior high schools are female.

Table 3.2 ELT experience among participants

Experience (years)	Frequency	Percent
1-5	59	43.4
6-10	35	25.7
11-15	15	11.0
16-20	13	9.6
over 20	14	10.3
Total	136	100.0

Most of the participants were relatively young ELT teachers: 69.1% had less than ten-year ELT experience. Most of the teachers within this cohort were trained during the education reform movement in Taiwan, when CLT took the lead in the English teacher training programme. Some of them may even have learned about TBLT during their training courses.

3 Ethical Issues

According to the revised ethical guidelines (BERA, 2004), participants should be well-informed and voluntarily taking part in this research process. Therefore, following the guidelines, a consent form with a brief description of this research was attached to every single questionnaire. All the participants have signed the consent form. The consent form also provided my contact details so if the participants would like to know the results of the research, they may contact me.

IV Findings and discussion

1 Teachers' Understanding of Task and TBLT

Table 4.1 shows that about half of the teachers have heard about TBLT before, one-fourth of them had read something about TBLT while only 5.1 % had learnt about TBLT.

Table 4.1 Teachers' background knowledge of TBLT (n = 136)

Question Items	Teachers' Responses	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
1. Have you ever heard of Task-based Language Teaching?	47.1	52.9
2. Have you ever read any materials about TBLT?	23.5	76.5
3. Have you ever joined any course or workshop on TBLT?	5.1	94.9

Table 4.2 shows the results of teachers' responses to ten statements pertaining to the key concepts of task and TBLT. The first five items were designed to test teachers' understandings of the main concepts of task. The responses to item 1 indicate that 86% of the participants incorrectly thought

that a task is similar to an exercise. According to the responses to items 2 through 5, teachers had a certain level of knowledge about TBLT. 79.4% of teachers believed that a task involves a primary focus on meaning and 85.3% of them knew that a task involves real-world processes of language use. 91.9% of teachers were aware that a task involves any of the four language skills – reading, writing, listening and speaking and a task must have a clearly communicative outcome. Participants’ responses to items 6 to 10 suggest that most of the teachers had clear basic understanding of the concepts of TBLT. 79.4% of the teachers did not believe TBLT is based on the teacher-centred approach. 96.3% of the participants agreed that learners should be given enough opportunities to work on tasks in pairs or groups in TBLT. 93.4% of the teachers thought that practice, presentation and production (PPP) is used in TBLT. 80.9% of the teachers were aware that TBLT focuses more on meaningful communication than linguistic features. Finally, 91.9% of the teachers agreed that learners should take part in language tasks which are similar to those found in the real world in TBLT. This part implies that most of the teachers fairly understand what a task is and identify the relevant concept of TBLT.

Table 4.2 Teachers’ knowledge of task and TBLT (n = 136)

Questionnaire Items (Correct Answer)	Teachers’ Responses	
	True (%)	False (%)
1. A task is an exercise. (F)	86	14
2. A task involves a primary focus on meaning. (T)	79.4	20.6
3. A task does not involve real-world processes of language use. (F)	14.7	85.3
4. A task involves any of the four language skills – reading, writing, listening and speaking. (T)	91.9	8.1
5. A task does not have a clear communicative outcome. (F)	8.2	91.8
6. TBLT is based on the teacher-centred teaching approach instead of learner-centred teaching approach. (F)	20.6	79.4
7. TBLT should give learners enough opportunities to work on tasks in pairs or groups. (T)	96.3	3.7
8. TBLT focus on grammar/linguistic features rather than communication. (F)	19.1	80.9
9. Task-based learning uses the method of practice, presentation and production (PPP). (T)	93.4	6.6
10. Task-based learners should take part in language tasks which are similar to those found in the real world. (T)	91.9	8.1

2 Teachers’ Views on TBLT

In this section, seven questions exploring teachers’ views on implementing TBLT were asked. The responses to each question are described separately following their order in the questionnaire. Unlike the dichotomous questions in previous section, these Likert-scale questions gave the teachers 5 options to choose from (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Teachers’ perceptions of the positive aspects of TBLT (n=136)

Questionnaire Items	Teachers’ Responses: Frequency (%)				
	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. I have interests in implementing	7(5.1)	82 (60.3)	46 (33.8)	1 (0.7)	0 (0)

1. I have interests in implementing TBLT in my classroom.	7(5.1)	82 (60.3)	46 (33.8)	1 (0.7)	0 (0)
2. TBLT provides a relaxed atmosphere to promote the use of English.	23 (16.9)	95 (69.9)	16 (11.8)	2 (1.5)	0 (0)
3. TBLT activates learners' needs and interests.	35 (25.7)	87 (64.0)	11 (8.1)	3 (2.2)	0 (0)
4. TBLT develops learners' four language skills in the classroom.	9 (6.6)	88 (64.7)	36 (26.5)	3 (2.2)	0 (0)
5. TBLT requires much more time to prepare the materials compared to other teaching approaches.	27 (19.9)	84 (61.8)	23 (16.9)	2 (1.5)	0 (0)
6. TBLT is suitable for the class with forty students.	0 (0)	32 (23.5)	29 (21.3)	61(44.9)	14 (10.3)
7. TBLT materials should be meaningful, purposeful and based	33 (24.3)	87 (64)	16 (11.8)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Note:
 SA=strongly agree,
 A=agree,
 U=undecided,
 D=disagree,
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Item 1 shows that more than 65% of the teachers were positive towards the implementation of TBLT. Although 33.8% of the teachers expressed their attitude as undecided, only one teacher held negative view towards TBLT. While 86.8% of the teachers agreed that TBLT provides a relaxed atmosphere for target language usage, 1.5% of the teachers disagreed with the statement (see item 2). The data seems to imply that most teachers thought that through the use of TBLT, the learning environment could be made more conducive for English language learners.

Item 3 shows that 89.7% of the teachers thought TBLT could address learners' needs and arouse their interests in English learning. Only 2.2% of the teachers disagreed with the statement. Even when 8.1% of the undecided teachers are taken into account, the data still shows that the majority of participants considered TBLT as an effective ELT approach for triggering learners' interests and fulfilling their needs.

More than 70% of the teachers thought that TBLT was useful for developing learners' four language skills in the classroom (see item 4). However, 26.5% of the teachers were undecided. According to item 5, 81.6% of the teachers agreed that material preparation in TBLT would take them much more time compared to other teaching approaches. However, 16.9% of them were undecided.

Item 6 presents the result from question 6 in the questionnaire. While 23.5% of the teachers thought that TBLT was suitable for large classes with forty students each, significantly more teachers (55.2%) felt that the approach was not feasible for large classes. The last questionnaire item (item 7) of this part shows that a vast majority of the teachers (88.2%) believed that the material used in TBLT should be meaningful, purposeful and based on real-world context. No teacher disagreed with this statement.

In general, the findings from this part of the questionnaire suggest that most of the teachers held positive attitudes towards the practice of TBLT in their classrooms. To some extent, the results could imply that these teachers might be willing to try out TBLT in their teaching.

3 Teachers' concerns about the use of TBLT in the Taiwanese context

In part four of the questionnaire, the participants responded to eleven statements related to possible problems with implementing TBLT and an open-ended question that asked for other possible issues obstructing the adoption of TBLT in secondary ELT classrooms. These questions

invited the teachers to rate to what extent do they agree or disagree with the factors preventing the implementation of TBLT in their classrooms on a five-point scale (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Teachers' perceptions of the problems with implementing TBLT (n=136)

Questionnaire Items	Teachers' Responses: Frequency (%)				
	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. Teachers do not understand what TBLT is.	7 (5.1)	88 (64.7)	33 (24.3)	8 (5.9)	0 (0)
2. Teachers are not familiar with TBLT because there is no relevant course in the teacher training programmes.	12 (8.8)	91 (66.9)	20 (14.7)	12 (8.8)	1 (0.7)
3. Students' English ability is low.	12 (8.8)	74 (54.4)	27 (19.9)	23 (16.9)	0 (0)
4. The class size is too large for group work.	41 (30.1)	77 (56.6)	10 (7.4)	7 (5.1)	1 (0.7)
5. The classroom setting does not allow students to work in groups.	25 (18.4)	79 (58.1)	19 (14.0)	12 (8.8)	1 (0.7)
6. The classroom management will be a problem if teachers use group work.	27 (19.9)	76 (55.9)	20 (14.7)	13 (9.6)	0 (0)
7. There is no available teaching material or resource for implementing TBLT.	6 (4.4)	70 (51.5)	38 (27.9)	21 (15.4)	1 (0.7)
8. Teacher's workload is heavy and does not have enough time to prepare tasks.	28 (20.6)	73 (53.7)	25 (18.4)	10 (7.4)	0 (0)
9. The current Taiwanese examination-led education system does not fit with TBLT.	48 (35.3)	71 (52.2)	11 (8.1)	6 (4.4)	0 (0)
10. Students prefer the grammar translation teaching approach.	13 (9.6)	29 (21.3)	61 (44.9)	32 (23.5)	1 (0.7)
11. Teachers need to follow the syllabus and the teaching time is limited.	27 (19.9)	96 (70.6)	10 (7.4)	3 (2.2)	0 (0)

Note: SA=strongly agree, A=agree, U=undecided, D=disagree, SD=strongly disagree

According to items 1 to 11, the key factors that hinder the implementation of TBLT are the need to follow a prescribed syllabus and limited teaching hours (90.5%, as shown in item 11). The second major obstacle to TBLT implementation is large class size and classroom management issues (see item 4 and 6). Over 80% of the teachers agreed or strongly agreed that the current Taiwanese examination-led education system hampers the practice of TBLT in their classes (see item 9), making this issue the third most pressing one to be addressed.

4 Teachers' Diverse Attitudes towards TBLT

In the last part of the questionnaire, teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards TBLT are explored (see Table 4.4). A vast majority of the teachers (82.5%) regarded TBLT as a good ELT approach. None of the participants thought otherwise (see item 1). It is a surprising result considering most of the teachers indicated that there are many problems and difficulties associated with TBLT implementation.

Table 4.4 Teachers' attitudes towards TBLT (n=136)

Questionnaire Items	Teachers' Responses: Frequency (%)				
	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. It is a good teaching method in itself.	17 (12.5)	101 (74.3)	18 (13.2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
2. It is feasible to use TBLT in Taiwanese language classroom.	1 (0.7)	61 (44.9)	63 (46.3)	11 (8.1)	0 (0)
3. The grammar translation teaching approach is more suitable than TBLT in my classes.	1 (0.7)	66 (48.5)	61 (44.9)	8 (5.9)	0 (0)
4. I would be willing to use a TBLT approach in my teaching.	10 (7.4)	70 (51.5)	53 (39.0)	3 (2.2)	0 (0)

Note: SA=strongly agree, A=agree, U=undecided, D=disagree, SD=strongly disagree

Although most of the teachers thought TBLT is a good method, less than half of them agreed that TBLT is feasible in Taiwanese language classroom (see item 2). More than 50% of the responses were undecided and disagreed. The result implies that the teachers held uncertain attitudes towards the practical application of this teaching method in their classes. According to item 3, almost half of the teachers preferred the grammar translation method to TBLT. Only a few teachers (5.9%) disagreed with the statement. 44.9% of the participants were undecided. The possible reasons for such uncertainty in the responses will be discussed in the following paper. The last question asked teachers about their willingness to implement TBLT in their teaching. About 60% of the teachers indicated that they would like to adopt TBLT. 39% of them were undecided and only 2.2% of them were reluctant to try out the approach (see item 4). Generally, it reveals that most of the teachers thought TBLT was a good ELT approach and they would like to use it as an alternative to GTM. However, it seems that TBLT presents too many difficulties in its actual implementation due to contextual and cultural constraints in Taiwanese junior high schools.

V Conclusions

Results of the study suggest that the vast majority of the teachers have a positive attitude towards TBLT. They agreed that TBLT is a good teaching method that can motivate learners and provide a relaxed atmosphere to promote the use of target language. Furthermore, they viewed TBLT as a potentially effective approach in developing learners' language skills with a specific focus on

meaningful communication. On the other hand, many teachers thought TBLT could not be easily implemented in the Taiwanese context because of the inflexible syllabus, limitation of teaching hours, large class size and examination-oriented education system. This probably led some teachers to think that GTM is more suitable than TBLT in their classrooms.

The Taiwanese government is taking learner-centered approach during the education reform and this approach also has influenced on language education in terms of policy level. The overall findings from this study reveal that most of the teachers have interests in applying TBLT but their understanding of TBLT is not sufficient. It is recommended that the government should provide more opportunities for teachers to learn about this specific approach. For example, the MOE can offer workshops about TBLT and encourage teacher trainers to provide more lessons on in-depth knowledge of TBLT. As a result, teachers may gradually build up their confidence and pedagogic ability in using TBLT in their classrooms.

In addition, the implementation of TBLT in Taiwanese junior high school classrooms relies on the change of system. For example, the national school syllabus needs to be more flexible, the number of students in a class has to be reduced and an alternative assessment system needs to be introduced. Otherwise, it would remain difficult for teachers to implement TBLT in Taiwanese ELT classrooms. Another issue discussed is the lack of teaching materials. Perhaps this specific issue can be addressed through communication between educators and textbook publishers so that more TBLT related teaching materials can be produced and made readily available in the market.

Due to the limitation of time and funding, data collection only took place in central Taiwan. The results of the study are thus not adequate to be generalized and cannot represent the ELT classrooms in the whole of Taiwan. Moreover, both classroom observation and learners' point of view which may affect the validity and reliability of the results are not addressed in this study. Further studies involving classroom observation and learners' viewpoints are necessary to investigate the situation in other areas of Taiwan in order to create a more holistic picture of the implementation of TBLT in the country.

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Running head: Social and Psychological Factors in Child Second Language Acquisition

Topic: Second Language Studies
Title: Social and Psychological Factors in Child Second Language Acquisition

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Title: Social and Psychological Factors in Child Second Language Acquisition

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The correlation between socio-psychological factors and second language acquisition is a subject that needs more extensive investigation in the field of applied linguistics. In particular, the study of children's Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is an important area in which to gain understanding of human capacity in language acquisition and childhood language development. This paper reports on research carried out to examine the influence of socio-psychological factors on the second language acquisition of two young English Language Learners.

From September 2009, two five-year-old Chinese kindergarten girls received English instruction from a bilingual tutor twice weekly for one hour. Both girls began their study of English with a combination of the Push-In and the Pull-Out instructional methods. One of the girls is outgoing and talkative, whereas the other is timid and reluctant to speak English. The girls' language skills seem to be differently influenced by their parents; the mother of the more ready speaker is a doctor, who is extremely involved in her daughter's schooling and has made several requests for her to be moved up to first grade. The strongly motivated girl has participated enthusiastically from beginning of the English-language lessons, which seems to have increased the frustration and reticence of the other girl.

Although both girls came to the United States in August 2009 and started their U.S. schooling in September, the more highly motivated girl performed much better on the Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) test, administered in early October.

In late October, the mother of the strongly motivated student requested that her child discontinue the Pull-Out tutoring, after which the other student continued to receive further assistance on her own. However, both girls' interactions with their teacher and peers were also observed in the classroom twice weekly for one hour.

At the beginning of January 2010, both of the girls took their second DIBELS test, and the strongly motivated girl again outperformed the other girl. Based on the DIBELS results, the strongly motivated girl was classified as a gifted student, along with a few of her classmates.

Gardener and Lambert (1959) suggested a link between motivation and language learning, which has greatly influenced the study of SLA. Schumann (1978) also proposed that social and psychological factors such as attitudes; motivation; imitation; and choice

of learning strategies can affect second language acquisition. In response to Gardner's social-psychological theory of second language (L2) learning, Au (1988) suggested five theories of the socioeducational model, including the Active Learner Hypothesis, which can also encounter for psychological factors in learning. Lakshmanan (2009) includes a learnability perspective to explore how child L2 learners can go beyond the input they receive. As previously noted, both Chinese girls started their U.S. schooling at the same and have learned within the same classroom, a significant environment in terms of their L2 acquisition. Nonetheless, the strongly motivated girl's English has improved at a much faster pace than that of the other girl, which may indicate the presence of other socio-psychological factors that influence children's capacity for successful L2 acquisition. Based primarily on Gardner and Lambert's theory, this research will also draw upon Schumann's social and psychological factors and Au's socioeducational model to explain successful child L2 acquisition and language development.

Follow-ups on the two Chinese kindergarteners' language learning differences and improvements will be made over the course of five months. The Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-State (ACCESS) exam for English Language Learners (ELLs) will be administered in February, and one more DIBELS will be administered at the end of the year. However, due to the proposed duration of this research, only the results from the first two DIBELS and the ACCESS will be presented. Finally, the implications for teaching with respect to individual learner differences in language learning will be presented for educators and researchers.

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“Western references in Murakami Haruki's works: A literary reflection of today's Japan”

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Introduction

Let's begin with a few references: cinematographical, musical and then literary ones:

The Magnificent Seven, Duck Soup, Casablanca, The 400 Blows, Easy Rider...

Ravel, The Beatles, The Bee Gees, Miles Davis...

Kant, Dostoyevsky, Fitzgerald, Stephen King...

It may seem so at first glance but these references are not taken from Western cinematographical, musical and literary dictionaries; they are references used by one single author, and a Japanese one: Murakami Haruki.

I assume that only few people interested in modern Japanese literature have never heard about Murakami Haruki and consequently I will not be exhaustive about introducing him. Born in 1949 in Kyoto, Murakami Haruki is a Japanese writer and translator. A voracious reader of mainly Western literature (despite the fact that his parents were high-school teachers of Japanese language and literature), Murakami was also deeply interested in American music, first in rock'n'roll then jazz. His interest in jazz went so far as owning a jazz bar, called Peter Cat, from 1974 to 1981.

His first novel, *Kaze no Uta o Kike* (Hear the Wind Sing), was awarded the Gunzo Prize for new writers in 1979. His new and refreshing style was praised by some critics, whereas others complained about his lack of “Japaneseness” and commitment. Many novels, short stories, essays, translations were to follow, with most of them being translated in many languages, allowing us to talk about a worldwide success for Murakami Haruki. If we focus on novels, we can mention here for example the 1982 Noma prize awarded for *Hitsuji o meguru bôken* (A wild sheep chase), the 1985 prestigious Tanizaki prize awarded for *Sekai no owari to hâdo boirudo wandârando* (Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World), the 1987 best seller *Noruvei no*

mori (Norwegian Wood), the 1997 laureate of the Yomiuri Shinbun's readers prize awarded for *Nejimakidori kuronikuru* (The Wind-up Bird Chronicle) or his 2002 Oedipian tale *Umibe no Kafuka* (Kafka on the Shore).

One of the points that has been continuously raised about Murakami's literature, and mainly by Japanese scholars, is the question of whether or not Murakami Haruki has to be considered as a "pure" Japanese writer, on account of his use of Western, in particular American, cultural references. For example, Ôe Kenzaburô, the author of *Man'en gan'nen no futtobôru* (The Silent Cry) and a major figure in contemporary Japanese literature, said that "Murakami Haruki writes in Japanese, but his writing is not really Japanese. If you translate it into American English, it can be read very naturally in New York".¹

If Oe's assertion seems questionable (and, indeed, it is disputed), the question of whether or not Murakami's works are japanized cannot be avoided, at least for those who would claim to analyze scientifically and meticulously the author's works. How, indeed, can one analyze the literary production of a writer characterized by the use of numerous Western references without thinking about whether this writer belongs or not to the literature of his country? This question becomes even more crucial if we think about the "pioneer" status granted in that matter by some critics to Murakami.

I began to be aware of it 5 years ago, when I was an exchange student in a Japanese university. We had a class held in English about modern Japanese Literature and one of the books we had to read was Murakami Haruki's *Nejimakidori kuronikuru* (The Wind-up Bird Chronicle).

On the one hand, the foreign exchange students were surprised by the fact that if you removed Japanese names from the text, it could easily have been thought that the story took place in any other capitalist country in the world and had been written by a Western author.

On the other hand, the Japanese students felt like it still seemed Japanese to them, but were somehow unable to say why.

I think that, if not the complete answer, at least a part of the answer can be found in the use of Western references in Murakami's works. Therefore, in order to have a general view on this subject, I propose to analyze the author's works through the prism of "intertextuality" and more specifically through intersemiotic (literary, musical and cinematographical) Western references which permeate Murakami Haruki's works.

Instead of quoting these references exhaustively, I will only chose the most relevant ones in the three artistic areas aforementioned and try to show how they allow us to speak about Murakami Haruki as a universal author, whose works are understandable by any human being, regardless of his nationality and culture.

I will then extend this literary analysis to the social and cultural background of today's Japan and in particular examine to what extent Murakami's westernized works reflect the cultural and social globalization of our times, which could explain why Murakami's world is at the same time familiar and exotic enough to appeal to readers all over the world.

A panorama of the references and a attempt at literary analysis

First, I want to discuss one key methodological point here, and this point is what I mean when I talk about intertextuality. The word, used for the first time by Julia Kristeva at the end of the 60'sⁱⁱ, has seen its definition largely debated since its creation, but I have chosen to use it in its broadest meaning: textual interactions between one text and others, including references, quotations, parody and pastiche. In my opinion, cultural foreign references, in Murakami's works, are intertexts because they modify the perception and the reading of the text quoting them. Of course, the question of whether or not musical and cinematographical references are texts can be debated. I personally refer to a French scholar, Anne-Claire Gagnoux, who considers that an intertextual allusion can refer to the different semiotic systems in the condition in which it is verbalized, and consequently incorporates these non-literary references as intertexts.ⁱⁱⁱ

Trying to make an inventory of cinematographical, literary and musical references in Murakami's books would be a hard task. Konishi Keita has listed all musical references in Murakami's novels or short stories, the result being a book of more than 300 pages.^{iv} What is interesting in this listing is, and it is the same for literary and cinematographical references, is that it reflects the diversity of artists and musical genres used by Murakami as references in his books. Let's have a look for example at *Dansu Dansu Dansu* (Dance, Dance, Dance), a novel where no less than 180 musical references appear. Their quasi-exclusive Western origin (with one single Japanese artist listed, Sakamoto Ryûichi) does not imply unity, as the various artists and songs enumerated go from The Doors, Abba, Donna Summer to Mozart, including Elvis Presley, Michael Jackson, Ray Charles, Gregorian chant, Iron Maiden, etc.

The same can be said for literary references where discussions about such different authors as Stendhal, Camus, Dostoyevsky, Kant, Carver, Fitzgerald, Conan Doyle or Lewis Carroll are common, as well as filmic references going from Star Trek, 2001: A Space Odyssey to Casablanca or The Marx Brothers.

As it is well known, these references are not only those of Murakami Haruki the writer, but also those of Murakami Haruki, the human being as he said himself to Larry McCaffery in an interview: "Up until that point, I had been so immersed in Western culture ever since I was about ten or twelve--not just jazz but also Elvis and Vonnegut (...) So when I was sixteen I stopped reading Japanese novels and began reading Russian and French novelists, such as Dostoyevsky, Stendhal, and Balzac, in translation. After studying English for four years in high school, I began reading American books at used-bookstores."^v It could be said then that the numerous Western references in his works are only a mirror of his own preferences.

We can also, as many critics before, point out the "Occidentalization" and, more particularly, the Americanization, as a main characteristic of Murakami's Works, its corollary being a lack of "Japaneseness". It can suggest a propensity to aim his works at foreign markets and broader his readership, that is to say writing for commercial and

financial reasons.

We can also see this trend as a representation of a generational gap. It is singularly Jay Rubin's interpretation: "If Murakami's copious pop references represent anything, it is his entire generation's rejection of their parents' culture."^{vi} It has been partially recognized by Murakami with him saying that:

"I think that my interest in these things was partly due to wanting to rebel against my father (he was a teacher of Japanese literature) (...)"^{vii}

If we position ourselves in literary criticism, it is possible to qualify his work as postmodern with regard to the use of abundant references. This analysis is possible if we consider the destruction of the frontier between high and popular culture in his works, which is a postmodern characteristic as Jameson pointed out.^{viii} What is interesting here is that for Jameson the apologia of popular culture implies the loss of critical distance which has been a characteristic of Art in the past. Another similar criticism can be found with Ôe Kenzaburô, this time directly addressed to Murakami Haruki, when Ôe reproaches him for not giving any model for present and future Japan in moving away from high culture.^{ix}

I think that this criticism is only partially true because if the use of popular culture doesn't allow critical distance in the traditional meaning of the word, the cultural and geographical distance induced by such use give these Western pop references a new meaning when written by a non-Western author. I believe that this cultural and literary gap is enough to give an artistic and therefore literary value to Murakami Haruki's writings.

Another possibility is to focus on the parodic dimension induced by such references. This is for example the theory of Rebecca Suter, who focuses on the parody of the hard-boiled genre, mainly Hammet's and Chandler's works, in Murakami's novels and short stories.^x

It is also possible to see a parody of modern Japanese Literature and in particular the so called "Watakushi shôsetsu" (I Novel) behind the use of Western references from his first novel, *Kaze no Uta o Kike* (Hear the Wind Sing). We can for example see the parodic use of dates (for example, Rebecca Suter notes that 1960, well known for being the year of the signing of the *Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan*, is mentioned by Murakami as the year when Ricky Nelson sang "Hello Mary Lou".^{xi})

I personally think that if all these views are valid, they are included in a more general one that is the lability of Murakami's world, a theory expressed by a French scholar, Anne Bayard-Sakai. It postulates that Murakami's works are linked together and that his entire literature is a sort of universe, structurally organized, that invites the reader to read across the different works of the author and go beyond the text frontiers.^{xii}

Using the same references in different works, for example *The Beatles'* songs (musical reference), Fitzgerald's *Great Gatsby* (literary reference) or *Casablanca* (filmic reference), gives a kind of similar atmosphere that makes the usual reader of Murakami feel like he's at home even when reading a new novel by the author. If we have to chose

a word to depict this phenomenon, I guess Intra-Intertextuality would be a meaningful one.

Abundant references and more precisely Western references appear then as a hallmark of Murakami, which is without a doubt one of the reasons that can explain his fabulous popularity across frontiers.

A Literary trend which denotes a cultural and social state

I think we can consider the use of Western references in Murakami's works not only in a literary view but also, and I guess it's the most important, in a social and cultural view as it functions as a mirror of our modern societies.

As Yomota Inuhiko rightly said, "Murakami's works are not being translated and consumed overseas as those of an author who represents Japanese culture (...) While it is true that Murakami is a Japanese writer who writes in Japanese, the cultural sensibility that he draws on, the music and films that appear in his works, and the urban way of life that he depicts are all of a nature that cannot be attributed to any single place or people, drifting and circulating as they do in this globalized world."^{xiii}

I think that is made possible by the fact that Murakami is conscious that these Western references and in particular pop references should be familiar enough not to scare the reader, but at the same time be exotic enough to allow him to stand back from his own culture. This is like talking about a "familiar exoticism", if you forgive me for this oxymoronic neologism. It is also a reason that can explain Murakami Haruki's success even in a country such as Korea, where "It is highly unusual for a Japanese author to enjoy the eager following of hundreds of thousands of South Korean readers" as Korean professor of Japanese literature and Murakami's translator Kim Choon Mie said. She explains that phenomenon with the capacity of Murakami to capture "the anguish of these youths, the loss of ideology in the course of late capitalist society's shift away from politics and history, the appetite for consumption that filled the void, and the ambience of a vain, if affluent, society".^{xiv}

In a more Japan-centred analysis, we join Glynne Walley when he says that abundant Western references in Murakami's works are more the reflection of a reality, the reality of contemporary Japan, than an allegiance of Murakami with occidental civilization.^{xv}

As a Conclusion

This short study is, without a doubt, too modest to embrace such a vast problematic as Murakami's use of Western references in his works and the meaning of such a trend. It can even be called useless as the author himself has said on several occasions that there was no real meaning in such use.

I think, however, that even if the author's initial will and aim has to be taken in account, the reader's reading should not be underestimated. In this view, I hope that my modest contribution may have given a short ray of leads about Murakami's phenomenon.

I should, however, apologize for not being able to resolve a key question about Murakami, that of whether or not his writings are filled with "Japaneseness", but I guess it depends on the way you see Japan or, more precisely, if Japan is still Japan, at least the image of Japan which prevails in the collective imagery. In other words, shouldn't we consider Murakami, with his use of so-called "low" popular and commercial culture, only as a witness of a mutating Japan? Answering in the affirmative should prevent people from criticizing Murakami for his virtual disconnection from social realities, his lack of literary commitment and, therefore, give him what certain commentators nostalgic of the *Junbungaku* or Japanese Pure Literature refuse him: the status of a major writer.

There is another thing I haven't really talked about but which is interesting in Murakami's works: his role as cultural mediator between Japan and the West. Rebecca Suter pointed out that not only being the most translated among contemporary Japanese writers, he is at the same time "very active in introducing American Literature to Japan, having translated writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Irving, Grace Paley, Tim O'Brien, J.D. Salinger, and Raymond Carver."^{xvi} In this view, Murakami can be seen not only as a vector of the "Westernization" of Japan being no more than only one of the expressions of Japanamerica's phenomenon (the word is from Roland Kelt), but both or, better, as a universal literary phenomenon and an invitation made to the reader to open his window to the world.

ⁱ Ôe Kenzaburô, "The Novelist in Today's World: A Conversation: Kazuo Ishiguro and Oe Kenzaburo" in *Japan in the World*, Duke University Press, 1993.

ⁱⁱ See Julia Kristeva, "Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art", Blackwell, 1980.

ⁱⁱⁱ Anne Claire Gagnoux, « De l'intertextualité à l'écriture », 9. URL : <http://revel.unice.fr/cnarra/document>

^{iv} Konishi Keita, "Murakami Haruki o kiku: Murakami wârudo no senritsu", Hankyû Komyunikêshon, 2007.

^v Gregory Sinda, Toshifumi Miyawaki, Larry McCaffery, "It don't mean a Thing, If It Ain't got That Swing: an Interview with Haruki Murakami", *The Review of Contemporary Fiction*, June 22, 2002.

^{vi} Jay Rubin, "Haruki Murakami and the Music of Words", *Vintage*, 2005, 17.

^{vii} Gregory Sinda, Toshifumi Miyawaki, Larry McCaffery, "It don't mean a Thing, If It Ain't got That Swing: an Interview with Haruki Murakami".

^{viii} See Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism", Duke University Press, 1991.

^{ix} Ôe Kenzaburô, "A Novelist Lament", *Japan Times*, November 23, 1986.

^x Rebeca Suter, "The Japanization of Modernity: Murakami Haruki between Japan and the United States", *Harvard University Asia Center*, 2008, 87-88.

^{xi} *Ibid.*, 134.

^{xii} Anne Bayard Sakai, « De la Graine à la fleur - L' amplification romanesque chez Murakami Haruki » in *Japon Pluriel* 4, Philippe Picquier, 2001, 145.

^{xiii} Yomota Inuhiko, "How to View the "Haruki Boom" in A Wild Haruki Chase: Reading Murakami Around the World", *Stone Bridge Press*, 34-35.

^{xiv} Kim Choon Mie, "The Sense of Loss in Murakami's Works and Korea's 386 Generation" in *A Wild Haruki Chase: Reading Murakami Around the World*, *Stone Bridge Press*, 66-67.

^{xv} Glyne Walley, "Two Murakamis and their American Influence", *Japan Quarterly*, 1999, 41-42.

^{xvi} Rebecca Suter, "The Japanization of Modernity: Murakami Haruki between Japan and the United States", 1.

**“The spirit which is willing to dare and suffer”:
Emma Goldman as Inspirational Figure in the Fiction of Itō Noe
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15 April 2010**

“The spirit which is willing to dare and suffer”: Emma Goldman as Inspirational Figure in the Fiction of Itō Noe

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Introduction

This essay will examine the figure of Emma Goldman (1869-1940) in the autobiographical fiction of the Japanese feminist and anarchist writer Itō Noe (1895-1923), focusing in particular on Noe’s autobiographical short story “Kojiki no meiyo” (The reputation of a beggar; 1918). In this story, a considerable portion of the text is devoted to a biographical introduction to Goldman.

“Kojiki no meiyo,” along with several other autobiographical pieces published during the same period, functions as a public defense of Noe’s decision to leave her marriage and then become the lover and partner in activism of Ōsugi Sakae, Japan’s most famous anarchist. At the same time, it presents Noe’s ideal of the anarchist lifestyle and her attempts (portrayed in the thoughts and actions of a fictional alter-ego) to break free from the restrictions of a conventional life and fight for an anarchist revolution. The figure of Goldman plays a fairly straightforward role in Noe’s narrative: her protagonist reads essays by Goldman and a biography of her, and is inspired by Goldman’s courage and uncompromising dedication to her cause to follow a similar path. In particular, this protagonist needs to summon the courage to leave her failing marriage and dedicate herself fully to self-education and social activism. Goldman’s example provides her with the courage to do so.

The reader is therefore invited to see Goldman as a role model for Noe, and more broadly to view the two as parallel figures. Certainly, Itō Noe would be the obvious candidate for the “Japanese Emma Goldman” if such a term had any meaning. Each was the most famous female anarchist in her country, and each wrote essays and other pieces promoting anarchism. Both were opponents of traditional marriage who were condemned by the press for their scandalous lifestyles, and both were in regular conflict with the police and other powers-that-be for their uncompromising rejection of all social authority. Noe unquestionably saw Goldman as her main role model.

However, an emphasis on these parallels can obscure the significant differences between the two women that are obvious even at the level of basic biographical facts. Goldman was a cosmopolitan, multi-lingual, Russian Jewish immigrant to the United States who during her 70-year life lived in Russia, England, Canada, France, and elsewhere working for the anarchist cause. She was especially known for her fiery public speaking. Among the highlights of her career were her support of her lover Alexander Berkman’s attempted assassination of industrialist Henry Clay Frick in 1892; her notoriety for allegedly inspiring Leon Frank Czolgosz to assassinate President McKinley in 1901; her publication of the journal *Mother Earth* (1906-1917); her opposition to military conscription in the United States during World War I, leading to her deportation; and her

residence in Russia after the Russian Revolution and subsequent denunciation of Russian Communist rule. Noe, by contrast, lived in Japan for her entire short life – she only lived to be 27 – prior to her brutal murder by military police in the chaotic aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. Noe's activities were centered on writing. She began as one of the star members of the women's literary group *Seitō-sha* (The bluestocking society) and went on to write in mainstream as well as self-published periodicals. Unlike Goldman, who chose not to have children in order to fully devote herself to activism, Noe gave birth to seven children with her two long-term partners. Many other differences could be pointed out.

Although Goldman was tremendously well read in the European literature of the 19th century, and even lectured on such topics as the poetry of Walt Whitman and the modern theatre, one thing that she did not do was write fiction. Noe, however, did. Most of her fiction was autobiographical, and as I have argued elsewhere,¹ this fiction was one of her most significant accomplishments. Noe's choice to write in this mode followed naturally from the individualistic ethos of the Taishō period (1912-1926), when such fiction was commonly seen as an ideal format for self-expression and chronicling personal growth. And it is in her fictional narratives of the major struggles of her life that Noe, while expressing Goldman-like views and showing her protagonist emulating Goldman in various ways, articulates her distinctive view of struggle and personal growth.

This view is original to Noe and is not the result of borrowing from writings by and about Goldman. Although Noe viewed Goldman's battles with American society and the capitalist system as parallel to her own in Japan, at the personal level, Noe's fictional alter ego differed greatly from Goldman (as Noe saw her) in her sensitivity, vulnerability, indecisiveness, and constant self-questioning. In this essay, I will show how Noe's protagonist appropriates the perceived extraordinary qualities of Goldman as a tool for overcoming her weaknesses. In doing so, she becomes more liberated, and in a sense more like Goldman, but her self-exploring, vulnerable stance is retained.

Biographical Sketch: The Path to Anarchism

Itō Noe was born in 1895 in the fishing village of Imajuku (presently part of Fukuoka city) in Fukuoka Prefecture.² At age 15, she traveled to Tokyo to attend the Ueno Girls' School, assisted in tuition payments by her uncle. At school, she showed a particular love of and talent for literary studies, and became editor of the school newspaper.

In 1911, under heavy pressure from her parents and relatives, she became engaged to a young man in her hometown recently returned from the United States, Suematsu Fukutarō. The marriage took place in 1912, but just over a week later Noe ran away from home. She and her English teacher, Tsuji Jun, had fallen in love, and she now moved in with him and eventually married him. With Tsuji's encouragement, Noe became close to the renowned feminist Hiratsuka Raichō and other members of Raichō's *Seitō-sha* (The Bluestocking Society), a feminist literary group that published the famous journal *Seitō* between 1911 and 1916. Noe wrote a variety of essays and autobiographical pieces for *Seitō*, and towards the end of the journal's run took over as its editor.

Noe achieved mild notoriety as an outspoken and controversial writer and public figure. She expressed bold opinions on subjects such as prostitution and abortion, and defended the idea that romantic relationships and marriage should be based on ongoing mutual consent, citing her own negative experiences with an arranged marriage in support of this view.

Tsuji, a gifted translator and essayist, was Noe's intellectual mentor and spiritual partner, but the marriage soon began to show signs of strain. Tsuji had been fired from his teaching position for his relationship with Noe. Now, at home, he sank into a state of depressive inactivity, and despite the urgings of his mother, failed to obtain any steady work. Now raising a child, Noe found herself caught between Tsuji and his mother as the latter hectored her son to find a job and blamed Noe for his unemployment.

In her work for *Seitō*, Noe had been heavily influenced by progressive and Western thinkers from the West, from Bernard Shaw to Ellen Key. She had shown impatience with the moderate feminism and progressivism shown by some of her colleagues, expressed in articles such as one entitled "Arrogant, Narrow-Minded, Half-Baked Japanese Women's Public Service Activities,"³ where she described charitable women's groups as motivated by vanity and uninterested in the radical social change that would be needed to fully address problems like poverty and prostitution. In 1914 (Noe was still only 19 years old) there were clear signs that her thinking was taking a more radical turn.

One clear inspiration for this change in Noe's views was her discovery of Emma Goldman. In late 1913 she had read, and been highly moved by, Hippolyte Havel's "Biographic Sketch" of Goldman that appeared in Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays*.⁴ The impetus to read Goldman had come from Tsuji, who was interested in the anarchistic thought of Max Stirner, Goldman, Nietzsche, and others. Together with Noe, he translated the "Sketch" and four essays by Goldman, which were assembled with some other materials in the pamphlet *Fujin kaihō no higeki* (The tragedy of woman's emancipation [named after one of Goldman's essays]), published in 1914.⁵

Goldman denied that moderate reforms, such as granting the vote to women, or implementing laws limiting the working day to eight hours, could be adequate for achieving a truly just society. As an anarchist, she believed in the total abolition of government and all forms of authority based on force and coercion. Her views on the women's movement deeply affected Noe, who was already highly critical of the limitations of the Japanese women's movement. In "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," Goldman wrote:

Emancipation should make it possible for woman to be human in the truest sense. Everything within her that craves assertion and activity should reach its fullest expression; all artificial barriers should be broken, and the road towards greater freedom cleared of every trace of centuries of submission and slavery.⁶

Salvation lies in an energetic march onward towards a brighter and clearer future. We are in need of unhampered growth out of old traditions and habits. The

movement for woman's emancipation has so far made but the first step in that direction. It is to be hoped that it will gather strength to make another. The right to vote, or equal civil rights, may be good demands, but true emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in courts. It begins in woman's soul.⁷

Noe's increasingly radical thought corresponded with ever-greater dissatisfaction with her marriage. Desperate to set aside some time to read and develop her political ideas, she was constantly thwarted by her mother-in-law, who demanded that she spend 24 hours a day watching her baby. Tsuji had become physically involved with Noe's cousin when the latter was staying at their home, which was a deep shock to Noe. Meanwhile, Noe had found an intellectual partner in the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae. Ōsugi, in his own magazine, had publicly praised Noe for her translations of Goldman. The two began a public correspondence through the pages of their respective magazines, which eventually developed into a love affair in real life.

Finally, Noe decided to leave Tsuji and their two children, following the agreement that they had always had that either party was free to leave the relationship if it ever came to impede his or her personal growth. Ōsugi, while with Noe, attempted to live out his philosophy of free love by maintaining, simultaneously, his relationship with his wife, Hori Yasuko, and the journalist Kamichika Ichiko. Kamichika, distraught over Ōsugi's treatment of her, stabbed and nearly killed him. All of this made Ōsugi and Noe the object of sensational stories in the popular press, and they were ostracized by many of their progressive and socialist colleagues.

When the dust cleared from all this chaos, Noe was still with Ōsugi. She bore five of his children (four of whom survived), and while caring for these children produced a copious number of writings, which were now explicitly anarchist. She and Ōsugi continued to publish and to work in the burgeoning labor movement of Japan, until September 1923, when the Great Kantō Earthquake put an untimely end to their careers. Noe, Ōsugi, and Ōsugi's six-year-old nephew were taken into custody by military police and summarily strangled to death. Although one military officer took responsibility for the incident, the incident remains clouded in uncertainty.⁸

“The reputation of a beggar”

“Kojiki no meiyo” (The reputation of a beggar)⁹ was published in 1918. Its first appearance was most likely in Noe and Ōsugi's *Bunmei hihyō* (Critique of civilization), and it was reprinted in a single volume, also entitled *Kojiki no meiyo*, combining works by both of them.¹⁰ The title of the story comes from a quotation by George Jacob Holyoake that precedes the biographical essay in Goldman's book. It makes clear Noe's intent to emphasize the ideal of the fearless “propagandist” or activist who devotes his or her entire life to the cause of social justice:

Propagandism is not, as some suppose, a “trade,” because nobody will follow a “trade” at which you may work with the industry of a slave and die with the reputation of a mendicant. The motives of any persons to pursue such a profession

must be different from those of trade, deeper than pride, and stronger than interest.¹¹

“Kojiki” opens with the main character, Toshiko, studying an English-language book at the home of an acquaintance who is running a study group. Toshiko is intended to represent Noe herself, and we know from other sources that she was studying Lester Ward’s *Pure Sociology* (1903).¹² Toshiko is so distracted by the problems in her home life that she is completely unable to concentrate. She broods over the terrible “miscalculation” she made in choosing to live with her husband and his family. After the meeting, she travels home on a snowy night, carrying her baby on her back. She desperately wants to escape from her present life, and is held back only by the thought of her baby.

Toshiko had escaped an inappropriate arranged marriage to be with her present husband, who is only referred to as “the man” (*otoko*). She has been cut off by her own family, and her mother- and sister-in-law blame her for her husband’s dismissal from his teaching job (although Toshiko knows that he himself had wanted to quit the job). The poverty that resulted has become nearly unendurable. Although she wants to escape the situation, she is held back by her love for the baby and by her knowledge that the present situation was something she chose of her own free will. She also takes a certain pride in her strength, which she believes gives her the ability to overcome the hardships of poverty and the subtle, constant harassment that comes from her mother-in-law.

Although Toshiko is devoted to her baby and does not begrudge the time and labor of caring for it, she wishes to be involved in activities outside the home, and in particular, she wants to educate herself on current social thinking, as represented in the opening scene. For this reason, she had accepted the opportunity to take over the editorship of a magazine known as *S* (i.e., *Seitō*). With the help of friends who volunteered to watch the child, this gave her the chance to do meaningful work outside of the home. However, her mother-in-law is unwilling to grant her even the smallest amount of time to herself, and insists that any spare time be filled doing things like making the child’s clothing fancier.

When [Toshiko] tried to open a book while putting the baby to sleep or nursing him, or sometimes while cooking something in the kitchen, the mother would glare at her as if she were indulging in frivolous pleasures.

“When I was raising children [said the mother-in-law], I didn’t relax even when I was eating.”¹³

After a detailed account of these hardships, the narrative cuts to a scene of Toshiko sitting outdoors in the shade of a tree on a hot summer day. She is fervently reading the biography of Emma Goldman. The story proceeds to give a summary, several pages in length, of Havel’s “Biographical Sketch” of Goldman, making use of many direct quotations, including the Holyoake passage from which the title is derived. What appeals to Toshiko is Goldman’s unyielding devotion to her cause. A single woman standing up

against the evils of capitalist society, Goldman succeeded in making her name known and in drawing numerous people to her cause:

[The biography] showed with utter clarity how the unjust oppression of all the varieties of authority had tried to kill her, and how even her friends, with their distorted understanding of her situation, tore away at her spirit. Triumphant over all that, with her unyielding spirit, indomitable vitality, and courage such as few can possess, she continued unceasingly in her difficult work as a famous propagandist.¹⁴

The narrative returns to Toshiko and the thoughts that the Goldman biography inspires in her. Several points in her reaction stand out. First, Toshiko begins to see that the epic struggles against injustice that Emma Goldman has conducted in her public life inevitably involve political opposition to the existing social system:

Toshiko had already understood, to some degree, the extent to which devoting oneself to saving that precious *justice* [Noe uses the English word] that most of the world had forgotten entailed resistance to the current social system. But for Toshiko, who was badly uninformed about the reality of society, it was almost baffling to learn the low, shameless methods that the government of a great republic would use against a single political agitator....

But what was even more gripping to Toshiko was Goldman's courage – and her burning passion. It was the freedom with which she moved ahead, not hesitating on any account, towards what she believed in. With each page she read, how splendidly [Goldman's] valiant stance in the face of the enemy's despicable tactics appeared to Toshiko! Quietly, she turned her thoughts to the world in which she and her comrades lived.

Here, too, every sort of *justice* was completely ignored. Everyone had been fast asleep in a false way of life, clouded by hundreds of years or more of tradition and superstition. Even if a small number of socialists tried to run a movement, they could accomplish nothing with their tiny amount of power, still in its fledgling stage. The same was true for her and her comrades, who, seeing a small slackening in the knots that tied them down, called for women to develop their self-awareness: they were not able to accomplish a single significant thing. One might be forced to conclude that it would be a long time before the inevitable clash between old and new ways of thinking would manifest itself clearly as a social reality.¹⁵

The story ends with Toshiko brooding over her frustration at feeling so powerless against the larger social system that oppresses Toshiko and so many people. She fears that she still carries within herself some of the harmful social customs that need to be fought and eradicated. Emma Goldman, she feels, was not like this. Goldman, unable to ignore systematic evils and lies, simply attacked them head on. Toshiko, too, would like to live this sort of life.

Goldman's Spirit as a Liberating Force

“Kojiki’s” inconclusive ending, with Toshiko as yet unresolved on any course of action, was meant to be understood in the context of Noe’s actual life; the story’s readers would have known that Toshiko was, in fact, going to leave her husband and his family. Noe’s artistic recreation of events that had taken place three or four years earlier in her own life, then, had a clear public purpose beyond that of advocating anarchism or introducing its readers to Emma Goldman. It served as an explanation and defense of Noe’s actions. To the many members of the public and fellow social activists who disapproved of the Noe/Ōsugi relationship, pieces like “Kojiki” were Noe’s response. Along with painting a detailed and persuasive picture of the unbearable nature of her life with Tsuji Jun, Noe linked her own personal liberation with the larger social struggle represented by Goldman’s tumultuous career.

To do this, Noe used the form of the autobiographical short story to create a narrative that, in contrast to the Goldman biography, had as its theatre the very private, walled-off space of her protagonist’s home and, more to the point, the internal world of her thoughts and struggles. As a persona, too, Toshiko is almost infinitesimally small in comparison to the epic warrior represented by Goldman. This small-scale, domestic, interior perspective is manifested in several ways.

First, Toshiko is extremely modest about her education and intellectual abilities. Her desire to “study” and her relative lack of learning and poor English ability are brought out in the story. Second, the conditions of Toshiko’s “oppression” are mainly social and psychological: she is not subject to overt abuse by her husband or in-laws, and she is always aware that she has the ability to leave her husband, and the knowledge that he will not try to stop her if she does so. In both these respects, the character of Toshiko is almost the diametrical opposite of the figure of Goldman as she appears in Havel’s sketch – and, we should add, contrasts considerably with Noe’s own public image. While Goldman, in her 1930 autobiography *Living My Life*¹⁶ (which Noe, of course, could not have read), did confess to emotions such as indecision and fear, the impression given by that narrative is in accord with Havel’s characterization of her: “There is no rest in the life of Emma Goldman. Ceaseless effort and continuous striving toward the conceived goal are the essentials of her nature.”¹⁷

Although Noe was genuinely concerned about the shortcomings in her own education, we should not assume that her purpose was, through the character of Toshiko, to elicit sympathy for herself or to express modesty. To the contrary, with her detailed depiction of Toshiko’s very ordinary trials, which one might imagine were quite typical for a young married woman of the time living with her husband’s parents, Noe endows Toshiko with a rhetorical credibility. Toshiko, modeled on the real-life Itō Noe, a radical woman with “dangerous” ideas, is shown to be a vulnerable woman who loves her baby and spares no effort to please her husband’s mother. And although Toshiko may be less typical in her unusual agreement with her spouse that the marriage is “free,” the reader is left feeling that she would probably be justified in breaking her relationship with this family.

Apart from this (retrospective) justification of her position, Noe has a more general purpose in this story of articulating a spiritual ideal of “self-growth” (*jiko seichō*) that combines self-education with an active involvement in the struggles for a just society. This theme appears frequently in Noe’s short stories as well as in essays like “Seichō ga unda watashi no ren’ai hatan” (How [personal] growth led to the breakdown of my love; 1921).¹⁸ It is a key component of Noe’s anarchism, since the ultimate purpose of destroying social authority and coercion is to enable the individual to flourish both materially and spiritually.

This emphasis on the individual was certainly present, and indeed absolutely central, to Goldman’s anarchism:

There is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and the lungs: the one the receptacle of a precious life essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong. The individual is the heart of society, conserving the essence of social life; society is the lungs which are distributing the element to keep the life essence – that is, the individual – pure and strong.¹⁹

But Noe, in focusing on the vitality and growth of that “life essence” as embodied in the life of a single woman activist, endows her with the power and force of Havel’s Emma Goldman. Of the ideal of personal growth expressed in “Kojiki,” two important points should be made. First, this personal growth is inseparable from struggle and suffering. This is true whether one is being persecuted by one’s government through police harassment and imprisonment, or whether one is asserting one’s right to learn and work in the face of family opposition. One must commit oneself from the beginning to a life of working “with the industry of a slave” and dying “with the reputation of a mendicant.” Or, as Noe wrote in an early essay called “The Path of the New Woman,”

For the word “new” to express any meaning at all, it must remain the exclusive term for this small band of pioneers because only those who have lived in agony and died in agony—only those who have truly struggled to know the self, to believe in the self, and who have blazed the way to the self—deserve this word. Those carefree women who would follow after, who have done absolutely nothing of importance, should never be described with this word.²⁰

Second, this personal growth must take place in the context of social struggle. Here, Noe was criticizing the emphasis made by Hiratsuka Raichō and some other feminists at the time on a Zen-like quest for “self-perfection” (*jiko kansei*) performed in isolation from the larger society.

But Goldman’s attitude, as Toshiko had learned, was completely different. She was unable to ignore the systematic evils and the lies of society. She directed her feelings of hatred for those lies and evils directly against them. For her, there was no room for giving deference to anything. To put those true feelings of hers to

work, all she could do was to resist and oppose those lies and evils with body and soul, for the sake of all those who were oppressed. With this, her entire life became a flame that burned with a heat that would consume anything. The thought made Toshiko feel lightheaded. Something was driving her to throw everything away and plunge into a life with that kind of focus. She felt like she had to do something.²¹

The figure of Goldman, in short, plays more than one role in “Kojiki no meiyo.” It is not so much that Noe (in the guise of Toshiko) tries to imitate or compare herself to Goldman; rather, as the author, she uses the figure and “theme” of Goldman to emphasize the social significance of Toshiko’s struggles to pursue her activist career against the wishes of her husband’s family. The ironic contrast between the large scale of Goldman’s career and the small scale of Toshiko’s activities serves, not to reduce, but rather to magnify the importance of the latter. Finally, Goldman serves not only as an intellectual mentor but also as a spiritual force that can almost be physically felt by Toshiko. “Kojiki no meiyo” is more than a tribute to Goldman, and more than a convincing portrait of the life of a Japanese activist. In its skilled blending of the biography of an international anarchist “celebrity” with autobiographical and didactic elements, it is an excellent piece of propaganda.

¹ Stephen Filler, “Going Beyond Individualism: Romance, Personal Growth, and Anarchism in the Autobiographical Writings of Itō Noe,” *U.S.-Japan Women’s Journal* 37 (2009): 57-90.

² An excellent biography of Noe is Ide Fumiko, *Jiyū sore wa watashi jishin* (Freedom is me myself), (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1979). A detailed timeline can be found in the standard collection of Noe’s writing: Itō Noe, *Teihon Itō Noe zenshū* (The definitive complete works of Itō Noe; hereafter abbreviated INZ), ed. Ide Fumiko and Horikiri Toshitaka, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 2000), IV: 505-517.

³ Itō Noe, “Kyōman kyōryō ni shite futettei naru Nihon fujin no kōkyō jigyo ni tsuite,” INZ II: 287-96, translated as “Arrogant, Narrow-Minded, Half-Baked Japanese Women’s Public Service Activities,” in Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 277-82.

⁴ Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1910, reissued 1969), 5-44.

⁵ In the preface to “Fujin kaihō no higeki,” Noe wrote: “I do not forget that this work was finished off by T. With my poor language skills, if T had not been with me it would have been impossible to complete.” See INZ IV: 12, 462.

⁶ Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 220 (see note 4 above).

⁷ Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 230 (see note 4 above).

⁸ On the “Amakasu Incident,” see Sano Shin’ichi, *Ranshin no kōya* (The wasteland of madness), (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2008).

⁹ INZ I: 245-266.

¹⁰ The original issue of *Bunmei hihyō* was confiscated by police and no copies are known to exist. See INZ I: 403-404, and INV IV: 491-492.

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- ¹¹ Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 5 (see note 4 above).
¹² INZ I: 404.
¹³ INZ I: 254.
¹⁴ INZ I: 258.
¹⁵ INZ I: 263.
¹⁶ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (New York: AMS Press, 1970).
¹⁷ Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 25 (see note 4 above).
¹⁸ Itō Noe, “Seichō ga unda watashi no ren’ai hatan,” INZ III: 296–306.
¹⁹ Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 58 (see note 4 above).
²⁰ Translation by Jan Bardsley in *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from Seitō, 1911–16* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2007), 132; original essay in INZ II: 13–14.
²¹ INZ I: 265.

Philippine National-Local Elite Collaboration and its implication for Sustainable
Development: The Case of Makati City

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In 1991, Republic Act 7160 otherwise known as the Local Government Code of 1991 was signed into law by then President Corazon Aquino. The law contained provisions that sought to empower local government units (LGUs) to accomplish certain functions that were previously the exclusive domain of the central government. The law was aimed at satisfying a constitutional provision included in the 1987 Philippine Constitution that required Congress to enact such piece of legislation. The law was also seen as a strategy of the Philippine State to harness the potential of LGUs as partners in development. Despite of this rather noble intention, there were some initial apprehensions regarding the implementation of the law. One of the more prominent criticisms is that the law had merely reinforced the dominance of elite politics at the local level. Such criticism was not without basis for in both journalistic as well as scholarly accounts, the local elites were seen as stumbling blocks to both political and economic development. This perspective as will be argued in this paper has generated a rather lopsided view of state-local relations in the Philippines (Coronel, 2007).

This paper can be seen as an attempt to shed light on the often ignored state-local elite partnership in achieving developmental goals. While it may be held true that local elites had in fact been obstructionist to several state reform initiatives, the picture that we are left with is rather incomplete. The case of land reform in the Philippines has often been cited as strong evidence regarding the capacity of local elites to obstruct state initiatives to achieve development (Borras, 2001). Local elites were seen as utilizing all the political and economic resources at their disposal to prevent the adoption of this vital piece of social legislation. Even at the point, when the passage of the land reform bill was inevitable, local elites through their capture of some of the institutions of the national government were able to insert provisions into the new law that can be adjudged as contrary to spirit of land reform.

This paper however argues that the state and local elites can in fact join forces to achieve developmental goals instead of contending with one another as they have often been portrayed. Looking at recent evidence of state-local elite relations, the paper attempts to provide a counterpoint to the dominant view that local elites have sought to advance primarily their own interest to the detriment of state capacity to foster development.

This paper is as structured as follows. The first section shall present a review of the relevant literature on state-local elite relations in the Philippines with emphasis on the most prominent type of elite that exist in the Philippine political system, that of the political family. It is argued here that the existing literature had highlighted the obstructionist tendencies of local political elite vis-à-vis the Philippine nation state. As such, there is a need to explore the other side of the political equation that looks at the supporting role of local elites to various state policies. The third section shall analyze two major state initiatives that have generated consensus among the state and local elites namely the Clean Air Act and the National Energy Conservation Program. These short

case studies how the central state has formulated initiatives that draws the support of prominent political elites at the local level. The third section shall contain a background of the political family in question and their role in the development of counterpart local initiatives that support state initiatives. It is suggested here that while often depicted as trying to capture the state for its own benefit, local elites especially in Makati City have in fact collaborated with the central state in bringing about desirable social policies.

Among the different types of political elites that exert influence upon state politics in the Philippines, it is the political family that has been the most resilient and had been the focus of considerable scholarly attention. Research into Philippine political families can be classified into three interrelated areas: 1) The political family seen as part of a beneficial symbiotic relationship; 2) The political family as an organization that undergoes transformation; 3) The political family seen as an impersonal and coercive mechanism.

First, on the perspective that the political family is a beneficial partner in political dynamics, Hollsteiner (1963), Lande (1964) argue that Philippine politics is not shaped by organized interest groups or political parties. Rather, it is the existence of mutual aid relationships that impinges on the political life of the nation. This relationship is characterized by its being asymmetrical and dyadic. The idea is that wealthy patrons provide material goods and services to dependent clients, who in return give their support and loyalty. Furthermore under this framework, political contests are decided by family linkages. Roces (2000) tries to elaborate on this particular model by attempting to map out the causal mechanisms underlying the behavior of a political family vis-à-vis organizations such as the central state. She points to traditional values that while are supportive of familial interest are in turn damaging to state interests.

Second, on the political family's transformation, research has been done by Machado (1974) and Magno (1989). The central argument of this research is that societal changes brought about by economic modernization have allowed the rise of professional politicians that do not come from traditional political families. The implication of such a phenomenon points to a decrease in the significance of family ties in consolidating political power. Among the most significant societal change that impinges upon the influence of the political family is the expansion of the influence of the central state. In addition, some scholars like Nowak and Snyder (1974) have pointed to increasing economic disparities as the reason for the diminution of the patron-client relationship that dominated local political dynamics.

Third, there is a large body of literature on the perspective that the political family is an impersonal and coercive mechanism. Much of this research has been based on criticisms of the patron-client framework. While the patron-client relationship was seen as a beneficial symbiotic relationship between political families and their dependent constituency, this line of research saw a more predatory role for political families instead. Anderson (1988) argues that exploitative behavior of political leaders was very much evident from the lower levels to the higher levels of government. Bentley (1993), Gutierrez (1995), Lacaba (1995), Sidel (1989), Sidel (1997), and Hutchcroft (2000)

presented different case studies of the “boss” type of leadership in local political dynamics. A clear dominant theme emerges from among these varying perspectives. This is the depiction of political families as a political actor that has sought to advance their own interest before the interest of the nation-state. While to some degree this is accurate, the picture that we are left with is rather incomplete and largely ignores the efforts of certain political families to support state led initiatives towards development. It is in this light that succeeding discussion shall focus on the efforts the local political elite in Makati in their efforts to support state initiatives in environmental protection and energy conservation.

Barriers to a healthy State-Local political elite relationship

In some cases, political families fall into the opposition camp while the central state is dominated by the ruling party. In such a highly politicized policy environment, neither group would have sufficient trust in the other to be able to work together nor would they desire to do so. The political family would not seek to visibly lend support to state initiatives if by doing so it would increase the popularity of ruling state elites. Conversely, the ruling state elites would likewise not lend support to a group which it views as political opponents. The state may not want to foster a healthier political family for fear of bolstering the opposition.

State and local elite relations may also be strained when issues of corruption are rife. During the height of the ZTE scandal, collaboration between state and local elites in Makati would have been impossible to achieve. The controversy in which state elites were embroiled particular those in charge with the transport bureaucracy had been vigorously articulated by opposing local politics elites.

Local political elites may represent narrow political interests. In such situations, the central state may consider the political family as too selective since it must consider the common good. The local political family could afford to focus on local issues that still resonates with their constituencies

The Challenge of Implementing a Central State initiative: the Clean Air Act

In June 23, 1999, President Joseph Estrada signed Republic Act 8749 otherwise known as the Clean Air Act into law. Along the way its implementation has been marked by difficulty. This is particularly true in the area of controlling smoke belching among vehicles.

The legislators who supported the enactment of the Clean Air Act had attempted concretized a central state initiated policy to ensure that Filipinos would be able to benefit from healthy living conditions. Despite of this positive intentions, the implementation of the law leaves much to be desired as the stringent regulations included in the law itself as well as its concomitant penalties had not been fully implemented (Danao 2007)

At the time of the passage of the law there was already recognition on the part of legislators that motor vehicles, especially diesel powered vehicles, are the main cause of air pollution in urban centers. To minimize the emission of toxic fumes on the streets, the Clean Air Act directed that no motor vehicle shall be registered unless it passes the emission-testing standards. The law also limits the use of benzene and aromatics for unleaded gasoline to further lessen air pollution (Danao 2007).

The state initiative known as the The Clean Air Act has put together significant penalties for violating pollution laws. In it states that smoke belchers “will be impounded, their license plates removed pending compliance with standards, and fined. A third offense is punishable by one-year suspension of the motor vehicle registration and fined up to P6,000. If the smoke emission test is zealously applied, then there should be no smoke belchers to impound or to fine” (Danao 2007). Despite of all this Metro Manila remains one of the most polluted metropolitan areas in the world. Efforts towards curbing vehicle pollution had been largely unsupported by a lot of sectors.

Aside from the lack of support, Danao also believes the pervasiveness of highly polluting vehicles despite the enactment of the Clean Air Act is indicative of the strong political force of the transportation sector. This muscle is definitely stronger than the political will of the regulators. The transportation sector flexed this muscle when regulators tried to enforce a provision of the Clean Air Act phasing out vehicle that have been used for more than seven years. Using the threat of a transport holiday, the transport sector forced the government to surrender to their demands (Danao 2007).

The difficulty faced by the central state in realizing this worthwhile objective is a validation of Joel Migdal’s typology regarding strong societies and weak states. According to Migdal, “state capability includes the capacity to penetrate society, regulate social relationships, extract resources, and appropriate or use resources in a determined way. However, states like the Philippines are characterized by a certain duality – their unmistakable strength in penetrating societies is accompanied by their surprising weakness in effecting goal-oriented social changes” (Migdal, 1988)

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the central state is unable to realize its positive social agenda due to a variety of factors. In order to counteract these forces that debilitate its capacity to fulfill its mandate, the central state has to elicit the support of key sectors in society to advance its positive social agenda. There are indications in recent years that the central state had decided to adopt this particular strategy. The strategy emphasizes the collaboration of central and local institutions as partners in achieving developmental goals.

The national government had envisioned that local governments could support state initiatives especially the implementation of the Clean Air Act. Among the actions initiated by the central state in this regard was for the Department of Interior and Local Government, with support from the DENR-EMB, initiated the launching of the *Linis Hangin sa Siyudad/Munisipyo* Program as part of the nationwide enforcement and implementation of Republic Act No. 8749 or the Philippine Clean Air Act of 1999.

The Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) claims that under the program, “local chief executives are encouraged to issue resolutions or enact ordinances on air pollution control and include clean air policies in their local development plan, conduct information campaigns on the value of smoke-free communities, and encourage community leaders, civic and religious organizations, and school institutions to actively support the campaign against air pollution in their localities.”

Recognizing the limitations of its own capacity as well as the potential of greater political collaboration with local government units, the central state has taken the lead in harnessing the support of this frontline sector to achieve the objectives of its own initiated policy. Instead of just merely staying at the sidelines, the local government units now are seen as active partners in the quest for cleaner air.

The Local Government Code clearly provides that local executives are mandated to implement environmental laws. Besides they are at the forefront of local environmental governance and are therefore accountable to their constituents on what they do to address environmental issues and concerns affecting their constituents.

In fairness, several local government units have initiated programs under the Clean Air Act, but much still need to be done. The LGUs still have to do something about smoke belching vehicles, about providing bikeways which are meant to provide and environment-friendly transport mode to resident, regulating smoking in public places, and the shift from two-stroke to four-stroke tricycles. The Linis Hangin Program which was launched by DENR-EMB in November 2004, has three sub-programs: Bantay Tambutso, Bantay Tsiminea, and Bantay Sunog-Basura. In 2004, the Bantay Tambutso sa Malls was launched, and the Bantay Tambutso sa Eskwela in 2005

Profile of the Local Political Elite: The Binay Political Clan

Against this policy backdrop, one distinctive feature of local government in the Philippines is the dominance of political clans. When the new government of President Corazon C. Aquino was inaugurated, Jejomar “Jojo” Binay was the first appointee in local government. He was appointed Officer-In-Charge of the Municipality of Makati effective 27 February 1986. This jumpstarted the establishment of the Binay political clan in Makati. Jojo Binay has been served as mayor for all but three years since the EDSA revolution in 1986.

Binay is married to the former Elenita Gabriel Sombillo of Angat, Bulacan, a Doctor of Medicine by profession. Elenita herself would succeed her husband when he reached the three term limit imposed by the constitution. They live at Caong St., San Antonio Village, Makati with their four children. One of which, as argued in this paper would play a surprising role in supporting a vital state initiative considering the history of the family as staunch oppositionists.

Representative Mar-Len Abigail S. Binay is said to have been socialized about the ins and outs of politics firsthand as a child. Her website claims that “with public service in her blood, she witnessed how Makati transformed from being a debt-ridden city into the financial center of the Philippines.” She graduated with a degree in Human Ecology at the University of the Philippines Los Baños. She would proceed to take up Law at the Ateneo de Manila University. After passing the Bar exams, Rep. Abby “immediately applied her legal knowledge to defend the underprivileged, a trait she shares with her father the incumbent Mayor Jejomar Binay” (Abby Binay Website).

Local Elite Support for the Clean Air Act

Recognizing the need to contribute to the drastic reduction of pollution levels as well as support the overall energy conservation program, the city government under the leadership of Mayor Binay recently unveiled its groundbreaking electric jeepney program designed not only to address the problem of rising fuel costs but more importantly help solve the high levels of pollution that besets an urban setting.

Electric Jeepney (E-Jeepneys) the first public transport of its kind in Southeast Asia were launched in July 4, 2007 in a historic drive along Ayala Avenue in the Financial District of Makati by GRIPP (Green Renewable Independent Power Producer), Greenpeace, and the Makati City Government. The Electric Jeepneys, part of an innovative project led by GRIPP, to help mitigate climate change, even as it addresses urban problems such as air pollution and solid waste (GRIPP Website).

There were some delays in the full implementation of the program. For the one the Department of Transportation and Communication a central state institution in charge with giving permission to operate these innovation in public transportation only issued the guidelines for the e-jeepneys last April 30, 2008. Almost nine months since it was first tested in Makati’s Central Business District, the electric jeepney has been classified in the guidelines as “a utility vehicle for private or public use, for non-commercial or commercial purposes or be hired to transport goods and passengers, subject to all applicable rules and regulations governing public-transport vehicles” (Mayuga, Business Mirror).

Mayor Binay saw the delay as a blessing in disguise. While it may have taken almost a year before the electric jeepneys were allowed to operate on major roads, the changes in environment had made the utility of electric jeepneys more viable. Binay articulated that “With the country reeling from almost weekly increases in the price of oil, the electric jeepneys are now more cost-efficient, not to mention environment-friendly, alternative modes of public transport. If we had officially introduced the e-jeepneys a year ago, we would hardly feel the need for it. But because of the rising cost of fuel, and the problem of air pollution, these vehicles are now very timely options,” he said.

According to the GRIPP website, Binay led city officials and officers of its partners Green Renewable Independent Power Producer (GRIPP) and Greenpeace in introducing

the e-jeepneys to the country's financial district Tuesday. Six e-jeepneys will service office employees in both Legazpi and Salcedo Villages in Makati. For the first week of operation, the e-jeepneys will ferry passengers for free. The city government will operate the vehicles for the time being. Binay said two of the six e-jeepneys were manufactured by the Motor Vehicle Parts Manufacturers Association of the Philippines (MVPMAP), using 90 per cent local materials. The first four units were made in China. Presented to the public in July of 2007, the e-jeepneys were given permission by the Land Transportation Office (LTO) to ply commercial routes last month. Binay said Makati will consider fielding 50 e-jeepneys in the city's streets, and is encouraging jeepney drivers and operators in the city to form cooperatives for the purpose of operating the vehicles. The city government is prepared to provide financial assistance to these cooperatives, he added (GRIPP Website).

The mayor's position is also echoed by his daughter the congresswoman who claimed that The E-Jeep costs an estimated PhP 500,000 while a normal jeepney is only within the range of PhP 300,000. This is why Rep. Abby is conducting dialogues with environmental groups and interested private companies to help make the price of the E-Jeep affordable for both jeepney operators and their passengers. Her own environmental advocacy is reflected in the following statement:

"The Earth is alive and in one way or another it will strike back against our excesses, as we have seen from the recent spate of calamities in our country. Let's not hold back on investing for our environment,"

National Energy Conservation Program and Local Elite Support

In July 16, 2008, the national government launched the SWITCH movement. According to the Department of Energy, SWITCH is a "social mobilization movement that seeks to demonstrate how ordinary Filipinos and specific sectors of Philippine society can contribute substantively—through fundamental changes in lifestyle, behavior or standard practices - to the massive effort needed to address the dire consequences of skyrocketing oil prices and climate change."

SWITCH evolved as a result of the 2008 Energy Summit, which itself was a social mobilization activity. Held last January, the Summit drew over 2,500 stakeholders from various sectors and employed social mobilization and performance monitoring as key strategies for sustaining program interventions that would be recommended. SWITCH crystallizes all the proposed social mobilization plans and activities arising from the Summit under a single "umbrella" campaign to maximize impact.

The DOE also argues that the program is not meant to duplicate the existing programs of government but it aims to supplement it. SWITCH culls from regular DOE programs and from private sector/civil society initiatives specific aspects with vital social mobilization components. From these regular programs and initiatives that require a high level of involvement from sectors and/or communities, it selects those program aspects that can

be termed “low-hanging fruit” in terms of the following criteria that was mentioned in the DOE website:

- It is strategic: it will help build the critical mass needed to realize impact in terms of significant energy savings and reductions in greenhouse gas emissions.
- It is immediately replicable and/or scalable in a cost-effective manner.
- It will promote multi-stakeholder consensus and united action.

As a social mobilization initiative, SWITCH is designed to:

- Make energy programs of both the government and the private sector more participative for better appreciation, acceptance and involvement among key stakeholders
- Accelerate and scale up the adoption of best energy practices that are simple but strategic
- Lay the institutional foundation to sustain best energy practices on the ground

To accelerate social mobilization among priority programs identified during the Energy Summit, SWITCH is working along two tracks. One involves scaling up mobilization of key stakeholders in mature programs that have ready resources for this purpose. The other track involves identifying promising concepts of best energy practices that have been proven to work on a pilot basis—and devising a way to replicate these initiatives systematically in other areas.

According to the DOE website, the first phase of SWITCH is planned for July-December 2008. During this phase, the campaign will focus on five calls to action:

- Switch from inefficient to efficient energy practices—starting with lighting—in workplaces, buildings, homes and public places.
- Switch from petroleum-based fuels to alternative fuels and cleaner technologies in the transport sector
- Switch from kerosene to renewable energy sources for lighting and basic electricity in remote rural areas
- Switch from fossil fuel-based technologies to renewable energy technologies in power generation, where feasible at the local level
- Switch from vestiges of centralized energy planning to more participative, bottom-up energy planning at the local level.

The Department of Energy spearheaded the creation of the SWITCH program with the advocacy greater energy efficiency. SWITCH started off with an initiative called “*Palit-Ilaw*”. Individuals and institutions had been called upon to switch from incandescent bulbs to compact fluorescent lamps (CFLs) and other energy-efficient lighting technologies. The state is convinced of the tremendous strategic benefit that such action would generate. According to the DOE, “It is estimated that replacing one million 60-watt incandescent bulbs with equivalent 13-watt compact fluorescent lamps (CFLs) would mean savings of at least 50 MW in equivalent power generation. This means that for \$1.5 million worth of CFLs, we can forego the installation of a power

station worth at least \$50 million. At the same time, this spells significant energy savings for households, offices, schools, hospitals, factories and other establishments. It will also lead to a marked reduction in greenhouse gas emissions that have been identified as a major cause of global warming.”

It is argued here that state elites have tried to rally the citizenry to support the program. Both political and bureaucratic elites have articulated the central state’s agenda to deliver positive social change with regard to the energy issue. In a statement Energy Secretary Angelo Reyes enunciated the benefits that could be derived from this program in the following lines:

“This program—which is supported by the Asian Development Bank with counterpart government funding from proceeds of the value-added tax—will feature, among others, the replacement of nine million incandescent bulbs with CFLs. Along with the other components of the program, this will result in savings of about 90 million US dollars per annum from avoided fuel cost. More significantly, this means that our country can defer 1.3 billion US dollars in investments in power generation and associated network capacity of 320 megawatts, which represents about two percent of the Philippines’ total generation capacity.”

The head of the Philippine government likewise had thrown her all out support for this initiative and has likewise acknowledged the emerging partnership with local political elites to realize a positive social agenda. In a statement the President had underscored the importance of the SWITCH program. President Arroyo stated that:

“National Fuel Conservation is now entrenched as a first principle of state craft. All government agencies have to reduce their energy bills by 10 percent. At gaya ng sabi ko, para sa proyektong Palit Ilaw, kalahating bilyong piso mula sa dagdag na kinita ng VAT ang inilaan sa tulong ninyong lahat upang himukin ang lahat ng Pilipino na palitan ang ginagamit an incandescent bulbs ng fluorescent lights. Sinisimulan natin sa pagpalit ng mga bombilya sa mga kalsada, opisina ng pamahalaan, ospital at iba pang pampublikong lugar. At ako ay nasisiyahan na narito ngayon ang mga mayor ng Metro Manila, pati na rin si Congressman Binay ng Makati na nagpakita ng suporta sa programang SWITCH” (DOE website).

Such comments from the chief executive underscored the importance of state local elite collaboration. For her part, Representative Binay is said to be currently organizing her constituent barangays to implement the switch from incandescent bulbs to compact fluorescent lamps (CFLs).

“The SWITCH movement extends beyond politics. If we really want to unite as a people, then this project is one of the best ways to start. My district will make the switch to CFLs now; it may be a small step in itself but if everyone cooperates in a symphonic matter, I am sure we will save not only the environment but also our expenses on energy,” according to Rep. Binay.

Rep. Binay had stated that she will “bring the CFL advocacy in all thirteen barangays of Makati City’s 2nd District by providing free CFLs to each of the barangay halls. Each barangay will be tasked to inform the people about the benefits of CFL and thereby encouraging them to make the switch (Abby Binay website).” To establish the benefits of CFLs, Rep. Binay will be consistently monitoring the power consumption of each barangay.

“Makati City has always been at the forefront of energy and environmental conservation. Pioneer projects which Makati has started such as the Electronic Jeepney (E-Jeep) and the No Smoking campaign are testaments to our commitment to give our constituents a sound environment to live in, Compact fluorescent lamps (CFL) provides the same amount of visible light as incandescent light bulbs but utilizes lesser energy and is estimated to have a longer life span. More importantly, it can save 2000 times of its own weight in greenhouse gases.

The support of Makati’s local elites for state initiatives did not end with the need to protect the environment. This time a scion of the established political clan contributed her own political support by bridging the political divide between state elites and local elites. Such efforts dovetail the earlier counterpart initiative of the patriarch of the Binay clan with regard to pollution control. The support of Abby Binay for an advocacy similar to programs initiated by his father is not surprising. During her campaign for the congressional seat in Makati, Abby Binay stressed that:

"I constantly try to emulate him and stand for what I think is right and just for the majority of the Filipino people. And it is my dream that someday soon, I too, will have the opportunity to make a tangible improvement in the quality of life of Filipinos, most especially the citizens of Makati.

The degree to which the Binay political clan’s potential as a partner in attaining national goals is realized depends on a number of factors including their commitment to a social agenda that benefits their constituency, the level of financial resources available to them and the interest of state elites to form de-facto partnerships with them. A paramount factor is the relation between the state and the political family. Inclusive state policies can pave the way for adoption of stronger ties with entrenched political families.

Conclusions

A healthy state-political family relationship can happen if both parties share common objectives. What has been observed here is that when the central state has a positive social agenda and when the political family has a history of advancing similar initiatives at the local level there is the potential for a strong collaborative relationship. Such relations between the state and the political family are rare. Conventional knowledge tells us that political families do not form genuine partnerships with the central state to advance social reform agenda. However case of Makati City, provides an interesting counterpoint to mainstream thinking regarding state and local elite relations in the Philippines.

When both the state and the local political elite look to complementary rather than competing contributions, collaborations become possible, even though the political family has had a history of opposing other state initiatives. As has been observed here, the state may desire to harness the capacity of the political family to mobilize resources that support of the state initiatives. The political family on the other hand may seek to reorient their parochial policies to policies that have broader implications.

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Sustainable Democratic Governance: Some Issues in Women's Political Participation

(Politics, Public Policy and Law)

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Sustainable Democratic Governance: Some Issues in Women's Political Participation

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ABSTRACT

The three pillars of sustainable development are social development, environmental protection, and economic development. One of the strategies for sustainable social development and democratic governance is political empowerment of women. In Malaysia, women are generally not excluded from the public sphere and are given the opportunity to play active roles in politics. Their involvement in politics has become apparent since 1945. Even so, previous studies show that the political roles of majority of Malaysian women are limited to campaigning and voting. The number of women competing as candidates for parliamentary and state assembly seats is also considerably small compared to men. This paper focuses on women political participation in Penang. It is an exploratory study of women involvement in politics using survey method. The objectives of this study are to: 1) to examine the forms of women political participation and 2) to compare the extent of political participation among women from different ethnic background, educational background, job sectors, and income levels. The findings indicate some extent of women involvement in different participatory forms such as voting, contacting their members of state assembly and parliament, contacting committee members of political parties, participating in political parties' activities, campaigning, attending political parties' talk, and contributing financially to political parties.

Keywords: political participation, women and politics, political participatory forms

Introduction

Among the determinants of sustainable development are social development, environmental protection, and economic development. One of the strategies for sustainable social development and democratic governance is political empowerment of women. In other words, women's political participation has been used as one of the measures in assessing their development in society. Specifically, indicators for women's political development are the existence of political rights similar to men to participate in politics, the rights to vote, the rights to become electoral candidates at all levels of political structure, and to become members of any political parties.

For many years, participation in political activities has dominated discussions of political research. McCloski's definition of political participation is "activities by which members of a society share in the selection of leaders and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy" (Lovenduski & Hills, 1981: 3). Cross-national research done in several countries shows that the better educated and higher social status individuals are more likely to use various opportunities for political participation. There is a tendency for these individuals to develop attitudes such as feelings of efficacy and a sense of civic duty that encourage political participation. They also possess the personal resources and skills that are easily converted into political involvement when the need arises (Verba, Nie, & Kim, 1978). Previous studies on situational factors and political attitudes have identified socioeconomic factors such as education, occupation, and income that shape variety of attitudes. Education has also been one of the predictors of women's participation in politics (Tedin, Bradley & Vedlitz, 1977; Klein, 1984). Recent evidence suggests that skill and confidence are important factors in activities which are considered to be complicated such as organizing new groups or becoming a leader in an organisation as compared to voting and personal contacting. In some societies such as the United States, there is an evidence of the better-educated and higher social status group of individuals to dominate the arenas of participation compared to the lower class (Almond, Powell, Strom, & Dalton, 2004)

This paper focuses on women political participation in Penang, Malaysia. In general, Malaysian women are not excluded from the public sphere and are given the opportunity to play active roles in politics. Their involvement in politics has become apparent since 1945. Even so, the number of women competing as candidates for parliamentary and state assembly seats is considerably small compared to men. After the 2008 general election, the total number of seats held by women in the Lower House and Senate of Parliament is 24 (10.8%) and 20 (31.35%) respectively (<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>).

Previous studies show that the political roles of majority of Malaysian women are limited to campaigning and voting. They are either directly involved in the general election campaigns as political party workers or as members of various groups and associations which give supports to political parties (Ramli, 2003). Some of these groups act as pressure groups which persuade political parties to accommodate their concerns into their election campaign. Women comprised about 50% of the country's population and this percentage is significance that political parties generally accord considerable importance to women issues in their manifestos and political campaign.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this research are:

- 1) to examine the forms of women political participation
- 2) to compare the extent of political participation among women from different ethnic background, educational background, job sectors, and income levels.

Methodology

This paper is an exploratory study of women political participation using survey method. The sample consisted of 314 women in Penang, Malaysia. The questionnaire used a 5-point Likert scale for each item. Data management and analysis was performed using SPSS 17.0.

Results and Discussion

The respondents in this study comprised of women aged from 21 to above 51 years old as indicated in Table 1. Eligible age to vote for Malaysians is 21 years old. The respondents were distributed across all age groups as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Age of Respondents

Age (yrs)	Percent
21-30	34.3
31-40	23.2
41-50	24.8
51 above	17.8
Total	100.0

Internal consistency of all the items in the questionnaire was quite high, with a reliability coefficient (Cronbach's Alpha) of 0.872.

Table 2. Participate and Responsible to Participate in Politics

	Disagree & Strongly Disagree (%)	Somewhat Agree (%)	Agree & Strongly Agree (%)	Mean	Standard Deviation
I participate actively in politics	81.9	12.4	5.4	1.80	.921
I am responsible to participate in politics	57.8	27.9	13.3	2.25	1.097

Table 2 shows that more than three-quarters (81.9%) of women in the study “disagreed and strongly disagreed” that they participated actively in politics. Only 5.4% “agreed and strongly agreed” that they participated actively in politics. However, the percentage of women who “agreed and strongly agreed” to the statement that they were responsible to

Table 3. Types of Political Participation

	Disagree & Strongly Disagree (%)	Somewhat Agree (%)	Agree & Strongly Agree (%)	Mean	Standard Deviation
I vote in every general election	16.5	12.7	70.2	3.91	1.301
I contact Member of State Assembly when necessary	69.2	13.7	16.5	2.41	1.176
I contact Member of Parliament when necessary	74.2	14.0	11.1	2.00	1.055
I contact Committee Member of any political parties when necessary	66.4	20.0	13.0	2.20	1.106
I participate in political groups' activities	83.2	10.5	6.0	1.75	.926
I participate in general election campaign	74.4	14.3	11.0	1.95	.981
I pay attention to politics of this country	18.1	34.3	47.0	3.29	1.068
I attend political parties' talk	74.3	15.9	9.5	1.93	1.074
I contribute money to political parties	84.7	27.9	4.7	1.60	.879

participate in politics is slightly higher (13.3%) than those who “agreed and strongly agreed” that they participated actively in politics (5.4%). It is apparent from this table that the percentages of women who participated actively in politics and felt responsible to do

so were small compared to percentages of those who did not participate and did not feel responsible to do so.

Table 3 presents the types of political participation the women involved in. The data from the table show that the only two forms of activities which score mean value more than 3. The highest mean value for the types of political participation was voting in every general election which was 3.91 followed by paying attention to politics of this country which was 3.29. The types of political participation which score the mean values between 2 and 3 were contacting members of State Assembly and Parliament, and Committee Member of any political parties when necessary. The other types of political participation score less than 2. The mean value lower than 2 indicates that majority of the women “disagreed and strongly disagreed” that they were involved in political groups’ activities, general election campaign, attending political parties’ talk, and contributing money to political parties. Most of the women in the study voted in every general election as compared to other types of political activities. The percentage of women who “agreed and strongly agreed” that they participated in voting in every general election was 70.2% as compared to those who “disagreed and strongly disagreed” which was 16.5%. The data also indicates that 47% of the women “agreed and strongly agreed” that they paid attention to politics of this country as compared to only 18.1% who “disagreed and strongly disagreed” of doing so.

Table 4. Participate actively in politics and ethnic background

	Malay	Chinese	Indian & others	Total
Disagree and strongly disagree	101	102	55	258
Somewhat agree	18	14	7	39
Agree and strongly agree	13	2	2	17
				314

Table 4 shows that women who “disagreed and strongly disagreed” that they participated actively in politics comprised of 101 Malays, 102 Chinese, and 55 Indians and others. There were only 17 women who “agreed and strongly agreed” that they participated actively in politics. The numbers were smaller for all three ethnic groups who “agreed and strongly agreed” to they participated actively in politics: 13 Malays, 2 Chinese, and 2 Indians and others.

Data in Table 5 indicates that women who “disagreed and strongly disagreed” that they participated actively in politics constitute of 42 with primary school level and below, 127 with secondary school education, and 89 with college/university education. The number of women who “agreed and strongly agreed” that they participated actively in politics decreased for every levels of education.

Table 5. Participate actively in politics and education levels

	primary school level and below	Secondary school	College/ University	Total
Disagree and strongly disagree	42	127	89	258
Somewhat agree	1	22	16	39
Agree and strongly agree	6	9	2	17
				314

Table 6. Participate actively in politics and job sectors

	Public sector	Private sector & NGO	Student	Total
Disagree and strongly disagree	49	140	66	255
Somewhat agree	9	27	3	39
Agree and strongly agree	3	7	7	17

As can be seen from Table 6, there were 49 women who worked in public sector, 140 in private sector and 66 students “disagreed and strongly disagreed” that they participated actively in politics. The number of women from each sector of employment who “agreed

and strongly agreed” that they participated actively in politics decreased to 3 women in public sector, 7 in private sector, and 7 students.

Table 7. Participate actively in politics and income levels

	RM 660 below	RM 661- RM 1999	RM 2000 above	Total
Disagree and strongly disagree	68	100	57	225
Somewhat agree	6	23	10	39
Agree and strongly agree	7	6	1	14

Table 7 shows that 68 women whose income was below RM660, 100 women whose income was between RM661-RM1999, and 57 women whose income was above RM2000 “disagreed and strongly disagreed” that they participated actively in politics. Only 7 women in the income bracket of below RM660, 6 women in the bracket of RM661-RM1999, and 1 woman in the bracket above RM2000 who “agreed and strongly agreed” that they participate actively in politics.

The results in this study are inconsistent with previous research since they suggest that levels of education and income are not significant indicators for women’s political participation. The results also do not show that ethnic background and job sectors as significant determinants for women to be involved in politics.

Conclusion

The findings in this study suggest that in general, the majority of women “disagreed and strongly disagreed” that they participated actively in politics. Most of them also did not feel responsible to participate in politics. Contrary to previous studies, these findings indicate that factors such as ethnic background, educational levels, job sectors, and income levels are not significant in determining the levels of women’s political participation.

Finally, even though the majority of women considered themselves as not actively involved in politics, the findings show that the majority of them admitted to voting in every general election. This rather contradictory results may be due to the women’s

general understanding of voting in general election as not part of being actively involved in politics. In addition, the results show that most of the women were reasonably well-informed voters who followed politics of the country. Considerably more work need to be done to investigate women's political participation and attitudes in developing countries.

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The Microfinance Sector in India: Contrasting the Self Help Group Bank Linkage Model and the Grameen Bank Model

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The Microfinance Sector in India: Contrasting the Self Help Group Bank Linkage Model and the Grameen Bank Model

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Microfinance refers to the provision of a broad range of financial services such as deposits, loans, payment services, money transfers and insurance, to poor and low income households and their microenterprises (ADB, 2009). Microcredit, namely the provision of loans, has been the mainstay of microfinance.

Globally, microfinance has grown in popularity as a possible means to address poverty in a sustainable manner. The high repayment rates on collateral free, microfinance loans are attracting the attention of not only socially oriented but also commercially oriented investors. Microfinance is emerging as a noteworthy asset class, whose earnings have low correlation with global business cycles and with potential to provide investors high returns with relatively low risk.

India, being home to around 300 million poor people is witnessing rapid growth in microfinance activities. Two important models have emerged. One is the “Self Help Group Bank Linkage Program (SBLP)” which was developed by the country’s apex bank for rural credit, the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD), a public sector organisation. The other model, the “MFI (microfinance institution) model” largely replicates Bangladesh’s Grameen Bank Model and grew mainly through private sector and NGO (non government organization) initiatives.

This paper enquires into the dynamics of these two models in the context of one state in India, Tamil Nadu. The purpose is to describe, analyze and explain them from the perspective of sustainable development drawing on a study of two microfinance providers and in-depth interviews of mature microfinance users.

The first section is about the challenges in assessing the impact of microfinance and its contribution to sustainable development. The second section provides an overview of microfinance in India. The third section describes the research study undertaken. The fourth section discusses the findings of the study. Finally, there is a section on conclusions.

1. Sustainable Development and Microfinance

One of the earliest definitions of sustainable development was provided by the Brundtland Report (1987), which defines it as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. The first part of the definition implies the importance of meeting the basic needs of the poor. The report of the world summit on sustainable development states clearly that eradicating poverty is an indispensable part of sustainable development (UN, 2002).

The millennium development goals (MDGs) integrate most of the aspects of sustainable development in the areas of nutrition, education, health, gender equity and environment. Microfinance which focuses on providing financial services to low income women could potentially be an important enabling factor in achieving the MDGs. The specific possible impacts of microfinance with regard to the MDGs are identified by Littlefield et.al. (2003). These include eradicating poverty, promoting children's education, improving health outcomes for women and children and empowering women.

However assessing the impact of microfinance on these criteria is not an easy task due to a number of factors. While anecdotal evidence on the benefits of microfinance are many, the number of careful impact studies by independent researchers is far fewer. This has led to skepticism on whether the enthusiasm for microfinance has been misplaced (Adams and Raymond, 2008).

Rigorous evaluations need to address the issue of what would have happened if the microfinance program had not existed. However, in the context of microfinance, this aspect is complicated by the fact that microfinance members usually join the programs on a voluntary basis leading to a "self selection" problem that makes direct comparisons between members and non members invalid. Similarly, direct comparisons between older members and new members also poses problems as earlier members are likely to have been significantly different (such as having greater initiative and risk taking ability) from later ones.

There is therefore a need for a comparable control group so that differences in income prior to providing microfinance and at a point in time subsequent to providing it can be compared. Two recent impact studies have used a randomized evaluation research design in order to address these issues. The first was by Karlan and Zinman (2009) who carried out a randomized evaluation in a microfinance bank in the Philippines. They found that businesses of borrowers shrank though profits at the household level increased through productivity increases. The measurement of impact was after a period of between eleven and twenty two months. They concluded that microcredit works through risk management and investment at the household level than by expansion of the micro enterprises financed. The other study was by Banerjee et.al. (2009) who carried out a randomized evaluation of the impact of introducing microcredit in a new market in the slums of Hyderabad, India. Fifteen to eighteen months after lending began in treated areas, they found no impact on average monthly expenditure per capita or on measures of health, education or women's education. However expenditure on durable goods increased in treated areas and the number of new businesses increased by one third.

The microfinance programs studied in both cases were very different, the first used an individual lending model to lend to existing business owners both male and female. The second, used the classical group lending model to lend to women. However the results were similar in that microcredit impact was not dramatic.

A group of six large microfinance practitioners based in the USA have pointed out that the results of these widely cited studies are greatly limited by their short time frames and small sample sizes (Accion et.al., 2010). They also make the point that "quantitative studies may not capture everything". Moreover, many of the impacts of microfinance may be indirect rather than direct.

Another study which specifically aimed to assess the contribution of microfinance to MDGs was conducted by the ADB with respect to the microfinance program of Khushhali Bank in Pakistan. It found that while there was a significant impact on income generation of the members, contribution to other MDGs was not significant (Setboonsarng and Parpiev, 2008).

The present paper will examine microfinance in India by using qualitative methods. The emphasis is not on the magnitude of possible impacts but on whether the process is geared to promote MDG goals.

2. Microfinance in India

Microfinance loans in India are defined as loans below Rs.50,000 in value. Broadly speaking, estimates on the extent of microfinance in India should also include operations of post offices and banks to the extent that they provide services to low income groups. However, challenges in estimating the extent to which they do so, have resulted in a more narrow definition of microfinance in the country as being comprised of the SBLP and MFIs (Srinivasan, 2009). The two models are described below.

2.1 The SBLP Model

A self help group (SHG) is usually a voluntary group that comes together with the objective of mutual aid. In the Indian microfinance context, it refers to groups of 12 to 20 low income women who come together for the purpose of creating a pool of savings that can be used for lending to members when the need arises. The women are between the ages of 20 years and 60 years and are residents of the same neighbourhood. The number of members of an SHG is capped at 20 to avoid the need for formal registration. Usually an NGO acts as a catalyst in the group formation process and also provides some basic training.

A group leader (called “animator”) and deputy leader are elected by the group. The animator has to undergo a compulsory awareness program within the first three months of the group’s formation. The group meets regularly (weekly or monthly) in the same neighborhood and starts saving. The monthly saving ranges between Rs. 20 and Rs. 100 depending on the capacity of the members. The pooled amount is initially kept in a box or in a post office account. Thereafter, a savings account is opened in a nearby bank branch. When the kitty grows, the group starts giving small amounts (between Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000) as interest bearing loans to individual members. The process continues and a record is maintained by the animator, giving the members experience in assessing individual credit worthiness, monitoring and record keeping. The members also build up credit histories and acquire experience in keeping accounts and adhering to terms and conditions. After a few cycles of mutual savings and credit have been successfully completed, the group approaches an external financial agency, usually a commercial bank for funding. Usually the group gets two or three times the pooled amount as a loan. A grading system is followed according to which banks assign grades to SHGs based on various parameters. SHGs which achieve the minimum score are advanced credit. The borrowing entity is the SHG and not the individual member. The loan taken by the SHG is distributed among the members in a proportion decided by the group, taking into account need and repayment capacity.

Financial incentives are usually provided by the Government to NGOs for group formation and training. Over a period of time, the NGO reduces its involvement with the group though some NGOs continue to meet them at least once a month, to monitor their performance and

also provide inputs on other matters they consider important for the socio-economic progress of the women. SHGs are at times used to channel resources of poverty alleviation programs. At the national level, the Swarna Jayanti Swarojgar Yojana (SGSY)¹, a program launched in 1999, which provides credit and capital subsidy is implemented through SHGs. SGSY groups accounted for 20% of the SHGs financed during 2008-09 and 21% of the loans disbursed in the same period. However, studies have found that the SGSY groups had repayment problems with non performing assets being double the average rate². Moreover, the groups also are found to last for a shorter duration (Srinivasan, 2009). Perhaps the reason could be that SGSY may attract certain undesirable elements who may join the group solely to take advantage of the program. At times, state level programs are also introduced through SHGs.

2.2 MFI model

MFIs also mostly use group based models of lending. Either the joint liability group or an adaptation of the SHG model (explained above) is commonly used.

Joint Liability Group (JLG) Model (replication of Grameen Bank model)

In this case, the MFI raises funds from various sources (such as donors, equity investors and lenders) and then on lends them directly to groups of low income women living in the same neighbourhood. The groups are usually composed of 5 members, with 6 to 8 groups forming a centre.

The MFI has a team of field officers who form groups and train them. While there is a group leader, she is not required to maintain records for the group as these are maintained by the field officers themselves. Hence no special training for the leader is necessary. After training of members, there is an assessment of the group by the MFI branch manager which involves visits to the residences of the members. This process is called as “group recognition test (GRT)”. Thereafter, the groups meet regularly on a weekly basis in the neighbourhood where the members reside. Loans are disbursed soon after the GRT. Savings are not usually insisted upon. In fact most MFIs (other than those registered as banks or cooperatives) in India are not permitted to collect savings of members.

Loans are given to individual members, though the group as a whole is responsible for repayment. All disbursements and repayments are made in the weekly centre meetings over 50 weeks, which typically take place in the early hours of the morning. The meetings are conducted by the MFI field officers. Strict discipline is enforced at the meetings so that they take place on time and are concluded within a fixed time frame. This is because the field officer usually has a tight schedule of centre meetings in the morning. All records of transactions of the group are maintained by the field officer. Progressively higher loan amounts are considered by the MFI on successful repayment of loans. All group members are usually given equal amounts of loan.

Adaptation of SHG Model

¹ Translates as “Golden Jubilee Self Employment Scheme”

² 5.72% as compared to 2.9%

MFIs, primarily those that evolved from NGOs who had been closely involved with the SHG model, use a hybrid of SHG and MFI models, by raising funds and directly lending to SHGs. In this case instead of commercial banks, MFIs themselves lend to SHGs. These MFIs make use of the SHG base built up by them as NGOs and superimpose the MFI model of lending to groups by raising funds.

2.3 Growth of the sector³

In March 2009, there were 76.6 million microfinance accounts in India as compared to 61.2 million in the previous year. Of these, 54.0 million accounts were served by the SHG model while 22.6 million were served by the MFI model. After adjusting for overlaps between the two models, the net microfinance customer base is estimated at 70 million.

While the SBLP accounted for 70.5% of the total outreach, the rate of growth of its outreach was 14.6% in 2008-09, far lower than the growth rate of the MFI model which grew by 60%. Moreover, for the first time, the number of incremental customers added by MFIs during the year was more than that added by the SHG Model. This could be because MFIs attract funding from a wider range of sources including from equity investors.

Outstanding loans of MFIs increased from Rs.59.50 billion in 2007-08 to Rs. 117.34 billion in 2008-09, a growth rate of 97%. In the case of SBLP, loans outstanding in the books of banks, increased from Rs. 170 billion to Rs. 241.96 billion (provisional figures) indicating a growth rate of 42% during the same period.

Some studies such as the Intellecap⁴ study entitled “Inverting the Pyramid” (2007) estimate that the potential market may be 245 million individuals, suggesting that there is still a lot of scope for the sector to grow.

2.4 Differences between the SBLP model and the MFI model

There are important differences between the two predominant models, the SBLP and the MFI model, as summarized in **Table 1** at **Annexure**.

Both the SBLP and the MFI model have over a period of time developed their own strengths and weaknesses. The strengths of the SBLP include its wider social agenda, the training provided to group members and its emphasis on savings. Its primary weakness is that as groups manage themselves after a point, there is wide variation in quality observed between groups (EDA-APMAS, 2006). The MFI model on the other hand has strengths in the greater uniformity of services provided across groups of a single MFI and the standardized record keeping by MFI employees. However the sole emphasis on microcredit and the lack of savings services due to regulatory constraints are significant weaknesses.

3. Research Study

³ Figures in this section obtained from Srinivasan (2009).

⁴ Intellecap is a social sector advisory firm based in India.

As described in **Section 1** of the paper, it is difficult to assess precisely the direct and indirect impacts of microfinance on achievement of MDGs. Using qualitative research, this study attempts to assess if the way microfinance is made available in India, warrants expectation that it could contribute to the MDGs. An understanding of this aspect could be useful to donors and policymakers in determining how much emphasis microfinance should receive in their actions to promote achievement of MDG objectives. The study could also point to ways in which the practice of microfinance in India could be improved in order to contribute more to these objectives.

The above research question implies that the study is a kind of an “evaluation” research, as it is in essence trying to evaluate the role of micro finance in promoting achievement of MDGs. Case studies are said to have an important role in evaluation research, when there is a need to explain the link between program implementation and program effects (US General Accounting office, 1990, quoted in Yin, 2002) when the causal links are too complex for a survey to analyze.

The case study has multiple units of analysis, as both micro finance providers (MFPs) and microfinance members are studied resulting in an “embedded case study design” (Yin, 2002). Multiple case studies are proposed to be used at both levels making it a multiple holistic-multiple embedded case study design.

As there are two main models for micro finance in the state, namely the SBLP and the MFI model, one typical case of each one was studied, making it a multiple case study design at the level of microfinance providers. Within each MFP, individual MFP members who are at least in the third year of MFI membership were studied. So at this level also, a multiple case study design is used. A major objective was to ascertain the method in which the microfinance loans were utilized. The in-depth interviews trace the usage of microfinance loans from commencement of membership, providing an insight into the results that may be expected from the process. Members using one or both models of microfinance in the country were interviewed.

3.1 Selection of microfinance providers and members

The entire study was conducted in the context of one state in India, namely, Tamil Nadu. At the microfinance provider level “Hand in Hand (HIH)”, an NGO involved with the SBLP was selected while for the MFI model, “Grama Vidiyal Microfinance Limited (GVMFL)”, an MFI using the Grameen model was selected. While HIH is an NGO which has been involved with the SBLP since 2002, GVMFL is the largest MFI in Tamil Nadu on the basis of loans outstanding and the 9th largest in the country (Crisil, 2009).

For selection of members, a stratified random sampling technique was adopted at GVMFL as it was decided to cover members in rural, semi-urban and urban areas. In this manner, 5 rural members, 8 urban members and 10 semi-urban members were interviewed. As some members had been graduated to individual loans, in all the above three categories, graduates and non graduates were interviewed.

At HIH, as only monthly meetings are held, a neighborhood in which members reside was visited and 8 members who were at least in the third year of their membership were interviewed.

All members interviewed were women between the ages of 18 and 59 as this is the eligibility for HIH as well as GVMFL membership. In total, in-depth interviews of 31 microfinance members were carried out.

3.2 Research details

The research site was Tamil Nadu in India. In the case of the MFI (GVMFL), the researcher visited 12 branches of the MFI around Tiruchirapalli. The urban branches of Thennur, Srirangam, Kattur and Pudukkottai were visited. The semi-urban branches that were visited were Somarasampettai, Samayapuram, Mathur and Lalgudi. The rural branches which were visited were Annavasal, Keeranur, Thirukattupalli and Nanillam. In addition, the head office at Tiruchirapally and the administrative office at Chennai were visited.

In the case of the SBLP (HIH), the researcher visited Baluchetty in Kancheepuram District, Tamil Nadu. In addition, the head office at Chennai and the administrative office at Kancheepuram were visited.

4. Analysis of findings

A study of the microfinance providers of both models indicated clearly that the SBLP seems more suited for providing a more holistic development of the individual member as its focus is not lending alone but the social development of the members. Moreover, it offers savings services in addition to credit. Finally, the involvement of NGOs whose staff is attuned to addressing social issues, makes it more likely that matters relating to social aspects are discussed during group meetings. The focus in the MFI model is primarily on lending. As a result, MFI field workers often tend to come from commercial backgrounds such as finance companies or marketing companies. Even though the MFI management emphasizes social issues in its mission, at the ground level the emphasis is on disbursing and collecting loans.

The interviews with members indicate that both the SBLP and the MFI appear to be benefiting them by providing a means to bridge cash flow gaps. In fact, it turned out that fourteen interviewees had joined both MFI and SBLP programs. In response to questions on which model was superior, it was surprising to find that many of them viewed each model as serving different purposes. Instead of viewing the two models of microfinance as competing, they viewed them as being qualitatively different and used them in a complementary manner. Membership in the SBLP was essentially for members to be able to take advantage of Government initiatives and having a platform to participate in social and political issues. The fact that the groups were linked to large banks gave them a sense of pride and empowerment. The membership in the MFI on the other hand, was seen as the key to a reliable and predictable source of funding. The women valued this membership as well greatly, and were dependent on it for working capital as well as to meet lump sum expenses.

Looking at the aspect of poverty eradication, it was found that in both models, there were two distinct kinds of members.

The first kind of members included cases where the members or their husbands were engaged in an income generating activity. For them, access to micro finance provided working capital in the early stages. After each loan cycle, as the loan size typically gets larger investment for capacity expansion is enabled. In other cases, it enables the member to engage in greater

value added activities. For example, one member who had a photo studio was able to buy a video camera after a few loan cycles. In this manner, the member is able to gradually increase income levels substantially.

The second kind of members were those who did not have a stable and solid income generating activity but used the loans mainly to meet household expenses and bridge cash flow gaps. For instance, one member in a rural area used the loan to smoothen cash flows as her husband, the only earning member of the family, was erratic in giving her his income. For such members, there does not seem to be a clear path out of poverty. Micro finance providers need to clearly identify such members and put them on a different kind of program which enables them to attend skill development courses. To start a business in addition to attending courses, an opportunity for internship in a successful micro enterprise in the same line of business in another location may be helpful.

With regard to health outcomes, this was studied by examining if the microfinance members had health insurance coverage. It was found that none of those interviewed in both models enjoyed health insurance. Thus when there are health shocks, typically members continue repayment of microfinance loans by pawning their jewels or by availing loans from moneylenders. The higher interest rates that these usually entail, put a burden on the members. In the SBLP, NGOs often specifically provide information and advice on health aspects during their meetings with members.

With regard to empowerment of women, this was examined by an assessment of whether the microfinance loans were used by women for their own businesses as this would imply that they have their independent source of income. Aghion and Morduch (2005) point to the fact that microfinance can enhance the woman's intra-household bargaining power. As shown analytically by Browning and Chiappori (1998), a women's intra household bargaining power is obtained by her ability to credibly threaten to leave the household. Access to microfinance can enhance this ability.

Directly asking about whether women felt empowered by microfinance has the tendency to elicit a positive response due to conditioning by NGOs and MFIs in this regard. Hence this indirect approach was used. It was found that out of the 31 members interviewed; only 15 used the loans for their own business or for their joint business with their husband. Out of the remaining, 12 used the loan mainly for their husband or children's businesses. The other 4 used the loan to meet household expenses, fees for children or to repay moneylender's loans. Especially in urban areas, only 2 out of the 8 members interviewed used the loan for their own business. Out of the 9 interviewees who had graduated to individual loans, 4 used the loans for their own business. The other women had been graduated to individual loans based on household cash flow, which primarily emanated from husband's earnings.

Hence it cannot be assumed that microfinance leads to women developing their own enterprises and subsequently their independent sources of income, contributing to their intra-household bargaining power and empowerment. However, it was found that in both models, women mentioned that the microfinance groups enable them to develop bonds with a set of people outside the family to whom they can turn to in times of need.

On education, there were no specific questions as again these may illicit responses that may tend to be positive. However, it was found that in most cases, women mentioned that access to microfinance enables them to smoothen cash flows and make lumpy payments such as

children's school fees. Moreover, many members when asked about their future plans mentioned their desire to enable their children to study for vocational or professional courses. In at least a few cases, it was found that women used the loans for payment of fees for their children. However the rigid repayment schedules of microfinance loans puts a heavy strain on their finances as the loans are typically geared for repayment from income generation loans. There seems to be a need for MFIs to offer loans more specifically for addressing this need by providing longer repayment periods.

5. Conclusions

From the study of the two models of microfinance in India, it seems that both models appear to be playing useful roles in improving the lives of their members. More specifically, with regard to aspects relating to achievement of MDGs, it is found that the SBLP is better geared to address these aspects. However, it is the MFI model which is growing more rapidly and which more clearly appears to be financially sustainable, due to its better access to funding from various sources.

Interviews of members indicate that a differential approach needs to be adopted by both models with regard to members having a stable income generating activity and those not having this advantage. The latter need inputs on skill development so as to enable them to move out of poverty.

With regard to health outcomes, microfinance does not seem to help except through advice provided by NGOs in the SBLP. There is a need for health insurance in order to enable tangible benefits in this regard. In its absence, health shocks have the potential to undo any progress made through microcredit. In India, growth in microinsurance is clearly lagging behind that of microcredit. Even the product with the highest coverage (life insurance) has coverage of just 21% of that of micro credit. Health insurance coverage needs to be improved in order to help achieve better health outcomes for members.

To study potential for female empowerment, the utilization of microfinance loans was studied. In about the half the cases, microfinance loans were utilized by women for activities of male household members. It therefore cannot be assumed that microfinance leads to female empowerment by enabling women to have an independent source of income. To the extent that the loan is routed through the women, they may have a say in the utilization but the empowerment impact of that may be limited. However, bonding with the microfinance group who are in regular touch with the member, is found by women to be source of strength in times of need.

On the subject of access to education, microfinance helps bridge cash flow gaps enabling payment of fees for children's education. This could address an important barrier to continued access to education. However, for larger outflows associated with vocational training and professional courses, members felt the need for specific education loans with longer repayment periods. Provision of such loans could also enable a means for the household to progress out of poverty.

In conclusion, it is apparent that microfinance provides a good channel to reach large numbers of low income women for purposes of promoting sustainable development. However, the channel does not seem to be fully leveraged by policymakers and donors for this purpose. In order to play a more significant role in achieving these objectives,

microfinance providers need to be encouraged to incorporate greater focus on these outcomes
into their processes.

ANNEXURE

Table 1: SBLP Model and MFI Model

(Source: Author)

SBLP Model	MFI (Grameen) Model
Groups of 13- 20 members	5 member groups, with 5 to 7 groups forming a center
Group formation and monitoring for some time by NGO, but NGO eventually withdraws	Group formation and monitoring throughout by MFI
Loan advanced by Commercial Bank	Loan advanced by MFI
Group members trained to do record keeping and bank transactions	MFI staff do record keeping and bank transactions
Loans are given to SHGs which on lend to members	Loans are given to members individually though on joint liability basis
Savings for 6 to 12 months needs to precede borrowing	Loans are given without any prior savings period. In fact savings cannot be collected by MFIs due to regulatory reasons.
Delivery of microcredit viewed by some NGOs as secondary to goals of female empowerment and social transformation	Microcredit is the main focus
On an ad hoc basis, Government subsidies are given to SHGs by way of grants equivalent to a part of the loan	There is no subsidy element in MFIs

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**Institutions and Social Mobilization:
The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia**

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Institutions and Social Mobilization: The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia

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Introduction

Arguably Malaysia's longest-running social movement organization, *Dongjiaozong*, is a rare example in Asia, as an ethnic-based social movement organization and actively engaged in contentious politics for more than five decades. *Dongjiaozong* is known to the Chinese civil society in Malaysia as the combination of two national-level umbrella organizations and the two most significant elements of the Chinese school: the United Chinese School Committee Association of Malaya¹ (or *Dongzong*) and the United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaya (or *Jiaozong*). Together, they have been running the Chinese education movement in Malaysia since the 1950s. *Dongjiaozong* also represented the resistance of the Chinese minority groups, in their fought to preserve their cultural pride and identity from incursion by the Malay-dominated state of Malaysia.

Dongjiaozong has earned a reputation among the Chinese community as a worthy and legitimate defender of Chinese culture and rights in Malaysia. Over the years, the state has consistently striven to constrain the movement, its organizations, and supporters alike. A series of events have threatened to derail the movement, with some of these challenges being turned into opportunities and sources of motivation for the movement's activists. State officials like to paint *Dongjiaozong* as a chauvinist or extremist organization, a view supported by the plethora of restrictive regulations and policies imposed on it.

These restrictions have failed to result in the movement's demise, however. Over time, the movement's leadership and key supporters have repeatedly seized opportunities, generated and accumulated resources, and survived its dealings with the state. Nevertheless, why does this social movement organization continue to persist, if it has successfully achieved its objective? Has the five decades of experience begun to be a burden instead?

This led to increasing unrest in Malaysia between 1998 and 2008. Social movement groups and opposition political parties took advantage of the political opportunity to broach on a variety of issues ranging from human rights, grievances of minority groups and government policies, to demands for greater state reformation. These attest to the fact that the Malaysia society is expanding beyond itself as a contained pressure group and has begun to play a more significant role in domestic contentious politics.

In 2008, for the first time in Malaysia history, the Barisan National alliance lost control of five states and a promising two-third majority advantage in the federal parliament. This defeat and the political pressure that fell on Abdullah's successor, Najib Razak, saw the

¹ The name was changes into United Chinese School Committee' Association of Malaysia on April 26, 1979.

emergence of stronger and more demanding social mobilization among its citizens in 2009. For political survival, Najib's government began to open itself to compromises to its citizens' demands through collaboration and cooption. Among the various groups, *Dongjiaozong* was one of the few contentious groups the government engaged for negotiation. How did this social movement organization maximize the political opportunities presented to them to achieve their objectives?

There are comparatively little systematic studies made to understand the existence, prevalence, functionality, and operations of *Dongjiaozong* as a social movement organization. Non-institutional elements such as the internal organization, core issues of membership and identity, importance of networking and political participation in its mobilization process that have allowed the social movement organization to attain its objective in its operations and campaigns, remain potentially worth exploring. Therefore, this research is devoted to exploring and understanding the politics within and between the social movement organizations in Malaysia.

Research Questions and Observations

This research aim to explore the following primary research question:

How does a minority social movement organization persist in pushing its agenda despite facing ongoing constraints imposed by a majority-dominated state?

The understanding of the role of social movement organization (in this thesis, the case study of *Dongjiaozong*), will perhaps provide better validity of *Dongjiaozong* as a model of an organization in social movement analyses. The author will attempt to analyze the campaigns conducted by the same social movement organization separately, thus sorting out the conditions that induce different types of mobilization, process and achievements. The social movement political opportunity models will also provide a synthesis of the political struggles of the social movement organization and state actors to form a core understanding of the evolving dynamics of a non-violent, ethnicity-based, trans-social class social movement. Additionally, the research will examine the role of the social movement organization in sustaining the movement, the challenges it faces, the strategies it adopted, and the state's attempts to constrain and control the social movement organization.

Observations

Here, in order to answer the mentioned research question, the author argues the following three observations:

1. *Continuous external threats to dilute the minority's identity by the State have shaped a culture of resistance that has become important momentum for the social movement organisation.*

Cultural resources such as vernacular language and the culture it symbolizes have shaped the identity and “imagined”² territory of Chinese communities in Malaysia. Continuous external challenges, marginalization, lack of competent alternatives (especially in providing quality education), and the threat of Chinese identity dilution have sustained the movement’s actors and their activities, despite confined in a constrained political environment. In the process of struggle to sustain the continuation of Chinese education system, the social movement has created a temporary solution to sustain this identity by maximizing limited resources (mostly provided by the Chinese-speaking Chinese communities), and opportunities, thus shaping a culture of resistance against the state’s policies over time.

2. The combination of a formal bureaucracy institution at the national level with a loosely structured grassroots support system agency has provided significant mobilization powers to the social movement.

Although begun as a cultural preservation tactic, the movement has been sustained through the gradual maturation of its social movement organization through professionalization and division of work through a system of working committees. The chief strength of the social movement organization remains in its ability to collaborate with allies, while its extensive grassroots support demonstrates effective mobilization. Despite differences in social and political backgrounds, individual connections have been critical in brokering and bridging the divide between the movement's entrepreneurs and the authorities.

3. *A competitive political arena has provided channels for negotiation and limited violent expression by both the State authorities and the social movement activists.*

A multi-party coalition regime of a (semi) democratic country is more tolerant and provides more political space than a single-party dominated regime. Mutual dependency among various parties within the coalition has prevented the state from taking violent measures to counter the Chinese education movement. Instead, everyday resistance and tension had better encapsulate the challenger-state authority relations in Malaysia. Moreover, although tensions have waxed and waned over time, violent suppression has been rare, especially when compared to the fate of other ethnic (and religious) based movements in the country.

Literatures on Social Movements and Institutions

Collective behavior scholars of the 1940s and 1950s who studied riots, crowds, and mass hysteria considered the participants of these activities as irrational, dysfunctional, and abhorrent aberrations in the functioning of a modern social system. Contemporary social movement studies grew out of this research. In contrast to the previous studies that

² Anderson, 1991.

stressed the integration of and equilibrium inherent to social systems, these newer studies placed conflict and struggle as integral to such a social system.

Social movements differ from political parties or interest groups. They are a complex set of multiple actions by a mixture of actors oriented toward some general social change goal.³ Political parties nominate candidates in election and aim to win formal control of government to implement its programs, whereas interest groups and social movement organizations do not. Interest groups, as associations of individuals or organizations and usually formally organized, simply desire to influence public policy in their areas of concern.⁴

The definition of a social movement in this research will combine that of Tarrow (1994), Charles Tilly (1995, 2004) and Clive S. Thomas (2001). Here, a social movement is *a series of sustained interactions and collective political action, contentious performances, displays and campaigns by ordinary people outside established political institutions. These people share collective claims, common purposes, and solidarity to challenge authorities to change elements of the socioeconomic and political structure, or in the distribution or exercise of power in society.* Despite evident diversity, social movements share commonalities and principles that make comparative research and generalizations possible.

There are many distinctions where social movement groups and interest groups overlap, as some social movement groups may transform into interest groups or political parties when the need arises. Above all, social movement groups, interest groups, and states continuously influence each other. “Movements influence state actors by agenda-setting and suggesting new political strategies; states, in return, influence movements by proactive covert repression, and by setting the rules for counter movements as well as movement activities.”⁵

Social movements involve collective behavior and collective action, and need both to succeed. How or why rational individual join to act collectively has always puzzled scholars. In 1965, Olson (1965: 2) argued that, “unless the number of individuals in a group is quite small, or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest, rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests”. Collective behavior entails costs and usually requires such stimulus as grievances or deprivation, although the latter do not automatically translate into movement activity.⁶ Grievances need to be mobilized. Any given society possesses external (i.e. money, time, media, material) as well as internal resources (i.e. members’ capacity, individual moral, support). These can be put into use by political entrepreneurs, movement leaders and organizations to coordinate, organize, mobilize, and ultimately agitate.⁷ A social movement’s leaders and entrepreneurs can be

³ Oliver and Marwell, 1993.

⁴ Key, 1964: 9-10, 155; Thomas, 2001: 5.

⁵ Goldstone, 2003: 24.

⁶ Zald, 1992.

⁷ Olson, 1965.

those running an organization, providing incentives or resources, or leading the movement's activities. McCarthy and Zald (1977) lay special emphasis on the role of professional social movement organizations in solving the collective action problems of the resource mobilization literature.

According to Meyer and Tarrow (1998: 19), the strength of movement-related organisations can be measured by their internal development following heightened mobilization, such as maturation of greater formalization, the move toward bureaucratization, professionalization, membership growth, and extension of networking. Others warn that organisational formalization can discourage mobilization, leading to the movement's ossification and alienation of grass-root support.⁸

Resource mobilization literature, however, have failed to explain why social movements do not happen across countries with grievances and sufficient resources. This gave rise to the political process approach, which looks more broadly at the political opportunities and threats in which movements mobilize their resources. A principal proponent of this school of thought, Doug McAdam (1982), argued that political opportunities, a heightened sense of political efficacy, and the development of institutions had played a central role in shaping the civil rights movement in the United States. The political process model places great emphasis on the structural constraints and opportunities that social movements face. These include political pluralism, internal fragmentation within political systems, receptivity of political systems to organized protest, as well as support and facilitation of political elites.

Power relationships between challengers and authorities are constantly changing and therefore present a constant change of opportunities for social movements to draw upon. "People join in social movement in response to political opportunities and then, through collective action, create new ones."⁹ Social movements result when expanding political opportunities are seized by people who are formally or informally organized, aggrieved, and optimistic that they can successfully redress their grievances.¹⁰

Political opportunity theorists are institution-oriented. McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996) proposed that political opportunity should only include structural factors and not cultural processes: "the kinds of structural opportunities should not be confused with the collective processes by which these changes are interpreted and framed" (pp. 25-26). Sidney Tarrow (1994) used slightly different language to describe the same phenomena. Instead of discussing 'institutional constraints', Tarrow wrote about the need for 'political opportunity structures' (p.13) as dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure (p.85). For Tarrow (1989, 1994), Tilly (1978) and McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (1997), the success of mobilization (or politicization) hinges on the opportunities afforded the group in question. The opportunities present themselves when

⁸ McAdam, 1982: 55-56.

⁹ Tarrow, 1994: 17-18.

¹⁰ McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996: 8.

there is a shift in the institutional structure or the ideological disposition of those in power.”¹¹

Non-institutional or structural factors such as strategy, agency, culture, cultural perception, ideology, and class variables have been neglected by most mainstream scholars. They are lumped into the category of “mobilizing structures” and “framing”, and lacked systematic analysis.¹² Despite the difficulties of scientifically and quantitatively categorizing and grouping these important variables, these restrictions should not hinder academic exploration on them.

Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia

The Chinese education movement is historically rooted in opposition to state attempts at control. Its origins can be plausibly dated to 1920 as a reaction against the passing of the Registration of Schools Ordinance,¹³ the colonial administration's earliest effort to exert “order” over Chinese vernacular schools in British Malaya.¹⁴

From 1925 to 1928, 315 Chinese schools’ registrations¹⁵ were revoked for failure to comply with curriculum, administration and management, or sanitary standards.¹⁶ In response, local Chinese organizations, such as the Penang Overseas Chinese Union,¹⁷ are the core cadre of pro-revolutionist Sun Yat Sun’s *Nanyang Tongmenghui* and Penang Philomatic Union,¹⁸ took up the cause. Chinese leaders at the forefront, such as Choong Thiam Poe, Song Mu Lin, Goh Say Eng, Yu Pei Gao, Tan Sin Kian, Khoo Beng Cheang, Ooi Kim Kheng, are mostly businessmen, and which also acted as Chinese school management committee, regarded the law as an infringement on their authority over the management of the schools.¹⁹

¹¹ Freedman, 2000: 37.

¹² Goodwin and Jasper, 1999: 29.

¹³ Registration of Schools Ordinance, Straits Settlements No. 21, October 27, 1920. A similar law was passed by the Federal Council of the Federated Malay States on November 20, 1920.

¹⁴ Under this education enactment, all school’ teachers, and school board of governors had to register with the Department of Education and comply with various regulations. Many believe that the regulation was imposed due to the increase in Chinese nationalism and anti-imperial sentiments in Chinese schools strongly influence by the 1919 May Fourth Movement in China. See MICSSWC, 1992: 76-77.

¹⁵ By 1920, the Malay State Federation had 181 Chinese schools, and 313 in the Straits Settlement. Choong WC, 2004: 182.

¹⁶ Choong WC, 2004: 183; Loh, 1975: 43, 94-95.

¹⁷ The Penang Overseas Chinese Union was part of the Overseas Chinese Union, formed by former members of *Nanyang Tongmenghui*, a secret organization that supported Sun Yat Sen revolution. The Penang *Tongmenghui* branch camouflaged as the Penang Philomatic Union, a reading club consisted of politically active Chinese businessman. *Tongmenghui* significantly contributed (especially in providing financial resources) to the successful of China 1911 revolution. The Overseas Chinese Union was formed after 1911 and was acknowledged by the new Nanking government. Teoh SK (2004)

¹⁸ In August 1910, Sun Yat Sen began to use Penang as a personal sanctuary as well as the revolutionaries secret headquarters of the *Nanyang Tongmenghui*. Goh Say Eng and twenty-one others had jointly called for a meeting to organise the Penang Philomatic Union. Tan, 2007: 133

¹⁹ Goodman, 1921.

They mobilize a public assembly on July 16, 1920 at Penang Chinese Assembly Hall in protest of this regulation. Although most straits-born, English-educated Chinese committees from the assembly hall refused to participate, however local Chinese educationalists and school representatives from seven other states (including Singapore) attended the assembly.

Accompanied with lawyer Goh Guan Ho, the movement representative Choong Thiam Poe travelled from Malaya to London in the mission to petition the British Home Government to repeal the law.²⁰ The law was approved by the British on the August 4, a month earlier before Choong arrival on September 6.²¹ Resistance failed, and some leaders, such as Choong Thiam Poe, Tan Sin Kian, Yu Pei Gao, Ooi Kim Kheng and Song Mu Lin, were either jailed or expelled from the Malaya federation.

At its outset, the movement concentrated its energies at the local level. Limited by geographical terrain, human resources and access to communication, movement during the pre-world war era were mainly confined to towns or districts. Headed by a politically active merchant class, the movement was loosely structured and lacked the capacity to respond uniformly or effectively to changing developments. Although activists had the support of the local Chinese population, most attempts at resistance--like the one described above--ended poorly. The British simply expelled the agitators. Not until after World War II did the movement coalesce into an organization-led entity with clearly defined aims and strategies.

The Chinese schoolteachers nationwide had built up a steadily growing number of teachers' and principals' associations in the country. In 1950, as a result of growing numbers of the local teachers and principals associations, these groups joined together under the umbrella of a national union. Despite linguistic and geographical differences, this collective approach and standardization of strategy promised gains in the advocating for improved welfare, which included an increase in grant-in-aids for Chinese schools.

Brewing optimism led to the formal establishment of the United Chinese School Teachers' Association (or *Jiaozong*). The decision was taken at the first national meeting, held at the Hokkien Association in Kuala Lumpur in August 1951. *Jiaozong* was officially inaugurated on Christmas Day in 1951. After the release of the controversial 1951 Barnes Report²², which recommended that all vernacular schools should be abolished and replaced by a single system of primary school teaching in English, these groups of Chinese schoolteachers sensed an impending crisis in Malayan Chinese society. It was through the efforts and intervention of Wen Tien Kuang,²³ founding member of

²⁰ Tan KH, 2007: 192; Teoh SK, 2005: 89.

²¹ Teoh SK, 2005: 89.

²² It triggered a strong reaction in the Chinese community and brought together 1,400 Chinese associations to discuss this government legislation. The discussion ended with the formation of the United Chinese Schools Teachers' Association and the United Chinese Schools Committees Association. See Palanca, 2004.

²³ Graduated from the Columbia University in America, he has been the Chinese-English translator of MCA during the 1950s. Almost all documents between *Dongzong*, *Jiaozong* with MCA were translated by him. He was the Selangor Chinese School Committee Association general secretary (1956- 1959) and

Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) -- the first Chinese-based political party, and an active leaders of Selangor Chinese School Board of Committee Association, in collaboration with *Jiaozong*, that drew on the collective power of MCA, led by Tan Cheng Lock²⁴ and the United Chinese School Committees' Association (*Dongzong*) to collaborate under the framework of the "Grand Three Associations of Chinese Education" (*Sandajigou*) in defending the status of Chinese education. This was one of the most important political collaboration of the Malayan Chinese, especially during Malaya's transition from a colony into a new nation-state.

However, the strength of the working relationship among *Jiaozong*, MCA and *Dongzong* was shaken when most sympathizers of Chinese educationalists and MCA leaders left the party after an internal crisis in December 1960.²⁵ Tan Siew Sin²⁶ who assumed leadership after 1960 were more submissive, pro-UMNO, and therefore dropped their uncritical support for the Chinese movement. In response, *Jiaozong* and *Dongzong* joined forces to form the working alliance of *Dongjiaozong*, and became popular and widely acknowledged by the Chinese community after the 1968 fundraising campaign and formation efforts to establish the first Chinese independent university-*Merdeka* University in Malaysia. *Dongjiaozong* has been acting as the formal organization of the Chinese education movement ever since.

Over this time, and to this day, *Dongjiaozong* has striven to solidify its organizational efforts, to strengthen its power of negotiation, to recruit and unify supporters, and, most importantly, to function as a platform to plan the movement's strategies.²⁷ During its five decades, *Dongjiaozong* has survived a host of challenges from many quarters. It has established itself as a major social movement organization and the player behind the dynamic Chinese education movement in Malaysia.

The title of *Dongjiaozong* became popular and widely acknowledged by the Chinese community during the *Merdeka* University Campaign in 1968. However, *Dongzong* began to lead the Chinese education movement in Malaysia from the 1970s with the *Duzhong* (Chinese Independent Secondary Schools) revival movement, and provided strong financial resources for its organization at the beginning of 1974. With more *Jiaozong* members now being constrained by their status as a civil servant, *Dongzong* staff and leaders formed the majority of *Dongjiaozong*.

deputy president (1960-1964). He was also appointed as *Sandajigou's* Chinese Education Central Committee's secretary. He also played the role as the middle man between Lim Lian Geok, and Tan Cheng Lock.

²⁴ Tan Cheng Lock was MCA first president. He was straits-born, English-educated, and a well connected Straits Chinese leader with British officials such as Malcolm MacDonald and Henry Gurney. Tan served as a nominated member of the Malacca Municipal Council and Straits Settlements Legislative Council. See Tan LY (1988: 50-51); Heng PK (1988: 67, 251).

²⁵ After the death of MCA charismatic leader Tan Cheng Lock (陈祯禄) in 1958, MCA has been divided into two factions, one of the pro-UCSTA leaders (lead by Lim Chong Eu, 林苍佑) and the others who prefer a closer cooperation with the Alliance and UMNO (lead by Tan Siew Sin, son of Tan Cheng Lock).

²⁶ Tan Siew Sin served as MCA President from 1961 to 1974 and held the powerful posts of Minister of Commerce and Industry and Minister of Finance from 1957 to 1974.

²⁷ Lee, 1957; Chen, 1992; Tan, 1997; Kua, 1999.

Collective identity of this movement has been exclusive and ethnicity-based since the very beginning. The focus of the movement has always been to fight for the right to equal status in accord the Chinese language, and this right to be manifested in the Constitution, and later, as an official language. However, with both attempts failed, the movement struggled to reinstate the status and importance of Chinese education, and promote its usage among ethnic Chinese in Malaya. After the release of the controversial 1951 Barnes Report,²⁸ which recommended that all vernacular schools to be abolished and replaced by a single system of primary school teaching in English, Chinese schoolteachers, in particular, sensed an impending crisis in Malaya's Chinese society.

Few social movements last long enough, however, for organizational formalization to be an issue. *Dongjiaozong* is a rare example in Asia that as an SMO has actively engaged in contentious politics for more than five decades. As a national-level umbrella organization, *Dongjiaozong* has adopted a traditional Chinese organizational management format. Prior to the mid 1970s, *Dongzong* and *Jiaozong* secretariats, for instance, had been organized simply. *Dongjiaozong* had adopted a traditional Chinese organizational management format. They had one or two general officers who worked closely under a ten-man executive committee.

The formalization and institutionalization process of *Dongzong* and *Jiaozong* started to evolve in the 1970s, when Lim Guang Seng took over the premiership as the new *Dongzong* Chairman. Working closely with *Jiaozong*, headed by Sim Mow Yu and Juang Di Jun, they formed a so-called dream team of the Chinese education movement, by successfully transformed *Dongjiaozong* into an active, professional, instituted social movement organization.

After the 1974 organizational reform, and the formation of the National Independent Chinese Secondary School Working Committee, *Dongzong's* secretariat expanded into a massive 140 paid staff institution. The organization was responsible for planning and operating various campaigns related to the Chinese education movement and provided liaison for the activities of sixty independent Chinese secondary schools. *Jiaozong's* secretariat was expanded into a thirty staff institution in the 1980, responsible for research and studies about the 1,284 Chinese primary schools in Malaysia. *Jiaozong* was responsible to coordinate more 100 ad-hoc committee at the local level after the formation of National Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee in 1994.

The social movement organization began to manifest internal strain during the term of Ong Chao Chuen as *Jiaozong's* chairman since 1994, and escalated into a full-blown battle when Yap Sin Tian became the new leader of *Dongzong* in 2004. The two new leaders faced challenges in terms of control and command of the executive division which ran the daily activities of the movement organization. Many in the executive community had developed a *laissez-faire* working relationship with the leaders during

²⁸ It triggered a strong reaction in the Chinese community and brought together 1,400 Chinese associations to discuss this government legislation. The discussion ended with the formation of *Jiaozong* in 1952, and *Dongzong* in 1955. See Palanca, 2004.

Lim Guang Seng's leadership. Issues ranging from dissatisfaction regarding the qualification of leaders, their selection process, and check and balance mechanisms subsequently led to the demand for reforms of the movement organization from the executive community and movement supporters.

Thus, as one of the most extensive Chinese organizations in Malaysia, *Dongjiaozong* and its leaders were implicitly acknowledged as the spokesperson for Chinese education and played a leading role in matters related to Chinese education, welfare and rights. Through working committees and independent institutions, for example, it accommodated support and enhanced social networking in the Chinese organizational community. Thus, the movement organization generated amiable social capital in the associations by inviting leaders and activists from other Chinese organizations to sit in the organization's various sub-committees.

The development of a social movement organization is not a linear process, but evolves through continual interactions between the movement and the larger political society. This is especially so of the relationship between a social movement organization's leaders and state authorities over time. Each learns to adapt from experience.

It is believed, for instance, that the ability of a social movement organization to learn from its earlier experience can assure a lower chance of failure in its future repertoire. Unlike other Chinese organizations, *Dongjiaozong* has managed to successfully resist co-option and circumvent the constraints imposed by the state.

Today, *Dongjiaozong* remains a legitimate organization, and conducts activities such as seminars and press conferences openly. At the forefront of dealing with changing cultural and political constraint (such as access to mass media, changes to Chinese demographical constraints, Islamization in the country, etc.), the social movement organization continues to shoulder the burden of preserving the culture and identity of the Chinese community in Malaysia.

Over the years, the ethnically Malay dominated state of Malaysia has consistently strove to constrain the movement--its organizations and its supporters alike. A series of events have threatened to derail the movement. *Dongjiaozong* shifted from a citizenship movement in the 1950s into a movement campaigning for Chinese to be adopted as an official language in the country in the early 1960s. Facing the heightened anti-communist agenda in the 1960s, and the termination of Chinese as the second official language movement in 1969 after the national communal riots, the organization, and its supporters suffered under the New Economic Policy since 1971. The growing Islamization of Malay state and the increasing suppression discrimination has led to the 1980s Chinese Civic Rights movement. *Dongjiaozong* participation in party politics since 1982 till 1990, however the strategy shift turned out to be not very successful, due to lack of effective mobilization and support from both Chinese and non-Chinese communities.

In present day, as globalization intrudes into Malaysia's ever changing political arena, the movement also faces a pressing need to adapt accordingly, by shifting its approaches,

strategies and changing its internal institutional structures to ensure continuous participation in the nation-building process of Malaysia. Adopting a non-violence approach, *Dongjiaozong* continue to facilitate influence and soft power from within and beyond the state institution to push for its ultimate agenda, especially in promoting the status of Chinese language and Chinese education in the mainstream national policy-making.

Conclusion

Social movement organizations are part of the state; they act and react with the state and other contentious bodies within the political arena. This thesis demonstrates that *Dongjiaozong* has consistently employed a non-violent stance in its resistance towards state suppression. Paradoxically, the social movement organization has also become dependent on external suppression and continuous discrimination by the state to sustain its ongoing struggle and to sustain its legitimacy.

Dongjiaozong remains the Chinese community's chief voice in Malaysia's Chinese vernacular education and to some extent, in the political arena. The movement successfully resisted language assimilation and prompted the formation of a unique integrated education system in Malaysia. Nevertheless, it is now facing a threat greater than its traditional enemy: pressure from its supporters over demands for structural reform, greater democratization and separation of power within the social movement organization.

This thesis concludes that professionalized social movement organizations are one of the interpreting factors for a successful movement. Political opportunities and the strength and effectiveness of mobilization remain the key variables that mediate the achievement of a social movement organization. The reopening of *Baixiao* and the replacement of English with the vernacular languages as the medium of instruction of Science and Mathematics in school, are among the positive responses of Malaysia's Barisan Nasional government towards pressures from mass-supported social movement in the post-2008 political arena.

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The Ah Beng Subculture

A Popular View

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The Ah Beng Subculture: A Popular View

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There is a trend among Malaysians in using the Hokkien term ‘Ah Beng’, in describing unsophisticated people. ‘Ah Beng’ means quite simply, a ‘country bumpkin’. However, there has not been any academic studies on the subject in Malaysia, whereas popular media tout it as a cultural icon. There are some issues related to the use of this term – for example, do people readily identify themselves as ‘Ah Beng/Ah Lian’ or is it a pejorative term? Furthermore, among Malaysian Chinese there is a divide between the English-speaking and Chinese-speaking groups. Do the English speaking groups deliberately conjure up a term to disassociate themselves from their Chinese-speaking counterparts, for fear of being seen as unmodernised? And why do the Chinese speaking Malaysian Chinese display these characteristics ‘mocked’ by the non-Chinese speaking Chinese – which include traits like the overt display of Western brand names, copying trends from East Asia, persistently sticking to their own mother tongue, and displaying a form of anti-intellectualism? In Singapore however, leading sociologist Chua Beng-Huat has spearheaded much of the academic literature on the ‘Ah Beng’, and charts its rise from ‘stereotype’ to a desirable subculture. This paper surveys the general public opinion in urban Malaysia of the concept of ‘Ah Beng’, using a total of 200 respondents from the urban youth in Kuala Lumpur.

The Ah Beng: Definitions

Singaporean sociologist Chua Beng-Huat, who has largely pioneered the study of youth subculture in Singapore, especially on the Ah Beng, has termed the Ah Beng as:

“In contrast to the English-educated middle-class young, with their skimpy tank tops, spaghetti straps, and basic blacks, the lesser-educated Chinese youth are influenced by different cultural flows. The latter are unlikely to have successfully completed the four years of secondary school. They have been pejoratively termed locally as ‘Ah Beng’ (for males) and ‘Ah Lian’ (for females).”¹

¹ Chua, Beng-Huat. 2003. Life is Not Complete Without Shopping.

*"As the 'other' to the English-educated, the figures of Ah Beng and Ah Lian are not simply lowly educated, they also have supposedly 'pre-modern' or 'sua-ku' (hill tortoise, metaphor for 'backward') modes of behaviour. Until recently, the English-educated used Singlish as a means of belittling this group."*²

Chua also describes the fashion of the Ah Beng in detail, taking care to demarcate it from the 'English-educated Chinese' and the latter's way of dress:

"In contrast to the black and muted pastel shades of the middle-class youth, the clothes of the Ah Beng and Ah Lian are filled with bright, or to the English-educated, 'gaudy', colours. For example, frilly lime green tops of polyester material may be matched with 'day-glo' yellow jeans or short skirts and white patent leather platform shoes. Generically, against the understatement of the middle-class youth, Ah Beng and Ah Lian go 'over the top' in every item of bodily adornment, including dyed bronze hair. All the colours on the body from hair to nails are big and bright, with every intention of drawing attention to themselves."

Some background on the origins of the Ah Beng are necessary. The Ah Beng emerged in an era of mass consumption in Singapore, which allowed bountiful access to brand names. Frank Michael Chua's doctoral thesis, 'Culture of Consumption: The Emergence of The Global Market Culture in Singapore, 1960-1990' (1999), describes the emergence of consumption culture in Singapore as a result of 'government policies, private business, and the advertising industry'. He explained that due to previous lack of material wealth (pre-1960), the public in Singapore were very receptive to channels of mass advertising, fuelled by the growing economy, which encouraged the purchase and ownership of brand names. This in turn had implications for the way society behaved and formed their values. One of the offshoots of this new consumption culture was a tendency to form identities based on purchasing power. Frank Michael Chua further argued that the entire process began with the upper classes emulating Western trends, which was then 'trickled down' towards the less affluent. This led to a culture of acquisition, which is epitomised by the overt display of brand names. Hence, this enabled the rise of a Chinese subculture called the 'Ah Beng'.

² Chua, Beng-Huat. 2003. *Life is Not Complete Without Shopping*.

Another definition is given by Singaporean political satire website TalkingCock.com, which is founded by Jocelyn Woo Yen Yen and Colin Goh. This website is famous for mocking Singaporean politicians using colloquialisms, one of which is a staple in a column dedicated to politicians. There is also a glossary describing these colloquialisms, titled the 'The Coxford Singlish Dictionary'. It defines 'Ah Beng' as the following:

“AH BENG[1]

An unsophisticated Chinese boy, usually Hokkien. Stereotypically, he speaks gutter hokkien and likes neon-coloured clothes, spiky, moussed hair and accessories such as handphones or pagers, all of which are conspicuously displayed. He also likes to squat, even when a seat is available.

"Wah lao eh, why you so chao ah beng one?" (Goodness, why are you such an ah beng?)

See also: Ah Huay Ah Kow Ah Lian Ah Seng Beng Chao Ah Beng/Ah Lian”³

Given that Ah Beng has become a trope for popular discourse in Singapore as early as in the 1990s, it is likely that Malaysia followed suit in adopting this trend. The term is also widely used in Malaysian media, for example in The Star, a mainstream English daily. From an article titled 'A Social Stereotype', we have a description of the Ah Beng:

“There are a few traits associated with the Ah Beng. Perhaps the most visible and readily identifiable is the dyed hair. Then there's the abovementioned souped-up car with a loud stereo blasting “feng tau” music.

He also has strange habits, such as squatting by the roadside, at the bus-stop, outside shops; and mixing his brandy, even wine, with soda.”⁴

³ Ah Beng. The Coxford Singlish Dictionary. TalkingCock.com. Retrieved Dec 6 2009.
<http://www.talkingcock.com/html/lexec.php?op=LexLink&lexicon=lexicon&keyword=AH%20BENG>.

⁴ Koay, Allan. 2009. A social stereotype. The Star.
<http://thestar.com.my/lifestyle/story.asp?file=/2009/6/15/lifefocus/2571918&sec=lifefocus>
Retrieved 6 Dec 2009.

In this study, the researcher sought to investigate whether the public opinion among the urban crowd, centering on the Klang Valley, matched that of both descriptions earlier – i.e. that of the Singaporean Ah Beng and the one mentioned in *The Star*. The intention was to see if there was a general consensus on the conception of the Ah Beng. This is to later form an introduction to an in-depth study of the Ah Beng subculture using ethnographic techniques.

Questions of Taste

Bourdieu defined taste as originating from the individual's habitus, which is "a set of dispositions which generate practices and perceptions"⁵. The socioeconomic background of a person determines their future conduct and choice of economic goods. This of course, extends to fashion, one of the hallmarks of identifiers for the Ah Beng. The Ah Beng has generally been associated with the working class. Studies of working class communities have shown that their offspring tend to reproduce the same culture as their forebearers⁶. The Ah Beng has been said to originate from Chinese New Villages in Malaysia as a result of British resettlement after the Japanese Occupation in Malaysia⁷. The children of the New Villages, when coming into the city, bring with them some of the traits associated with the Ah Beng such as the love of brand names, seemingly to make it seem like they have "made it big" in Malaysia. However, like most nouveau riche, they also bring with them a certain lack of refinement otherwise associated with wealth. It is as though they deliberately consume to the point of excess to differentiate themselves from the working class, of which they themselves came from originally. This echoes Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption, where those who have accumulated wealth deliberately make waste of it to show they can afford it⁸. However, Bourdieu has also been said to argue that rather than being innate, taste is socially assigned, in that "objects of consumer choice reflect a symbolic hierarchy that is determined and maintained by the socially dominant in order to enforce their distance or distinction from other classes of society."⁹ It is also likely that Ah Bengs choose to consume certain goods which they perceive as equivalent to their standing in wider society.

Youth and subculture

⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*

⁶ Willis, Paul. 1960. *Learning to Labour*.

⁷ Nyce, Ray. 1973. *Chinese New Villages in Malaya: A Community Study*.

⁸ Veblen, Thorstein. 1902. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*

⁹ Allen, Douglas E., and Anderson, Paul F. 1994. *Bourdieu's Theory of Consumer Taste Formation*, in *Advances in Consumer Research* Volume 21, pp.70-74.

In 'Subculture: the Meaning of Style', Dick Hebdige outlined the functions of subculture, mentioning Albert Cohen's theoretical contribution to the study of the juvenile gang, where "working-class adolescents who underachieved at school joined gangs in their leisure time in order to develop alternative sources of self-esteem"¹⁰. Hebdige argues that the post-World War II economic boom in the 1950s allowed for greater spending power in Britain, especially among the youth. This allowed for increased channels of expression through consumption of goods such as clothes and music – thus allowing for the creation of subculture. He wrote of how youth, in general, especially the 'consumer youth', was grouped together by researchers into a class of 'Teenage Consumers'.

*"The persistence of class as a meaningful category within youth culture was not, however, generally acknowledged until fairly recently and, as we shall see, the seemingly spontaneous eruption of spectacular youth styles has encouraged some writers to talk of youth as the new class – to see in youth a community of undifferentiated Teenage Consumers."*¹¹

This paper draws from this concept, applying it to an investigation of Malaysian urban youth culture, from the perspective of youth as 'Teenage Consumers'. The starting point is that Ah Bengs are primarily youth who express themselves through consumption, and that there are complexities within the ways in which they express themselves.

Visibility of Subculture to the Public Eye

Tolson¹² remarks that the public visibility of subcultures might have come about as a result of the birth of the 'sociological gaze'. He writes that Hebdige's theory of subculture as a post-war consumer boom, while contrasted to the work of Mayhew¹³, who posits that subculture was inherent even in the mid-1800s in London, could be used to affirm the above. In other words, while subcultures might have long been existent, it is the 'sociological gaze' which carries it out into the open and makes it visible to the public eye. From this, we might conclude that the existence of a subculture is largely based on its public visibility. Hence, this paper seeks to discover the visibility of the Ah Beng in the Malaysian public eye.

¹⁰ Hebdige, Dick. 1979. *Subculture: the meaning of style*.

¹¹ Hebdige, Dick. 1979. *Subculture: the meaning of style*.

¹² Tolson, Andrew. 1990. *Social Surveillance and Subjectification: The emergence of 'subculture' in the work of Henry Mayhew*. The Subcultures Reader (Gelder ed.)

¹³ As quoted by Tolson, Henry Mayhew was a journalist who conducted surveys of urban poverty and published them in the London Morning Chronicle during 1849-50.

The Methodology

A short opinion survey consisting of six general questions about the respondent's background and four open-ended questions about the lifestyle of the Ah Beng was designed. The survey was carried out in three main premises, the first being that of the researcher's own university, University of Malaya, a number of private colleges, and a few shopping malls.

The reason for having both close ended and open ended questions was due to the nature of the questions themselves. For the socioeconomic background of the respondents, close ended questions were used as response parameters were easily measured – such as age, income level, education level, occupation, and leisure activity. For the open ended questions, the respondents were queried about their perception of the Ah Beng – what they would wear, what type of music would they listen to, employment, and leisure activities. The intention was to allow the respondents to be more expressive, and printed on the survey questionnaire itself was an encouragement to use descriptive keywords.

The reason for using both University of Malaya (a public/government university) and private colleges was to balance out the distribution of students who responded to the survey. The researcher intended to allow for the differences in socioeconomic background, which might affect their worldviews. In the same vein, the use of the shopping mall survey was to balance out the education level of the respondents – as respondents in a shopping mall would not necessarily have university level education. This was the case, as some of the respondents were youth between the ages of 15 to 20 (the research was conducted during a school term holiday) and were only sitting for their high school exams.

For the University of Malaya survey, an online questionnaire was used, hosted on a website called eSurveysPro. This was because as a student of University of Malaya, the researcher had access to the full student mailing list, which included around 10 000 undergraduate students and 9000 postgraduate students. A link to the survey page was included in a mass email asking students to participate.

For the private colleges, the survey was conducted in HELP University College physically, while the researcher sought the help of a friend in Monash University Malaysia campus to publicise the survey on his Facebook account, where he had a student group.

As for the shopping mall surveys, the researcher conducted them in 6 shopping malls in total – all based in the Klang Valley. These were Mid Valley Megamall, Gardens Mid Valley, Sungei Wang, Berjaya Times Square, Pavilion KL, and Sunway Pyramid.

There was a slight difference in the online and offline survey – as the researcher wanted to primarily survey the opinions of the Malaysian Chinese (given that Ah Beng is a Chinese language term). Hence in the online survey, it was included an open-ended question asking the

respondent to list down their ethnicity. However, there was an interesting discovery in that respondents who listed down themselves as Malay, answered questions about the Ah Beng’s lifestyle in similar vein to those who listed themselves as Chinese. This showed that Ah Beng subculture transcended the linguistic and ethnic realm – and was something of a generational trend.

The breakdown of the respondents are as follows:

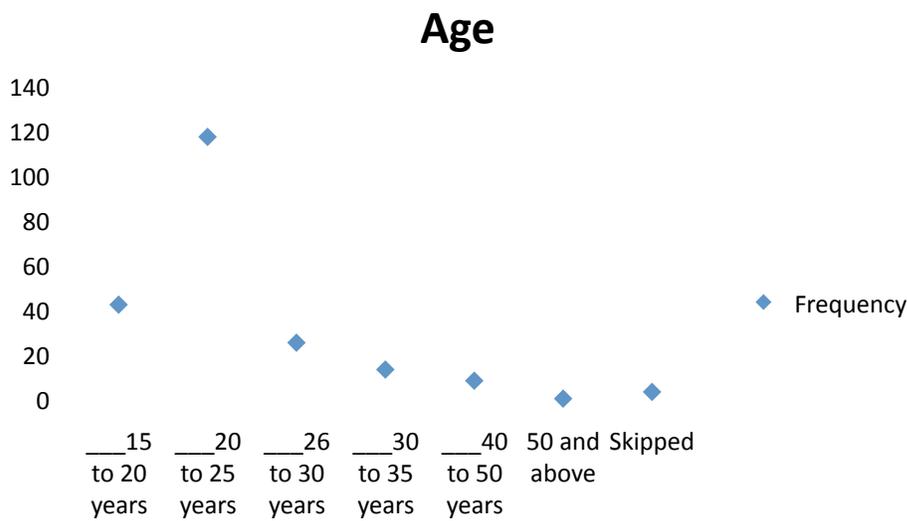


Table 1: Age of Respondents

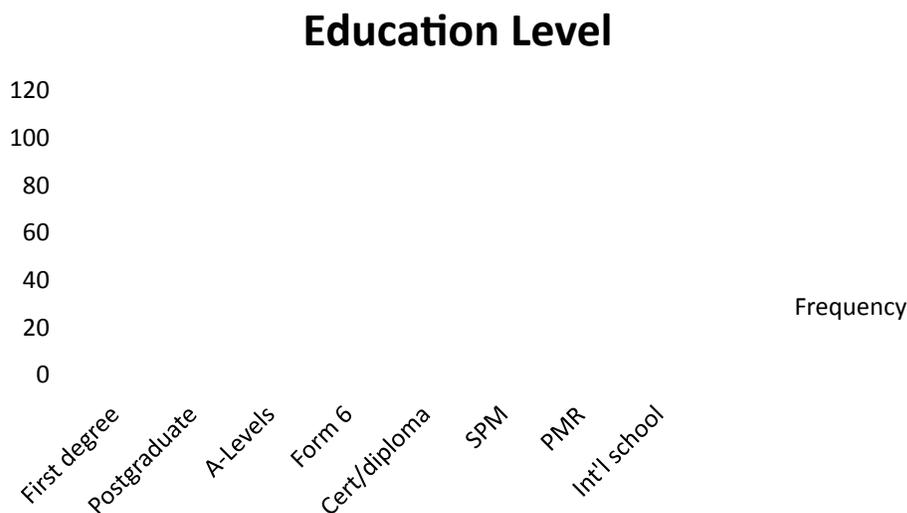


Table 2: Education Level of Respondents

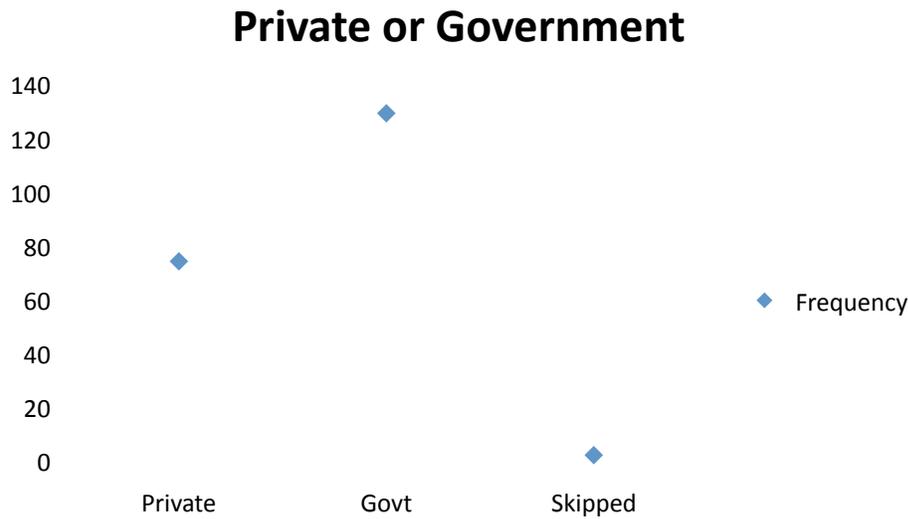


Table 3: Type of Higher Education of Respondents

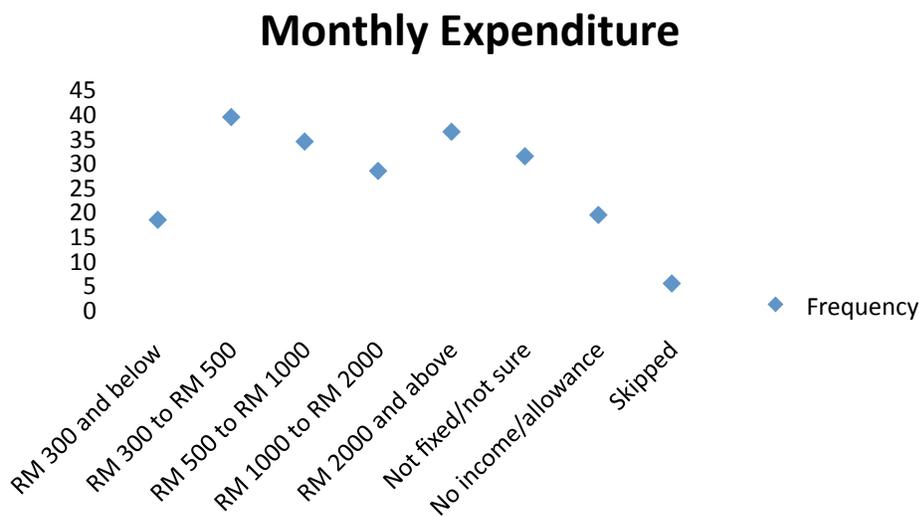


Table 4: Monthly Expenditure of Respondents

Tabulation of Scores from the Opinion Survey

The above charts show the background of the respondents, classifying them into two segments – online and offline. For the latter, there is no ethnicity profile as the majority was Malaysian Chinese. As earlier on, the researcher and an assistant noticed that some non-Malaysian Chinese

The responses which were used were that of questions 7c to 7f (provided in the actual survey sheet below). These were the open ended questions, which asked for descriptive keywords. The questions were:

c. What do you think Ah Bengs wear? Please describe their fashion/clothes.

d. What music do they listen to?

e. What kind of leisurely activities do they do?

f. What kinds of jobs do they usually have?

The following are the 5 most commonly used keywords from each category, as calculated by the RankWords counter.

c. What do you think Ah Bengs wear? Please describe their fashion/clothes.

Word	Frequency
tight	13
bright	7
colourful	8
weird	8
loud	4
sloppy	6
overly	4
mismatched	3
trendy	3
outdated	5

d. What music do they listen to?

Word	Frequency
Chinese	40
pop	33
techno	26
rock	29
Hokkien	8

hip hop	12
trance	5
loud	5
disco	5
Mandarin	5

e. What kind of leisurely activities do they do?

Word	Frequency
shopping	16
lepak (hanging out)	17
gaming	15
karaoke	10
clubbing	12
smoking	12
malls	12
girls (chasing, flirting with)	12
gambling	3
drinking	8

Question 7F: 'What kinds of employment do Ah Bengs usually have?'

Word	Frequency
sales	80
loan shark	7
mechanic	14
jobless	8
designer	3
waiter	3
pirate	27
labourer	2
IT	2
hairstylist	1

For clothes, the Ah Beng wears a lot of 'tight', 'bright', 'colourful', and 'loud', which matches the description given by that of Chua Beng-Huat's analysis as well as the popular media profiles by media channels such as The Star newspaper.

For music, popular culture always mentions Ah Bengs as prone to listening to loud techno music. This appears to be the case, with 'Chinese', 'techno', and 'pop' mentioned many times. The dialect of the songs is also mentioned, with 'Hokkien' emerging many times. 'Trance', another type of clubbing music is also included, which correlates with the mass media's linking of Ah Bengs with clubbing culture. This certainly affirms the belief that Ah Bengs are not connoisseurs of high art, but instead prefer to participate in mass manufactured entertainment.

Leisurely activities that seem unproductive are attributed to the Ah Beng. These include 'lepak' (which is Malay for 'hanging out'), 'smoking', 'malls' (which once again denote the place they are 'hanging out'), and 'looking at/chasing girls'. 'Clubbing is also included, as is 'karaoke' - an allusion to their love of loud music perhaps.

As for employment, it is clear that the respondents associate the Ah Bengs with retail employment and vocational skills, such as 'mechanics' and 'hairdressing', alongside a few jobs that do not specifically require a high level of formal education. 'Loan shark' and 'pirate' are also included, referring to another popular observation by Malaysians that Ah Bengs normally make their living by selling pirated DVDs and VCDs.

Avenues for Further Research

The intention of the survey was to primarily measure whether there was a fit between the public opinion of the Ah Beng, and those of the profiles described by newspapers. Once again, as the strength of a subculture relies on its visibility (for a subculture has nothing to differentiate itself from if it is not visible in the first place), the knowledge of the public about the Ah Beng subculture is important. Once the researcher is able to establish that the Ah Beng subculture does indeed, exist, then the study of the Ah Beng community itself can commence. It is clear that there is an understanding of the Ah Beng subculture from the public, and that it matches that of the profile in Singapore.

The Survey Questionnaire Itself

OPINION SURVEY

Dear respondent, the purpose of this survey is to study the perception of urban youth on subculture among the Malaysian Chinese. Please fill in the blanks where the answer matches your opinion. The survey is part of a postgraduate research project for a Masters programme. Names will not be collected.

1. Please tick your relevant age range.

15 to 20 years

20 to 25 years

26 to 30 years

30 to 35 years

36 years and above

2. Please state your ethnicity: _____

3. Please select your relevant level of education?

First degree

Postgraduate

Pre-university (please choose one from below)

A Levels

Form 6

Other - e.g. certificate, diploma

Secondary school (please choose one from below)

SPM

PMR

Primary school (please choose one from below)

Standard 6

Below Standard 6

Other (please state) _____

4. If you are/were in college/university, did you go to a private or government college/university?

Private

Government

5. What is your monthly allowance total (estimate)? If you are working, please select your relevant monthly budget.

RM 300 and below

RM 300 to RM 500

RM 500 to RM 1000

RM 1000 and above

RM 2000 and above

Not fixed/not sure

No income or allowance

6. Choose one main activity you do in your spare time/leisure:

Sports

Reading

Artistic activities - drawing, designing,

Watching TV or DVD

Gaming

Blogging/Social networking online

Shopping

7. This survey's objective is to find out "What is an Ah Beng?" Please select the answer you feel matches your opinion.

a. An Ah Beng is a

Culture

Subculture

Individual

Media stereotype

I don't know

b. How would you explain what is an Ah Beng? (You may tick more than one option here)

By his ethnicity

By his clothes/fashion

By his mannerisms/behaviour

By his education background

By his leisurely activities

By his choice of employment

c. What do you think Ah Bengs wear? Please describe their fashion/clothes.

d. What music do they listen to?

e. What kind of leisurely activities do they do?

f. What kinds of jobs do they usually have?

Thank you for your cooperation.

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Using the ARCS Motivational Model to Promote Technical and Vocational College Students' Motivation and Achievement: A Quasi-Experiment Study

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Using the ARCS Motivational Model to Promote Technical and Vocational College Students' Motivation and Achievement: A Quasi-Experiment Study

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Abstract

The integration of motivation and achievement has been gaining attention throughout each of the prospective fields for more than a decade, particularly at the elementary and middle school level. However, little research has been conducted at the college level to analyze the effectiveness between two variables and using a valid strategy to promote college students' motivation. Drawing on this limitation, the purpose of this study was to use Keller's ARCS motivational model as a basis to develop and design the instruction in order to improve college students' motivation and achievement toward information technology and society courses. Participants were 220 technical and vocational college students from four information technology and society classes and two teachers who taught these classes in southern Taiwan. Each teacher had to teach two classes, and they were randomly assigned to one experimental group and one control group from two classes. Data was collected by learning motivation inventory (LMI) which was developed by the researchers. In addition, students' midterm and final exam scores were collected. As a result, we found there were no significant differences between students' motivation and achievement in the experimental group and the control group respectively. The results of the study not only could address the status quo of students' learning situation in this course, but also review the instructional design during courses.

Keywords: ARCS Motivational Model, Motivation, Technical and Vocational College Students

Introduction

In the practice of education, the importance of motivation is most certain in the past as well as the future (Maehr & Meyer, 1997). The issue of how motivation facilitates learning and how it enhances performance has attracted researchers' attention in educational research over the past decades (Bruinsma, 2004). In spite of the importance of motivation on classes, teachers' instruction is also an indispensable factor on classes which may influence students' motivation to learn (Covington, 2000; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Elliot, McGregor, & Gable, 1999; Wigfield, 1994; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Once teachers utilize appropriate instructional models to create a highly motivating learning environment, students are able to increase their engagement in class (Keller, 1983). In other words, teachers' instructional practices and interpersonal relationships with students are highlighted as potentially powerful factors influencing students' motivation and performance (Wentzel & Wigfield, 1998). Therefore, to design an effective instruction not only can improve students' achievement but can also enhance their motivation.

Theories of motivation have extensive definitions and offer different points of view, such as hierarchy of needs, theory of achievement motivation, expectancy-value theory (Weiler, 2004). However, few researchers have paid attention to students' learning motivation in relation to teaching strategies and teaching materials used in the classroom. Keller (1983) laid the foundation for integrating teachers' instructional designs into his theory. He was the first researcher to develop the ARCS model, in order to improve teachers' instructional design and teaching strategies.

Keller's ARCS model is a macro theory that incorporates cognitive and environmental variables in relation to effort, performance, and consequences (Keller, 1983). It is also a means to improve the motivational appeal of instructional materials (Keller, 1987a; Shellnut, Knowlton, & Savage, 1999). According to the ARCS model, there are four components to motivate learning, namely attention, relevance, confidence, and satisfaction, and there are practical strategies to use in achieving each of the four components (Keller, 1987b). Keller (1987b) defines the four components as follows: A (attention) is to capture the interest of students and stimulate the curiosity to learn; R (relevance) is to meet students' needs and goals to effect a positive attitude; C (confidence) is to help students believe and feel that they will succeed and control their success; and S (satisfaction) is to reinforce accomplishment with internal and external rewards.

For each of these components, Keller (1987b) designed three different teaching strategies within each component. In the attention component, the teaching strategies in this category are: A1. Perceptual arousal, A2. Inquiry arousal, and A3. Variability. In the relevance component, the teaching strategies are: R1. Goal orientation, R2. Motive matching, and R3. Familiarity. In the confidence component, the teaching strategies are: C1. Learning requirements, C2. Success opportunities, and C3. Personal control. As for the satisfaction component, the teaching strategies are: S1. Intrinsic reinforcement, S2. Extrinsic rewards, and S3. Equity.

In general, many researchers confirmed the positive relationship between motivation and achievement (Covington, 2000; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Elliot, McGregor, & Gable, 1999; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Wigfield, 1994; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Keller's ARCS model was also confirmed by its clinical validation. Many researchers use the ARCS model to improve students' motivation; the results showed that using the ARCS model could promote students' attention, and further improve their achievements (Ainley, 2006; Carson, 2006; ChanLin, 2009; Means, Jonassen, & Dweyer, 1997). In spite of the positive results based on the ARCS model, some researchers came to different results. Klein (1990) pointed out there was no significant correlation between the ARCS model and students' confidence and satisfaction. Price (1989) stated that the factor which may influence students' achievement is the way teachers present their teaching material, which is not influenced by students' attention or confidence (Means, Jonassen, & Dwyer, 1997). Huett, Kalinowski, Moller, & Huet (2008) were using online students as participants to compare the differences between courses which used the ARCS model and those that didn't, concluded that there were no significant differences between the two types of classes.

Opposite these conflicting results, this study found that participants could be a crucial factor. Most of the previous studies have been conducted in primary and secondary schools (Robbins, Lauver, Le, Langley, Davis, & Carlstrom, 2004). Research at the college level to inquire into students' motivation, and the correlation between motivation and achievement is still rare. As is the use of a valid strategy to promote college students' motivation. Fenollar, Roman, & Cuestas (2007) suggested that advanced students and college students' motivation and learning conception are different. However, there is little integration or research synthesis of the educational and psychological literatures when looking at college students' achievements. This lack of integration impedes a full understanding of the relative predictive validity across achievement, psychosocial, and motivational models (Robbins et al., 2004). In

order to understand the effectiveness of the ARCS model in a college classroom, the present study is trying to apply the ARCS model to design a curriculum to assess technical and vocational college students' motivation and achievement.

Research questions

Based on the purpose of the present study as stated above, this study was guided by the following three research questions:

1. Were there any significant differences in motivation to learn between students who took the courses which were designed employing the ARCS model and the ones which weren't?
2. Were there any significant differences in achievement between students who took the courses which were designed using the ARCS model and the ones which weren't?
3. What was the relationship between students' motivation to learn and their achievements?

Methodology

Participants

A total of 220 technical and vocational college students and two teachers from one college in Taiwan participated in information technology and society courses in the present study. Students were between 18 to 25 years of age. There were four classes and each class had 55 participants. Each teacher taught two classes. They were randomly assigned to one experimental group and one control group. The instructional experiment was conducted over 14 weeks for two hours per week.

Course Design

The instructional goals of the study were to enhance students' cognitive, psychomotor, and affective domain of information technology, as well as to obtain information technology literacy and information ethics. The instructional material consisted of ten chapters: What Is Information Technology?, The Character of Information Society, How Does Information Technology Influence the World?, Information Technology Literacy, Licenses Related to Information Technology and Society, Information Technology Ethics, Information Technology Crimes, Laws of Information Technology, The Future of Information Technology, and Video Editing Software Skills.

This study was a quasi-experiment with two distinct instructional conditions. In the experimental group, teachers applied motivational instructional strategies of the ARCS model to teach. Teachers used multimedia instruction, such as PowerPoint which included video clips, pictures, news, and stories; designed games related to instructional materials; invited officers of the Internet police to lecture on Internet crimes; invited professionals to introduce the licenses related to information technology and society; maintained blogs where students could share their feelings and comments with classmates and teachers; walked around the classroom and checked students' learning situation; praised students when they performed well. Teachers also encouraged students to express their thoughts through giving them a bonus point as an incentive at the final grades in the end of semester.

In order to protect students' learning rights and experimental ethics, the study didn't use didactic instruction in the control group. Teachers used multimedia instruction by PowerPoint which included video clips, pictures, news, and stories. The content of PowerPoint was similar to that of the experimental group, but the number and degree of interest of the media used are slightly different from the experimental group. In addition, teachers utilized worksheets in all classes.

Procedures

The study adopted random assignment because the course was selected by students. In order to reduce experiment errors, the study used a careful matching method after the experiment was finished to test motivation to learn, achievement and the correlation between each factor.

The matching method can not only consider students' achievement but also take students' learning motivation into account. In the present study, we had three conditions when we used the matching method. First, researchers had to delete the data of participants who skipped the class more than five times. Second, the matching group was selected from one experimental group and one control group by the same teacher. Third, two rules were applied to construct the matching group. On the achievement scores, the difference between the experimental group and the control group needed to be less than four points. On the learning motivation inventory scores the difference between both groups needed to be less than six points. Based on these conditions, we were able to match forty-six pairs.

After the end of semester, we randomly chose 18 students from the 220 participants to be our interviewees. The interview questions were all concerned with their thoughts in

taking this course (e.g. Why did you select this course?), in order to let researchers further understand students' opinions about this course.

Measures

Achievement.

To assess students' achievement scores, teachers and researchers developed an achievement exam based on the instructional materials and a two-way specification table. The questions were examined by item analysis, including difficulty index and discrimination index. The exam contained 50 questions, all of which were multiple-choice questions. The pre-test was held before the experiment, and the post-test was split up into a midterm and a final exam.

Motivation to learn.

Motivation to learn was assessed using learning motivation inventory (LMI) which was developed by the researchers. The pre-test of LMI was held before the beginning of experiment, and the post-test of LMI was held after the completion of the experiment.

LMI was based on the ARCS Model, and made up of four subscales: attention (six items), relevance (six items), confidence (six items), and satisfaction (six items). Items were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The observation of CFI, RMSEA, and SRMR were simultaneously examined to evaluate the model fit. In general, the first-order baseline model of this research was moderate: CFI=.92, RMSEA=.07 and SRMR=.05.

The internal consistency of scores on the four factors was estimated by the Cronbach's coefficient alpha. The alpha coefficients obtained in this study were quite high for these four factors: $\alpha=.92$ for attention subscale, $\alpha=.89$ for relevance subscale, $\alpha=.92$ for confidence subscale, and $\alpha=.88$ for satisfaction subscale. And the total inventory's internal consistent alpha was .96, indicating that the LMI was reasonably reliable. The correlations between the LMI and Keller (1987b) Instructional Materials Motivational Survey was $r=.87, p<.01$. As for the motivation subscale of Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ) developed by Pintrich, Smith, Garcia, and McKeachie (1993), its correlation between LMI was $r=.84, p<.01$.

Results and Discussion

Overview of Analyses

At the beginning, the study used *t*-test to examine the difference between pairs' achievement and the pretest scores of LMI. If the result showed no significant difference, it proved the matching method was successful. The result of pretest *t*-test analysis suggested that there were no significant differences between the experimental group and the control group in the result of LMI ($t_{(91)} = -.22, p = .93$). The result of pretest *t*-test analysis suggested that there were no significant differences between the experimental group and the control group in the result of achievement ($t_{(91)} = -.10, p = .27$). Hence, it was accepted to use the forty-six matched pairs in the present study. The means and standard deviations of the pretest and posttest of experimental group and control group are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Pretest and posttest scores of LMI and achievement in the experimental group and the control group.

	Pretest				Posttest			
	Experiment		Control		Experiment		Control	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
LMI	80.24	8.90	79.83	9.33	81.76	10.25	80.78	12.51
Achievement	60.39	7.60	60.22	8.49	63.70	8.46	65.30	7.41

Results of the research questions

1. *Was there any significant difference in motivation to learn between students who took the course which was designed using the ARCS model and the ones who received multimedia instruction?*

The result of the post-test one-way ANOVA suggested that there were no significant differences between the experimental group and the control group ($F_{(1,90)} = .17, p = .68$). Furthermore, the study examined the four subscales of LMI. There were no significant differences in any of the four subscales. This result ran contrary to our research questions, which lead researchers to re-examine the course design of the experimental group and the control group individually.

First, the study re-examined the attention component. To compare it with the multimedia instruction in the control group, the teacher used multimedia instruction with a large amount of video clips, pictures, news, and stories; played games; asked

more questions; walked around the classroom; had more interaction with students; invited special guests to give a lecture; used interesting instruction tools, such as a robot and a cell phone. The study used extensive and intense attention strategies in the experimental group.

Second, the study re-analyzed the relevance component. To contrast the teaching with the multimedia instruction in the control group, teachers designed assignments or thoughts-sharing articles on the blog weekly; invited the internet police to talk about internet crimes that happen and criminals that can be found at colleges; advertised activities which related to the topics in the experimental group. The instructors utilized many relevant strategies in the experimental group.

Third, the study reviewed the confidence component. To compare it with the multimedia instruction in control group, teachers told students that they had the abilities to achieve the goals of the course and praised students when they performed well or encouraged students when they felt frustrated. In fact, the teachers applied few confidence strategies in the experimental group.

Fourth, the study re-examined the satisfaction component. To contrast this with the multimedia instruction in the control group, teachers adopted a token economy. When students answered questions and shared their opinions, teachers would give them bonus points. Points were transferred to grades as an extrinsic reward at the end of the semester. Additionally, in one lecture course, the speaker gave away USB flash drives and MP3 players as presents to reward students who had answered questions. The instructors thus used some satisfaction strategies in the experimental group.

As the descriptions above demonstrate, there were many attention and relevance strategies used in the course design of the experimental group, but only a few confidence and satisfaction strategies. Besides the lack of sufficient confidence and satisfaction strategies, there were other reasons to explain this result. Huang, Huang, Diefes-Dux, and Imbrie (2006) found that an interaction between attention and satisfaction constructs exists, suggesting the need to adjust the theoretical constructs of the ARCS model. Moreover, Song and Keller (1999) indicated that appropriate amounts and levels of motivational instructional strategies used could promote students' motivation to learn. Too much or too little motivational instructional strategies, on the other hand, might decrease students' motivation. The results also might be influenced by differences in the course design between the experimental group and the control group. In the present study, the control group still was exposed

to some attention and relevance strategies, such as video clips, news, and worksheets. That might be the crucial factor which influenced the results of the two groups.

Apart from the abovementioned reasons, students' characteristics and properties of the course also played essential roles in the study. Bohlin, Milheim, and Viechnicki (1993) proved that the effect of using the ARCS model also depended on students' characteristics. Participants in this study were technical and vocational college students, their learning focus was on professional skills instead of scholastic material taught in general colleges in Taiwan. In addition, this course was a general course, not a required one. This might also have influenced students' learning attitude. The finding was consistent with Halawah (2006) and Clark and Schroth (2010)'s studies. Halawah (2006) found that there was a remarkably high correlation between the motivation to learn and students' characteristics. College students with different personality characteristics had different reasons for pursuing college degrees and different academic priorities (Clark & Schroth, 2010).

2. *Was there any significant difference in achievement between students who received the course which was designed using the ARCS model and the ones who received multimedia instruction?*

The result of the post-test one-way ANOVA indicated that there were no significant differences between two groups ($F_{(1,90)}=.94, p=.34$). This result ran contrary to our expectation. Comparing the pretest and post-test scores, both groups showed a slight increase in their grades, but there were no significant differences between the two. In other words, the grades increased neither because of the instruction, nor because of the experimental manipulation.

In order to come to a deeper understanding of the underlying reasons, researchers interviewed students to collect information about their learning situation. After interviewing students, we found that students didn't put much effort into this course. Because this course was not a required one, they thought they could pass the course and get the credits easily. For this reason, they didn't spend much time or energy on studying. Furthermore, they felt it was enough to pass the course and get the credits, rather than try to receive high grades. Therefore, it was reasonable to see this result in a selective course.

3. *What kind of correlation exists between motivation to learn and achievement?*

Bivariate correlation was computed to examine the relations between the motivation to learn and achievement (cf. Table 2). There was no statistically significant correlation between the two in the study. Further examination revealed that significant correlations between the four subscales of LMI existed. It meant that the components of attention, relevance, confidence, and satisfaction had positive effects on the motivation to learn. The statistical analysis revealed that students' motivation to learn and achievement bore no significant relation to the present study.

Several studies had shown that there were positive correlations between the motivation to learn and achievement (Covington, 2000; Elliot, McGregor, & Gable, 1999; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Wigfield, 1994; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Other studies had found little or no significant relationship between the two (Halawah, 2006). These contradictory findings drew the researchers' attention, so we examined the result from the angles of goal-setting and the importance of exams. Goals in general can be conceptualized as internal representations of desired outcomes (Karoly, 1999). Since the goals of learning were merely to pass the course and acquire credits, students regulated their motivation and did not study hard. Hence, goal-setting was one reason which leads to the present result.

The other reason was the importance of the exam which was the second critical factor. Students regulated their motivation and behaviors depending on their goal orientation and perceptions of task value beliefs (Pintrich, 2004). In the present study, students thought the exam was not as important as for a professional required course. This stance influenced their preparation for the exam. Consequently, there was no significant correlation between motivation and achievement in this study.

Table 2 Correlations between Motivation to Learn and Achievement

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Pre-LMI	-											
2. Pre-A	.81**	-										
3. Pre-R	.67**	.40**	-									
4. Pre-C	.70**	.40**	.25*	-								
5. Pre-S	.82**	.64**	.34**	.45**	-							
6. Post-LMI	.41**	.32**	.24*	.28**	.39**	-						
7. Post-A	.38**	.34**	.20	.27*	.33**	.84**	-					
8. Post-R	.27**	.18	.35**	.06	.23*	.79**	.64**	-				
9. Post-C	.26*	.15	.04	.40**	.19	.65**	.34**	.25*	-			
10. Post-S	.37**	.32**	.13	.19	.46**	.85**	.60**	.54**	.56**	-		
11. Pre-Achievement	-.15	-.14	-.11	.02	-.21*	.08	.18	.03	.03	.01	-	
12. Post-Achievement	-.04	.01	-.12	.01	-.02	.08	.07	.04	.11	.04	.19	-

Note: Pre: pretest; Post: post-test; A: Attention subscale; R: Relevance subscale; C: Confidence subscale; S: Satisfaction subscale.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Conclusions and Future Directions

The main purpose of this study was to use the ARCS model to design a course in order to promote students' motivation to learn and achievement. Results of the study differed from the general theory of motivation and the ARCS model through the use of quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

There were two main aspects that lead to the results of the study. The first one was the participants. Researchers chose technical and vocational college students as the participants of the study for two reasons. Previously, there were few research studies which investigated the learning situation of technical and vocational college students in Taiwan. In addition, compared with general college students, this group of students generally has a low motivation to learn. Because of their low motivation, they don't learn easily, and their post-test scores for motivation to learn were not sensitive enough to change their level of motivation. To avoid this situation, researchers could either choose university students to become participants or enhance the extent of motivational instructional strategies according to technical and vocational college students' characteristics in the future.

The second main aspect was the properties of the course. To choose a selective course

proved a limitation in the present study. However, properties of the course actually affected students' learning goals and the importance place on the exams. It resulted in students not paying much effort on exams. This limitation was difficult to overcome in our teaching practice.

Although the results in the present study showed no significant differences between the two groups, the researchers would still like to revise the course design and their motivational instruction strategies. Not only is course instruction undergoing perpetual evolution and innovation, but we also hope that teachers acquire a repertoire of practical instructional strategies to promote technical and vocational college students' motivation to learn and become achievers.

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A Structural Equation Model of Math Self-Concept and Mathematics Achievement:
A Longitudinal Study in Taiwan

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The TIMSS 2007 research of the IEA reported that Taiwanese fourth and eighth graders' math performance exceeded the international average; fourth graders ranked 3rd and eighth graders ranked 1st from among all the participating countries. However, the Index of Students' Self-Confidence in Learning Mathematics was below the international average for both these groups. This study, coming at the end of the second year of a three-year project, explored Taiwanese students' mathematics learning at the junior high school level from the social cognitive perspective. Utilizing structural equation modeling, it examined the relationships between math self-concept and mathematics achievement using a longitudinal data. Subjects included 1,211 eighth graders from Taiwan. Findings were addressed as followed; first, results identified good psychometric properties (e.g., high internal reliability) and a well-defined structure of math self-concept and mathematics achievement. Second, the longitudinal effects were all significant, including that (a) prior mathematics achievement significantly predicted subsequent math self-concept (skill development model); (b) prior math self-concept significantly predicted subsequent mathematics achievement (self-enhancement model); (c) the reciprocal effects model was supported and the effects of achievement tended to be stronger and more systematic. Third, latent mean analysis showed significant gender variation with respect to math self-concept and mathematics achievement. The implications of these findings were discussed from the viewpoint of cultivating the students' interest in learning mathematics, and suggestions were provided for further research.

Keywords: math self-concept, mathematics achievement, structural equation modeling, longitudinal study, latent mean analysis

A Structural Equation Model of Math Self-Concept and Mathematics Achievement:
A Longitudinal Study in Taiwan

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It is a widely discussing agenda of how to provide a good mathematics learning environment and how to enhance students' mathematics achievement in the field of mathematical education. Recent research has consistently shown group differences in mathematics achievement among children from different cultural backgrounds, and this issue has piqued the interest of many educators and psychologists (House, 2006; Shen, 2002). Based on the results obtained from the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study 2007 research of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Foy and Olson (2009) reported that Taiwanese fourth and eighth graders' math performance exceeded the international average; fourth graders ranked 3rd and eighth graders ranked 1st from among all the participating countries. However, the Index of Students' Self-Confidence in Learning Mathematics (SCM) was below the international average on mathematics in both 4th and 8th grades in Taiwan.

In light of these results, studies have suggested that social cognitive factors act as critical factors influencing the students' mathematics achievement (Leung, 2002; Shen, 2002; Shen & Pedulla, 2000). Among the various social cognitive factors, a positive self-concept is frequently posited as a mediating variable that facilitates the attainment of certain desired outcomes such as academic achievement (Marsh, 1990; Marsh & O'Mara, 2008; Marsh, Trautwein, Lüdtke, Köller, & Baumert, 2005; Marsh & Yeung, 1997).

Math Self-Concept and Mathematics Achievement

A positive self-concept (i.e., the set of beliefs we hold about who we are) is valued as a desirable outcome in many educational settings and is frequently posited as a mediating variable that facilitates the attainment of other desired outcomes such as academic achievement (Marsh & Yeung, 1997; Marsh et al., 2005; Skaalvik & Valas, 1999). More recently, however, researchers have emphasized the need to separate the academic (e.g., the mathematics and English self-concept) and nonacademic components of the self-concept. Marsh (1993) has cited a considerable number of studies showing that while academic achievement is substantially related to the academic self-concept, it is almost unrelated to the global and nonacademic components of the self-concept (e.g., Byrne, 1996). Hence, it is necessary to

accurately measure the self-concept construct from a multidimensional perspective in order to identify the academic components that are most important for increasing academic achievement.

Researchers have consistently reported a positive relationship between the academic self-concept and academic achievement (Byrne, 1996; Kung, 2009; Marsh, Hau, & Kong, 2002; Marsh et al., 2005; Marsh & Yeung, 1997). In addition, Marsh et al. (2005) have argued in support of a reciprocal effects model in which prior self-concepts influence subsequent achievements, known as the self-enhancement model, and prior achievements affect subsequent self-concepts, known as the skill development model – both these models were originally proposed by Calsyn and Kenny in 1977. Support for the self-enhancement model would provide a strong justification for self-concept enhancement interventions that are explicitly or implicitly incorporated into many educational programs. In contrast, the skill development model suggests that the academic self-concept emerges principally as a consequence of academic achievement; therefore, the best way to enhance the academic self-concept is to develop stronger academic skills. Marsh and Yeung (1997) have also suggested that these issues need to be researched using longitudinal data in which both self-concept and achievement should be measured on at least two occasions. Although it is recognized that the reciprocal effects model describes the relationship between academic achievement and academic self-concept, researchers as yet do not know which exerts the stronger effect, and the results seem to reveal mixed findings. Moreover, few longitudinal studies have focused on specific subject areas (e.g., the math self-concept and mathematics achievement). Hence, more studies are needed to evaluate these effects and clarify the mixed findings.

Developmental Perspectives Regarding the Reciprocal Effects Model

Marsh et al. (2005) have indicated that younger children's understanding of academic self-concepts is minimally related to objective outcomes and changes with age. Such a developmental perspective may explain why longitudinal studies that have sought to establish the reciprocal effects model have yielded mixed results (e.g., Marsh, 1990; Marsh & Yeung, 1997; Skaalvik & Valas, 1999). Skaalvik & Valas (1999) proposed that in the early school years, students' academic self-concepts are not very well established and may undergo several processes of shaping and reshaping. When these academic self-concepts become better established and more stable, they may increasingly affect performance and study behavior, which in turn may affect academic achievement. Once self-perceptions are more firmly established, the relationships between self-concept and achievement are likely to become reciprocal (e.g., Marsh & Yeung, 1997). During late adolescence, the academic self-concept

may even have causal priority rephrase as self-enhancement model over skills development model. There is evidence indicating that the agreement between academic self-concept and academic achievement grows stronger with age at least through high school (Marsh, 1990). Therefore, it is possible that the reciprocal effects model of these variables varies with age.

Longitudinal studies have proposed reciprocal causality between mathematics self-concept and mathematics achievement in Western youth. However, few studies have examined the reciprocal effects model with non-Western samples. Moreover, the relationships between students' achievement and their self-perception in the within-country analyses as found in the 2003 TIMSS report remain controversial, and we need more longitudinal designs using a different sample and various methods, such as structural equation modeling, in order to clarify these relationships.

Research Questions

Utilizing the structural equation modeling approach, the present study uses a longitudinal data to examine the directional effects between math self-concept and mathematics achievement in Taiwan. The study also addresses the following questions: (1) What is the influence of social cognitive factors such as math self-concept on promoting students' mathematics achievement in Taiwan? (2) Is the reciprocal effects model with longitudinal design (math self-concept vs. mathematics achievement) that this study proposes for Taiwanese students acceptable, and does the model obtain a reasonable model fit? (3) Are gender mean differences significant with respect to math self-concept and mathematics achievement?

Method

Subjects

This study was based on a longitudinal project on junior high school students' mathematics achievement, in which data were collected from representative samples in Taiwan. In an attempt to obtain a representative sample, schools were selected from the northern, central and southern areas of Taiwan, and participants on the basis of their educational, economic, institutional and residential characteristics as well as recommendations from the respective educational authorities and researchers. The subjects included 1,256 seventh graders in the first wave and slightly decline to 1,211 eighth graders in the second wave of the study, coming at the end of the second year of a three-year project.

Measurements

Data were primarily collected by means of a questionnaire, with items designed to measure the math self-concept in the first and second year, while the math achievement levels were also measured on two-wave occasion. All the instruments were translated into Chinese by native speakers and then back-translated into English for translation verification. This process was repeated until the back-translation into English was deemed to be sufficiently accurate.

Math self-concept questionnaire. Self-Description Questionnaire II (SDQ II) developed by Marsh (1988, 1999 revision) were adapted for the present study, and were administered in the middle of the second semester of each academic year. There were two waves of math self-concept data (T1-2 and T2-2). In addition to 10 items from SDQ II that deal with the math self-concept, the present study added three more items to evaluate students' mathematics learning from the viewpoint of social comparison with their classmates. The students were asked to rate the bipolar statements on a six-point Likert scale. The reliability coefficient, arrived at by utilizing Cronbach's alpha, were .93 and .94 for T1-2 and T2-2, respectively.

Mathematics achievement. Mathematics achievement was based on students' school grades from the official records at the end of first semester of each academic year. In addition, teachers' ratings of student performance in mathematics subject were the other source to represent mathematics achievement. There were two times of mathematics scores (T1-1 and T2-1). The reliability coefficient, arrived at by utilizing Cronbach's alpha, were .90 and .89 for T1-1 and T2-1, respectively.

Statistical Analysis

A structural equation model-fitting program utilizing the Amos (analysis of moment structure) software package 7.0 was used to conduct the analyses. First of all, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to test the validity of each latent factor (i.e. mathematics self-concept and mathematics achievement). Second, structural equation modeling was utilized to examine the relationships among these factors. Third, latent mean analysis was conducted to compare gender mean differences in math self-concept. The hypothesized model is shown schematically in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The model evaluation criteria used to test the fit of the models included the chi-square statistic (χ^2), CFI (Comparative Fit Index), TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index), RMSEA (Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation), and CN (Critical N). It should be noted that the χ^2 statistic is sensitive to sample size; therefore, alternative goodness-of-fit indices were used for the present study (Schumacker & Lomax, 2004). Values of .90 and above for CFI and TLI were regarded as indicating a reasonable fit

(Byrne, 2001), with the RMSEA value of 0.05 indicating a close fit and values in the vicinity of .08 indicating a fair fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Hoelter (1983) have suggested that a critical N of 200 or better indicates a satisfactory fit. For the latent mean analysis, a non-significant $\Delta\chi^2$ statistic indicates that the compared models were equivalent across groups. In addition, alternative goodness-of-fit indices of CFI and RMSEA were used to complement the chi-square difference test in comparing the nested models.

Results

Preliminary analyses identified no multivariate outliers, and the assumption of normality was never severely violated for any variable, considering the guideline of normality (i.e., skewness < 2; kurtosis < 7) proposed by Curran, West, and Finch (1996). Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to test the constructs of math self-concept and mathematics achievement. All corresponding factor loadings for the latent factors were significant, ranging from moderate to high magnitudes.

Structural Equation Modeling Analysis

The hypothesized model was then evaluated using structural equation modeling to test whether, and to what extent, the model fits the data. As indicated by the fit indices (e.g., χ^2 , CFI, TLI, RMSEA, and CN), goodness-of-fit for the initially hypothesized model was not fit well. A review of the MI (modification index) indicated that the incorporation into the model of correlated errors (i.e., the residual error variables from the same instruments in analyses of longitudinal data) would lead to a substantial improvement in model fit. Given that (a) the modification index associated with this initially unestimated parameter was distinctively higher ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 246.20$) than was the case for all remaining modification indices, and (b) such error covariances can typically represent a type of response set bias or redundancy in item content that is common in the testing of assessment measure (see e.g., Marsh & Yeung, 1997), the hypothesized model was respecified and then re-estimated. The respecified model is shown in Figure 2 and the fit index is shown in Table 1.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Insert Table 1 about here

As shown in Table 1, the respecified model fit the data well. Although the χ^2 was significant, it was sensitive to sample size, and CFI, TLI, RMSEA, and CN indicated good fit. The parameter estimates are presented in Table 2; all corresponding factor loadings for the all latent factors were significant, with moderate

to high magnitudes. The squared multiple correlations were .53 and .55 for math self-concept and mathematics achievement at T2-2 and T2-1, respectively. The combined reliability (ρ_c) of math self-concept T1-2, math self-concept T2-2, mathematics achievement T1-1, and mathematics achievement T2-1 were .87, .89, .901, and .80, respectively. The ρ_v of math self-concept T1-2, math self-concept T2-2, mathematics achievement T1-1, and mathematics achievement T2-1 were .69, .74, .81, and .89, respectively. The longitudinal effects were all significant. Prior mathematics achievement significantly predicted subsequent math self-concept at T1 and T2 ($\gamma=.68$ and $\beta=.49$, respectively). In addition, prior math self-concept (T1-2) significantly predicted subsequent mathematics achievement (T2-1) ($\beta=.19$). In other words, the reciprocal effects model was supported and the effects of mathematics achievement tended to be stronger and more systematic.

Insert Table 2 about here

Latent Mean Analysis

Test of configural invariance. Respecified model was tested between boys and girls. The results were supported a reasonable fit for gender groups (see Table 3). Similarly, all manifested items in the model were good indicators of their associated factors for each gender group.

Test of metric invariance. To test for metric invariance, the factor pattern coefficients were constrained to be equal. Thus, the next focus was on testing whether the factor loadings were invariant across the two groups. A χ^2 difference test was conducted for these nested model. These constraints increased the χ^2 value, 3.39 with gaining 6 degrees of freedom, and was not statistically significant at $\alpha=.05$. Table 3 presents indices of these nested models, and the values of CFI and RMSEA, generally, were very close for each group. The metric invariance was supported.

Test of scalar invariance. Since the metric invariance has been met, scalar invariance was tested by constraining a series of paths of structural paths and covariance. CFI and RMSEA were also used to evaluate the fit of the model (Hong, Malik, & Lee, 2003). The values of CLI and RMSEA were close for each group (see Table 3), and structural paths and covariance invariance was supported. The invariance tests for gender groups were shown in Table 4.

Insert Table 3 about here

Insert Table 4 about here

Group differences in the means of latent variables can be estimated only if the latent variables are on the same scale in all groups. Thus, the prerequisites for latent mean analysis are metric invariance and scalar invariance across the multiple groups. With respect to these indices, the invariance test was supported across gender groups for the Taiwanese sample. For identification purposes (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989), the girl group was used as the reference group with its latent mean parameters fixed to zero. Mean parameters for the boy group were free to differ from zero and comparison of the group differences on latent means is based on these differences from zero. Table 5 presents latent mean parameter estimates. Results of latent mean analysis showed significant gender variation with respect to math self-concept. Taiwanese boys exhibited higher mean values of math self-concept than the Taiwanese girls in 7th and 8th grade. Taiwanese boys exhibited lower mean values of mathematics achievement than the Taiwanese girls in 7th and 8th grade, however, the effect sizes were vary small (.01 and .01 for mathematics achievement of T1-1 and T2-1, respectively.)

Insert Table 5 about here

Discussion

The early schooling process is a complex network of effects, to which many variables contribute. Achievement is a significant topic in the field of children's schooling processes and therefore it is important to probe the multiple factors. These influences are particularly important in the early years of schooling, when students undergo rapid adaptational and psychological changes. These changes can be either positive and growth-enhancing or negative. When they are negative, academic success at the school level becomes more difficult to attain.

The Relationships between Math Self-Concept and Math Achievement

A positive academic self-concept is frequently posited as an important variable that facilitates academic achievement. With respect to the causal ordering of academic self-concept and academic achievement, growing support for the reciprocal effects model would have important implications in the field of education (Marsh, 1990). The present study extended the implications of the well-developed reciprocal effects model pertaining to academic self-concept and achievement to the specific subject of mathematics, with the use of longitudinal data. It examined whether the above reciprocal effects model was applicable to math self-concept and mathematics achievement in student samples from Taiwan. The results with respect to math self-concept were consistent with previous research findings that supported both the

skill-development model and self-enhancement model (Marsh et al., 2005; Marsh & Yeung, 1997). Therefore, in order to promote students' mathematics achievement, it is necessary to reveal how this process operates for school students. One approach would be to consider the possible intervening variables (e.g., increased effort, enhanced motivation, and persistence in the face of difficulties) that mediate the effect of prior math self-concept on subsequent mathematics achievement. Moreover, since the findings also supported the skill development model, improving students' math problem-solving skills or experience may be a good way to reinforce their math self-concept.

The Developmental Perspective and the Reciprocal Effects Model

The developmental perspective holds that the relationship between the academic self-concept and academic achievement changes as students pass through different school ages. This perspective might explain the reason why longitudinal studies in this area that sought to establish causal relations have yielded mixed results (e.g., Byrne, 1996; Marsh, 1990; Marsh & Yeung, 1997; Skaalvik & Valas, 1999). Skaalvik and Valas (1999) advocated a developmental perspective based on the achievement–self-concept relation. They proposed that in the early school years, students' academic self-concepts are not very well-established. During that period, the self-concept may undergo experience a process of shaping and reshaping that is controlled by the influence of academic experience. When the academic self-concept becomes better established and more stable, it may increasingly affect performance and study behavior, which in turn may affect academic achievement. Thus, after self-perceptions are more firmly established, the relationship between the self-concept and achievement is likely to become reciprocal (e.g., Marsh & Yeung, 1997). During late adolescence, the academic self-concept may even have causal priority rephrase as self-enhancement model over skills development model over academic achievement as found in Marsh's previous study (Marsh, 1990). Our findings generally supported both the skill-development model and the self-enhancement model. Since the samples were from the junior high school level, our study results are consistent with previous findings that supported the reciprocal effects model (Marsh & Yeung, 1997).

Conclusion and Implications

Findings of the present study were addressed as followed; first, results identified good psychometric properties (e.g., high internal reliability) and a well-defined structure of math self-concept and mathematics achievement. Second, the longitudinal effects were all significant, including that (a) prior mathematics

achievement significantly predicted subsequent math self-concept (skill development model); (b) prior math self-concept significantly predicted subsequent mathematics achievement (self-enhancement model); (c) the reciprocal effects model was supported and the effects of achievement tended to be stronger and more systematic. Third, latent mean analysis showed significant gender variation with respect to math self-concept and mathematics achievement.

To summarize, previous research contains surprisingly few non-Western studies employing structural equation models to deal with longitudinal data and social cognitive factors pertaining to mathematics learning. This study focused on the relationships between the math self-concept and math achievement; it is particularly noteworthy that the study demonstrated the construct validity and reliability of measurements pertaining to the math self-concept constructs in Taiwanese samples. Furthermore, the present study utilized a longitudinal design to more accurately examine the directional effects of math self-concept and mathematics achievement. The preliminary findings of the present study can be used to further our understanding of the relationships between students' attitudes and achievement and may help facilitate mathematics performance in students. In addition, these findings can be used to design experimental courses on increasing students' math self-concept with particular reference to the Taiwanese samples that are below the international average in the Index of Students' Self-Confidence in Learning Mathematics (SCM). Based on the present study, we suggest that it is important for researchers in this field to become "critical educators," and most importantly, be more aware of the social cognitive factors affecting mathematics learning.

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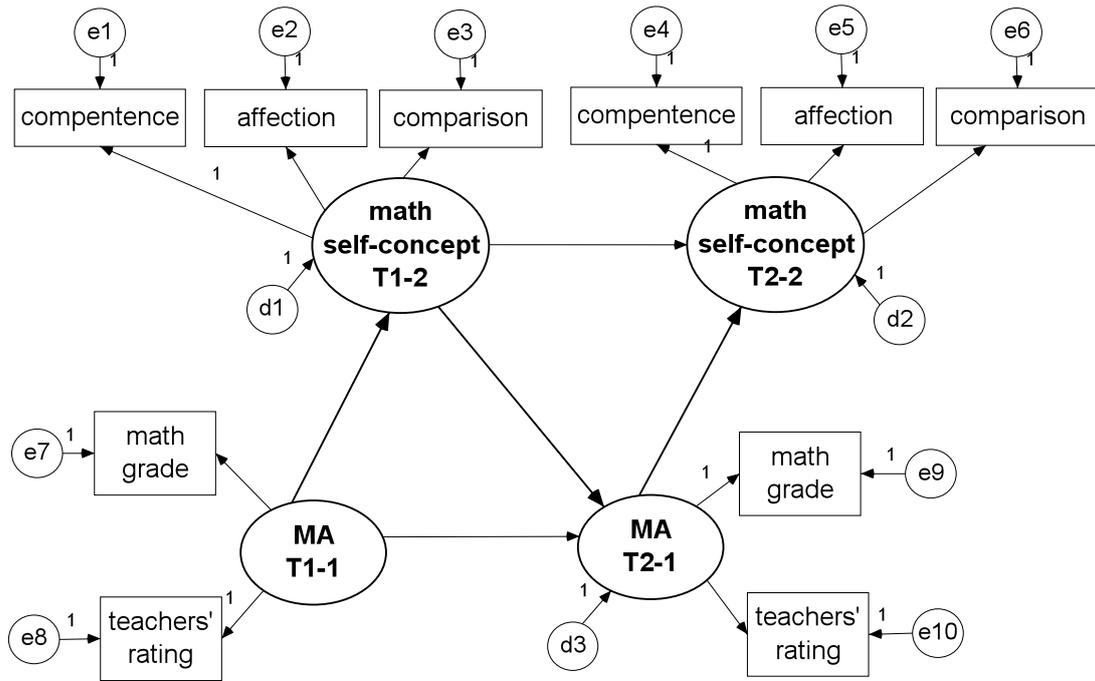


Figure 1. Hypothesized Model

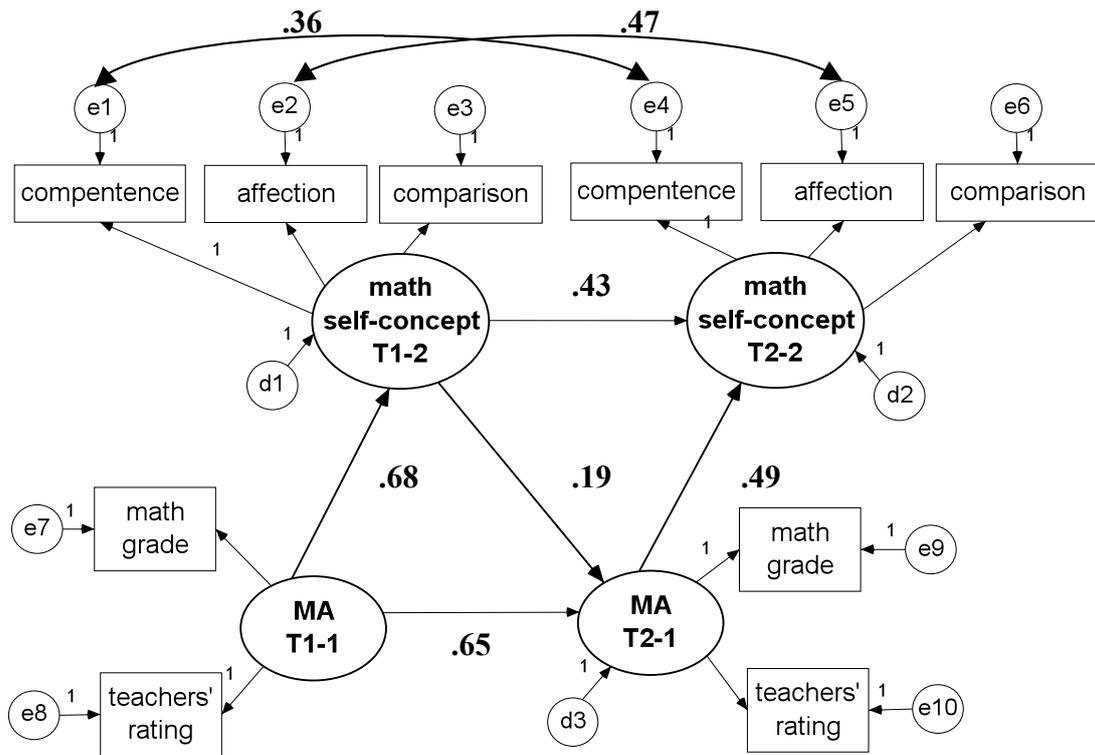


Figure 2. Respecified Model

Table 1. Goodness-of-fit indices for hypothesized model

Goodness-of-fit indices	Hypothesized Model	Decision
χ^2	201.80 ($df=28, p = .00$)	Rejected
CFI	.98	Accepted
TLI	.97	Accepted
RMSEA (90% CI)	.073 (.072-.074)	Accepted
CN	276	Accepted

Table 2. Standardized, unstandardized estimate, and S. E. for hypothesized model

	Standardized Estimate	Estimate	S.E.
Math self-concept T1-2 → Competence	.89*	.74	.02
Math self-concept T1-2 → Affection	.66*	.64	.02
Math self-concept T1-2 → Comparison	.93*	1.00 ^a	—
Math self-concept T2-2 → Competence	.91*	.80	.02
Math self-concept T2-2 → Affection	.72*	.68	.02
Math self-concept T2-2 → Comparison	.94*	1.00 ^a	—
MA T1-1 → math grade	.89*	.99	.03
MA T1-1 → teachers' rating	.91*	1.00 ^a	—
MA T2-1 → math grade	.92*	1.06	.03
MA T2-1 → teachers' rating	.87*	1.00 ^a	—
Math self-concept T1-2 → Math self-concept T2-2	.43*	.44	.03
MA T1-1 → MA T2-1	.65*	.63	.04
MA T1-1 → Math self-concept T1-2	.68*	.10	.01
MA T2-1 → Math self-concept T2-2	.49*	.08	.01
Math self-concept T1-2 → MA T2-1	.19*	1.18	.22
e1 ↔ e4	.36*	.10	.01
e2 ↔ e5	.47*	.42	.03

Note. * $p < .05$.

^a indicates parameters fixed for identification purpose, not estimated.

Table 3. Goodness-of-fit indices for hypothesized Model of gender groups

	χ^2	<i>df</i>	CFI	RMSEA
Baseline model (Model 1)	201.20	54	.985	.049
Factor loading invariance (Model 2)	204.59	60	.985	.046
Structural invariance (Model 3)	227.38	65	.983	.047
Covariance invariance (Model 4)	230.55	66	.983	.047

Table 4. The invariance tests for gender groups

	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	ΔCFI	$\Delta RMSEA$	Decision
Model 1 vs. Model 2	3.39	6	.000	.003	Accept
Model 2 vs. Model 3	22.78	5	.002	.001	Accept
Model 3 vs. Model 4	3.18	1	.000	.000	Accept

Table 5. Result of latent mean analysis

Construct	Girl group	Boy group	Effect size
Math self-concept T1-2	.00	.50*	.52
Math self-concept T2-2	.00	.34*	.45
Math achievement T1-1	.00	-1.09*	.01
Math achievement T2-1	.00	-1.24*	.01

Note. The latent mean values for girl group were set to zero.

* indicates that the estimate is significant at $\alpha=.05$.

The Effects of pay raises on career advancement and work exhaustion: a longitudinal study among IT professionals in Taiwan

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Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in burnout research due to its substantially negative impacts on employees and the organizations (Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004). Burnout is a psychological response to a prolonged stress that consists of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced perceptions of personal accomplishment (Maslach, 1982; Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Previous burnout research has provided empirical evidences of several negative impacts on either employer or employee such as reduced well-being, higher absenteeism and turnover rates and poorer performance (e.g., Hobfoll & Shirom, 1993; Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001; Moore, 2000). On the applied side, burnout could be a syndrome pervasive among employees across various units in a demanding work situation. Probst & Raisch's (2005) study indicates burnout syndrome is a leading predictor of corporate collapse for those once successful companies.

Although all three components of burnout are potentially important, a growing research consensus has concluded that emotional exhaustion is the key dimension of burnout (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Gaines & Jermier, 1983; Wright & Bonett, 1997; Zohar, 1997). For example, a wide range of topics focusing on emotional exhaustion including exploring its impact on organizational deviance (Mulki, Jaramillo, & Locander, 2006), turnover intention (Moore, 2000; Igarria & Baroudi, 1995), task performance (Witt, Andrews, & Carlson, 2004), and work attitudes (Mulki, et al., 2006). In emotional exhaustion research, many antecedents to emotional exhaustion receive consistent empirical support including work load, role ambiguity, lack of work autonomy, reward fairness (Moore, 2000). However, no studies, to my knowledge, have examined the role of pay increase in predicting emotional exhaustion has been ignored. As research has argued that managers in general underestimate the importance of pay in motivating employees (Rynes, Gerhart, and Minette, 2004), Shaw et al. (2003) notes that pay increase research is underdeveloped. In motivation theories, pay/pay

increase has profound impacts on employee career development, and work attitudes (Greene, 1973; Shaw, Duffy, Mitra, Lockhart, & Bowler, 2003). Does pay increase affect one's work exhaustion? Gardner, Dyne, and Pierce (2004) addressed that pay level can also signal one's worth (value) to the organization. Greller and Parson (1995) concluded pay increase communicate itself an employee's value to the organization. When one receives higher pay as compared to other colleagues, it implies s/he is more successful in career (Lawler & Jenkins, 1992; Wayne, Liden, Kraimer, & Graf (1999). As Lawler and Jenkins (1992) noted that employee reactions to merit pay systems are best described as mixed, pay, however, has its side effect on employee such as job stress (John & Weitz, 1989). Pines et al. (1981) reported when one confronts long-term involvements in demanding situations and receives too few positive features, s/he will develop tedium (or emotional exhaustion).

Among the antecedents of burnout research, little has explored it in term of career development angle. Career development research argues that organizational sponsorship such as training and skill opportunity and organizational resources provides special assistance to facilitate employees' career advancement (Tharenou, Latimer, & Conroy, 1994). In a highly global competitive work environment, those winners in contest-mobility model of career have better chances to be promoted (NG, Eby, Sorensen, and Feldman, 2005). Weiss, Ilgen, and Sharbaugh (1982) found low job performance appraisals are usually stressful to receive, and low performers may be more likely to engage in such information search activities as looking for alternative job opportunities as a possible way of avoiding a stressful job situation. Only did report one study from Kim & Wright (2007), to my knowledge, indicated that career advancement opportunity predicted negatively on emotional exhaustion.

Several recent studies indicate that support from supervisors affects employees' willingness to engage in development activities (Noe, 1996) and emotional exhaustion (e.g., Turnipspeed, 1994). This study includes pay increase, supervisor support and career advancement to examine their effects on emotional exhaustion. The reasons including the mentioned above antecedents in emotional exhaustion research are threefold: first, Less is known about the effects of pay raise on individual's career success as well as emotional exhaustion despite its popularity as a means to motivate employee. Secondly, leadership factor has been tested as a vital predictor of emotional exhaustion and career advancement (i.e., supervisor support). The third, despite some research that has explored the effects of supervisor support on career advancement and emotional exhaustion, is career advancement opportunity a mechanism to explain how supervisor affects emotional exhaustion.

Despite work exhaustion in various work environments, the research literature suggests that information technology professionals are particularly vulnerable (Schaufeli & van Dierendonck, 1993). This study is to explore the impacts of pay increase, supervisor support and career advancement on emotional exhaustion and whether career advancement opportunity plays a mediational role in the relationships between pay increase, supervisor support and emotional exhaustion.

Literature review and hypothesis development

The role of pay is widely explored in the domain of organizational behavior. Reinforcement theory takes various forms of pay as positive factor to reinforce employee's behaviors (Skinner, 1974). Past research revealed that pay raise impacts on many aspects at work including positive attitudinal reactions among workers (Mitra, Gupta, & Jenkins Jr, 1997), behavioral intentions (Shaw, Duffy, Mitra, Lockhart, & Bowler, 2003), turnover (Trevor, Gerhart, & Boudreau, 1997). Pay increase and pay level also function as delivering signals to employees (Shaw, Duffy, Jenkins, & Gupta, 1999). Researchers (Brief & Aldag, 1989; Gerhart & Milkovich, 1992) argue that the amount of pay increase reflecting one's career success signals one's value and contribution to the organizations (Shaw et al., 1999). Those who perform at an outstanding level will receive better rewards and are considered more potential to promote. The amount of pay increase signals one's contribution to the organization.

Pay raise has been part of pay-for-performance system to reflect employees' contributions to their organization. The amount of individual's salary increase, as compared to his/her colleagues, is often signaling who is a winner in an organization. In one's career advancement, both subjective and pay increase indicators are linked to contribute to one's promotability in an organization (Igbaria and Baroudi, 1995). This study expects if one who receives better pay raise based on his/her performance will attenuate the work pressure through career advancement opportunity because s/he gets more opportunity to attain or be closer to both work objective and career objective.

Beside pay raise, supervisor plays an important role in subordinate's career progress and work stress (Hilde Hetland, Sandal, & Johnsen, 2007). The relationship between employee and his/her supervisor will affect emotional exhaustion (Turnipspeed, 1994). Among

supervisor-related predictors of career success such as LMX, mentoring, and the like, supervisor support is undoubtedly considered one of the critical one. Now supervisors are increasingly required to support employees in their learning and career development (Kidd & Smewing, 2001). The role of the supervisor is broadening from an emphasis on performance management and control to include activities that facilitate learning and career development (Kidd & Smewing, 2001). Results from few studies (e.g., Leithwood, Menzies, Jantzi, & Leithwood, 1996; Mazur & Lynch, 1989; Stordeur, D'hoore, & Vandenberghe, 2001; Hetland, Sandal, and Johnsen, 2007) that have investigated links between transformational leadership and burnout have been equivocal (Hetland, Sandal, and Johnsen, 2007). On one hand, Maslach burnout model (Maslach & Schaufeli, 1993; Maslach, et al., 2001) addresses the intense and emotionally charged interactions between leader and subordinates are likely to be more demanding and therefore could result in higher levels of emotional exhaustion. On the other hand, considering the emotional needs of each employee, it may tactfully act to hinder overload work and stress. Recent research reveals such a negative link between transformational leadership and burnout (Corrigan, Diwan, Campion, & Rashid, 2002). Consistent with this assumption, Seltzer and Numerof 's (1988) study demonstrated an inverse relationship between consideration type of leadership and burnout. There is also abundant empirical evidence that perceived leader's social support is related to less perceived stress and burnout (Lee & Ashforth, 1996).

H1a-1b: pay raise is positively related to career advancement opportunity (a) and to emotional exhaustion (b).

H2a-2b: supervisor support is positively related to emotional exhaustion (a) and to career advancement opportunity (b).

H3: career development is negatively related to emotional exhaustion.

H4a-4b: career advancement opportunity has a mediation effect on the relationship (a) between supervisor support and emotional exhaustion and (b) between pay increase and emotional exhaustion.

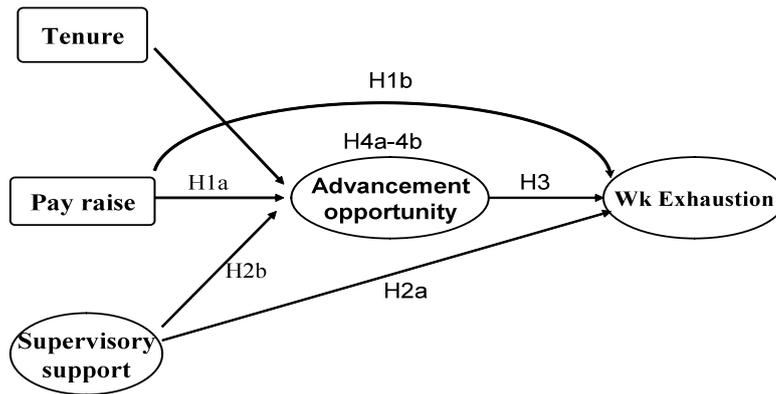


Fig. 1 framework of this study

Method

Organizational setting and procedure

Information technology (IT) manufacturers in Taiwan are facing a quick and constant change global competition. These companies are highly connected and most of them are doing business of OEM/ODM. It is common staffing policy that company will lay off those whose performance falls behind and ranks in the bottom at a work unit. The surveyed company is a DRAM (Dynamic Random Access Memory) manufacturer. There are three shifts a day for operating workers. When economy goes up and business orders keep coming, its IT professionals (assembly workers and engineers) have to accept overtime arrangement from the management and not a chance to take normal day off for several months. Due to rapid technology innovation, pressure of stable business order, and global competition, IT companies often response quickly by personnel cut to economic recession and order loss. The company of study has pay secrecy policy and conduct official performance appraisal two times a year. One for last-year annual bonus is done in January; the other for individual pay raise is done by the end of July. This study obtained the pay raise archives from the company, and then distributed questionnaire and collected data in one month later. Before the investigated year, this company has not given an overall raise for three years. Pay raise for employees was expected since good performance of the company was coming with stunning

profit.

Variable measure

Pay raise. Pay increase measure is collected from company’s archive. This measure is the ratio of the amount of one’s given pay raise to the average amount of pay raise at his/her rank.

Supervisor support. The four items of supervisor support measure were assessed using two of Wayne et al.’s (1999) scale. Example item “My supervisor gives me assignments that give me the opportunity to learn new skills.” The other two items were adopted from Jones-Johnson & Johnson (1992). For example, “I can get help from my immediate supervisor when I have difficulties at work.”

Career advancement opportunity. This measure adopted Balfour & Wechsler (1990) career advancement opportunity scale with minor modification. Item, for example, “this firm offers several channels to learn advanced technology and knowledge and a lot of training opportunities”; “experiencing plenty of opportunities to build a career, to grow within the organization”.

Emotional exhaustion. The measurement scale adopted Moore’s (2000) work exhaustion measure which slightly modifying Maslach and Jackson’s (1981) emotional exhaustion scale. Moore’s emotional exhaustion scale reported a good reliability ($\alpha = .88$). The scale ranges from 6 “strongly agree” to 1 “strongly disagree.” Cronbach’s alpha of the measure is 0.77.

Control variable. To avoid the possibility of the confounding effect, this study includes organizational tenure as control variable.

Results

Table 1 presents means, standard deviations of, and average variance extracted by the latent constructs. A look at the binary correlations among variables of study provides preliminary support for the hypotheses. As depicted in Table 1, the binary correlations also reveal significant relationships between performance, supervisor’s support, career development, and work exhaustion as expected. Moreover, the values of reliability of research variables are not above 0.9 partly because surveyed items were randomly distributed in the questionnaire.

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics, Correlations, and Reliability Coefficients

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
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1 Tenure	3.14	1.76					
2 Pay raise	1.09	.23	.258**				
3 Supervisor's support	3.79	.93	.046	.208*	(.85)		
4 Advancement opportunity	3.88	.85	.321**	.292**	.245**	(.75)	
5 Work exhaustion	3.89	.99	-.017	-.220*	-.224*	-.292**	(.77)

Note: $N = 130$. Value of Cronbach's alpha for each construct showed in the diagonal. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

To test our specific hypotheses of H1a, H1b, and a set of H2 hypotheses-H2a and H2b, and H3), we analyze using structural equation modelling technique to report the standardized path coefficients in Table 2 (direct model). Following Bentler's (2006) suggestion, Variables of study were treated as latent factors except pay raise measure as single variable. Hypothesis 1 is that performance is positively related to advancement opportunity and negatively related to emotional exhaustion; the analyses indicate, performance had positive, significant effect on career development ($\beta = .264, p < .01$) and had negative, significant effect on emotional exhaustion ($\beta = -.346, p < .01$). We posited Hypothesis 2a and H2b that supervisor support is related to advancement opportunity and emotional exhaustion. Supervisor support had positive, significant effect on advancement opportunity ($\beta = .183, p < 0.01$) and had negative, significant effect on emotional exhaustion ($\beta = -.191, p < 0.01$). Evidences for Hypothesis 1, H2a, and H2b therefore are fully supported.

Table 2. Standardized coefficients of Hypothesis 1-Hypothesis 3

Path	Standardized coefficients
Pay increase → career development	.26
Supervisor support → career development	.18
Supervisor support → emotional exhaustion	-.20
Career development → emotional exhaustion	-.19
Pay increase → emotional exhaustion	-.35

All coefficients are significant at $p < 0.05$.

To examine hypothesis 4 that career advancement opportunity mediates the relationships between latent independent variables (pay increase and supervisory) and emotional exhaustion, this study adopted some procedures as recommended by Cole and Maxwell (2003) to assess whether mediational effect is supported.

Table 3 presents the fit statistics for the tested model. The overall fit indices for this direct model, as Table 3 illustrates, suggested acceptable fit with the data (NNFI = .85, CFI = .88, GFI = .84, RMSEA = 0.097) (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Consistent with the current practices (cf. Cole and Maxwell, 2003) in structural equation modeling, empirical support for the proposed model was determined by examining the magnitude of several fit indices. Table 3 displays information that all the fit indices showed an acceptable good match between sample data and the proposed model (namely, the direct and indirect model)--the values of NNFI, GFI and CFI are greater than 0.8; RMSEA is satisfactory acceptable with the value 0.096.

Table 3. Results of Structural Equation Models

Model Type	<i>df</i>	χ^2	NNFI	CFI	GFI	RMSEA
NULL	105	968.77	—	—	—	—
Direct model ^a	82	181.14	.85	.88	.84	.097
Mediation Model	83	197.18	.83	.87	.84	.103
Partially mediated Model	81	176.71	.86	.89	.84	.096

^aNo mediation

The analyses include comparing the proposed model with two alternative models. To test mediation, in general, the study compares the proposed model (partially mediated model) with a direct model in which advancement opportunity to emotional exhaustion was constrained to equal zero and the relationships between predictors (pay increase and supervisor support) and latent dependent factors (advancement opportunity and emotional exhaustion) were freely estimated. The results of a chi-square difference test comparing proposed model and direct models suggested they were significantly different, $\Delta\chi^2 (df = 1) = 4.43, p < .01$, and therefore provided preliminary support for mediation. The author then compared the proposed model to indirect model of which the direct paths between advancement opportunity, supervisor support, and emotional exhaustion were constrained to equal zero. The difference in chi-squares between the partially mediated model and the fully mediated model was not significantly different, $\Delta\chi^2 (df = 2) = 20.47, p > .10$, indicating the fully mediating effect did not provide a significantly superior fit over a partially mediated effect. Hypothesis 4 receives partial support. Truly, career advancement opportunity partially mediated the relationship between pay increase and supervisor support and emotional exhaustion. The paths and standardized coefficients of direct- and indirect-effect model reported in Figure 2.

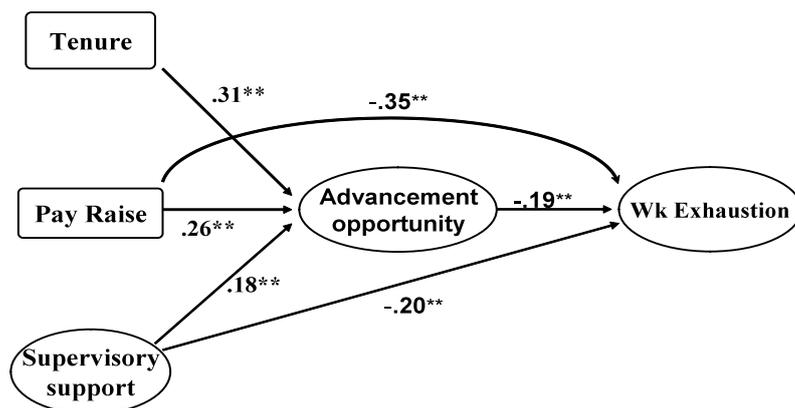


Fig. 2 all coefficients are standardized at $p < 0.01$

General Discussion

In spite of the popularity of pay or salary increase in human resource management practices, little research has explored the effects of pay increase on individual's personal development and burnout together. This study examined whether pay increase positively predicted career advancement and negatively emotional exhaustion. In this regard, the results are supportive. Even after taking account the effect of tenure and supervisor support, pay raise was found to predict career advancement and emotional exhaustion. The second objective of this study was to explore whether career advancement plays a mediational role in the relationships between pay raise, supervisor support and emotional exhaustion. Based on the comparison of original proposed model, direct model, partially mediated model, career advancement only partially mediated the relationships between pay raise, supervisor support and emotional exhaustion. On the contrary of pay increase-happiness research by Shaw, et al. (2003), the finding is very important, as it helps us a better understanding of potential negative impact of pay increase on employee in the context of theories of career. Moreover, the present study serves as an important contribution to the literature because it extends previous work on the effect of pay increase on burnout and, in particular, proposes a link to career advancement. This addresses two critical concerns in the burnout literature: first, the emphasis on a direct relationship between pay increase, career advancement opportunity and emotional exhaustion. Studies that explicitly incorporate pay increase, career development,

and emotional exhaustion are very sparse. Secondly, to explore how supervisor support affects emotional exhaustion through career advancement.

Limitations and directions for future research

To consider potential limitations of this study first is the one single organization surveyed to expose caution with regard to the generalizability of the findings. Second, despite data collected at a different point of time, self-reporting measures of variables studied inevitably confront common method problem. For instance, the assessments on opportunities of employee career development could be done by immediate superior. Third, including previous more longer pay (or pay increase) records could more precisely predict the accumulation effect of rewards over time due to the concept of burnout—a prolonged stress. In terms of limitations, the sample of employees included in the study was not randomly drawn from the population, and therefore representativeness and generalizability are a concern.

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Topic of the submission:

eCRM as a Postmodern Marketing Approach

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Overview

When brand leads management thinkings, electronic customer relationship management (**eCRM**) is probably the **killer marketing approach** in the postmodern age. The future of marketing lies in eCRM that addresses customer lifetime value (**CLV**) via customer centricity from the perspectives of deep segmentation, customer profile, bottom-up marketing, one-to-one marketing, data warehousing, data mining and ongoing online dialogue.

The financial industry has popularized eCRM practice at a profit since the Internet proliferation at the dawn of the new millenium.¹ Interactive dialogue with customers, regulators and other stakeholders is now a must in wealth and fund management (e.g., financial planning and insurance).

Why this paper?

This is hard to find a comprehensive marketing text in eCRM.² Different authors tend to treat different parts of eCRM in different manners. Some are too general while some are too technical. They rarely address the **basic questions** like “What are the key differences between traditional marketing, relationship marketing and eCRM?” “What is the difference between CRM and eCRM?” “What is the linkage between eCRM and postmodernity?” “Why eCRM?” Some readers might then indiscriminately mix CRM up with buzzwords like electronic marketing, relationship marketing, data mining, social networking. This might give rise to a scenario of the blind men and the elephant. As a result, from an academic marketing perspective, it is necessary to clarify the uniqueness of eCRM to the general readers before being able to realize and capitalize on its full potentials. Though the difference is tiny, the impact is discernible and far-reaching. Mighty contests does rise from trivial things.³

What is eCRM?

eCRM is a marketing approach of managing customers in the postmodern age. Drucker

(1954)⁴ noted that “The purpose of business is not to make a sale, but to make and keep a customer.” This calls attention to customer lifetime value (CLV) and relationship marketing. “Marketing is the whole business seen from the customer's point of view.” The organization is the brand. A customer centric organization arises from customer centricity, which is more than customer orientation. Segmentation is no longer sufficient. We now use deep segmentation to develop customer profile for bottom-up marketing. All these are essentials of eCRM. The **industry** often manages **eCRM** as the **core** of customer service operation.

Hong Kong Broadband Ltd. (www.hkbn.net), for instance, continually monitors each of their some 400,000 clients online for service retention, recovery and up selling. They spot and approach every client online regularly. Those who spend less but demand more might be discouraged (e.g., longer waiting time, no promo discount) to continue. It is because every service call represents HK\$10-40 expense to the operator. All is done through data warehouse (e.g., analytical CRM and operational CRM). They develop positive dialogue with prospects and customers for market trends. This is collaborative CRM. Besides the typical CRM mindset (e.g., value every customer for good) and strategies, they also use traditional marketing (e.g., one-to-many, offensive, unspecific customers), relationship marketing (e.g., loyalty programme) and the 80-20 rule. They use direct mail (DM) and offer free download of pop start concert to preferred customer. Their HK\$99 for bb100 campaign comes with referral award scheme to promote brand loyalty via word of mouth and viral marketing.

CRM and eCRM are interchangeable terms

In this paper, customer relationship management (**CRM**) refers to the human and technology approaches of relationship marketing (**RM**). Examples of CRM are personal financial planning and personal travel planning. Having understood a specific customer’s profile (e.g., demographic, psychographic and preference details) via a continuous dialogue, the customer-centric supplier tries to explore business opportunities with individual customer.

Even in olden days, people without technology, could manage customer relationship and intimacy with a face-to-face mode. Technologies include writing, drawing, transportation vehicles, radio, telephone, television, fax, computer networking and then the Internet. Today’s CRM approaches primarily deal with the Internet (e.g., Intranet, Extranet) that could link to enterprise systems and supply chain management (SCM). Radio, phone, television and press can now transmit online. As a result, electronic Customer Relationship Management (eCRM) and CRM are **interchangeable** terms. **eCRM** highlights the role of technology in managing today’s human relationship. Examples of eCRM are automated selling systems of Amazon.com and social networking (e.g., facebook). They develop long-term relationship with specific individual customers for a profit in this electronic age. Social CRM (i.e., collaborative CRM), riding on social networking, is indeed the **true CRM**. It signals the emerging trend of social commerce and tagging culture.

Why eCRM?

It is because eCRM dictates the survival and growth of the modern business. Customers and competition are online. eCRM is the battlefield that no one can afford to miss. eCRM, as part of the enterprise system, is an indispensable part of the integrated world. eCRM is now part of our daily life. It is the norm of doing business in the new millennium. We are already

treading this eCRM world, virtual reality and postmodernity!

This **post-modern** age features rapid, parallel and profound changes. We now “sense” the virtual reality. Seeing and hearing is no longer fast enough to perceive. Then, all seem to be “unpredictable” and “nonsense”. Things might have changed before we can interpret and theorize it. **Phenomenon** experiencing rather than mere theory building might be more relevant nowadays. Scenario and symptoms become more critical. Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), for example, does work although its scientific meaning, structure and process remains unclear. That is why people talk about eCRM approach. This is not theory. This is the popular way to **survive** and **profit**. “If you cannot survive, why bother thinking?” someone said.

What is customer relationship?

All is about relationship. Relationship is the cornerstone of business success while the Internet realizes its magic potentials in the new horizon. Chinese people attach special importance to human relationship. In modern Chinese language, human relationship is translated as “**guanxi**”. Chinese people are well known for its profound proneness towards guanxi. Guanxi is emotional ties based on preferred long-term human interactions within Confucianism. **Face-to-face** interaction is the prerequisite for developing guanxi. No guanxi, money won't talk. With guanxi, we can talk, rather the other way round.

RM promotes a long-term customer relationship. It focuses on customer **retention** and satisfaction, rather than conclusive point-of-sale transactions. A preferred customer relationship derives its strength from repeated **service** encounter success, service quality beyond expectation and valid service recovery. As such, RM rides on service quality management.⁵

Why customer relationship?

It may **cost** 7-10 times more to recruit new customers than it would to retain current customers⁶. A 5% increase in the **retention** of your best customers can lead to 25-75% increase in profit.

To maximize a customer's lifetime value (**CLV**)⁷ marketers must think more in terms of what customers sense, think and act at all the touchpoints throughout the entire customer life cycle (**CLC**). They must look through the customers' eyes. This is customer centricity. When marketing concept suggests to offer whatever the customer wants, traditional marketer collects customer data and interprets the trend in their own eyes. Clearly, this is less relevant than customer centricity now. For instance, a smart mother will crawl on floor to examine every potentially dangerous spots to her baby. Looking from the adult view might miss the fatal moment. Dell enables the customer to configure the preferred system online. Then, it wins the market.

Friend is brand and **relationship** is brand equity

The one who plays fast and loose will receive no respect anywhere. Hence, **relationships**

first, profit next. Wise men always take the long-term view. They build human relationships first, and honor those over profits. Sales and profit will surely follow. Customers prefer to pay more for the brand. It saves them times and efforts in comparing every items for every purchase. Buying is winning, because relationship is harassment-free.

What is the role of eCRM in Marketing?

eCRM is the **approach** that derives itself from marketing theories, including direct marketing, database marketing, relationship marketing, Internet marketing and viral marketing.

A sluggish market together with rapid innovations and consumerism contributes to the continuing proliferation of marketing **thinking**. Examples include computer database-driven direct marketing (1967)⁸, database marketing (early 1980s)⁹, service marketing (1981)¹⁰, word-of-mouth marketing (mid-1980s)¹¹, relationship marketing (1990s)¹², internet marketing (1995)¹³, viral marketing (1996)¹⁴, affiliate marketing (1996)¹⁵, permission marketing (1999)¹⁶, one-to-one marketing (1996)¹⁷ and buzz marketing (2001)¹⁸.

Besides eCRM, other business approaches include segmentation, targeting, positioning, electronic commerce and enterprise systems. **Approach** explains the reasoning behind choosing your method. Example: His approach to any problem is to draft a plan first. He prefers a five-step approach in delivering the ball. **Method** is more specific than approach. Method is the way or steps that you apply these approaches. Example: There are three possible methods of repairing this computer. This is a simple method for making a cake. Mediation is a flexible method of solving disputes. **Techniques** are more specific than method. These are steps (e.g., tools and tasks) to achieve certain goals. We might use techniques for routine tasks (i.e., calculating multiple regressions). When the use of approach, method and technique involves planning, then all are **strategies**.

Marketing and marketing philosophies

Marketing gains momentum from economic development. Supply shortages in the old days let suppliers sell what they have. Demand surplus remained unsolved even after the Industrial Revolution in 1850s. Customers did not need to be consulted. This is **Product Concept** that continued to the 1920s. It holds that supplier knows its product better than anyone else does.

Consumer marketing started when sellers, using mass production, found it profitable to sell lower cost items to masses of customers. Henry Ford pioneered mass production of automobile to replace hand made cars for the very rich. The public for the first time can afford private cars. Demand surged. Henry Ford declared that his standardized low price Model T automobile was the best for the public in 1908. He dismissed the customers' demand for more colors that "you can have any color car you want as long as it is black." With increased competitive supply, Model T production ended in 1927.

During 1930s-1950s, suppliers could still sell whatever they offered by using advertising and personal selling. This is **Selling Concept**. Production Department was left to focus on the product.

Following greater productivity and supply competition, suppliers find it easier to sell what the

customers really want, rather than mere selling. This is **Marketing Concept** in around 1950s that started the marketing era.

Traditional marketing

Traditional marketing features selling to **mass market**. Before mass production of the industrial revolution, suppliers focused on the rich people with handmade items. The artisans and storekeepers, for example, produced and sold goods to specific individual customers. When new technologies of industrialization lowered mass production costs and lifted the society's general wealth and literacy rate, the suppliers began to sell standardized goods to a broad range of unspecific customers using advertising and direct mail. They targeted the public with generalized appeals.

Modern **advertising** traces back to 1836 when French newspaper *La Presse* first included paid advertising in its pages.¹⁹ N. W. Ayer & Son, the full-service advertisement agency, opened in 1869. Coca-Cola started extensive advertising in the 1890s.²⁰

Direct marketing

The popularity of systematic advertising spread to **mail order** advertising, a preceding form of modern direct marketing, when mail delivery became increasingly economical and reliable. Sears in 1887, for example, developed catalogs to sell to remote area households throughout the USA. In 1927, it sent out 75 million pieces of sale letters and catalogs by post.²¹

For better return, catalog companies started focusing on the more responsive and profitable **segments**. This is **segmentation**. Indeed, industrialization brought about a more affluent society (e.g., "The Affluent Society," Galbraith 1958) with more fragmented market. There are growing number of smaller distinct subsets (**segments**) of individual consumers, sharing similar needs, demand differentiated offers even at higher prices. Responding to this, marketers separate the whole market into different segments using demographic (e.g., sex), psychographic variables (e.g., lifestyle) and geographic variables (e.g., Hong Kong) in addition to income for analysis purpose. To profit, marketers offer customized sets of 4Ps to targeted segments. This is **targeting**. They estimate the attractiveness of the target segment and then design the right product, price, place and promotion. Improved market segmentation and targeting could lead to significantly improved marketing effectiveness. Less marketing dollars result in more sale and profit.

Targeting the appropriate segments, some marketers used the "12-month prune rule" in 1910 and the recency-frequency-monetary amount (RFM) model in the 1920s.²² They adopted compiled lists of prospect customers in the late 1940s (e.g., Polk and Donnelley).²³ For further cost reduction and better responses, they started to sell over the phone in the 1950s (e.g., DialAmerica Marketing). This is **telemarketing**.²⁴

In the late 1950s, direct marketing firms began to apply **computer** technology to their customer lists. This facilitates the rapid proliferation of data analysis, personalized communication, credit card and bar code scanning technologies.

It was **1967** before the computer-assisted **Direct Marketing** became a selling norm.²⁵

Reader's Digest, for example, was the first direct marketer to use **statistical** analysis, like **multiple regressions**, for targeting customers in 1967.²⁶ Other techniques include **SPSS** (1975), **SAS** (1976) and **CHAID** in 1980.

Direct response marketing

Direct marketing could include direct response marketing in addition to telemarketing. **Direct response** marketing involves the direct mailing of **direct response print ads** and the modern direct response television **infomercials**.²⁷ These both **solicit** customers' direct responses and purchases. Direct response marketing differs from direct marketing in that the customer **responds** to the marketer directly in direct response marketing whereas the marketer contacts the potential customer directly in direct marketing. Again, direct response marketing might involve the use of intermediary **broadcast media**, which direct marketing normally does not require.

Database marketing

Day (1980)²⁸ describes segmentation strategy as **top-down** approach in that marketer starts with the total population and divides it into segments. His **bottom-up** approach starts with existing customers and operates from its customers' point of view. This is **customer-centric**. For example, product and service should be available on demand. Dell's customers can configure the systems they want anywhere and anytime.²⁹

Using techniques like cluster analysis, marketers develop and analyze the **customer profile** (e.g., demographics and psychographics) and preferences for marketing purposes. This is database marketing. It appreciates the **long-term value** of customer.

The advances in **computer** and **database** technologies gave rise to the database marketing in the early 1980s.³⁰ This lets suppliers understand customers as **individuals** rather than a traditional broad consumer aggregate. Database marketing aims to communicate, promote and sell to customers by using a database management system (**DBMS**). The DBMS gathers and stores customer data to build their customer profiles for marketing planning. The advent of relationship database management system (**RDBMS**) added further strength to the rise of database marketing. In 1983, IBM released DB2 on its MVS mainframe platform. This SQL-based mainframe system offered greater flexibility and menu-driven capacity for marketers to analyze and plan better. The world entered **micro** end-user computing era in the late 1970s. All these make database marketing even more prevalent.

Relationship marketing (RM)

The terminology of relationship marketing was first described by Theodore Levitt in 1983.³¹ He wrote that "In a great and increasing proportion of transactions, the relationship actually intensifies subsequent to the sale. This becomes a central factor in the buyer's choice of the seller the next time."

In the 1990s, the practice of developing long-term relationships with individual customers has become popular.³² It emphasizes the use of customer **retention** and **satisfaction** to keep

and develop continuous customer relationship.³³

This concept has its root in direct marketing. In the late 1800s, suppliers started sending catalogs to specific customers directly. They did care about customer satisfaction and retention. During the 1940s, some direct marketers recognized the long-term value of customer.³⁴ Jain for the first time introduced the concept of customer lifetime value (**CLV**) in 1969.³⁵ In face of the stagnating demand growth and deteriorating brand loyalty, marketers find it more profitable to target their core customers (e.g., active and profitable segments). They combine numerous segmentation variables to get an in-depth understanding of the customer segment. This is **depth segmentation**.

To cultivate a preferred long-term relationship with customer, the supplier organizations require good internal coordination for smooth and cost-effective operation. eCRM under such enterprise systems must link with supply chain management (SCM) and enterprise resources planning (ERP). Every step throughout the value chains must be well structured and justified profitably.

Differences between traditional marketing, RM and eCRM

First, traditional mass marketing is aimed **anonymously** at the **whole** target market segment with the 4Ps (Product, Place, Price, Promotion), whereas RM and CRM target **specific individual** customers in the segment and communicate with them with the right databases. It is because in cases that exists a previous relation with the client the marketers intended to build business continuity, the response is often better.

Second, traditional marketers often associates with such **offensive marketing** concepts as intrusive marketing and interruption marketing. They aim to obtain new customers (e.g., dissatisfied customers from their competition) and increasing customers' purchase amount and frequency.

Traditional marketers employed intrusion-based communications to push the prospects to buy by surrounding them with messages from all sides and at all times without any invitation and approval for an indefinite period. Such unsolicited communication is **intrusive marketing**. For example, direct marketing without any prior permission and **relationship** is intrusive in the sense that it intrudes the customers' privacy.

Again, some traditional marketers attempt to stop the prospect customers with ads in certain media or scenarios where they are more likely to use frequently. Examples are TV prime time ads and outdoor ads. They wish to increase exposure to boost attention and finally purchase as the AIDA model suggests. This could however lead to clutter in the less related customers' mind. Advertisers are interrupting others' private life by filling everywhere (e.g., TV, toilet, walls and floors) with "unwanted" messages (e.g., sex, shock, violence). This involves free rider, overloading and privacy concerns. This is **interruption marketing**. Then Godin (1999)³⁶ argues that marketers have no right to sell to others without permission. They should build a mutually agreed **relationship** with the prospect before any selling.

RM and CRM, on the other hand, follow the "**defensive marketing**" approaches of increasing customer **satisfaction** (i.e., managing customer dissatisfaction) and switching **barriers** for customer-**retention**.³⁷ These relationship marketers attempt to reduce customer

turnover and increase customer **loyalty** by offering personalized care and service quality beyond expectations. They wish to move the customers up the “**relationship ladder of customer loyalty**” from prospect to customer, client³⁸, supporter, advocate and then partner.³⁹

Third, traditional marketing strives to create leads and **first-time** customers while RM focuses on maintaining the relationship with them **after the sale**.

Fourth, traditional marketers use extensive distribution **channels** and **promotional** mix to recruit customers. RM and CRM rely more on **viral marketing** to acquire further customers.

Using viral marketing, these relational marketers try to create certain viral messages (e.g., most-talked message, interesting advertising, unbelievable discounts and benefits, shocking news) for targeted individuals with high Social Networking Potential (SNP). When these "susceptible" users become "infected" (i.e., accept the idea), they go on to share the idea with others to "infect them" like virus. No one could stop such exponential infection process if the users find it so “compulsive” to infect the others. This might realize much greater explosive communication impact. The entire spreading process does not cost money for the marketers. They only need to create such viral messages.

The rapid growth of online **social networking** since 2007 grants viral marketing even greater spreading power than before. Then, eCRM enjoys much greater potential of generating new leads than RM.

Linkages between traditional marketing, RM and eCRM

RM and CRM are not completely different from traditional marketing. They are **parts of a continuum of marketing strategies** for developing the unique customer experience. By capitalizing on these relationships, the marketer can create edge over the competitors.

The approaches and methods used in traditional marketing, RM and CRM are similar in today's data-rich environment. They all involve segmentation, targeting, positioning and the marketing mix. An exception is that traditional marketing is weaker in addressing target customers in that the customers' names and contacts are usually unknown. TV advertising is an example. After all, traditional marketing is also using segmentation database techniques in media planning today. Example is Nielsen Ratings

Differences between RM and eCRM

First, RM focuses on core customer segments and eCRM respects every individual. Customer relationship building limited to big and frequent buyers in the old days. **RM** advocates positive relationship with customer by keeping customer satisfaction and retention. It recognizes the importance of developing old customers and promotes loyalty programmes (e.g., Cathay Pacific Airways' Asia Miles). It tends to focus on the core and **profitable customer segments**. It is because having dialogues with every individual customer for good is expensive.

The arrival of Yahoo!, Amazon, eBay, MSN and Google and the like broke the rule and exposed the world to the immense profit of eCRM. **eCRM** borrows the relationship building

concepts from RM and rides on the Internet technologies for implementing the individual customer-centric approach. Web 2.0 social networking makes one-to-one relationships with **every individual** customer profitable, no matter how small and inactive the customer is, for the first of its kind. Examples include Facebook and msn.

Second, **RM is a marketing theory** that advocates customer retention based using CLV concept and loyalty programmes. Although Asia Miles membership is free, membership might be suspended after 36 months of inactivity and be closed without notice when all remaining mileage credits have expired.

CRM refers to the customer-centric approaches for a life-long relationship based on RM. Example is personal financial planning. **eCRM**, as the **true CRM** since 1990s, derives strength from direct marketing, database marketing, relationship marketing, Internet marketing and viral marketing respectively. It consists of analytical CRM (e.g., data warehousing, data mining), operational CRM (e.g., call-center automation), and social CRM (e.g., web 2.0).

Third, RM follows a traditional top-down approach. It continues to sell to customers after initial sale. CRM starts specific individuals to build on the customer profile (e.g., depth segmentation). It is a bottom-up approach.

Fourth, RM mainly uses **price** and **promotion**, and eCRM concentrates on a sales-supporting **dialogue** without trying to close a sale in each contact but achieve long-term profitability in each relationship. RM attempts to **sell** more after the initial sale whereas eCRM is not selling. eCRM will not ask one to buy. CRM simply **suggests** alternatives only when a customer requests. Sale is a result of good relationship with the customer in eCRM. CRM **builds nest to attract phoenix** - builds infrastructure to attract visits, dialogue and development.

In the eyes of customers and potential customers, RM uses relationship for selling purpose and eCRM uses relationship to develop further relationship. RM goes for profit and eCRM wants more than mere profit. When RM keeps sending sales letters, brochures, flyers and messages that often become irritating junk mails for customers, eCRM empowers customers to design and control the communication and exchange modes. People use facebook, Skype, msn and twitter, because they feel less pressure of being “sold” or “manipulated”. They appreciate a friend who stays with you even you are idle.

True friendship comes when silence between two people is comfortable (Dave Tyson Gentry). No road is long with good company (Turkish Proverb). It follows that, RM targets apple while eCRM eyes apple tree and apple forest.

eCRM might profit by helping a friend in need. Such profitable exchange would further enhance the relationships for further exchanges. “Propriety suggests reciprocity. It is not propriety not to give out but to receive, or vice versa.” (Book of Rites)

eCRM cares more about a “true friendship” by giving benefits and rewards. Examples are Cathay Pacific Airline’s Marco Polo Club loyalty programme (LP) with travel benefits, and Asia Miles’ Mileage Credits travel reward programme.

Conclusion

As a result, eCRM is unique and significantly different from conventional marketing thinking. Riding on the established concepts of relationship marketing, service marketing, and database marketing, eCRM grows a new breed of marketing approach for the online markets that feature global interactions and a lack of unity.

A fragmented view of customer subjectivity that modernism suggests is no longer relevant and sufficient. Market is now short of substantial unity, coherence and meaning that theoretical development can promptly cope with. Sources of competition are drastically changing the ways we think and react with each other continuously. Responding to the observed phenomena is even more relevant than merely conceptualizing and operationalizing the scenarios. Then, eCRM profits organizations from such market changes with integrated management theories, approaches, methods and techniques. Indeed, marketing thinking must grow along such line of operation in the postmodern age. eCRM is creating new blood vessels for future marketing development.

¹ It might be a reflection of postmodernism with “nonsense” phenomena of consumer capitalism.
<http://www.colorado.edu/English/courses/ENGL2012Klages/pomo.html>
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Postmodern_philosophy

² Related texts include the following:
Customer Relationship Management: A Databased Approach, **Kumar** and Reinartz, John Wiley & Sons, 2006
Electronic customer relationship management, Jerry Fjermestad, Nicholas C. Romano, editors. Publisher Armonk, N.Y. ; London : M.E. Sharpe, 2006
CRM - Integrating Marketing Strategy & Information Technology, Zikmund, McLeod, and Gilbert, John Wiley & Sons, 2003
Customer Relationship Management, Peelen, Pearson, 2005
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Chinese images in Europe in the 17th century

-----A study on Johan Nieuhof's images of China

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As the first illustrated book to describe China, Johan Nieuhof's account of his experiences as a member of the first embassy of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to China in the years 1655 to 1657 greatly satisfied the seventeenth-century European longing for knowledge of China. The first edition was published in Amsterdam by the bookseller and art dealer Jacob van Meurs¹ (1619-1680) in 1665. Translations into French (1665), German (1666), Latin (1668) and English (1669), and additional editions in Dutch, appeared in rapid succession in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² The entire publications were of vital importance to the European reconstruction of China.³

¹ Jacob van Meurs also published many other travel accounts, including Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* in 1667 and Nieuhof's book on East India and Brazil in 1682.

² It was quickly translated and printed into many editions. Dutch: Amsterdam, 1665, 1669, 1670, 1680, 1693, and Antwerp, 1666 (an expurgated Roman Catholic edition); German: Amsterdam, 1666, 1669 and 1675; English: London, 1669 and 1673; French: Leyden, 1665; Latin: Amsterdam, 1668. Another, quite different French version, much of it a summary, was published in the Thèvenot collection. For the bibliography see P. A. Tiele, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie Van Land- En Volkenkunde*, Amsterdam, 1884, pp. 179-80.

³ Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie*, Hong Kong, 1993. p.20.



Fig.1 Johan Nieuwhof, the title page of the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665

The title of this book is “*An Embassy of the Dutch East India Company to the Grand Cham of Tartary, the present Emperor of China: in which are treated the most remarkable Events which befell them during the journey through the Chinese Countryside (...) from the year 1655 to 1657 (...).Also, an Accurate Description of the Chinese Cities, Villages, Government, Sciences, Crafts, Customs, Religions, Buildings, Costumes, Ships, Mountains, Crops, Animals etc.. and the Wars against the Tartars. Embellished with more than 150 Illustrations, drawn after life in China*”⁴ (Fig.1). At least three aspects are indicated in this comprehensive title. The first aspect is that, besides the travel account of the Dutch embassy’s visit to China,⁵ it contains more than 150 copperplates. The second point is that the motifs of these illustrations contain comprehensive aspects of China, including Chinese cityscapes and architecture; Chinese people and their costumes; Chinese customs; Chinese plants and animals. Finally, all these illustrations of China are made after life (*na’t leven in Sina getekent*).

⁴ The title in the Dutch edition is “*Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen Keize van China: waar in de gedenkwaardigste Geschiedenissen, die onder het reizen door de Sineesche Landschappen(...) sedert den jare 1655 tot 1657 zijn voorgevallen (...) verhandelt worden. Beneffens Een Naukeurige Beschrijving der Sineesche Steden, Dorpen, Regeeing, Wetenschappen, Hantwerken, Zeden, Godsdiensten, Gebouwen, Drachten, Schepen, Bergen, Gewassen, Dieren, etc, en Oorlogen tegen de Tartars. Verciert met over de 150 Afbeeldsels, na’t leven in Sina getekent*”.

⁵ This book also contains information from the most important Jesuit sources. The general description of China is based primarily on the works of Trigault, Semedo and Martini. But this description is more detailed than in any of the preceding works.



Fig. 2 Martino Martini, the title cartouche in the map of Peking in *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, 1655

This title distinguishes Nieuhof's account and illustrations of China from the previous publications on China enormously. The latter often only recorded China in a general sense even though some of them had illustrations occasionally. For instance, the atlas *Novus Atlas Sinensis* by the Italian Jesuit Martino Martini (1614-1661) published in Amsterdam in 1655 offers people maps of China and representations of Chinese figures. The figures are often placed in the corner of the map showing the local costumes and custom, as can be seen in title cartouche (Fig.2), in the map of Beijing. Two exotic phoenixes, so-called Chinese *Fenghuang* stand atop of the cartouche, and a formally dressed Chinese couple (probably Chinese emperor and empress) sit on either side of the cartouche while their servants holding canopies standing behind them. This image does provide western readers a fanciful impression of China, but as there is neither background setting nor context for the individual components of the image, the idea of China still remains in an imaginative stage.



Fig.3 Huygen van Linschoten, Chinese figures in the book *Travel Accounts of Portuguese Navigation in the Orient*, 1595



Fig.3.1 Luo Yingping, Portrait of an Official in Ming dynasty, 1590

Illustrations of China can also be found in the book *Travel Accounts of Portuguese Navigation in the Orient* in 1595 by Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1595-1596). In contrast to the depiction in Martini's atlas, Chinese figures (Fig.3) shown in van Linschoten's book are often arranged in a cityscape setting, even though this cityscape is placed in a far distance and its specificity could not be recognized. In order to give a prominent effect, as most contemporary travel illustrations did, the Chinese figures are arranged in

the extreme foreground as if they stand in a stage. The costume, especially the long robe with wide sleeves wore by the official the second from the right, reflects some characters of Chinese costume in Ming dynasty (1368-1644) when van Linschoten visited China. But these characters are very general and many of them are inaccurate. For instance, it is true that the official's hat in Ming dynasty has two wings, but it should be on the left and right of the head (Fig.3.1) rather than on the front and back as shown in van Linschoten's image. It is even more fascinating that some details like the woman's hairstyle and collar decoration are represented in a European in style. Apparently, these figures depict an imaginary China rather than showing the real Chinese costume in late sixteenth century. Therefore, the illustrations in this book are limited in number and based on unreliable information.⁶ Compared with these previous publications about China in Europe, no wonder when Nieuhof's book of China was published, it was immediately fond of by the western readers as it not only presented the Western reader with the most substantial and detailed accounts of China of the day, but also visualized the notion of China in Europe with a great number of illustrations, which later became standard visual sources for images which defined China for Europeans for a long time.⁷

It is the purpose for this paper (1) to show the impact of Nieuhof's images of China in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, and (2) to further examine to what extent these images, including the engravings in the printed book and the drawings in Nieuhof's manuscript are reliable, and (3) to investigate how and why these images are complied in the so called "after life" manner.

The wide-ranging influence of Nieuhof's images of China and their relationship with the Chinoiserie style

As '*a touchstone for books of China*',⁸ the pictorial information contained in this book was eagerly seized and used by scholars as the primary source of visual information on China for about a century and a half. Its tremendous influence on the European conception of China was hardly superseded until the first few years of the nineteenth century when the watercolours of China made by English artist William Alexander (1767-1816) while his accompanying the British embassy to visit Chinese emperor Qian-long's court in 1792-1794⁹ were published. For a long time the *Travel* served as a key work for anyone interested in China.

⁶ Lothar Ledderose, "Chinese Influence on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", in Thomas H.C. Lee, ed. *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Hong Kong, 1991, pp.224-225; Leonard Blussé and Reindert Falkenburg, *Johan Nieuhofs Beelden Van Een Chinareis 1655-1657*, Middelburg, 1987. p. 61.

⁷ Marcia and Demattè Reed, Paola ed. *China on Paper : European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Los Angeles, 2007. p.142.

⁸ Ibid. p. 13.

⁹ In 1792, William Alexander was appointed as one of the draughtsmen to the Macartney Embassy to China, he made the drawings for the plates which accompany Sir George Staunton's account of that embassy; and afterwards published the book, see Erasme Gower, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the*

A generally accepted opinion on the impact of Nieuhof's images of China on European art is that they profoundly affected the evolution of Chinoiserie,¹⁰ which was rooted in Europe in the mid 17th century and reaching its peak when it was assimilated into the European Rococo ornamentation in the mid 18th century¹¹. The illustrations and the designs drawn from them were widely copied and used in part or in whole in the subsequent publications on China, in architecture, in various decorative arts from interior decoration to porcelain, from wallpaper to textiles, from furniture to lacquer ware, profoundly affecting the evolution of Chinoiserie. We can see some examples as the follows.

The detailed engravings of various Chinese structures in Nieuhof's book do provide usable prototypes for innumerable Chinoiserie designs¹² although Chinese architectural forms and principles were not well understood in Europe for a long time.

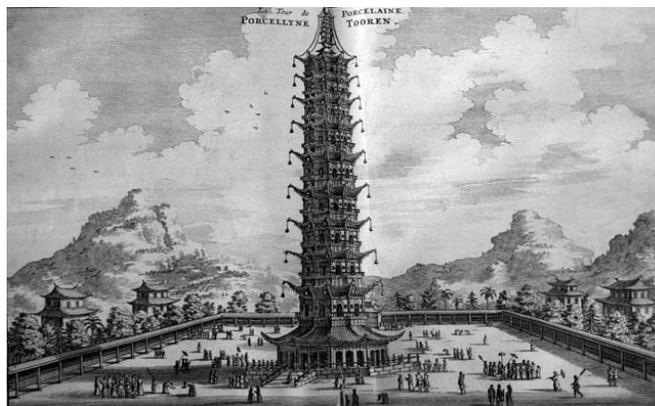


Fig.4 Johan Nieuhof, the plate of Porcelain Pagoda from the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665

The 'Porcelain Pagoda' in the city Nanjing first illustrated in Nieuhof's book (Fig.4) is 'the Chinese building best known in Europe'.¹³ It is a nine-storey pagoda, constructed of glazed and painted tiles and crowned with a golden pineapple. This exotic pagoda had been widely imitated, not only appearing in the publications¹⁴ and interior decorations,

Emperor of China, Including Cursory Observations Made, and Information Obtained, in Travelling through That Ancient Empire, London, 1797. The striking series of prints in this book came to be an important eighteenth century series on China.

¹⁰ See Donald and Van Kley Lach, Edwin J., *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. III: A century of advance, Chicago [etc.], 1993; Reed, ed. *China on Paper : European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*; Friederike Ulrichs, *Johan Nieuhoofs Blick Auf China (1655-1657)*, Wiesbaden, 2003.

¹¹ Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie*, London, 1961. p.48.

¹² Jacobson, *Chinoiserie*.p. 34.

¹³ Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West*, London, 1979. p.17.

¹⁴ The first appreciative account of Chinese architecture, *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*, published in 1721 by Fischer von Erlach, relied for its illustrations principally on the engravings in Nieuhof's book. Honour,

but more frequently showing up in European gardens especially in the eighteenth century. For instance, the pagoda in Kew Gardens (Fig.5) built in 1761 by Sir William Chambers (1723-1796) follows Nieuhof's design¹⁵, the replicas of which were built in many European gardens, such as Munich's Englischer Garten, Sanssouci (1770) and Chanteloup (1775-1778).



Fig.5 The pagoda in Kew Gardens in London

In addition to the pagoda, Sanssouci Park¹⁶ further offers us another example of the garden pavilion, which is called the Dragon House (Fig.6). Compared with the illustration

Chinoiserie.p.21; also see Lothar Ledderose, "Chinese Influence on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", in Lee, ed. *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. p.232.

¹⁵ William Chamber had visited Canton and in 1757 was the first European to publish professionally accurate drawings of Chinese buildings in his *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, including the Chinese pagoda. But his own design was not adopted when he built the pagoda in Kew Gardens; by contrast, he used the design of the Nanjing porcelain pagoda which Nieuhof had made famous in Europe. See Lothar Ledderose, "Chinese Influence on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", in Lee, ed. *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*., pp.233-234. But Hugh Honour probably did not compare the pagoda in Kew Gardens with the illustration of the porcelain pagoda in Nieuhof's book of *China* as he thought this pagoda was not modelled on any particular oriental prototype. However, in my opinion this is erroneous. See Honour, *Chinoiserie*. p.155.

¹⁶ Sanssouci is the former summer palace of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, at Potsdam, near Berlin. It is often counted among the German rivals of Versailles. The palace was designed by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff between 1745 and 1747 to fulfil Frederick's need for a private residence where he could relax away from the pomp and ceremony of the Berlin court. While Sanssouci is in the more intimate Rococo style and is far smaller than its French Baroque counterpart, it too is notable for the numerous temples and follies in Sanssouci Park.

in Nieuhof's book(Fig.7), people may easily figure out how the European architects were influenced by the images of China in Nieuhof's book

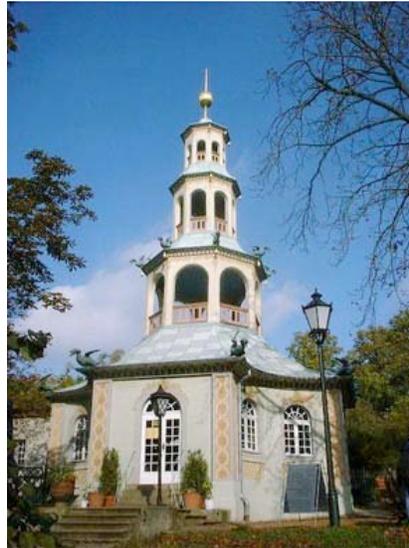


Fig.6 The Dragon House, constructed between 1770 and 1772 in the Chinoiserie style on the northern edge of Sanssouci Park, Berlin.



Fig.7 Johan Nieuhof, the plate of a Chinese pagoda from the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665

Designs inspired by Nieuhof's illustrations of China can also be found in the freely decorated Chinoiserie rooms which were greatly favoured by European monarchs, such as Louis XV of France and Frederik III of Denmark. In 1663-1665 Frederik III had a room in Slot Rosenborg, Copenhagen, decorated with Chinoiserie in lacquer set with turquoise and mother-of-pearl. It was executed by the Dutch artist Francis de Bray, and

many of its motifs were derived from the illustrations from Nieuhof's book of China.¹⁷ For instance, the dark green panel (Fig.8) has a design in gold representing a Chinese dragon boat; and this dragon boat is bedecked with pennants and steered by a youthful figure with long plumes nodding from his turban; he stands behind the dragon-headed prow. This is apparently copied after Nieuhof's representation of Chinese dragon boat, as shown in picture 9 (Fig.9).

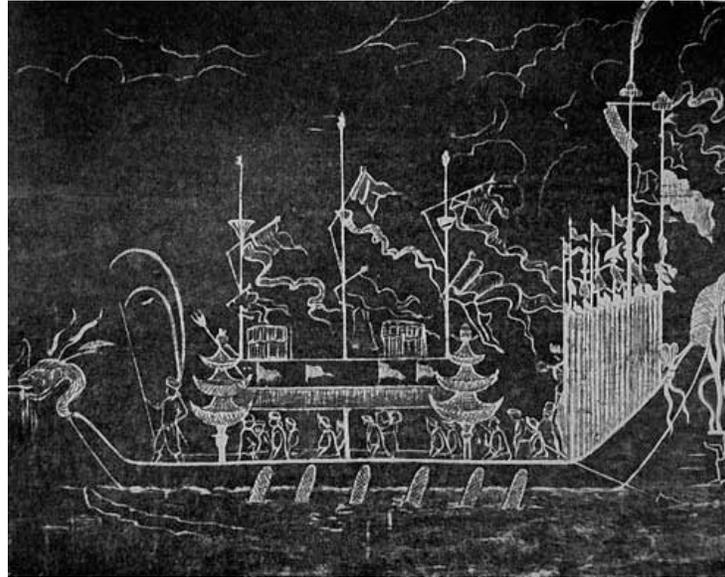
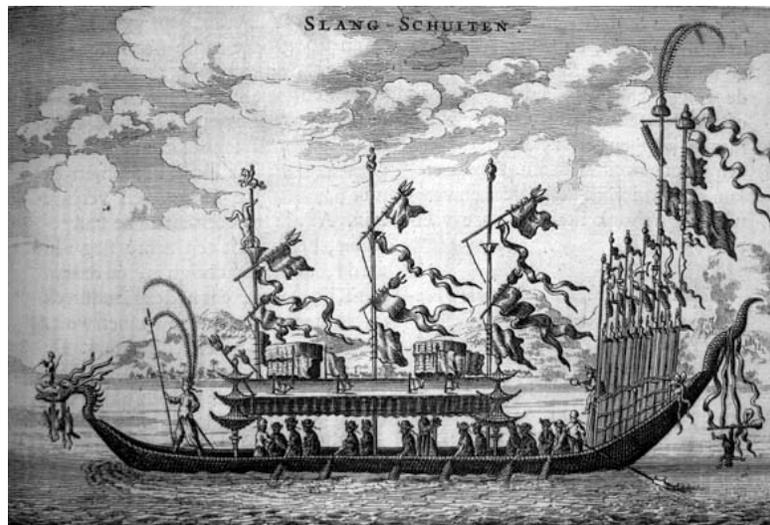


Fig.8 Chinese dragon boat in the lacquer room in Slot Rosenborg, Copenhagen, 1663-65



¹⁷ Frederik III used the chamber for informal audiences with foreign diplomats, and in 1663-1665 the decoration was executed by the Dutch artist Francis de Bray and based on illustrated travel accounts and novels about China, Japanese lacquered boxes and decorative art. Here Hugh Honour probably made a mistake about the date when the room was decorated with lacquer work. According to him, this room was furnished in around 1616; moreover, he did not point out the relationship between these junks and Nieuhof's illustrations. See Honour, *Chinoiserie*. p.45.

Fig.9 Johan Nieuhof, the plate of a Chinese dragon boat from the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665

An interesting example of Nieuhof's design applied to furniture is a clock case and stand made in Augsburg about 1725. The case itself is common and classical that it has four Corinthian columns at the corners; the exotic part is the stand, where a carved figure of a small Chinese man seated cross-legged on the stretcher (Fig.10).¹⁸ This odd Chinese man dresses a flowered robe and wears an extraordinary hat, which immediately reminds people the figure appears in Nieuhof's book (Fig.11). The figure in this image is supposed to be a monk, since he holds a *Muyu* (wooden fish), a wooden percussion instrument similar to the Western wood block, in his hands. His exotic hat must excite the draftsman's great interest, so he particularly made a replica in this clock.



Fig.10 A clock case and stand made at Augsburg, about 1725

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 114.



Fig. 11 Johan Nieuwhof, the plate of Chinese figures from the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665

It is quite often found that the European designers went far beyond Nieuwhof's original presentations of China: they extracted various Chinese elements from different sources and dealt with them in a western manner to invent imaginary scenes of the mysterious Far East. It often abounded in exotic 'foreign' figures set in ethereal landscapes filled with oversized flowers, craggy rocks, fretted fences, dwarf trees, temples, pleasure boats, and fanciful birds. The next example (Fig.12) shows how far the Dutch potters had gone to reinterpret the image of China on the basis of Nieuwhof's design and how he created an imaginary image of China.



Fig.12 Plaque with Chinoiserie decoration, 1680-1700, dimensions, 63 x 92 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

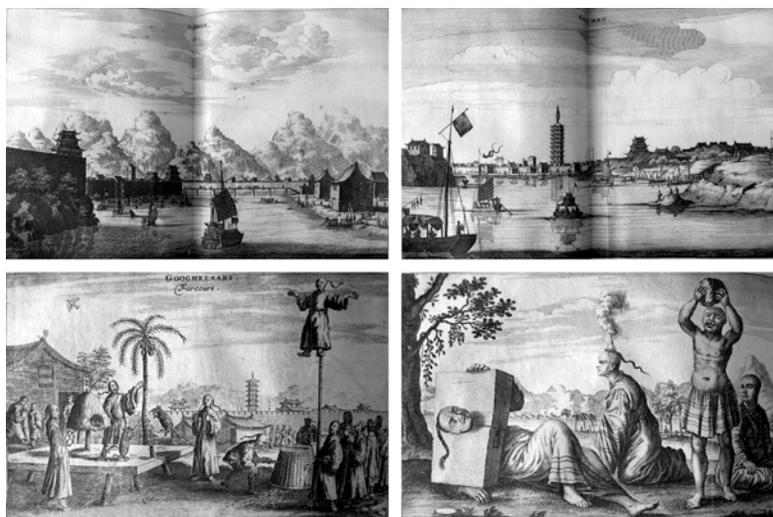


Fig.13 Johan Nieuhof, plates from the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665

It is a wall decoration, a plaque (a large tile) of Delftware pottery, painted by an unknown artist at the end of the 17th century. Decorated in blue and white, this plaque gives a festive view of life in China: a river full of pleasure boats, circus attractions on the riverbank and happy people everywhere. The potter must have been very familiar with the illustrations of Nieuhof's book, because the motifs such as the boats sailing on the water, the figure who strikes his bare head against a stone, the one who is supporting a long pole with another one standing on the top of this pole, the city wall and tower on the left side and the pagodas emerging here and there, are all obviously derived from Nieuhof's book [Fig.13]. But rather than simply copying one single print from Nieuhof's book, the potter extracted Chinese elements from different illustrations and mixed them into one image. Moreover, he added Japanese figures, a coconut tree from Indonesia and a pine tree from Scandinavia. It can also be seen that various flowers, plants and animals from unknown sources are displayed in the foreground framing the plaque in a typical Dutch pictorial convention.

A similar design can be discovered in one of the series of ten Beauvais tapestries known as *The Audience of the Emperor* (Fig.14), made in Beauvais from designs by François Boucher. Here the love of the fantastic has outstripped even the love of the exotic. This Chinoiserie tapestry is an attempt to achieve an Oriental style rather than a mere depiction of an Oriental subject. Here, the enthroned emperor is also closely related to the depiction on the title page of Nieuhof's volume, but in this image, the magnificent setting, the prostrate courtiers and exotic animals and flowers, all testify to the power and glory of the sovereign, be he the Emperor of China or King of France. As a matter of fact, it bears witness to the transformation from the Chinese imperial splendour of Nieuhof's prints to a theatrical stage-setting of Chinoiserie¹⁹ based on European baroque court models.

¹⁹ Chinoiserie entered the European repertory in the mid-to-late seventeenth century and became especially popular in the eighteenth century. Important studies about Chinoiserie, see Ibid.; Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie*, London, 1977.



Fig.14 One of the series of ten Beauvais tapestries, *The Audience of the Emperor*, after the designs by François Boucher, 1725

Therefore, as we can see, Chinoiserie begins with direct imitation, later developing by drawing farther and farther away from its prototypes. By combining different elements, it assigned China the character of something ‘odd’ and with little regard for the original designs, pictorial themes, or subjects represented. These objects were in fact appreciated only when they were integrated into European surroundings, adding some exotic seasoning, which makes them all the more exotic.²⁰ In this sense, objects in Chinoiserie designs only produce a feeling of a likeness of China on the basis of Chinese pictorial elements and Western imagination.

When more and more Chinoiserie designs went far away from their origin and images of China came to be more and more fanciful, Nieuhof’s illustrations in turn were regarded as standard sources to define China for Europeans²¹ not only because they provided the prototypes for various Chinoiserie designs, but also because they were made on the basis of Nieuhof’s eyewitness observation.

The credibility of the engravings in Nieuhof’s book of China

The credibility of these illustrations of China had been specially emphasized by Nieuhof in his book on East India, as in the following:

“herein (without committing any breach of modesty) I dare boldly affirm that nothing considerable intruded into my observation relating to my design, and that making

²⁰ Danielle Elisseeff-Poisle, “Chinese Influence in France, sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries”, in Reed, ed. *China on Paper : European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*. p.160.

²¹ Ibid., p.142.

accurate maps and sketches, not only of the countries and towns, but also of beast, birds, fishes, and plants, and other rarities never divulged (as I am informed) heretofore.”²²

This statement was lent extra emphasis by his brother Hendrik Nieuhof, who was in charge of the publication of his work on China. He echoed his brother in his introduction to the book on Johan Nieuhof’s voyages to the East and West Indies, claiming that Johan religiously adhered to the ‘*naekte waerheit*’ (naked truth) and never indulged in the telling of fables instead of history²³. This statement works so well as a selling point that it is frequently stressed in different editions of the translations. For instance, when the French publisher Melchisédech Thévenot (1620-1692) introduced Johan Nieuhof’s journey to China in his book *Relation* in 1665, he claimed that: “*The principal feature of this Relation is truth...I have checked that the instruction is trustworthy and the only ornament that I can offer is truth.*”²⁴

Apparently, the publishers’ claim generally offers people an impression that Nieuhof’s illustrations of China are different from the Chinoiserie objects and they are not an artificial hybrid of various elements but reliable representations on the basis of Nieuhof’s eyewitness observation.

²² Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China*. Amsterdam, 1665, p.3. And the Dutch text is as the follows: “En hier in, zonder roem gesproken, heb ik my ook zodanig gequeeten, dat ik niets on-aangemerkt heb laten voor-bygaan, zo in ‘t onderzoeken, van de zeden en manieren dezer volken, en den aart van ’t land, als ook, en dat voornamelijk, in ’t aftekenen van lantschappen, steden, dorpen, dieren, kruiden, en meer andere vreemdigheden; ’t welk tot noch toe, mijns wetens, niemand dus gedaan heeft.”

²³ Johan Nieuhof and Reid A.J.S. , *Voyages & Travels to the East Indies 1653-1670*, Singapore, 1988. p.2.

²⁴ Thomas Gages and Melchisédech Thévenot, *Relations De Divers Voyages Curieux, Qui N'ont Point Esté Publiés Ou Qui Ont Esté Traduites D'hacluyt, De Purchas, Et D'autres Voyageurs Anglois, Hollandais, Portugais, Allemands, Espagnols, Et*, Paris, 1663. p.i. The French text is as the follows: ‘Le principal merite de cette Relation est la verité. l’ay crû que sur tout la traduction en devoit estre fidele, que c’é toit la feul ornement qu’elle pût souffrir.’

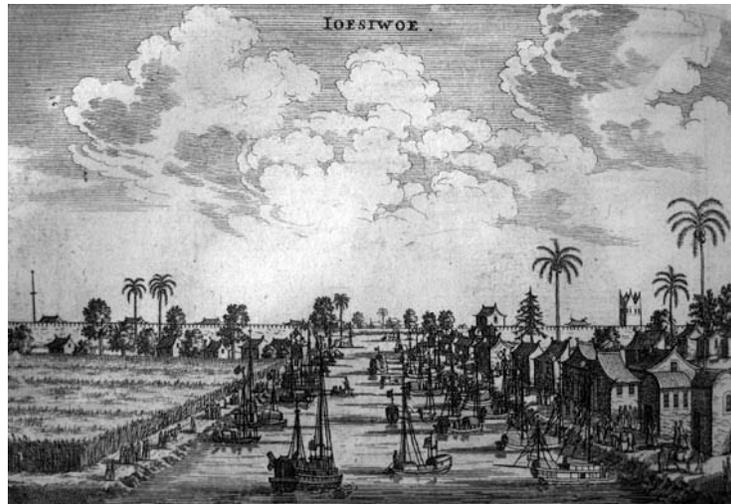


Fig.15 Johan Nieuhof, a plate of the town Joesiwoe from the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665

However, I doubt this judgment. In my opinion, the relationship between Nieuhof's illustrations of China and the Chinoiserie style is far more complicated. Here I want to show an example of a very common townscape illustrated in Nieuhof's book. This townscape (Fig.15) represents the countryside of Joesiwoe (Hexiwu, 河西务), a small town close to Beijing. In this engraving, a broad river flows towards the background where the city wall emerges; the left bank is occupied by a vast wheat field and several rows of native dwellings with exotic roofs stand on the right bank. All these representations offer people an impression that this townscape is taken from life. However, with closer look, people may find that the enormous coconut palms appearing on the banks do not grow in Northern China which is far too cold for them to survive, and meanwhile, they are not supposed to be planted at the same environment as the fir trees, which frequently appear in Everdingen's painting of Scandinavia²⁵ in the seventeenth century (Fig.16). Similarly, the Dutch ships should not be visible here as well, because the ships on which the Dutch embassy travelled from Canton to Beijing were actually Chinese ships²⁶. In this meaning, these decorative motifs do not improve the specific quality of this townscape but eliminate its credibility, since many of them are not supposed to appear in this location in the real life.

²⁵ See Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1968.

²⁶ Johan Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China*, London, 1669. p.46. The text is as the follows: "The ambassadors had hired a very brave vessel to themselves, having procured fifty more at the Emperor's charge, to carry their followers, presents, and goods. And in regard it was thought unadvisable to bring our great ships any higher up the river, we left them at Canton, under the command of Francis Lansman." Similar record can also be discovered in the manuscript: "Den 17e martij gingen Haar E.s van Canton met een vloot van omtrent vijftigh vaartuigen t'zeil om onze reyze na Pekin te vervorderen." See Blussé and Falkenburg, *Johan Nieuhofs Beelden Van Een Chinareis 1655-1657*. p.35.



Fig. 16 Allaert van Everdingen, *Mountainous River Landscape*, c. 1660

Considering the exoticism of both the coconut palm and the fir tree to a Dutch audience, it is not difficult to figure out the purpose of inserting these trees here, namely, to enhance the fantasy of this foreign country. And of course, the representation of Dutch ships sailing on the river will not only inculcate a sense of familiarity among the readers but also the sense of pride in Dutch activities in the Far East.

In this respect, if we say one of the essential features of Chinoiserie is to imitate and compose Chinese elements to create 'China-like' images, the illustrations of China in Nieuhof's book themselves should also be attributed to be part of the Chinoiserie. More precisely, these illustrations not only provide materials for the later Chinoiserie designs, themselves also evolved in Chinoiserie design. In this sense, we may say that they are both the origin and the precursor for Chinoiserie.

Moreover, in addition to revealing the close relationship between these illustrations and the Chinoiserie style, the analysis of this engraving also casts some doubts on the commonly accepted opinion that these illustrations were produced on the basis of eyewitness observation by Nieuhof during his journey in China. If they were really based on a traveller's trustworthy observation, how to explain the fanciful trees, boats and exotic houses?

The manuscript compiled by Nieuhof on spot

The study on a manuscript in Bibliothèque Nationale de France²⁷ which came to people's sight in 1984²⁸ may shed some light on this question. Leonard Blussé believed this

²⁷ The codex: BnF/Cartes et Plans/ Societe de Geographie/ Ms.in 8o/ 17/1271 Reserve. See also: Alfred Fierro, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la societe de geographie*, Paris. 1984. pp. 96-7, nt. 1271

²⁸ The value of Nieuhof's original manuscript and drawings had recognized and scholars had sought them for a long time. Their trace was first mentioned in the book *Mémoire sur la collection des Grands et Petits Voyages, et sur la collection des voyages de Melchisédech Thévenot* by the French scholar A.G. Camus (1740-1804) discussing Thévenot's work in 1802.

manuscript was the original report of the Dutch embassy visit to China between 1655-57 written by Nieuhof and delivered to the VOC in 1658, seven years earlier than the publication of the first Dutch edition. The manuscript is composed mainly of the text embellished by eighty-one drawings and around seventy engravings in the printed book match the design in the corresponding drawings. This suggests that either the drawings in the manuscript provide sources for the reproduction of the engravings or they share the same sources, namely, the original sketches compiled by Nieuhof on the spot.

When this manuscript was exhibited in Middelburg in 1987, Leonard Blussé and Reindt Falkenburg each wrote an essay for the catalogue *Johan Nieuhofs Beelden van en Chinareis 1655-1657*, and their research findings and investigations had a profound impact on the later study on Nieuhof's images of China. In Blussé's essay, he mainly concentrates on providing an introduction to the historical background and the process of the discovery of this manuscript but, without further examination on the reliability of the text and drawings in this manuscript, he rashly drew the conclusion that this manuscript was compiled by Nieuhof himself on the basis of his sketches made on spot.

However, the issues where Blussé failed to investigate were successfully pursued by Falkenburg. Falkenburg adopted a fairly strict attitude towards the drawings in the manuscript. On the basis of the comparison between drawings in the Paris manuscript and the engravings in the printed book, he proposed that the drawings and the engravings matched each other, especially in the perspective of the silhouettes of cities, but the great differences between them also suggest that both of them were made on the basis of the more than 150 'after life' rough sketches mentioned in Hendrik Nieuhof's preface.²⁹ On the basis of the analysis of the drawings, he found some problems with the drawings, which led him to postulate that Nieuhof was probably not the person who had executed the drawings in Paris manuscript.

However, Falkenburg's theory and investigation have not been continued with by the later researches on the images of Nieuhof. Most of the later researches often give a general judgment towards Nieuhof's images of China on the basis of Blussé and Falkenburg's theory³⁰. A deeper research on Nieuhof's images of China has not been made until in 2003 by Friederike Ulrichs. She holds a similar opinion as Blussé that the manuscript was produced by Nieuhof and the drawings were much more convincing. And the artificial and fanciful depictions should be attributed to the engravers or his brother Hendrik Nieuhof, since Johan Nieuhof himself did not involved in the publication and he only left the sketches to his brother Hendrik during his short stay in Holland. She further argues that, on the whole, the illustrations can be considered reliable representations of Nieuhof's observations, even though these were inevitably embellished to a certain extent.³¹

²⁹ Blussé and Falkenburg, *Johan Nieuhofs Beelden Van Een Chinareis 1655-1657*. pp.79-86.

³⁰ See Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè, ed. *China on paper: European and Chinese works from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century*, Los Angeles, 2007, p.13.

³¹ Friederike Ulrichs, *Johan Nieuhofs Blick auf China (1655-1657)*, Wiesbaden, 2003.

Nevertheless, I find it hard to agree with them completely on this point. It is true that the drawings in the manuscript are more convincing than the plates, but this is no reason to infer that the drawing itself is therefore trustworthy. To make my point clear, I would like to take the townscape of the town Fengcheng as example (Fig.19). Like the most contemporary townscape made by Dutch travellers, this Chinese town is also observed from water. The foreground is filled with water and an attractive Chinese ship which has two masts and sails. A number of small boats are anchored alongside the bank. On the bank there stand two extraordinary buildings which share some characteristics of Chinese traditional architecture, such as the up-turned eaves (although the eaves seem to be much exaggerated). Then people can see the main theme of this engraving, the city wall and various roofs emerging from the city wall, which shows a prosperous scene of the town. Moreover, the townscape is decorated by the exotic coconut trees and some other unknown trees appearing here and there in the town. All these elements bring the Dutch audience a quite different townscape from their own. But just as the engraving of the town Hexiwu I have analyzed above, this fanciful feeling is rather stimulated by the decorative components, including the exotic trees, the boats and the roofs.

Comparing this engraving with the corresponding drawing, people may find that these elements actually do not appear in the drawing (Fig.20). It is less decorative that only has the most fundamental components of the townscape, but may we therefore make a conclusion to say that the representation of Chinese town in this approach is trustworthy?



Fig.19 Johan Nieuwhof, the plate of the town FengCheng from the first Dutch edition of *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie...*, 1665



Fig.20 The drawing of the town Fengcheng in the Paris manuscript

Before answering this question, I would like to take a closer look at this drawing. Just like the engraving, the town profile consists mainly of a vast bank in the middle ground and a city wall in the background. Embellished with a ‘specific’ Chinese boat on the water and a ‘typical’ Chinese city wall, this image does generally convey the feeling of a Chinese town until we take closer observation on the two oddly shaped buildings in front of the city wall. Their shape suggests that they may be Chinese city gates, but this speculation is contradicted by their location, because a Chinese city gate does not stand alone outside of the wall but is invariably attached to the city wall.

This doubt may be answered by the accompanying text which sheds some light on their identity: ‘on the north side of the city is a populous suburb, well and close built with buildings. There are also two great and high triumphal arches, which had been much defaced with the reset of the brave structures in the last bloody invasion’.³² Accordingly, these two buildings should be ‘Chinese great and high triumphal arches’ however they have been transposed into the city gates in the drawing. It turns out they neither have a form of Chinese arch (Fig.21) shows what a typical Chinese arch looked like, nor have a proper position as the city gate.

³² Johan Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China*, London, 1673, p.62



Fig.21 A photograph of a Chinese arch in Canton

Apparently, such confusion was not likely to have been made by Nieuhof himself, because he had made a great number of descriptions of Chinese city gates and arches which he had seen in China in his travel account, which means he must have been very familiar with the distinctions between these two buildings.

Moreover, another noteworthy detail is the building attached to the city wall. Its form does not resemble Chinese city gate tower but more reminds people the Dutch castle which often appears in the contemporary Dutch landscape pictures, for instance, the second building from the left in the engraving of *Egmont op de Hoeff*, by Jan van de Velde (Fig.22) . If it is the case, this townscape drawing is rather a kind of combination that whoever made it not only borrowed Chinese elements but also adopted Dutch components to invent a fanciful image of China.



Fig.22 Jan van de Velde, *Egmont op de Hoef*

In fact, this drawing is not the only example showing the unreasonable depictions of the scenes in China; similar problems can be discovered in many other drawings in the manuscript. These problems show that although the representation of China in drawings in the manuscript is less embellished than the engravings in the printed book, the drawings are not necessarily more reliable than the engravings; in contrast, due to the close relationship between the drawings and engravings, the fundamental construction problems in the engravings may be attributed to the unreasonable design in the drawings.

In this sense, it is noteworthy to further discuss two issues: how to understand the claim that these images of China are made after life? Under what kind of consideration the draftsman produced these images of China?

The ‘after life’ representation of China

Taking into account what ‘after life’ or ‘realistic’ depiction meant in Nieuwhof’s day and the modern interpretation which has been greatly influenced by the invention of photograph, inevitably there must a large discrepancy with the ideas entertained by people in the seventeenth century.

In the seventeenth-century the Dutch treatise on the art of painting, *Het Schilderboeck* by Karel van Mander’s was published in 1604; in this book, he discusses many important issues including the landscape as a subject for artists. He argues that young artists should go out of the city into the countryside to study and to extract the essence of nature and record it in drawings which will subsequently be translated into paint back to the studio. Moreover, he does not advise artists to represent the landscape just as they see it; the aim of the landscape images is rather to create the illusion of verisimilitude.³³ Namely, two points are addressed here: first, the representation of landscape should be rooted in the study of reality; second, the artist should take care to select the most beautiful aspects of nature.

In respect to the modern review on van Mander’s theory, Freedberg claims that ‘the phrase *naer het leven* implies that the work gives the impression of being lifelike and that natural phenomena are depicted as drawn from life’.³⁴ Partly, his dictum was a result of the invention of photography which appears to be the direct image of the reality. When the nineteenth-century concept of ‘photographic realism’ was reflected on the Dutch painting of the seventeenth century, it was believed that the old masters had portrayed the visible world as if they had seen it through a camera lens.³⁵ As Svetlana Alpers has argued that, in the seventeenth century, the Dutch paintings were considered a replacement of the eyes; the painter supposedly suppressed his personality when depicting nature, thereby allowing for its objective representation.³⁶ Therefore, under this context, the European viewers in the seventeenth century would like to accept the artist to add some imaginary elements or select and compose the elements for a ‘harmonious and natural-looking entity’, as long as the depictions are made on the basis on the direct observation.

The principal audience of the printed book on China would not have been the VOC directors but the general public, who would not have had any chance to go to China, but

³³ Kristina Hartzler Nguyen, *The Made Landscape and Country in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prints*, Cambridge, 1992, p.9.

³⁴ David Freedberg, *Dutch landscape prints of the seventeenth century*, 1980, London, p.11.

³⁵ On the idea of realism, see Edwin Buijsen, *Tussen fantasie en werkelijkheid :17de eeuwse Hollandse landschapschilderkunst* Den Haag, 1993, pp.45-52.

³⁶ Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 1983, p.40.

were nevertheless full of curiosity about this country of myth and legend and would have hoped to learn about China without leaving home; leafing through this series of naturalistic landscape prints would have been like taking an imaginary walk in that country.³⁷ To satisfy people's curiosity about faraway wonders, it is understandable consequently care will have been taken to enhance the exotic and fanciful nature of this country.

This is exactly what the later Chinoiserie style did. On the basis of Nieuhof's images of China and other sources, Chinoiserie went on to develop more exotic images, mixing various elements to visualize the European idea of what Oriental things were like, or ought to be like.³⁸ When the draftsmen imitated the Chinese style, they were perfectly happy to mix together quite dissimilar ideas derived from quite distinct origins. Of course, mixtures of various Oriental styles which were mingled with Rococo, Baroque, Gothic or any other European styles were felt to be quite acceptable.

Therefore, although Nieuhof indeed brought images of China to Europe, these images visualized the ideology of the mysterious country rather than giving a faithful representation of what China really looked like. In this sense, China would always be an imaginary country, hovering beyond the experiences and surroundings of most Europeans.

³⁷ Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century*. 1980, pp.15-16

³⁸ Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie*. p.9.

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TOPIC:

Theory & Criticism- Art- Photography

The *Otherwise* of the Silk Road: the gap between photographic representation and artistic expression

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Historians have used photographs since the mid-nineteenth century as objects of analysis. They collect and document photographic images and categorize facts and figures in order to record, compare, or contrast various historical events. Architects, on the other hand, take photographs to document interesting details, the unique interplay of materials, colors, light, and textures. We aim to capture various spatial qualities or characteristics. Or, engulfed in a deep fascination with an outstanding work of architecture, architects may simply aim to hold on to the joy of their encounter.

This paper explores the difference between the above two divergent approaches in use of photography and based on the works of philosophers Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty offers the resolution of these divergent viewpoints reach a point of fissure, a gap in space and time, we call the--“otherwise”-- a gap between knowing and not knowing that escapes all categorization. Like the Silk Road itself, a place that is neither East nor West, past or future, the “otherwise” persists in remaining unknown. In this space of the “otherwise,” visual representations offer fragmented narratives providing partial interpretations of this region’s complex layering of diverse histories, unfolding their depth and hidden qualities in contrast to referring to their facts and figures, and countless quantities. The “otherwise” of the Silk Road escapes all categorization, and belongs neither to the knowable nor unknowable, neither to the visible nor invisible. In this space of the “otherwise” all documentation and visual representation collapse into artistic interpretation and “disappear” in “usefulness,” simply melting in the shimmer of experiential unfolding (Heidegger 1971). Here the most critical value of the ancient Silk Road becomes apparent in connecting the labyrinth of languages, cultures, and ethnicities, ultimately merging people and places on the way.

One Silk Road Journey

Wonders of the ancient Silk Road goes back to 4th century BCE. Stretching from East to West from Japan and China all the way to Europe, traversing across India and Persia it spread the Kingdom of Silk halfway across the globe for centuries as its multiple trade routes facilitated exchange of goods among many cultures. The term Silk Road *Seidenstrassen*, however was introduced in 1877 by German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen, while these days it has gained a new interest due to global economy and politics.

Our trip began in Xian, China, and followed through crisscrossing various branches of the ancient Silk Road in the Central Asia ending in Turkey. Physically, politically, and metaphorically Central Asia has been seen to span across an in-between space between the two poles of the East and the West. We traveled thousands of miles, attended various seminars and conferences in nine universities, and met many scholars from along the way.

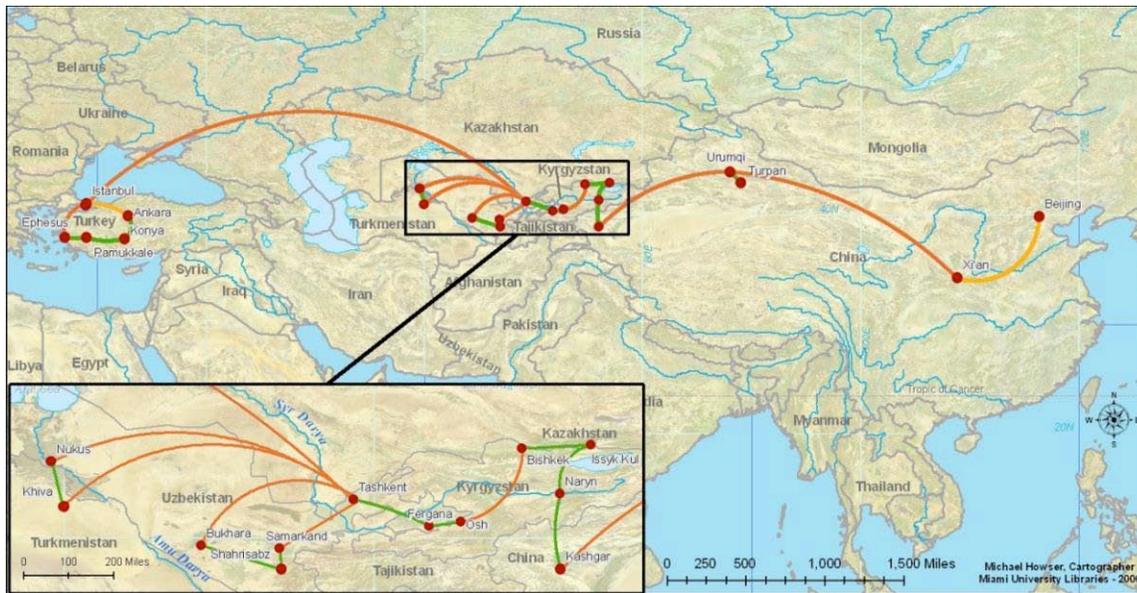


Figure 1: Silk Road Trip Map 2006, Michael Hewser, Cartographer. Reproduced courtesy of Miami University Libraries.

Being originally from Iran, the heart of the ancient Silk Road, I knew that a great expanse of the Silk Road traversed the ancient Persia, hence this trip on one hand held the secrets of a journey into a familiar past; on the other hand, the mysteries of unfamiliar people and places. I was going toward home and at the same time to completely new places. I watched many of my colleagues gather information, record facts and figures and document their finding while I found myself puzzled in the space in-between. As an architect I was acutely aware of the significance of the architectural riches on this journey. Observing diverse architectural forms and spaces, materials and expressions built across time, lands and cultures in this journey, yet for me the key to the unknown was held in the experience itself.

Determined to solve the multidimensional puzzle of the Silk Road, many of my colleagues, aimed to trace the actual routes traversed by Alexander the Great in fourth century BCE, Xuanzang, Buddhist pilgrim in the seventh century, Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century planning to record, analyze, and present their treasured findings on their return. Naturally, the vast array of historical and geographical sites, bazaars, and markets enticed all of us. Everywhere we traveled we learned about historical significance of ancient temples, mosques, or shrines we encountered, and met diverse scholars, curious children, friendly adults from all walks of life.



Figure 2. Grandfather with grandson, Northwestern China, May 2006.

In a small village in Northern China with our persistence against our tour guide's resistance, finally the bus stopped and we all rambled through the village, a pleasant place with a tree lined main street and full wide storm canal that made its way through on either side. Delightful cool canopies above the whispering stream, it was a joyous treasure in the burning summer heat, with the sound of water and contrasting shades and shadows. Local children, men and women greeted us kindly, offering us sour plums. Scattered through the village we each had our interactions and photo moments. I met an older man holding his approximately two years old grandson, in his arms. A deep smile through his wrinkled face and rugged teeth fully expressed the joy of his encounter with us. The child in his arms was more apprehensive. His extremely serious face, as thoughtful as seasoned diplomat, was not so trusting as his elder, as though he knew better. . . .

Photographic Encounter

I never enjoyed photography before. Waiting for the perfect moment, searching for the perfect frame, or aiming for the best focus used to frustrate me. The effort of concentrating on the perfect shot would usually succumb to the experience itself. One would assume photography comes naturally to architects, but photography used to make me tense. Until something amazing happened at a ceramic workshop on the way to Tashkent in Kirgizstan. I felt something unique about this particular place and decided not to focus on photography but simply on experiencing the site itself. Something was different for me here. Soon I found myself clicking away without prior contemplation. I was so intrigued by the scene, that for the first time, I felt as though photography was not an added event. My being present and taking the photographs were not two distinct activities-- somehow, they had merged. I knew this was a new beginning Without my conscious attempt, something had "cleared" something had "opened" by way of photography (Heidegger 1971, 145-161). Photography suddenly felt effortless and quite a joy.



Figure 3. The Ceramic Studio, outside Tashkent, Uzbekistan, June 2006.

I was once asked: *“How could you feel entirely immersed in the experience of the ceramics studio, if the camera was always there? The camera is always an “added event.”*

The camera would have been an *added event*, if there were never an *“unfolding.”* The *equipment*, in this case the camera *“disappears in usefulness,”* Heidegger has argued (Heidegger 1962, 224). In fact, *“the more handy a piece of equipment is, the more inconspicuous it remains... The more essentially the work opens itself, the more luminous becomes the uniqueness of the fact that it is rather than is not”* (Heidegger 1962, 65-66). In which, *“the whole existential constitution... get... laid bare”* (Heidegger 1962, 437). This state, Heidegger describes in terms of a certain *‘groundlessness’* (Heidegger 1962, 224). That we can associate with the life of a nomad, in terms of being everywhere yet, belonging nowhere, having an open, ambiguous, indeterminate, and interpretive qualities. It also in a way parallels the character of postmodern art and architecture vis-à-vis film and photography.

The ceramic workshop experience stayed with me. This union of the thought and action, process and product in photography was new to me--- from which many thousands of photos followed. Once this freedom encountered, the act of photography reaches beyond the realm of control. The joy and wonder arise out of allowing of the unexpected to take place. No more, you search for a preconceived idea; no more you allow judgment to shape the perfect frame; no more you regard a scene or subject matter correct or incorrect, not even you attempt for the perfect focus. Within this context, freedom rules, accidents are celebrated, imperfect focus is welcome, and blur is just fine. Strange, odd, or weird offer chances to open the ground for unexpected happenings (Heidegger 2003, 15-44). Now creativity happens freely and simply. Not much effort is required anymore that prevent one from the experience itself. The act of encountering, allowing, and creating happen effortlessly in the free experience. What a joy resides in this freedom from control in photography as well as life itself.

Conflicting approaches

In our travels we saw a broad range of historical sites. From the grand Forbidden City in China to Uygur houses on high mountain tops of Kergizestan, to Samargand and Bokhara two cities I recalled only through the ancient Persian poetic verses, until we arrived at Istanbul, a city on the edge. A city, which physically, historically, culturally, and artistically remains to be considered both of the East and the West. Thousands of ancient stories from these sites have intrigued the imagination of all in the literature of East and West. From the travels of Marco Polo, poems of Xanadu, tales from *The Arabian Nights* thousands of researchers and curious visitors reach to touch reminiscence of their histories or capture a taste of their ancient past, possibly collecting something for the future.

Alan Trachtenberg talks about photographs being unable to capture the "objective" reality, because they are interpretations, versions of reality that in documenting the facts they express "ideas and opinions" (History Matters 2007). This understanding of reality is plausible. It seems to assume that there is a 'fixed' objective reality out there that we can capture, which somehow is missed in a photograph. Today's worldview however would see this kind of thinking to be naïve and suggest there is no single reality out there whether objective or subjective. These days, everything is seen as interpretation and that is the best either we, or our photographs can do.

In my Digital Nomad- Pre-modern Mood/ Post-modern Space, presentation in our trip I talked about Heidegger's definition of 'downward plunge' (Heidegger 1962, 223), Merleau-ponty's 'inversion' (Merleau-Ponty 1968), Rashid Aitmatov's 'mankurt' (Aitmatov 1983). Digital Nomad characterized an attitude, that refers to the pre-Socratic mood--- and the nature of postmodern space, art, architecture, hence photography in which each of the above examples explicate. It is this general mood that also guides our main issue in photography in this discussion. What 'downward plunge', 'inversion,' and the character of the 'mankurt', have in common is a state that Heidegger refers to as, "the whole existential constitution of Dasein has been laid bare" (Heidegger 1962, 226). Merleau-Ponty describes this in terms of "*The reflection finds itself therefore in the strange situation of simultaneously requiring and excluding an inverse movement of constitution... it is to disengage,*" (Merleau-Ponty 1968, 45) and precisely this disengagement characterizes Aitmatov's "mankurt." This state is described in terms of certain "groundlessness" that we associate with the state of affairs of a nomad, on one hand, and today's open, ambiguous, indeterminate, and interpretive nature of postmodern art and architecture vis-à-vis photography. A fixed objective reality out there that we can aim to grasp and hold on to is an outdated illusion of the past.

Historian Tani E. Barlow calls each photograph a historical "catachresis" (Barlow 2006). As she argues that every picture records things but at the same time has been snapped out of context and hints of as many or more things unseen---things that we can sense but not witness. That, which can be used as a witness in a house of court, cannot always bring us to the hidden realities that

reside in the events themselves. Facts and figures only represent what we choose to see in them. On the other hand, both philosophers Heidegger and Merleau-Ponly would suggest it is only in this getting snapped of context that the real *existential constitution* of something can truly get *laid bare*. In other words, when things are “embedded” in their everyday context, their reality always remains hidden (Merleau-Ponly 1968).

One may be tempted to ask: Why Heidegger? Aren’t you aware of his reputation? I would simply respond: Yes, of course I am. However, regardless of the historical, social, or political agendas of the past, when it comes to discussing “*the nature of things*” or “*laying bare*” the “*existential constitution*” of beings, no one has come closer to resonate with what I already know.

Shifting Horizon

Our group was a metaphor for the Silk Road, extending from one discipline to the next, from one religion, ethnicity, and language to another. We included a Chinese historian who grew up in China, fluent in Chinese. Our geographer colleague lived in China and Kyrgyzstan for many years and was well versed in Chinese and Uygur. Among the three political scientists, all fluent in Russian, one also spoke Tajik. A geologist and interior designer, both originally from Turkey, naturally spoke Turkish. Our Italian scholar grew up in Italy, Italian his mother tongue. The classicist on the trip spoke Latin and Greek as well as Arabic. Arabic and Persian were the purview of the Islamist scholar on the trip, while another colleague in Comparative Religion specialized in Buddhism and Hinduism. In this representation of the various ethnicities and languages from across the ancient Silk Road in a sense we personified a contemporary construct, reflecting back to the original Silk Road.

One’s identity, whether classified in terms of language, ethnicity, citizenship, residence, or country of birth, determines the category into which we place them. Which one of these categories takes precedence over the others? Which is more important, more basic, more original, more primal, more governing? Of course, this has been and will be the topic of endless debates, however if we define identity as an essential character or aspect, what is my identity? Who am I? I was born in Iran, live in the United States. I speak Turkish with my mother, Farsi with my husband, and partially Farsi partially English with my daughter. If I knew Russian, I could have spoken Russian with my grandfather. So what am I? Do I have to be one, but not the other? In fact, what do we gain from categorizing me in any of these ways? I am all of these; I am none of . . . and we could even add a dozen more signifiers to this list; each of which would place me into smaller and smaller boxes. Of course, this is the way of science, but I choose to remain indefinable. I see these categories as “idealizations frozen in positivity of language,” (Tarabi 2005) and instead of clarifying, they confuse and blur the issues at hand. Being is not a

“genus,” Martin Heidegger argued in *Being and Time* in 1920’s, to free us from generalization, categorization, and referential-ism (Heidegger 1962, 22).

Before we left on the trip, I thought about the Silk Road in terms of connections beyond the significations of time and borders. My original proposal began: *“As the ‘wandering dervish’, we will wander in search of the unknown. In contrast to the Sufi; however, the course of our destiny will be predetermined by the places of our excursion on the Silk Road trip. What will not be predetermined for us, will be the nature of our encounter and each of our own interpretations. Each faculty member from a different vantage point will search to connect the bygone past, frail present, and unknown future. This proposal has to do with the nature of the connection itself, from past to future, East to West, and the gap in-between.”* However, in search of connections on the Silk Road, I encountered constant agitations. In every city, renowned Persian poets, scientists, and philosophers were claimed by others. My language was carved on ancient monuments, but for guides across the region the meaning that I could read was completely “lost in translation.” For me this became a source of great tension to have to sort out. Eventually, I confronted this in a presentation titled: “Referential-ism on the Silk Road.” as Keyvan Tabari describes this notion in his essay *“Claiming the Luminaries”* in *Luster of the Earth: Journey to Samarkand and Bukhara*. He writes, “Persian poetry, like that of Jami, has always been enjoyed by the Tajiks and all others who could understand it. Indeed, from the 10th century on, Persian was the literary language of not only the Tajiks but also the Turks and Mongols in Central Asia. It was the language of the court in Uzbekistan until Russian domination in the 20th century. The term Uzbek, which originally referred to the Arab invaders, by the 11th century, had come to mean the Islamicized, Persian-speaking people, as contrasted with the Turkic population of this area. Smael Samani was the founder of the Samanid dynasty that ruled in Bukhara for a hundred years. Both the Samanid’s and the luminaries who made that period Iran’s “golden century” were from Persian families and spoke Persian. Rudaki is considered to be “the founding father” of Persian poetry. However, the scientists Farabi and Avicenna [also known as Ibn Sina] and Beruni mostly wrote in Arabic.” Tarabii asks: “how does one resolve the dispute that follows when several nations assert an exclusive right to the legacy of these men?” The only solution may be to describe them as the ““heritage of (all) humanity”, to paraphrase the appellation that Unesco has given to so many monuments around the world and to many in Uzbekistan.” In a sense, this inversion into the essential core of humanity parallels the call away from referential-ism that we have been dealing with so far.

Cocoon Dehiscence: The Otherwise of the Silk Road

Aristotle’s discussion of Plato’s categorization of various modes of knowledge, Heidegger points out in description of *techne*, sometimes something weird happens, and a certain knowing arises by “accident.” This knowing, Aristotle could not explain or categorize, he referred to it simply in terms of the “otherwise” (Heidegger 2003, 5-21).



Figure 4. Afsaneh Ardehali and Mary Frederickson. Exhibit 'Cocoon Dehiscence: the *Otherwise* of the Silk Road.' Cage Gallery, Miami University, November 2006.

In our discussions about the exhibit format, I envisioned the photographs as 4 inch by 4 inch square representations as moments in the air, uncategorized specks of memory that in some way would connect those who walked through the gallery to the multiplicity of events that we had witnessed along the Silk Road within the larger context of its ongoing history. My historian colleague was initially appalled at this idea: "You are suggesting we cut every photo into small squares?" she asked, "that would destroy the original photograph and we would lose what we do know about the provenance of each photograph, where it was taken, when, the subject..." Apparently, historians save every scrap of evidence. She was not easily convinced.

"Yes, exactly," I answered, "isn't every photo only an interpretation, isn't every interpretation an incomplete representation itself? So we will have interpretations of interpretations of interpretations. We can even interpret the scraps. Let's keep them, if you wish, and have those who come to see the exhibit inscribe their own narratives as they negotiate through the opened space of the Silk Road cocoon in the Cage Gallery.

Our exhibit set out to celebrate the open, fluid "embodied" space of the Silk Road (Merleau-Ponty and Lefort 1968). In the long narrow space of the 50-foot long Cage Gallery, countless invisible strands of silk--fishing wire--loosely defined the indeterminate space of a split open fine white cocoon. From the open space of this finely suspended cocoon, expanded unquantifiable strands of the Silk Roads of the past, present, and future. The strands themselves had secondary significance in comparison to the invisible, untouchable space that they embodied. A natural, loosely defined, cocoon-like C opened toward the chain link entry gate, facing the library door across the hallway. Three feet from the back wall of the gallery, a long walk formed outside the open cocoon. This allowed people to walk inside and outside, interacting through the invisible suspended strands, facing each other, looking at square images suspended in the air, from either side. Throughout the weekend until the day of the exhibit opening many students, faculty, and friends were busy in the gallery cutting 8x10 prints into hundreds of four inch by four inch squares that were then suspended loosely back to back held by clips from hundreds of fishing wire strands suspended an inch and a half apart.

In the exhibit, an imaginary metaphoric cocoon split open and countless strands of silk expanded to suspend photographic moments that embodied the space of the Silk Road. As gallery visitors inhabited this ephemeral display of framed memories, they bore witness to our encounters in a place between that was neither East nor West, north or south, past or future. The otherwise could not be grasped and in a strange way it slipped through our fingers and defied categorization. The otherwise defied definition. The otherwise remained silent. But more than a hundred visitors who came to the exhibit spoke eloquently about what they saw unfolding there in the space between.

Understanding the range

Our research into the nature of current photographic experimentations clearly brought us face to face to an expanded range of contemporary photography. On one hand, sharply focused images from highly technical equipment, on the other hand imperfect, soft focused, blurry, and highly interpretive images obtained by “junk cameras.” In the border of these two extremes we found the works of Iranian born photographer and film maker Shirin Neshat, which offered “highly critical, social, political commentaries in gender and women in Islam” through use of extreme control (Neshat 1997).



Figure 5. Shirin Neshat. ‘Women of Allah’ 1997. [Permission pending].

Through her photographs we witness the tragedy in our “flesh” (Merleau-Ponty and Lefort 1968). In Neshat’s exquisitely choreographed images the “mechanical photograph collides with hand painted calligraphy.” This extreme juxtaposition of imagery between fiction--text of the poetry--and reality-- human flesh--instills an explosive response. Neshat’s Women of Allah, in their intense sense of control, contrast sharply with the earlier junk photographers’ blurring of the physical. Within this tension between celebrating the realm of the ‘free’ or sense of liberation, and strict sense of control, Neshat’s strict tangible physical imagery against intangible text, life and death, capture something other, something odd, something, something deeply primal, in other words something of the “otherwise.” Somewhere between the photograph as a “free” experimental artistic expression and a simple tool for recording and analysis, deeply

engaging a global audience, this work crosses the boundaries of time and space, objective and subjective, physical and phenomenal, going beyond the referential, and involving us in the emotional domain of the “otherwise”.

Neshat’s “Speechless” together with the works of 33 other contemporary artists in an exhibit titled: “Without Boundary: Seventeen Ways of Looking,” were displayed in The Museum of Modern Art in New York from February 26 to May 22, 2006. The author Michele Leight writes: *“Great art eludes confinement, compartmentalization - and boundaries. Art, for the most part, does not imitate life. Throughout history visionary artists have enabled us to escape life's obvious and discordant realities so that for a few, fleeting moments it is possible to imagine alternatives. It is these “imaginings” that have always contributed to change - life without visionaries would never reach beyond the conventional and the mundane.... This show does an excellent job of illustrating how art can blast through the clogged arteries of polarized thinking while still holding on to that which is cherished and valuable in any given cultural tradition or history - in this case “Islamic.” In these heavily politicized times, there is nothing remotely rigid in the worldview or the mind set of the artists whose work is exhibited at this show. Instead they demonstrate that the chaos, dislocation and exile initiated by violence, oppression and instability become the legacy of all those who hope for peace and harmony - regardless of religion, heritage or nationality.”* In an odd way, as we saw earlier, “the legacy of all those who hope for peace and harmony,” over and over show up to be “regardless of religion, heritage or nationality,” in other words, their inspiration seems to be drawn from a place of the otherwise that resonates from the “heritage of all humanity.”

Concrete Details of a Silk Road: through the eye of...

Toward the end of our trip, our group went for a boat ride on the Aegean at sunset. The following morning, our final day on the Silk Road, Mary and I rented the same boat for an hour from 6 to 7 am to take photographs of the sunrise at Kusadasi Harbor. For me, this one-hour was unworldly. Clear blue sky, glittering sea under the slowly emerging sun was beyond belief. I took several hundred pictures. My initial composed photography efforts of the beginning of this trip had fast given way to hundreds of point and shoot moments without predetermination, without prior contemplation. For me a new venue in photography had just opened that still continues. This sunrise on the boat held even a greater potential for my colleague-in one hour-careful premeditated documentation of countless treasures of the Silk Road, collected in the dark chamber only to be analyzed in a later date gave way to a new freedom of expression never encountered before.



Figure 6. Afsaneh Ardehali. Exhibit ‘Concrete Details of a Silk Road: through the eye of...’
Cage Gallery, Miami University, February 2007.

In February 2007 many of these images set the scene for “Concrete Details of a silk road: through the eye of...” my solo exhibit at the Cage Gallery at Miami University (Ardehali, 2007). Each image connected close to far, positive to negative, intimate to the infinite. Ordinary thirty-inch hollow core wood doors gently leaned at the gallery wall. Why water? Many people asked, four reasons came to my mind: 1. From hundreds of photographs of people and places, I had probably thousands of water. 2. In the process of selecting photographs, water just kept moving up on the list. 3. It was the shimmer of water that dazzled me. . . it just stayed with me. 4. Any photographs of children, women, buildings, or landscape that I selected, I found myself setting aside. They all pointed to differences in form, structure, skin or hair color leaving out what was real about them. From the beginning, for me the Silk Road had been about connections not separations. My hope was to bring about what is common to all of us, what touches us deep inside. In the end, I was left with water-- only water.

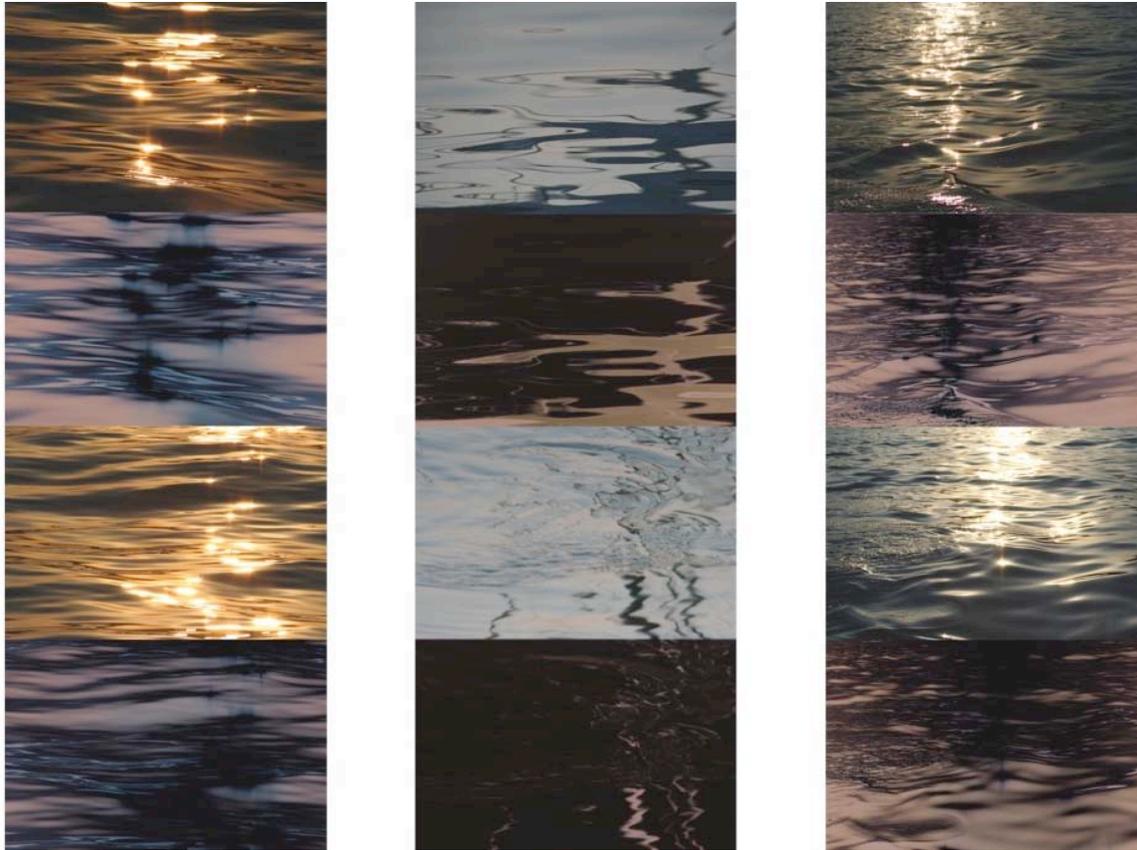


Figure 7. Three boards from ‘Concrete Details of a Silk Road: through the eye of...’ Exhibit. Afsaneh Ardehali. Cage Gallery, Miami University, February 2007.

Yet, the open fluid invisible strands of history, art, and architecture loosely framed our individual experiences and collective discourse at the Cage Gallery as they embodying the unfolding of our visitor’s encounters and ours. The vexing duality to the practice of photography came to a halt when the 8x11 documents were cut into 4x4 artistic expressions in the ‘Cocoon Dehiscence: the *Otherwise* of the Silk Road’ exhibit and the representation of people and places gave way to water in the “Concrete Details of a Silk Road: through the eye of...” photographic installations. The “otherwise” of the Silk Road, however, was left to be encountered through the 4x4 images and the gaps between the silky translucent strands as well as the shimmer of water on gently leaning boards, which James Cameron’s recent film *Avatar*, made visible what was invisible before.

Expanded Horizons New Definitions

Silk Road can be viewed as a Western cultural construction, a metaphor, a myth. Yet, Silk Road can also be discussed in terms of “equipment,” like the camera, which we encountered earlier,

Silk Road can be said to have “disappeared in its usefulness.” In connecting one side to the other, in facilitating the roads of exchange, in carrying on the cultures, languages, arts, music, people and products, the Silk Road itself can be said to belong to the space of the *otherwise*, which merged, *The Visible and the Invisible* (Merleau-Ponty 1968). Yet itself disappeared in “usefulness.” Silk Road disappeared in “usefulness,” as did the camera in the ceramic studio and water on the doors of the ‘Concrete Details of a Silk Road: through the eye of...’ exhibit. As the water below gave way to the luminance of the surface shimmer above, connecting near to far, positive to negative, intimate to the infinite, as well as me and YOU. Today, the ancient Silk Road remains as the luminous shimmer in the roads of dust. This NEW definition of the Silk Road dissolves all the boundaries and connects the inside of each county to out. In fact, as did Merleau-Ponty himself in aiming to redefine the relationship between inside and out, passed away in the process of writing *The Visible and the Invisible* (Merleau-Ponty 1968).

In the redefined space of digital images from the Silk Road, politics, history, art, architecture, vis-à-vis photography become expanded global conversations that transcend the limitations of specific disciplines, ethnicities, nationalities, or time and space. The visible and invisible boundaries between seen and unseen, objective and subjective, physical and emotional give way in the space of the ‘otherwise.’ The mediating silky strands of the in-between constantly negotiate our emotional realities and intellectual discourse through our photographic expressions. The Silk Road is not a distant place and it does not belong to an ancient world that has no connection to our own. The Silk Road expands all horizons and continues here and now in the spaces like the Cage gallery of Miami University. The Silk Road lives; and continues to live, be reinterpreted, and recreated through our conversations and photographs, allowing us to imagine its glorious past, live in its frail present, and explore its countless possibilities in the future.

The term *photography* literally means ‘drawing with light.’ Photography came to itself; when this very act of photography fulfilled its mission bringing to light the “otherwise” of the Silk Road in our experience. In this ‘drawing with light’ the vexing duality of the practice of photography on the Silk Road dissolved itself joining the divergent viewpoints. As we witnessed in this space of the “otherwise” all documentation and visual representation collapse into artistic interpretation and simply melt in the shimmer of the experiential *unfolding*. Hence, the Silk Road itself as any other objectified subject defied signification and by the “odd” way of *photography* continued to remain as “the heritage of all humanity...” (Heidegger 2003).

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TITLE:

Studies on Shandong Bronze Decorations in Eastern Zhou Period

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Studies on Shandong Bronze Decorations in Eastern Zhou Period *

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ABSTRACT: The study on decorations is one of weak links of Chinese bronze study, particularly in regional bronze decorations. Up to now, there still isn't systematic study on Shandong 山東 bronze decorations. In view of the importance of Shandong bronzes in Chinese bronze culture, and in order to promote the studies in this field, this paper, mainly using archeological and statistical methods, carried out a detailed statistics and systematic analysis on Shandong bronze decorations in Eastern Zhou Period. And got the following findings: The bronze decorations in Shandong, in the early Spring and Autumn Period, followed the late Western Zhou Period, and had a sweeping change at mid-Spring and Autumn Period. Afterwards, the simple and unadorned decoration style was in vogue. The evolutions of bronze decorations in different regions of Shandong were not synchronized. The decorations in Lunan 魯南 evolved fastest, followed by Ludongnan 魯東南 and Lubei 魯北, and then Ludong 魯東. The regional characteristics of bronze decorations varied from slightly to distinctly with time. Compared with shapes and compositions, the bronze decorations in Shandong were more similar to Central Plains 中原. The social motivations that caused above phenomenon, likely were the following two: Firstly, the royal court's emigrant toward east (770.B.c.) led to the centripetal force reducing gradually while the region-based concepts of vassal states enhancing, therefore, the cultural differences gradually increased. Secondly, the corresponding visiting, alliance, marriage, human mobility, commerce and trade among vassal states accelerated the inter-regional exchange and integration, which promoted the multicultural convergence.

I . FOREWORD

Decoration is an important part of bronze, and also one of weak links of bronze study. At present, the studies on bronze decorations mostly concentrated on the individual one, such as Animal Mark 獸面紋¹, Bird 鳥紋², Ragged Curves 竊曲紋³ and so on. While the systematic study on regional decorations, especially on Shandong 山東 bronze decorations does not emerge yet. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out a systematic study on it. This paper will do it basing on the predecessors' achievements on bronze graves in Eastern

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¹ Jordan Paper, "The Meaning of the Taotie," *History of Religions*, 18 (1978), pp. 11-45.

Chen Gongrou 陳公柔 and Zhang Changshou 張長壽, "Yin Zhou qingtong rongqi shang de shoumianwen duandai yanjiu 殷周青銅容器上獸面紋的斷代研究," *Kaogu xuebao 考古學報* (97): 2 (1990), pp. 137-168.

Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, "The Ghost Head Mask and Metamorphic Shang Imagery," *Early China*, 20 (1995), pp. 79-92.

² Chen Gongrou 陳公柔 and Zhang Changshou 張長壽, "Yin Zhou qingtong rongqi shang de niaowen duandai yanjiu 殷周青銅容器上鳥紋的斷代研究," *Kaogu xuebao 考古學報* (74): 3 (1984), pp. 265-286.

Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, "The Shang Bird: Intermediary to the Supernatural," *Orientalism*, 20 (1989), pp. 53-65.

³ Peng Yushang 彭裕商, "Xizhou Qingtongqi Qiequwen Yanjiu 西周青銅器竊曲紋研究," *Kaogu xuebao 考古學報* (147): 4 (2002), pp. 421-436.

Zhou Period.

Since the early Spring and Autumn Period, the radial-type situation of bronze culture was broken, and the circle of regional bronze culture arose⁴. Besides, a larger cultural circle generally could be divided into several smaller ones, which is just as Su Bingqi described: “The regions in Shandong have the feature of conformity, as well as they have their special aspects respectively”⁵. At present, the bronze culture in Shandong in Eastern Zhou Period is usually divided into four regions: Lubei魯北, Lunan魯南, Ludong魯東 and Ludongnan魯東南.⁶ Basing on the four regions and according to the bronze decorations in 80 intact graves in Eastern Zhou Period, we analyze as following.

II .THE BRONZE DECORATIONS IN THE EARLY SPRING AND AUTUMN PERIOD

In the early Spring and Autumn Period, there are 24 intact graves⁷ with bronze vessels in Shandong, and 4 of them in Lubei, 11 in Lunan, 2 in Ludong and 7 in Ludongnan. The decorations were as Table 1 specifically.

In this stage, the undecorated bronzes were very few, and most of them were simple and rough. The Ragged Curves Pattern was dominant, and mainly decorated on the necks or the bodies of all kinds utensils. Regionally, it was most popular in Lunan and Ludongnan, followed by Lubei, and then in Ludong. The Double-ring Pattern重環紋 was also very popular, and mainly was seen on the necks, cover's edge, ring foot and handles of Ding鼎, Gui簋, Hu壺 and Pan盤. And it could be seen everywhere, especially in Ludongnan. The Bow-string Pattern弦紋 was fairly popular too, but it was only decorated on the abdomen of Ding. The Tile Pattern瓦楞紋 was usually seen on the abdomen of Gui, Yi匱 and Xu盥, and was mainly found in Lunan, for most of them in this phase were found there. The Fish Scale Pattern垂鱗紋 was mainly found on the ring foot of vessels in Lunan and Lubei, and occasionally on the necks of Hu. The Elephant's head Pattern was mainly seen on the abdomen of Li鬲 and Fu簋 in Lubei, Ludongnan and Lunan. The Wave Pattern波曲紋 was as few as Elephant's head Pattern象首紋, and mainly found on the abdomen of Fu, Hu and Yan甗, as well as on the shank of Pu鋪 in Lunan and Ludongnan. The Cloud and Thunder Pattern雲雷紋 was not popular yet, and mainly found on the abdomen of Hu, as well as on the neck of Ding in some places of Lunan. The others patterns such as Curly Cloud Pattern卷雲紋, Dot Pattern圓點紋, Animal Mark Pattern, Triangle Pattern三角紋, Dragon Pattern龍紋 and Nipple Pattern乳丁紋 were fewer found on bronzes. They were occasionally found on some bronzes.

Regionally, in this phase, the dominant pattern in Lunan was Ragged Curves Pattern, which could be seen on 50% bronzes of Lunan, and was followed by Double-ring Pattern, Kui-long Pattern夔龍紋, Tile Pattern, Fish Scale Pattern, Bow-string Pattern and so on in proper order. While the popular patterns in Lubei were Ragged Curves and Double-ring Pattern, and followed by Bow-string Pattern, Elephant's head Pattern, Kui-long Pattern and Fish Scale Pattern. However, the types of patterns in Ludong were few, but the

⁴ Zhu Fenghan朱鳳瀚, *Gudai zhongguo qingtongqi 古代中國青銅器* (Tianjing: University of Nankai Press, 1995).

⁵ Su Bingqi蘇秉琦, “Zai tan choujian kaogu Shiyanzhan yu keti wenti 再談籌建考古實驗室與課題問題,” *Haidai kaogu 海岱考古* (Jinan: University of Shandong press, 1989), pp. 3-5.

⁶ Wang Qing王青, *Haidai diqu zhou dai muzang yanjiu 海岱地區周代墓葬研究* (Jinan: University of Shandong Press, 2002), p. 13.

⁷ Because this article involved so many graves that it is difficult to note one by one here, please see Bi Jingwei畢經緯, “Studies on Unearthed Bronze Vessels in Shandong Province,” pp. 161-164.

undecorated bronzes were more relatively, and there were not dominant pattern in this region. Ragged Curves was also the dominant pattern in Ludongnan, and even more popular than any other regions, and followed by Double-ring Pattern, Bow-string Pattern, Cloud and Thunder Pattern and so on.

Table 1: The Bronze Decorations in the Early Spring and Autumn Period

Region	Burial No.	NO B	Pattern																	
			U	B S	R C	D R	K	F S	Ti le	W av e	E	C T	C C	D ot	G Q	A M	T	D	N	
Lunan	Lu State M30	5		1	1	3		1	2		1									
	Lu State M46	2		1		2			1											
	Lu State M48	14			6	8	3	3	6	1							1			
	Lu State M49	5	2			3		1	2											
	Tengzhou M1	12		2	11	3	2	4	3			1		1				1		
	Zouxian Q.M	16		2	7	8	4					2			3					1
	Changqing M1	4		2	4		1			2			1							
	Changqing M2	4		1		3		1												
	Changqing X. M6	34	2	9	27	4	2	4	8	5				3		1				5
	Zaozhuang M2	17			7		5	2		2	4		4							4
	Zaozhuang M3	18	3		4		6	3			2									
	Sum	133	7	18	67	34	23	19	22	10	7	3	5	4	3	1	1	5	6	
Frequency (%)		5	14	50	26	17	14	17	8	5	2	4	3	2	1	1	4	5		
Lubei	Qi State M1	9	1	2	2	6	1													
	Linqu Q. M1	10		2	2			1	1		5	1								
	Linqu Q. M2	9		3	5	4	1	2	1		2									
	Linzi N. M	2	1	1	1			1												
	Sum	30	2	8	10	10	2	4	2		7	1								
	Frequency (%)		7	27	33	33	7	13	7		23	3								
Ludong	Qixia L. M1	3	1	1									1							
	Qixia L. M2	3	1		1								1							
	Sum	6	2	1	1								2							
	Frequency (%)		33	17	17								33							
Ludong -nan	Yiyuan G. M2	1		1	1															
	Pingyi C. M	10	1	1	9	3			2			5								
	Yishui L. M	4	1	2	1	2	1		2											
	Yishui D. M	3					1				1	1								
	Linyi Z. M	6	5		4							2						1		
	Rizhao G. M1	14	2	2	5	11		2	1	4						2	1	3		
	Rizhao G. M2	3			2	1														
	Sum	41	9	6	22	17	2	2	5	4	1	8				2	1	4		
	Frequency (%)		22	15	54	41	5	5	12	10	2	20				5	2	10		
Sum	210	20	33	99	62	27	25	29	14	15	12	5	6	3	3	2	9	6		
Frequency (%)		10	16	47	30	13	12	14	7	7	6	2	3	1	1	1	4	3		

Annotation: NOB = The number of Bronze vessels; U = undecorated; BS=Bow-string Pattern; RC = Ragged Curves Pattern; DR = Double-ring Pattern; K = Kui-long Pattern; FS = Fish Scale Pattern; Tile = Tile pattern; Wave = Wave pattern; E = Elephant's head Pattern; CT = Cloud and Thunder Pattern; CC = Curly

Cloud Pattern; Dot = Dot Pattern; GQ = Gou Qu Pattern 勾曲紋; AM = Animal Mark Pattern; T = Triangle Pattern; D = Dragon Pattern; N = Nipple Pattern.

M = grave; Lu State M30 = grave No.30 in Capital City Qufu of State of Lu; Tengzhou H.M1 = grave N.1 in Tengzhou Houjinggou Village; Zouxian Q. = Zouxian Qijiayu Village; Changqing X. = Chang Xianrentai Village; Zaozhuang = Zaozhuang Dongjiang Village; Qi State = Capital City Linzi of State of Qi; Linqu Q. = Linqu Quantou Village; Linzi N. = Linzi Nanyang Village; Qixia L. = Qixia Lvjiabu Village; Yiyuan G. = Yiyuan Guziping Village; Pingyi C. = Pingyi Caizhuang Village; Yishui L. = Yishui Lijiapo Village; Yishui D. = Yishui Donghebei Village; Linyi Z. = Linyi Zhongqiagou Village; Rizhao G. = Rizhao Guheya Village.

Overall, on the one hand, the frequencies of patterns in four regions were slightly different, the several popular decorations like Ragged Curves Pattern, Double-ring Pattern, Bow-string Pattern, Fish Scale Pattern etc. were all very popular in four regions. On the other hand, there were specifically differences in the patterns' frequencies and the types of patterns between them.

III. THE BRONZE DECORATIONS IN THE MID-SPRING AND AUTUMN PERIOD

In the mid-Spring and Autumn Period, there are totally 13 intact graves with bronze vessels in Shandong, and 7 of them in Lunan, 5 in Lunan and 1 in Ludongnan. The decorations were as Table 2 specifically.

Table 2: The Bronze Decorations in the Mid-Spring and Autumn Period

Region	Burial No.	NO B	Pattern																
			U	I H	R C	B S	F S	Ti le	D R	C T	W av e	K	Co rd	T	A M	S	N	D ot	
lunan	Lu State M201	3			1						1		1						
	Lu State M202	4	1		1			1			1	1							
	Lu State M203	1					1												
	Lu State M301	1																	
	Xue State M1	22		10	10	7	2	6	7		2		2				4	7	
	Xue State M2	28	3	24		8	10	6		2			2				8		
	Xue State M4	25	4	18	2	10	3	6		5									
	Sum	84	8	52	13	25	16	19	7	7	3	2	4				8	4	7
	Frequency (%)		10	62	15	30	20	23	8	8	4	2	5				10	5	8
Ludong	Penglai X.M6	4	1																
	Penglai X.M7	1										1							
	Penglai X.M4	2											2						
	Penglai X.M6	1	1																
	Penglai X.M9	1				1													
	Sum	9	2			1							1		2				
	Frequency (%)		22			11							11		22				
Ludong -nan	Yishui L.M1	44		33	3		7		1			9		7	16		13		
	Sum	44		33	3		7		1			9		7	16		13		
	Frequency (%)			75	8		16		2			20		16	36		30		
Sum	137	10	85	16	26	23	19	8	7	3	12	4	9	16	8	17	7		
Frequency (%)		7	62	12	19	17	14	6	5	2	9	3	7	12	6	12	5		

Annotation: IH = Interlaced Hydra Pattern; Cord = Cord pattern; S = S-shaped Pattern;

Xue State = Capital City Tengzhou of State of Xue; Penglai X. = Penglai Xinwangji Village; Yishui L. =

Yishui Liujiadianzi Village.

Compared with the previous phase, the decorations in this period had changed obviously. The popular traditional patterns in previous phases such as Ragged Curves, Double-ring Pattern, Bow-string Pattern etc. decreased sharply as Interlaced Hydra Pattern 蟠螭紋 emerged. The Interlaced Hydra Pattern was immediately popular in the period, and the proportion of undecorated bronzes declined, the reason of which likely is that the only grave in this region was a high-grade one, with numerous well decorated bronzes.

Interlaced Hydra Pattern was absolutely the dominant one in this stage, and usually was found on the cover's edge and abdomen of Ding, Li, Gui and Fu in the Capital city Tengzhou of State of Xue 滕州薛國故城 and Yishui Liujiadianzi 沂水劉家店子. The Bow-string Pattern stood the second place in this period, and still was only decorated on the abdomen of Ding. The Fish Scale Pattern was mainly seen on the ring foot of vessels in the Capital City Tengzhou of State of Xue and Yishui Liujiadianzi. The Tile Pattern was mostly found in the Capital city Tengzhou of State of Xue. The Dot Pattern and Animal Mark Pattern were more than previous phase, owing to numerous Ding decorated with Dot Pattern and Animal Mark Pattern in Yishui Liujiadianzi M1. The Dot Pattern was mainly found on the necks, cover's edge of Ding and on the abdomen of Fu. The Animal Mark Pattern was only found on the upper leg. While the other patterns such as Kui-long Pattern, Double-ring Pattern, Curly Cloud Pattern, Fish Scale Pattern, Wave Pattern and Dot Pattern were much fewer than before. The Cord Pattern 繩紋, S-shaped Pattern, Triangle Pattern etc. were occasionally found on some bronze vessels somewhere.

Regionally, in this phase, the dominant pattern in Lunan was Interlaced Hydra Pattern, which could be seen on 65% bronze vessels of Lunan, and was followed by Bow-string Pattern, Tile Pattern, Fish Scale Pattern, Ragged curves, Double-ring Pattern, Kui-long Pattern, and so on in proper order. While the undecorated bronze vessels were dominant in Ludong, and there were only three kinds of patterns such as Bow-string Pattern, Kui-long Pattern and Triangle pattern. The Interlaced Hydra Pattern was the dominant one in Yishui Liujiadianzi, and even more popular than in Lunan. The Animal Mark Pattern, Nipple Pattern and Kui-long Pattern were also fairly popular; however, the Triangle pattern and Fish Scale Pattern etc. could be seen only on some vessels.

Because the intact graves in this time are few, and different in size, therefore, the significance of statistics about regional patterns is fewer relatively. Nonetheless, there are still two conclusions can be drawn: Firstly, the decorations in this period had changed obviously, the dominant traditional patterns such as Ragged curves, Double-ring Pattern, etc. decreased sharply. Secondly, the decorations' regional characteristics began to increase; the differences between regions were bigger than before. This was synchronous with the evolution of bronzes' shape and combination.

IV. THE BRONZE DECORATIONS IN THE LATE SPRING AND AUTUMN PERIOD

There are 19 intact graves in the late Spring and Autumn Period, 4 of which in Lunan, 9 in Lubei and 3 in Ludong and Ludongnan. The decorations were as Table 3 specifically.

The most prominent change in the period was that the proportion of undecorated bronzes increased sharply. The Interlaced Hydra Pattern kept the highest frequency, but had fallen significantly contrast to previous phase, and its mainly endemic region was still Ludongnan. The Coiled Serpent Pattern 蟠虺紋 emerged in the period, and its frequency was almost as high as Interlaced Hydra Pattern, it appeared on the abdomen of all kinds of bronzes mainly in Ludongnan and Changqing Xianrentai 長清仙人臺. The Bow-string

Pattern was stable in this period and still as the only decoration on the abdomen of Ding. The Animal Mark Pattern was still only found on the upper leg of Ding in Ludongnan as before. The other decorations were found few, so it is not necessary to list them here.

Table 3: The Bronze Decorations in the Late Spring and Autumn Period

Region	Burial No.	NO B	Pattern															
			U	BS	R C	D R	K	IH	W a ve	CS	Do t	C	A M	D	T	Co rd	N	
Lunan	Xintai G.M9	1	1															
	Xue State M6	3	2	1														
	Xue State M9	4	3	1					1									
	Changqing X.M5	10	5	1						5							2	
	Sum	18	11	3					1	5								2
	Frequency (%)		61	17					6	28								
Lubei	Yanggu J.M	3	1					1										1
	Zichuan C.M(4)	13	6	2						3								1
	Zouping D.M(3)	11	8	3	1		1	2				1						
	Linqu Y.M	13	1	1	2	2	2		2			6					5	2
	Sum	40	16	6	3	2	3	3	2	3		7					5	4
	Frequency (%)		40	15	8	5	8	8	5	8		18						13
Ludong	Haiyang Z.M1	8	4	1	1			1		1						1		
	Haiyang Z.M4	15							2		6			8	4			
	Qixia X.M3	3	3															
	Sum	26	7	1	1			1	2	1	6			8	5			
	Frequency (%)		30	4	4			4	8	4	23			31	19			
Ludongnan	Juxian T.M	10	1	5			1			2								
	Junan D.M1	8	1							7			3		1	1		
	Linyi F.M	26	1	2	1			18				3	12		3			
	Sum	44	3	7	1		1	18		9		3	15		4	1		
	Frequency (%)		7	16	2		2	40		20		7	15		9	2		
Sum	128	37	17	5	2	4	22	5	18	6	10	15	8	9	6	6		
Frequency (%)		29	13	4	2	3	17	4	14	5	8	12	6	7	5	5		

Annotation: CS = Coiled Serpent Pattern; C = Cloud Pattern;

Xintai G. = Xintai Guojiaquan Village; Yanggu J. = Yanggu Jingyanggang Village; Zichuan C. M(4) = 4 graves in Zichuan Cicun Village; Zouping D. M(3) = 3 graves in Zouping Dasheng Village; Linqu Y. = Linqu Yangshan Village; Haiyang Z. = Haiyang Zuiziqian Village; Qixia X. = Qixia Xingjiazhuang Village; Juxian T. = Juxian Tianjingwang Village; Junan D. = Junan Dadian Village; Linyi F. = Linyi Fenghuangling Village.

Regionally, the undecorated bronze vessels were most prevalent in Lunan, and there were only four kinds of decorations found, of which the frequency of Coiled Serpent Pattern was highest. The region of Lubei and Ludong were generally the case, the undecorated bronzes also played an important role, but the decorations were more abundant than Lubei, and the frequency of them was not high. Ludongnan was obviously different from the other three regions; the undecorated bronze vessels were much fewer, for the three graves in this area were all high-grade ones with numerous well decorated bronzes. In this region, the Interlaced Hydra Pattern was most popular, and followed by

Coiled Serpent Pattern and some traditional patterns such as Bow-string Pattern and Animal Mark Pattern.

As can be seen, the bronze decorations in this period had the following features: Firstly, the proportion of undecorated bronzes increased significantly, and the simple style began to rise. Secondly, the traditional decorations such as Ragged Curves Pattern, Double-ring Pattern, Kui-long Pattern, Tile Pattern, Fish Scale Pattern etc. dominant in the early Spring and Autumn Period, almost disappeared. Thirdly, the Coiled Serpent Pattern was as popular as the Interlaced Hydra Pattern. Evidently, the change of style of decorations, started in the mid-Spring and Autumn Period, basically completed in this period. As a result, some of decorations turned petty and trial, while some turned simple and realistic.

V .THE BRONZE DECORATIONS IN THE EARLY WARRING STATES PERIOD

In the early Warring States period, there are only 9 intact graves, and 5 of which in Lunan, 2 in Lubei and Ludong. The decorations were as Table 4 specifically.

Table 4: The bronze Decorations in the Early Warring States Period

Region	Burial No.	NO B	Pattern											
			U	BS	RS	V	K	IH	CS	GF	H	C	Dot	
Lunan	Lu State M103	1	1											
	Lu State M110	1	1											
	Lu State M115	1	1											
	Lu State M116	3	2			1								
	Tengzhou Z.90M8	7	4				1	2					1	
	Sum	13	9			1	1	2					1	
	Frequency (%)		69			8	8	15					8	
Lubei	Jinan Z.M1	11	5	3										3
	Laiwu D.M	4	3		1									
	Sum	15	8	3	1									3
	Frequency (%)		53	20	7									20
Ludong	Changdao W.M1	2	1	1										
	Changdao W.M2	5	1						2	1	2			
	Sum	7	2	1					2	1	2			
	Frequency (%)		28	14					28	14	28			
Sum	35	19	4	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	3		
Frequency (%)		54	11	3	3	3	6	6	3	6	3	9		

Annotation: V=Vortex Pattern 渦紋; GF=Gilt-fish Pattern.

Tengzhou Z.= Tengzhou Zhuanglixi Village; Jinan Z.= Jinan Zuojiawa Village; Laiwu D.= Laiwu Daiyuchi Village; Changdao W.= Changdao Wanggou Village.

Because the intact graves in this period are very few, the significance of statistics about decorations is fewer relatively. Judging from the available decorations in Table 4, the proportion of undecorated bronzes got a further increase, there were over half of them were undecorated. The simple style was dominant. As a result, the types and quantities of decorations further decreased. The traditional patterns such as Double-ring Pattern, Ragged Curves Pattern, and Fish Scale Pattern etc. disappeared thoroughly in this phase. The Coiled Serpent Pattern and Interlaced Hydra Pattern, dominant in the previous period, declined significantly. While the realistic patterns such as Gilt-fish Pattern 鑲金魚紋, Hunting Scene Pattern 狩獵紋, Combat Scene Pattern 戰爭紋 rose with the undecorated

and simple style. Nonetheless, some well decorated bronzes were unearthed occasionally in high-grade graves like Tengzhou Zhuanglixi 滕州莊裏西90M8. The realistic patterns, especially the Hunting Scene Pattern and Combat Scene Pattern were extremely important innovations just like a milestone in the history of bronze decoration. The regional characteristics of decorations, prevalent in the late Spring and Autumn Period, greatly declined in this phase, and showed much convergent.

VI. THE BRONZE DECORATIONS IN THE MEDIUM AND LATE WARRING STATES PERIOD

There are 11 intact graves in the mid-Warring States Period, 2 of which in Lunan, 5 in Lubei and 4 Ludong. While there are only 4 intact graves in the late Warring States Period, 1 of which in Lunan and 3 in Lubei. The bronze decorations were as Table 5 specifically.

Table 5: The Decorations in the Medium and Late Warring States Period

Period	Region	Burial No.	NOB	Pattern															
				U	BS	Ti le	K	Fi	C	P	Sna ke	D	CI						
Mid- Warring States	Lunan	Lu State M3	5	5															
		Lu State M52	3	3															
		Sum	8	8															
		Frequency (%)		100															
	lubei	Pingdu D.M16	5						1	3	1								
		Zhangqiu N.M1	21	17	4														
		Changqing G.M	11	3	4					4									
		Yangxin X.M	14	11	2		2												
		Zhucheng Z.M	15	5	4	5							1	1					
		Sum	66	36	14	5	2	1	7	1	1	1	1	1					
		Frequency (%)		55	21	8	3	2	11	2	2	2	2	2					
	Ludong	Changdao W.M10	8	6															2
		Weihai M3	2	2															
		Yantai J.M1,M11	4	4															
		Sum	14	12															2
		Frequency (%)		86															14
	Sum		88	56	14	5	2	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
	Frequency (%)			64	16	6	2	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
	Late Warring States	Lunan	Lu State M58	7	4	3													
Sum			7	4	3														
Frequency (%)				57	43														
Lubei		Pingdu D.M14	1	1															
		Jinan Q.M	6	4	2														
		Zhucheng G.M	5	3	2														
		Sum	12	8	4														
		Frequency (%)		67	33														
Sum			19	12	7														
Frequency (%)			63	34															

Annotation: P = Portrait Pattern 人物畫像紋; Snake = Snake Pattern 蛇紋; CI = Copper-inlaid Pattern 錯紅銅紋.

Pingdu D. = Pingdu Dongyueshi Village; Zhangqiu N. = Zhangqiu Nvlangshan Village; Changqing G. =

Changqing Gangxi Village; Yangxin X. = Yangxin Xibeicun Village; Zhucheng Z. = Zhucheng Zhangjiazhuang Village; Yantai J. = Yantai Jinzhagou Village; Jinan Q. = Jinan Qianfoshan Village; Zhucheng G. = Zhucheng Gebukou Village.

The intact graves in this period are very few. From the available decorations in Table 5, we can see the simple style won a further development on the basis of early stage; the undecorated bronzes play a dominant role. The proportion of undecorated and decorated only with Bow-string Pattern bronzes stood 80% of all the bronzes. Correspondingly, the types and quantities of decorations became fewer again than before.

In the late Warring States, the intact graves were even fewer than the previous stage. Judging from the 4 graves in Table 5, the simple and unadorned style of decorations developed to the extreme and the proportion of undecorated and decorated only with Bow-string Pattern bronzes reached 100%. Therefore, the bronze decorations in Shandong basically achieved a situation with wide range unity.

VII. CONCLUSION

Firstly, the evolutions of Shandong bronze decorations during Eastern Zhou Period were nearly as same as Central Plains. The decorations in the early Spring and Autumn Period had not significant difference with the late Western Zhou Period. The mid-Spring and Autumn Period was the time when Shandong bronze decorations changed drastically and a large number of new decorations emerged and rose soon. At the same time, the regional characteristics of decorations were distinct. Up to the late Spring and Autumn Period, the decorations achieved unity for the third time⁸, on the one hand, they turned simple and realistic, on the other hand, they turned petty and trial. This reflected the ancients' self-consciousness awaking from primitive religion. During the Warring States Period, the simple style of decorations got a further development, and the types and quantities of decorations became fewer day by day. As a result, the regional differences fade away, and formed unity for the fourth time. In contrast with the shapes and combinations⁹, the bronze decorations in Shandong had more consistency with Central Plains.

Secondly, the evolution rates of decorations in 4 regions were different. The decorations in Lunan evolved fastest, followed by Ludongnan and Lubei, and Ludong was most lagged. This was manifested in two aspects: On the first place, the decorations updated in Lunan most rapidly, followed by Ludongnan and Lubei and then Ludong. On the second place, from Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5, we can see the rate of evolution from well decorated style to undecorated or simple style in Lunan was fastest, followed by Lubei, and then Ludong. There were only three graves found in Ludongnan, and they all were high-grade ones in the late Spring and Autumn Period, so the rate of evolution of bronze decorations in Ludongnan was not clear yet.

Thirdly, the regional difference and convergence of decorations in Shandong changed with time. In the early Spring and Autumn Period, the regional difference of decorations was slight, but it became evident increasingly in mid-Spring and Autumn. By the late Spring and Autumn, it began to turn slight again. Therefore, the convergence was dominant in the mid-Warring States, and the regional differences basically fade away in the late Warring States Period. The social motivations that caused above phenomenon

⁸ The first time happened in the late Shang Dynasty, while the second time was in the late Western Zhou Period.

⁹ Bi Jingwei 畢經緯, "Studies on Uneathed Bronze Vessels in Shandong Province" The master thesis of Shaanxi Normal University (2009), pp. 49-99.

probably lied in the following points: Firstly, the royal court's emigrant toward east (770.B.c.) led to the centripetal force declining gradually while the region-based concepts of vassal states enhancing markedly, therefore, the cultural differences gradually increased. Secondly, the mutual visit, alliance, marriage, commerce and trade among vassal states accelerated the inter-regional exchange and integration. Especially, in the mid-Warring States Period, the State of Qi basically dominated Shandong area. The political unity broke the old divide between countries, and facilitated the exchange and integration of material and culture inter-regionally. As a result, by the late Warring States Period, the decorations in Shandong showed a feature of multicultural convergence.

Virtual-Reality Hybrid, Urban Space Idea of Future Asian Cities

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Abstract

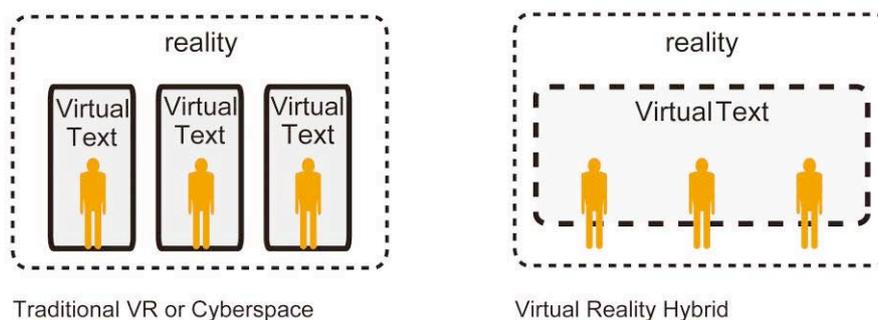
For discriminating Virtual Reality, Virtual-Reality Hybrid concept emphasized its character that Visual and Reality co-existed condition, this sort of spaces would not to be completely replaced by Visual Space because that user could switch the space backward to parallel reality with the body at any moment, dualism of scale and environmental perception. Information is taken as urban skin in Asian cities, Virtual -Reality Hybrid as architecture and urban design issue makes space hierarchy more synchronic, and it also would be interesting dialogue with western cities with diachronic appearance.

Keyword

Virtual -Reality Hybrid, Asian cities, urban space, lifestyle, message

Introduction

Virtual space intervene in the Environment can be divided into two kinds of attitudes do, one closed, such as VR or individual terminals, so that one is Virtual -Reality Hybrid open to the environment.



Virtual -Reality Hybrid is built on an artificial mechanism, the message interface, to visual technology, this interface provide limited virtual effects, and with the real text of coexistence of the living environment beyond virtual text. Therefore, the dual phenomena of the environment makes the body and essence connect virtual text and real text by synchronic way, to generate

an open channel that consciousness can back and forth free , and Feedback through the acts of environmental factors to the virtual text. By this interaction to the virtual text into an extension of reality, therefore, we can distinguish between it and the condition that virtual text and real text is the fracture in typical VR space.

Although the Internet and virtual technologies to overcome problems of distance and provide unprecedented efficiency and convenience, but the traditional space has remained as ever, it relies on is not only the spirit of the content, but also subject and interpersonal, experience of the state that reaction between environmental substances. According to description from "Message X Interface", lightness, real-time phenomenon, dialogue are three kinds of functions for digital messages revealed in the architecture. Such state virtual and reality interwoven for the information to spread on the surface of the Asian city has some design guidelines.



Virtual Temple

http://maj.family.nrt.tw/beatutide_hm/index_hm

However, the human dimension of virtual space technology is a very important issue, compared to distributed applications, We need to develop big attitude within environment context and live a more honest look at our place. Space technology applications in the virtual is still in global - in places over the occasion, we also expect through the view of spatial aesthetics, media, urban architecture of the integrated view of learning and to explore further the Asia Visual-Reality Hybrid concept the possibility of urban spatial development.

Framework and Viewpoint

Observe and find out urban scene which has potential of Virtual -Reality Hybrid as an example, then analysis their opportunity by comparative characteristics of the Asian community in these scenes.

Comparative characteristics including Asians pay more attention to interpersonal behavior patterns and lifestyle produced for maintaining social structure than westerners, and synchronic Urban texture generated by urban aesthetics, the discussion about include:

1. Through reading, based on Mcluhan's media theory to analysis media character in the urban space, to help define the virtual media in the oriental metropolitan environment

2 .Taking form of artificial environment respond lifestyle as a premise, then to think about the relationship between sense of place and urban form shows urban space face to the human conditions.

3. Buildings define two main environment condition of city life - outside / inside, therefore two examples are required, one outdoor scene, and one indoor scene for observation.

Result of Study

Nightscape and Façade

Among the world's three best nightscape, there are two in Asia - Hong Kong's Victoria Harbour and Hakodate. Appearance of the city are covered by messages, advertising billboard lights at night instead of building façade showing a different city scene with the daytime, building surface by the change that light-on from the light-through made to the information from being strengthened. People read the urban space that different from original state through the atmosphere of messages surrounding. Facade of the building by the superposition of the soft interface is liberated from architects will, then it extended to the open space, directly, meaning multiple to expand the city t, and does not avoid conflict between information at all.



Nightscape in Tokyo

Today, Messages flow all over the city rapidly; many occasional states become the norm in the city. Synchronic city makes people hold various identifications in the same space-time, in order to look for identity in various respects. Commercial vitality support the urban development does not only led to an efficient flow of the city, but also brings a variety of aesthetics to create virtual texts as group symbolic icons, and collage on urban surface.

Everyone has their own city images and experience, the experience is composed of physical cities –real texts and message perception - virtual texts, people experience physical spaces and establish contact with ethnic groups through such dynamic, sensitive and visible hierarchy. Immediately, follows collection of the changing texts to self-adjust. Instantly, re-constructed for the customized urban cognitive map constantly.



DARKCITY –

Black Model, Shi-Chieh Lu, MOCA Taipei

Internet café

Asia's Internet café is different from westerns. Western Internet café as a non-distance node is for the exchange of information between individual units. In Asia (especially far Eastern), Internet café in the late 20th century with the rise of online entertainment related. In this mode oriental society emphasis on collective is able to maintain accessible body in the virtual text, and additional communication outside of the visual text. Real conditions such as social status of participants and behavior patterns will affect the virtual process with the actual interaction.

In this way, an reactive and open state, human consciousness to the back and forth in a number of parallel space-time (including the real environment and virtual environment), virtual environment not only for the "extension of the will", and regardless of the number of visual texts, they begin to realize because of the impact from real environment, but also become "an extension of reality." Thus reality and will be integrated by the state of



A scene in Asian net café

this sort of space, and the virtual become visible from invisible in order to open to real environment as a platform for interactive activity. Empathy, communication opportunities and communication media by way of non-direct involvement in the crowd and around them makes the maintenance of interpersonal structure and entertained more diverse, increasing the hierarchy of urban space in order to fit the complexity of urban life in digital age.

Conclusion and Possibility

We find lightness, real-time, and communication in the observation, they are also the feature of Virtual -Reality Hybrid, the virtual context as a new materials of new generation urban space must be based on the actual relationship between people and place to decide between visual-reality combination state, form new pattern languages, strengthening the identity of the city. This sort of space is able to respond to speed and synchronicity of future lifestyle, to anchor existence of cultural root from dematerialization then we don't suffer nihilism.

Visual-Reality Hybrid is not only a space type, but also itself can be a design tool of method. Mind through the virtual media becomes visible, and also transform to a part of the body, to experience the environment with body, to involve in the environment, to change the environment. Therefore, design method can be re-established to fix the relationship between body and design process which was broken by the dematerialization of digital ages. It is a design system round-trip between the digital and analog, given the current media in the scale and design of user interface constraints on , Visual-Reality Hybrid concept has the ability to

liberate design activity back to the real building scale (by user perception), Body response to gravity and material loads, body controlling forming, and sensory experience of construct within review all will help spatial design and construction organized better and closer, such like medieval master craftsmen to design in the construction site.

But unlike then, we will never limited by body physical condition, time for production and cost constraints, the system maintained with CAM and other CAD platforms - the advantages of integration, and has opened a virtual space in the external environment, making the design discussion and business communication much more efficient.



An image of the design system: Application of Virtual Reality Hybrid

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Title: Differences in Concepts of Friendship between Chinese and Japanese University

Students

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Topic of the submission:

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Students

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The research on concepts of friendship among Chinese people and concepts of friendship among Japanese people has not been examined well enough, although research on concepts of friendship among people of the United States has been done to the certain degree. Moreover, research has not been carried out on how cultural differences in friendship influence the development of friendship across cultures. The approach of the research was conducted to find out what influences cultural differences has on the formation of friendships between Chinese college students who have encountered a new culture, Japanese and formed friendships with Japanese students, who from the host culture. In this paper, two different formations of friendships by Chinese college students and by Japanese college students will be compared. This observational empirical study may help us to generate a first step toward some theory of intercultural communication in terms of cultural variability in the concepts of friendship between members of Chinese culture and Japanese culture.

This research will provide the findings of the interview research conducted to reveal concepts of friendship among Chinese college students who study in Japanese Universities, and concepts of friendship among Japanese college students who study in Japan. It reveals the different perceptions of friendship and different ideas of friendly behavior of two cultures among college students. In addition, it focuses on the differences of cultural points of views and the gap between the points of differences of two cultures in terms of friendship. In the first part, this paper clarifies the contents of ongoing research related to this area of research and some key points regarding the idea of friendship. In the second part of this paper, concepts of friendships of Chinese college students living in Japan and Japanese college students living in Japan, naturally highlight differences of cultural concepts of friendships between Chinese college students and Japanese college students through interviews will be explained in detail. In the third section, the limitation of this research in terms of cultural differences of the two cultures regarding the points of friendship will be discussed and proposal for future research in this field will be presented.

Before discussing the main themes, the research method will be explained here. In this research, in order to analyze the concepts of friendship which is the notion that a human being has in daily life and the college students conceptualize these concepts into their

awareness by encountering other people, the interview method was chosen as a research method and the whole notion was examined by looking at the data gathered through the interview research. The interviews were conducted with 30 Chinese college students studying in Japan and 30 Japanese college students living in Japan. The lengths of the interviews lasted from two to four hours for each interview. Also, in order to eliminate the researcher's bias, the findings from the data collected in the interviews was checked by one Chinese resident who had been living in Japan since her college life for 15 years, a Taiwanese student who studied in China and Japan, a Chinese Indonesian student who studied in Indonesia, China and Japan, and a Hong Kong student who studied in China and Japan. The varieties of the age range of interviewees were from 20 to 29 years old. Of the 30 Chinese subjects, five were from Shanghai City, five from Fujian Province, five were from Liaoning Province, and one interviewee was from each of the following districts and provinces: Zhekou Province, Nei-Menggu district, Guangdong Province, Gyuangxi Province, Henan Province, Jilin Province, Shandong Province, Xinjiaing district, Shanxi Province, Guizhou Province, Guangxi Province, Fujian Province, Heilongjiang Province, Zhejiang Province, Hunan Province. The universities the Chinese students attended were Osaka University, Kyoto University, Ryutsu Kagaku University, Hyogo Prefecture University, Kobe University of Foreign Studies, Doshisha University, Kansai University, Kobe university, and Kansei Gakuin University. In the interviews, the Japanese language was used. All of the Chinese interviewees had acquired level 1 of the Japanese language prophecy test, and had been living more than

8 months and had adjusted to Japanese home culture and college life well. Interviews were recorded with the interviewees' consent and transcribed. Afterwards, they were analyzed using the KJ method (Kawakita, 1970). In the interviews, the interviewees are questioned about their concepts of their idea of their closest friend and experiences with their closest friend in their entire life, and comments on the cultural difference of aspects they found in terms of friendship between Chinese and Japanese people. The sampling in this research is limited, and thus, the theory found through this research should be validated with research using a larger population. In a survey done by the Japan Student Services Organization in 2005, the population of Chinese college students living in Japan was 80,592 (Himeta, 2005). This interview research was conducted from 2000 to 2003. However, this research is useful from the point of view of cultural differences of friendship among Chinese and Japanese since such a category of cultural differences has not been revealed in past studies.

First of all, according to the past researches, there are three features of friendship.

One is the expected role as friend. The second one is rules which are formulated through communication between friends. And the third is dynamics in friendships which are constructed by interactions between two people, which develop step by step through the concept of ontological recognition.

The role as friend is varied and differs depending on ethnicity, age, generation, gender, and individual personality. Cultural groups and language groups each have unique concepts oriented to their own group (Cargile, 1998, Collier, 1996). Fahrlander (1980) mentions that friendship is different from culture to culture in terms of its extent, obligation, duration and mutual trust. Interview research of Japanese residents in the United States conducted by Cargile (1998) found the Japanese concept of friend has many notions and varieties and has a very complex of the concept of its role. Individualists Society which is North American and Germany has the differences when they are compared in the point of friendship (Gareis, 1995, 2000).

The rules between friends are different from culture to culture, and age and social background. Research conducted on Japanese college students in Australia revealed differences, and interview research done in Japan on foreign college students in Japan shows such differences (Kudo, 2003). When adults and children were compared, there were differences depending on ages in which adults valued the inner aspects more than children in relationships with friends (Wada, 1996). Also differences of individuals based on each of their characteristics, the relationships between friends and their rules were different and varied since they were defined based on subjective views.

Dynamics of friendship are constructed by each interaction by two individuals while playing the role of a friend to his/her friend. The conditions of formations of friendships consist of respect and understanding the identities of himself/herself and his/her partner as a friend and collective of symbols, and appropriate communication behaviors (Colliers, 1998). Friendship is considered as a dynamic relationship with a large subjective component, such as a little agreement that has been made as its definition of friends (Callan et al., 1991) Moreover, Laursen & Collins (1994) mention that friendship is classified as an open relationship that starts spontaneously, is fluctuating, and easily changeable. Therefore, the standing point of this paper is based on these principles, that each friendship is constructed through interaction and communication behavior between two persons, change, developed, and constructed and the roles and rules between friends are varied depending on culture, ethnicity and social status aspects.

Role expectation in friendship in Chinese college students is very different from Japanese students'. Hanazawa (2008) mentions that "*Gamen*" means a very close friend in Chinese, which formulates the "*quanxi*", or human relationship, in Chinese society. The human relationship in Chinese Society works as a strong network. Among the *quanxi*, two people have to do favors for each other, which is the main expected role in relationships in China. This system of helping each other is not limited to reciprocal physical and, spiritual aspects, but also it includes substantial and material

things. Moreover the continuity of this reciprocal status has to be maintained in order to maintain the relationship. These reciprocal behaviors are called “*huipao*” or, reciprocal returns, and can not be put aside (Hanazawa, 2008).

In this research, it was found that the closest friend for Chinese College students interviewed was considered to be the person who help him/her most after his/her parents. They expect to be helped by the closest friend if their parents can not help them. In the case of one man, he identified his closest friend as “*Gemen*” (Hanazawa, 2008) and in the case of a woman, is the closest friend was “*Jiemen*”. They explained the existence of the friend as similar to a brother or a sister and they consider the close friend to be the same as a real brother or sister. In the data of the interviews, often times participants found the closest friend from their childhood in their neighborhood, since the Chinese government’s one-child regulation meant that most has no siblings and the closest friend was from their childhoods in their neighborhood who came to be considered like a real brother or sister. By the time the interview was conducted, most of those closest friends were the ones who had the more than 10 year or 15 year long relationships as closest friends. They are expected to help each other, are called, “*huipao*” (Hanazawa, 2008) and also are expected to disclose everything each other fully. No spiritual boundary or distance can be seen between these two closest friends. They can talk about whatever they feel and think, and they are expected to disclose whatever they feel and think honestly. If one friend is in trouble, he or she will

disclose the seriousness of the situation to the other and the other will help the one in trouble by making strong efforts through any means. They help in all manners of spiritual things and material means. As a result, much money is borrowed from one another between closest friends, and the one who lends it does not expect to collect it, since helping the closest friend is the most important thing, and it is the most important role as the closest friend according to the data collected. The one who borrowed money or material things keeps is expected to continue remembering it forever and try to return it someday when the chance becomes available. This reciprocal helping behavior is unlimited and unconditioned as an expectation. Mutual benefits done reciprocally on endless terms is the key factor in order to maintain the friendship in the case of the Chinese students, and the reciprocal behavior does not limit affective support, but also in material ways and in actual actions to help the closest friend (Hanazawa, 2003). As a concrete example from the interviews, some interviewees responded that they lent from about 50,000 yen to 100,000 yen to their closest friend in Japan because some of them were facing financial problems in Japan as university students. Also paying for meals for eating out is a reciprocal Chinese way, which is conducted in Japan, too, between Chinese friends. Among Chinese customs, when eating out together, one pays all the bill one time and the next time the other person will pay the bill. As an example, the interviewee said that when a closest friend visited Japan from China, the one living in Japan paid for accommodation and meals for his/her closest friend coming from China. In a reciprocal way, when he/she visited China

from Japan, the friend living in China paid the accommodation and food for his/her friend coming from Japan. That is the expected role of the closest friend to show hospitality and help the closest friend. Of course, those two had chemistry, went together, did many things together, and had fun together. They visited each other's home and the parents treated the closest friend like a real child when he/she visited their home. In the social background of China, due to government regulations, the generation of interviewees had lived in one place since their birth until entering universities. Therefore, such physical situations helped to create good long-term friendships in their life because they did not move to other cities in their childhoods.

Assertiveness is also important between closest friends. They exchange true honest opinions in their arguments and discussions. The way of saying things is direct and honest without any hesitation. For example, when close friends go shopping for clothes, if a friend picks a certain article of clothing and the other friend thinks it does not suit his/her, the closest friend would directly point out its does not suit the friend and stop him/her from buying it without thinking how they feel about their opinion. In his/her mind, the true honest opinion helps the closest friend, and his/her role and that is the truly right action toward his/her closest friend as a good adviser. Also, in case of there is trouble, the one in trouble would explain the situation fully and ask the closest friend to help him/her directly and expect to be helped. There would be no hesitation to bother the friend when they ask for favors or help when he or she needs them. The

other one is also expected to be told that the closest friend is in a trouble and he/she is expected to know for sure what trouble happened as the closest friend. No secret can be expected to exist between the closest friends, especially when his/her closest friend is in trouble.

The value placed on the closest friend is very heavy for Chinese college students. Many interviewees answered that his/her closest friend is more important than his/her boy/girlfriend because relationships with the closest friend continues forever, but the relationship with a boy/girlfriend could end when they break up in the future.

Therefore, when the interest between the closest friend and his/her boy/girl friend are in conflict, Chinese college students take the side of the closest friend, not his/her boy/girl friend. One interviewee said that she would take the side of her closest friend, not her future husband's if they came into conflict because there was a possibility of divorce and would no longer have a relationship with her future husband, but as for her closest friend, the friendship continues during her entire life. The interests of her closest friend are more important than her possible future husband's interests. She said that the mutual assistance relationship between her and her closest friend continue forever as long as they live. This is the same notion explained by Hanazawa (2003) as "*Fuipao*," mutual assistance system between Chinese friends which includes affective support, substantial support, monetary support, and practical support such as introducing jobs, lending money, supplying goods, providing mediation, sharing time, offering manpower.

Some Chinese students in the interview explained that in Chinese college students' community, when moving to a new place to live, they ask friends to help move the belongings, and do not ask a moving company and pay money. Friends come on the moving day and all help move the things. In return, they would treat his friends at dinner on that day or another day.

In addition, there is more personal disclosure to the closest friend in the case of Chinese college students, than to the boy/girl friend, which is a commonly shared idea among Chinese college students. Therefore, when a girl/boy friend wants to know things about or gather information about his/her boy/girl friend, the Chinese college student goes to ask the closest friend of his/her boy/girl friend to get the information on the boy/girl friend, which was explained in one interview.

A favor asked by the closest friend is very important. Some Chinese college student interviewees answered that they found the part-time jobs for their closest friends in Japan using their networks of "*quanxi*" when they were told to help to find a part-time job by their closest friend since the friend needs to earn money.

The following paragraphs will explain about the results of the interviews with Japanese students. In the findings of the interview of Japanese college students, many made their closest friends during their high school days. They had chemistry, spent time together and had fun together during their high school days and that friendship matured in their college days. In their college days, they helped each other spiritually. Fukuoka & Hashimoto (1997) mention that in the case of the support among friends, emotional support is seen more often than material kinds unlike in the case of relationship between parents and children. In one example, many Japanese college students said that they talk about their worries over the phone or face to face to with their closest friends. They expect to be helped by having their worries listened to and having their troubles empathized with. But they do not ask favors to solve a problem. They are satisfied with being listened to and receiving comfort from their closest friend verbally. Research by Tanaka (2003) shows encouragement and consultation about worries by friends are the main reasons that Japanese students feel it is good that they have a friend, which was the internal support of the Japanese college students' expected roles and reciprocal support to each other between friends. In Tanaka's (2003) survey of Japanese college students, high scores show thoughtfulness is the biggest expectation of friends among college students.

Moreover, the way Japanese students showed their feelings or conveyed their opinion to their closest friends differ from the Chinese students. Japanese students said that they

guess the feelings of the closest friend and choose their words carefully, as they do not give their opinion to avoid hurting them. Okada (1995) explains that the characteristics of communication among friends of Japanese college students are carefulness not to hurt each other, carefulness not to step in each other's area in order to not deepen the relationship too much, and to pursue fun, and a desire to stick together as a group. College students want internal or emotional relationships with friends (Okada 1999). In the interviews conducted for this study, Japanese college students mentioned that they do not ask friends to talk to them about things they do not to disclose, and it is considered being sensitive to the friends' feelings.

In addition to differences in conveying feelings and opinions, the expected roles between Japanese friends are different from what Chinese college students expect. The closest friend is ready to help his/her closest friend in trouble and has a willingness to help him/her even in a material way. However, the one in trouble does not expect and does not want to bother his/her closest friend to help in a material way. The friend expects and do wants his or her closest friends to help in emotional ways, such as by using affective supports such as being a good listener to their troubles or worries and by giving encouragement or comfort to the one in trouble. The one in trouble does not ask for a favor of an actual action from his/her closest friend because the one in trouble does not want to bother his/her closest friend by asking for a substantial favor. For example, one interviewee said that he talked to his closest friend in Tokyo over the

phone about his problems in his love relationship with his girlfriend at the midnight and his closest friend gave him encouragement and advice about things that would go well and how to overcome his complex situation with his girlfriend. He thought his closest friend was the best person who could understand him and who gives good advice and comfort when he is in trouble. However, he never thought that his closest friend would go to talk to his girlfriend to solve the problem between him and his girlfriend.

In terms of differences between the concepts of friendship between Chinese college students and Japanese college students, differences in the mutual benefit system is the largest difference and it hinders the formation of friendship between Chinese college students and Japanese college students. Also, the differences in assertiveness in giving opinions are barriers to establishing friendships between Chinese and Japanese college students. Regarding the third point, the difference in the degree of self-disclosure between Chinese college students and Japanese college students hinders building close friendships between college students from the two cultures.

On the side of Chinese students, they confessed that there was no benefit to making friends with Japanese because Japanese students did not help them in terms of trouble. Many Chinese interviewees stated “such kinds of friendships are totally meaningless. Going out to eat and having fun is not enough as a true friend. Helping each other in

terms of trouble is the most important thing, and it has meaning and benefits for establishing a friendship.” Actually, Japanese college students explained in the interviews that Chinese students did not go with them when Japanese wanted to take Chinese college classmates out to eat out and drink, and Japanese students could not have a chance to be friends with Chinese students. From the view point of Chinese students, it is meaningless and does not provide enough benefits enough just to listen to worries have their problems listened while drinking with Japanese college students. Chinese students know that Japanese mutual benefit is limited to emotional support, and does not include material support. Chinese interviewees said that they do not ask favor of Japanese students, only to Chinese friends since Chinese friends helps them in substantial, material ways.

In addition, the way giving opinions by Japanese sounds vague to Chinese college students. From a point of view of Chinese college students, it feels like Japanese students do not have their own opinion since they do not argue or insist on their own opinion. When Chinese students are opposed to an opinion of a Japanese person, Japanese college students do not argue back anymore and the discussion is over. One Chinese student said, “Japanese do not express their opinions directly in a conversation when they have an opposing idea. Chinese friends exchange opinions even if each opinion is different. Exchanging different opinions and new ideas are inspired during discussions. When I was talking to Japanese at lunch, they talk about entertainment

information. I am not familiar with Japanese actors or actresses and can't enter the conversation. And, also I'm not interested in joining the conversation since they just exchange information that they know and they don't discuss their opinions which oppose each other. They agree with each other's opinion or information all the time."

Disclosure of feeling and ideas between close friends is also different in terms of its degree between Chinese college students and Japanese students. One Chinese student confessed in the interview,- "I still feel some distance between my Japanese friend and me since my Japanese friend does not share her own information completely. She hesitates to ask a favor of me so she hides the fact that she has problem from me. If we are real friends, I want her to share her situation in terms of trouble without hesitation and let me help her, so, I feel she and I are still not real true friends yet." On the Japanese student's side, she does not want to bother her Chinese friend with her own problem. The Japanese student wants to solve the trouble on her own. But from the viewpoint of the Chinese student, it sounds as if the Japanese friend does not come close enough to the idea of Chinese students, and therefore, there is still psychological space between the Japanese college student and Chinese college student.

One of the limitations of this research is that was done in only Japan, and interviews of Chinese students were conducted with only Chinese college students living in Japan.

Therefore, in order to pursue more accurate result, the interviews should be conducted in China as well. Furthermore, Japanese college students in China as well as Chinese college students in China should be interviewed. Another possible limitation is that interviews were conducted from 2000 to 2003 among college students. The new generation of 18 to 20 years old of Chinese college students, now may have different ways of thinking due to rapid economic growth in China. The younger generation of Chinese college students should be interviewed and analyzed in future research. Finally the sampling population was only 60 for both Chinese and Japanese college students. A larger volume of interviews in the research should be conducted in the future. To summarize, this research has limitations, and further research should be carried out for more accurate research results.

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Developing Cultural Sensitivity: An Intercultural Simulation Plus

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Developing Cultural Sensitivity: An Intercultural Simulation Plus

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Abstract

“Do these people hate me? Why can’t they understand me?” These are feelings that a student overseas for the first time might experience. Cultural simulations along with other reflective activities can help learners develop the knowledge, skills, and awareness to better handle cultural uncertainty and miscommunication both within the country and while abroad. This paper examines a course in which simulations are utilized, describes one simulation and examines students’ reaction to the simulation.

Introduction

Cultural simulations are one tool for providing learners with opportunities to experience cross-cultural misunderstanding before they actually go abroad. Cultural simulations are types of games, usually involving at least two different cultures, in which participants take on new roles and interact with a purpose. During the simulation, the participants will face “behaviors” and “beliefs” which they are unfamiliar with, and thus are made to feel uncomfortable. Through this, the participants can reflect on their own culture and become aware of how to interact with people different than themselves.

Pederson (2000) suggests that simulations can increase people’s awareness of cultural differences while stimulating them to consider their own worldviews. Wurzel, Fischman, and Mayo (2002) use a simulation tied with videos to enhance toe intercultural competence of learners. There are numerous simulations available. Pederson (2000) includes many in his book. Lambert, Myers, and Simons (2000) describe numerous training activities, which include simulations. Such simulations as BAFA BAFA and Ecotonos are well known and used to help learners develop intercultural awareness. In Japanese, Yashiro, Machi, Koike, and Isogai (1998) have published a book that provides many useful simulations and cultural activities.

However, there are few cultural simulations that can be carried out within an hour, including the debriefing. I have simplified BAFA BAFA and Ecotonos for my Japanese classes, yet due to the formats of these simulations, they still take two hours to conclude.

Nohin is a simulation based on Outside Expert by Pederson (2000). I have reorganized it to fit my intercultural communication course at a Japanese women’s university and fit it in with a variety of other cultural activities. It can be conducted in an hour, including the debriefing, can be used with a variety of group sizes from 10 to 60, and can be organized by one person.

This paper will first describe the course in which this simulation is used, explain how to carry out this simulation, examine students’ responses to a questionnaire administered in February 2010, and consider the use of simulations in developing student cultural awareness.

Intercultural Communication Course

This course is taught to second, third, and fourth year students during the fall semester. In Fall 2009 there were 50 students. This course introduces students to intercultural

communication. Some topics include the meanings of culture, how values and beliefs shape behaviors, nonverbal and verbal communication strategies, and how different cultures “see” the world. The metaphor of culture as an iceberg is used. In this metaphor, the top of the iceberg represents things we see, hear, smell and touch such as clothes and food while the bottom includes the hidden aspects of culture such as attitudes toward time, dating, relationships between people. The hidden aspects include the values and beliefs that shape how we see the world. While this metaphor has limitations, it is useful for students to visualize the concept of culture as complex and interconnected.

In 2009 I used the text *Different Realities* by Shaules and Abe (1997). They define intercultural communication as communication between people with different cultural backgrounds in the same country or other countries. And culture is defined as, “the things that members of a group share in common” including language, customs, values and communication styles (Shaules & Abe, 1997, pp. 2-3). Thus, both concepts are broad and include life in a group’s home country, in this case Japan.

Lectures were held using Power Point presentations which students could download from a class Moodle before class. One of the key concepts presented used a video from Matsumoto (1994) on building cultural awareness. In the video, cases of miscommunication occurred and later the strategies were used to solve the problems. These were called strategies for cultural awareness and are:

1. Asking yourself questions. [Why do they speak so loud?]
2. Asking others questions. [Why do you speak so loud?]
3. Observing
4. Make your own attitudes known. [When you speak loud I feel uncomfortable.]
5. Presume good intentions when miscommunication occurs. [It might be culture!]

One case of miscommunication that we watched was about an African American student and a Korean student at a U.S. college and the African American student asking for change for a dollar to buy a coke. We watched this once, considered the miscommunication through brainstorming, and then watched again to consider how to improve the communication. The third time the video explained the cultural reasons for the miscommunication. In class we considered how the strategies presented above would work in this case and other situations.

This course was developed in order for students to be active in understanding intercultural communication. Thus, in addition to lectures there were numerous opportunities to think individually, in pairs, in groups and in class simulations.

Individual Level

Students kept an intercultural learning journal in which they made two entries a week. First, they wrote about something interesting they learned or experienced in class. Second, they had to observe the world around them and explain something they saw. At first this was difficult for students, but after providing my own examples, students began to be creative in their observations. Some topics included observing the differences between them and their siblings, observing what people did on the train in the morning, observing other students at school, writing about trips they took in Japan and the cultural differences they began to see within Japan.

The final assignment was a take home paper in which they were given situations to which they had to respond. They had to address three out of five situations. When answering the questions, students had to link their answers to concepts discussed in class. Some

questions included how to start a conversation with a foreigner in Japan, problems that might occur as an intern in the U.S. for a year, cultural concerns working for a tour organization in Spain, and how they have changed by taking this course.

Pairs

There were many handouts in the class involving critical incidents and applying new cultural concepts. Some of these included topics such as indirect/direct communication, individualism/collectivism and views of time. Many of these activities were from *Culture Matters*, the Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Workbook, which is online.

Groups

Groups gave presentations on different aspects of intercultural communication. While I considered letting students choose their own groups, in the end I put them in groups myself for several reasons. First, I did not want friends together. This course is about meeting other people and learning to interact with them. Also, I could arrange some groups more easily. For example, for one complex simulation I needed helpers for a group, so I handpicked these students. In addition, we had an exchange student from Taiwan and I put her in a specific group to make sure she was involved in a role play. Some groups showed videos and asked questions about the videos and how they connected to their classmates' lives. For example, one group showed a segment of a Japanese TV cartoon called *Sazaesan*, in which three generations live together. Other groups led role plays in which miscommunication occurred and they asked their classmates what the problems were. Then they reenacted the role play with a way to solve the problem. Some topics were: shopping in Hiroshima and Osaka, interacting with a Taiwanese student in Osaka, living in Spain and communication problems. These group activities gave students the opportunity to both work with other students and to deeply think about culture and why miscommunication occurs. Thus, it became both a cognitive and physical interaction with the cultural materials in class.

Simulations

Two simulations were carried out in this course: one called Paper and Clips and the other Nohin. Paper and clips is based on a simulation in *The Cross-Cultural Conference Room* (2002) by Wurzel, Fischman, and Mayo. In this simulation, two new cultures are created, participants study their new culture, and then visit the other culture and try to communicate. In both cultures, paper clips are exchanged, but they have different values: obtaining wealth versus building relationships. Nohin the focus of this paper is explained in more detail below. Both of these simulations involved all students as participants. The purpose was to have them "experience" cultural miscommunication and think deeply about it while drawing on the concepts learned in class.

Nohin Simulation

Nohin is a simulation based on *Outside Expert* by Pederson (2000). Two groups are formed: one is cultural experts and the other is a newly discovered indigenous group (the Nohin) in Japan. To develop interest in the simulation, I point out that the Nohin have lived deep underground under our school for hundreds of years. They have just come up to the surface. Unbelievable, but attention getting. I point out that the Nohin look like everyone else in the class, the experts, but they are quite different in their culture.

With a class of 30, there would be five groups with 25 experts and 5 Nohin. This way there will be 1 Nohin visiting each group of experts. Everyone is told that the Nohin have one specific rule: they can only answer Yes/No questions. Since the Nohin can only answer

questions with yes/no, groups of experts create some yes/no questions to ask the Nohin.

While the culture experts are making questions, I discuss with the Nohin their culture and how to answer questions. In fact, the Nohin have a unique way of responding to the yes/no Questions. If the expert smiles while asking the question, then the Nohin answers "yes." If the expert does not smile, then the Nohin answers "no." In addition, if there are boys and girls in a class, then the Nohin will ignore any questions from someone of the opposite sex, regardless of smiling or not. At my school with all girls, the Nohin and I take a look and choose some characteristic that seems to include at least one person in each group whose questions will be unanswered. In the past it has included long hair, wearing sneakers, and wearing glasses. In this class, it was anyone wearing a black top because there was at least one person in each group was wearing a black dress or blouse. The Nohin would ignore any questions from someone wearing a black top.

Then one Nohin is put with each group, and one expert at a time asks each Nohin her question. It is important that each expert ask at least one Yes/No question. After about a minute, I ask the Nohin to move to different groups. This is repeated three to four times. The Nohin have unique ways of responding, unknown to the experts, thus the experts become confused. Sometimes, the Nohin make mistakes too, and answer questions from anyone, so the experts can get quite confused.

The debriefing is when students actually have time to think about the miscommunication in the simulation. Without the debriefing, students would just have an experience, but little learning. Through the discussion students think and talk about what happened and use the cultural strategies learned. To start the debriefing, I point out that some of the experts were confused and might have felt bad. Now, we would talk about why.

In the debriefing, I ask each group what they felt about the other group. The experts say about the Nohin: "They are confusing" and "They tell lies because of different answers" and "They are nice."

When I ask the experts who were ignored how they felt, a variety of responses emerged: "I did not notice" and "I felt bad" and "I felt strange" and "I was a bit angry" and "I thought she did not like me." In fact some students did not notice that they were ignored. Others took it personally, with "She did not like me" as the most common comment. Then I would ask the Nohin if they disliked that expert and they would say No, which left the experts even more confused.

Next I asked the Nohin how they felt. In this class all but one felt uncomfortable ignoring people. They were fine with the Yes No part, but they felt uncomfortable ignoring people. The one student said it was fun to ignore people. This, of course, highlights that we are not all the same. To show why some were ignored, I asked a Nohin to ask me the same Yes/No question and I exaggerated my smile or frown. Even then, many students actually listened to the questions and did not look at my face until I asked them to look at me and not listen to the questions.

It is interesting that when involved with other cultures, we often try to solve problems by listening to what is being said rather than reading the nonverbal communication. In this class, though we had discussed how important nonverbal communication is in communicating,

students continued to focus on the verbal aspect of communication. It was only after the simulation and the discussion that students realized that during the simulation they were so involved in their roles that they did not use the cultural strategies that had been highlighted: ask yourself questions, ask the other questions, observe, make your attitude known and assume good intentions. Thus at the end, they realized that understanding cultures and “reading cultures” is very difficult and they need to ask themselves questions about what is happening and why. In addition, just studying about culture will not be enough to avoid cultural problems. Experience is important.

Finally, to bring the game back to their lives, I asked what Nohin is spelt backwards. It is Nihon, which is another way to say Japan. Then I pointed out that people, especially when meeting someone for the first time, may have attitudes similar to the Nohin. Many of us tend to want to make people like us at first meetings. One way to make friends is to be positive towards those who smile at us.

In addition, we also behave according to our cultural beliefs. Though we had chosen people wearing black tops as people we do not answer, in some cultures wearing black is the clothing for funerals. Then there may be a deep belief associating black clothing with funerals. When first meeting someone, you might hesitate to talk to people associated with funerals. By drawing on a possible cultural belief of the Nohin, students can see the link between beliefs and behavior.

Nohin and Questionnaire

This Nohin simulation was carried at the end of the semester, in order to tie together the ideas we had discussed and encountered during the semester. Of the 50 students, 34 answered parts of the questionnaire.

Two questions concerned whether the simulation was interesting and helpful for cultural learning. As Table 1 shows, it was viewed as both, with only 2 saying it was not interesting and none saying it was not helpful for cultural learning.

Table 1

Nohin and its interest and usefulness

	Strongly somewhat agree	&	Slightly & strongly disagree
Interesting	30		2
Helpful for cultural learning	31		0

When asked about what the simulation helped them learn there were a variety of answers. Asking questions had the most answers with five, and the Nohin’s belief about black had four answers. Among all these answers, the color black and smiling are two specific aspects that students felt they learned from the simulation. Responses included “They care about black”; “Care about beliefs (color); and “Smiling is important.” The other responses are related to general views of intercultural communication gaining wider views of the world.

Table 2

What did you learn?

What Students Learned	Number
------------------------------	---------------

Importance of asking questions	5
Beliefs: Nohin have strong belief about the color black	4
Smiling is important for the Nohin	2
Understanding cultural differences	2
Develop a wider view	2
Helping to imagine situations	1
Importance of observing in life	1
Review of stereotypes	1
Power of group thinking	1
Total	19

While the number of students who answered this question is limited, some interesting ideas emerged. Importantly, many of these ideas were ideas discussed and learned through activities in the course.

As indicated earlier, strategies for cultural awareness were presented in class and used to solve communication problems. Many of these were evident in the students' answers. These strategies were

1. Asking yourself questions.
2. Asking the other questions.
3. Observing
4. Make your own attitudes known.
5. Presume good intentions when miscommunication occurs.

Students seem to have learned from the strategies and using them in class, and students viewed them as helpful. Two of the answers, asking questions and observing, were part of the strategies learned.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, in this course students kept a journal and every week they were to write about something they observed in their world that was interesting or just a piece of their lives. Thus, observing was used both as one of the strategies and as another activity.

Thus, the simulation alongside the other cultural activities in this class, probably did increase students' awareness of culture differences and similarities. The responses of developing a wider view, power of group thinking, and understanding cultural differences suggest that they have learned that they need to hold a wider worldview and they need to be aware of themselves and cultural differences. Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001) are probably correct in suggesting that the participation and learning in simulations alone may not transfer to interactions in the real world. However, the first step to acting culturally sensitively and reflecting on our actions is cultural awareness. In this course, the grouping of activities at the individual, pair, group and class levels, it is hoped, helped students begin to develop deeper cultural sensitivities and some skills in interacting interculturally.

Conclusion

This course, with the variety of interactive activities that help students think about culture and themselves, is a step for students to begin learning about communicating in the world. Students were actively involved in their own learning through applying strategies for cultural awareness by writing a journal drawing on their observations, participating in pair

work, group presentations, and simulations.

The Nohin simulation at the end of the course was an opportunity to draw on the skills and knowledge learned through the semester. While students enjoyed participating in the simulation and felt it helped them gain cultural awareness, many did not draw on all these cultural skills while actually taking part in Nohin. However, in the real world as in simulations, we are so involved in life that we may forget to reflect on our actions and those of others. It is true for me. I have studied Japanese for many years and have recently once again decided to improve my polite Japanese. I think I have studied very hard. However, when I have a conversation with someone where polite Japanese is needed, I often forget to use the polite words and phrases that I have been reviewing. Thus, like learning to speak polite Japanese, this simulation does affect students' beliefs and gives them opportunities to be aware that they are not using all the skills they have learned. They are also aware, after taking part in the simulations and activities in the class, that they need more intensive experiences using these skills in real life to develop effective intercultural communication skills. But this is a first, and necessary, step.

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Appendix

Nohin Simulation: Directions to Participants

Interacting with people can be exciting and frightening. We will play a game. Some of you will be culture Experts and others will be a special group of people called Nohin. Experts will have to ask the Nohin questions about their culture.

- 1. Make groups of Experts (3-4).
- 2. Make one group of Nohin culture so that there is one for each expert group.
- 3. The experts will ask questions of Nohin people.
- 4. One rule-Nohin people can only answer YES or NO.

- 4. Experts talk and make questions to ask Nohin to learn about the culture. Some examples are:
 - Do you have leaders? Do you go to church?
 - Do you have schools? Do you hug?
 - Do you work hard? Do you use chopsticks?
- 5. Nohin go to a separate area and learn their cultural roles.
- 6. Nohin come back and 1 Nohin joins each Experts group to be asked question.
- 7. After 3 minutes Nohin change groups.
- 8. Repeat three times.

DEBRIEFING

- What did experts think of the Nohin?
- What did Nohin think of experts?
- What did you learn through playing this simulation?
- Ask experts what the rules of the Nohin culture were?

Nohin rules

- YES to a SMILE; NO to no SMILE
- Only talk to people with (sneakers)

**Title: Cross-Country Comparison on Directors'
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Topic: Economics and Management

**Cross-Country Comparison on Directors' Compensation
in the Banking Industry.**

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Abstract

Banks that mobilized customers' deposits for higher returns, constantly in search of good leadership talents to be their directors. This leadership is attractively compensated because they are scarce and yet highly needed to chart the banks' future direction. This paper reports cross-country result on the determinants of Board Of Directors' compensation in four East Asia countries; Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines.

Keyword(s): Boards of Directors, Compensation, Bank

1.0 Introduction

Recent developments such as, the consolidation of the banking sector, the strengthened board and senior management over sighting functions within banks, and the more risk-sensitive capital and the stress-testing requirements have contributed towards reinforcing the core foundations for a more resilient banking system. High skill leadership with good foresight, innovative, competitive and people oriented qualities is one of the essential factors to

achieve sustainable success in the banking sector. Management team and Board of Director (BOD) are desired to have solid experiences and high managerial skills in order to ensure effective bank management and produce high returns in the future through profitable investments. BOD's remuneration is determined at levels which enable banks to attract and retain good directors to manage the bank effectively. There are several factors that banks consider in determining their BOD's compensation. Some of these factors have been identified in past studies (Smith and Watts, 1992; Lewellen and B. Huntsman, 1970; Chris, 2006) A positive relationship is found between pay and performance in Lewellen and B. Huntsman, 1970; Murphy, 1985). Most of the past studies (Mahmoud M. Nourayi, 2006; Chris, 2006 and Randy, 2003) focus on relation between internal determinants and Directors' compensation. Chris (2006) used variables consisting of performance variables (such as percentage change in stock market return and percentage change in return on equity) and size variables (such as sales, assets, and number of employees) and CEO specific characteristics (age, job tenure, education, and CEO stock ownership). From this survey of literature, we find there are no analyses done on internal and external factors affecting BOD's compensation. There were also some conflicting results in the past studies. Hence, the objective of this paper is to present the findings from the analysis done on the determinants of the BOD's compensation by covering both the internal and external factors. The findings provide fresh evidence on the determinants of BOD's compensation of banks in East Asia countries. These countries are Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines.

2.0 Past Studies

Chris, (2006) study finds that there is a weak relationship between both percentage of stock price return, percentage return on equity and the percentage change in CEO compensation. The study also find there is a weak relationship between age, CEO tenure in present position, education and CEO stock ownership and the dollar level of CEO compensation. Conversely, there is a strong relationship between sales, assets and number of employees and dollar level of CEO compensation. His result from the first Stepwise Regression analysis shows that the percentage change in return on equity was more important than the percentage change in stock market return in determining percentage change in CEO compensation. The results from the second Stepwise Regression analysis shows the determinants of BOD's compensation in order of importance are as follows: Assets, Sales, Number of Employees and Tenure of CEO in Present Position.

Randy (2003), study on community banks in the New York state from 1993 through 2001. His finding shows that there were significant variances in CEO compensation throughout the twenty-three community banks studied. However, the amounts of compensation do not affect BOD retention. This leads to the conclusion that compensation is not the major factor in the retention of community bank CEOs. His result is in contrast to past findings.

Mahmoud M. Nourayi (2006), study the relationship between CEO compensation and firm performance. The findings of this study show strong evidence that the relationship between executive compensation and firm performance is non-linear and asymmetric. Additionally, the structure of asymmetry is found to be dependent upon the

measure of performance. Convexity characterizes the asymmetry of the relationship between executive compensation and market returns, while concavity distinguishes the asymmetry of the relationship between executive compensation and accounting returns.

Firth, Tam and Tang (1999), find that UK and USA mandate disclosure of information influence significantly the directors and CEO pay. Raihan, Ravi and Pamela (2005), on the other hand use the Agency Theory approach to investigate how institutional ownership concentration and dispersion affect levels of CEO compensation, pay mix, and stock option pay sensitivity. The study finds that the largest owner's concentration is associated with lower levels of compensation, higher ratios of salary to total compensation and lower ratios of options to total compensation. But that the number of blockholders does not predict any aspects of CEO compensation. In addition, institutional ownership dispersion is associated with increased levels of compensation and greater use of incentive compensation. Finally, higher levels of CEO ownership lead to a significant reduction in the level of compensation options.

Greg N Gregoriou, (2003) study finds that compensation decreases with increasing net operating expenses (expressed as a percentage of average assets). This result indicating that the CEOs of institutions with high operating costs receive lower compensation as a penalty for this inefficiency. The study finds that compensation increases with the increase in price to assets ratio. This indicates a possible tendency for CEOs to exercise their options when the stock price reaches a certain level, thereby increasing their remuneration.

Hristos Doucouliagos, Janto Haman and Saeed Askary (2007) explores the relationship between directors' pay and performance within Australian banking using panel data for the 1992-2005 period. Several earnings models are estimated, using different dependent variables, alternate measures of performance and different estimation techniques. The results indicate an absence of a contemporaneous relationship between directors' pay and bank performance, and no association with prior year performance. However, there is a more distant pay-performance relationship, with total directors' pay having a robust positive association with earnings per share lagged two years, as well as with ROE lagged two years. The other key determinants of directors' pay in Australian banking are bank specific managerial policies, lags in the administration of pay, bank size, directors' age and directors' stock ownership. In contrast to total directors' pay, the evidence confirms a strong positive and direct association between CEO remuneration and prior year bank performance. The pay-performance association is stronger and more direct for CEO remuneration than it is for total directors' remuneration. The responsiveness of CEO pay with respect to bank performance appears to have increased over time.

Lucian A. Bebchuk and Jesse M Fried, (2005) find that a well-designed executive compensation can provide executives with cost-effective incentives to generate shareholders' value.

Meanwhile, James Ang, Beni Lauterbach and Ben Z. Schreiber, (2002) examine how a large sample of banks in the United State (US) compensates their top management teams. They find 166 US banks of various asset values compensated their top management teams during the 1993–

1996 periods. The compensation of top bank executives is shown to depend on executive rank, bank size, and bank performance. Another finding is that the weight of base salary in CEOs pay is significantly lower than in other senior managers' pay, and the pay performance elasticity of CEOs pay is significantly higher. CEOs receive not only greater pay in absolute dollar, but are also rewarded more in relation to performance, as manifested in having a larger portion of their pay in performance contingent compensation. Next to the CEO, the top executives have similar compensation structure and pay to performance elasticities. The results are robust to a size significantly affect the firm performance.

3.0 Methodology

The data for this study is obtained from secondary sources such as Banks Annual Report, Worldscope database, Lexis-Nexis, Mergers and Acquisitions magazine, newspaper articles, Bursa Malaysia Report, Bank Negara Malaysia Report, as well as individual bank websites. The sample countries in this study will be East Asia market which is Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and Philippines. Total sample size in this study are 48 commercial banks consisting 9 commercial banks in Malaysia, 18 commercial banks in Indonesia, 12 commercial banks in Thailand, and 9 commercial banks in Philippines. The study covers period from 2000 to 2008 (9 years).

The dependent variable in this study is total compensation defined as the base cash compensation¹ plus the value of stock and options granted for directors. Mean while the independent variables are firm size, firm age, numbers of

¹ Salary and cash bonus include plus the value of autos, housing, retirement and health benefits as well as the value of stock options.

employee, inside directors, outside directors, tenure, education background, experience, pretax income, operating expenses and net income. Macroeconomic variables such as inflation, GDP, Balance of Payment are included. The determinants are analyzed using multiple regression analysis.

4.0 Finding

4.1 Descriptive Analysis

Table 1: Descriptive Analysis

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max	Min	Skewness
Total Compensation (USD million)	15.48	2.30	21.65	10.27	0.651
Net Income (USD million)	16.85	2.62	23.72	9.62	0.309
Operating Expenses (USD million)	19.00	3.60	26.11	7.52	-0.460
Pretax Income (USD million)	15.70	2.40	22.57	9.57	0.708
Total Assets (USD million)	19.96	2.20	26.11	14.23	0.765
Firm Age (no. of years)	6.75	2.47	13.38	0	-0.116
Employee (no. of employee)	85.18	49.87	219.67	4.24	0.644
Insider (no.)	1.53	0.34	3.46	1.00	0.389

Outsider (no.)	7.89	3.22	7.00	16.00	0.135
Tenure (no. of years)	2.52	0.93	6.48	1.00	1.035
Education (level)	2.61	0.58	4.00	2.00	0.325
Experiences (no. of years)	27.88	9.15	57.00	5.00	0.353
Inflation (%)	5.15	3.06	13.10	0.63	0.968
GDP (%)	3.36	8.31	26.05	-19.35	-0.008
BOP (%)	15.23	6.44	33.15	8.44	1.110

In Table 1, the mean for total compensation is US15.48million, with the maximum value for the total compensation is US21.65 million and the lowest value for the total compensation is US10.27 million. The standard deviation for total compensation is 2.30. This shows there is a wide variation between the banks BOD's compensation levels between the banks in the four sample countries.

Mean value for net income, operating expenses and pretax income is US16.85million, US19.00million and US15.70million respectively. The mean value for total assets and firm age is US19.96 million and 6.75 years respectively. We find that the banks on average maintain 85.18 numbers of employees per banks. The mean number of insider board and outsider board is 1.53 directors and 7.89 directors respectively. The standard deviation value for insider and outsider board is 0.34 and 3.22.

Tenure shows the mean value of 2.52 years and the average level of education is Degree to Master levels. The mean experience is 27.88 years. Meaning that most of the directors are highly experienced with almost 28 years of working experiences.

4.2 Regression Analysis

Table 2: Regression Analysis for Each Country

	Malaysia	Thailand	Indonesia	Philippine
R square	.906	.962	.970	.967
Adjusted R square	.895	.960	.967	.965
F value	81.703	514.584	384.939	375.182
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

Table 2 shows the R square and the adjusted R square of each country under study. In the case of Malaysia the 14 independent variables explain 89.5% of the variation in its banks BOD's compensation. Mean while, in Thailand 96% variance in BOD compensation has been significantly explained by all the variables. In Indonesia 96.7% of the variance in BOD compensation has been significantly explained and in Philippines is 96.5%. In comparison, the result in Table 3 appears to capture most of the significant factors that influences directors' compensation of Indonesia banks.

4.3 Coefficients Analysis

Table 3: Coefficients Analysis for Each Country Model

	Malaysia	Thailand	Indonesia	Philippine
Variables	B (t)	B (t)	B (t)	B (t)
Pretax income	.384*** (6.279)	X	.106*** (3.791)	-.126** (-2.128)
Operating expenses	X	-.109*** (-3.269)	X	X
Net income	X	X	-.105*** (-4.583)	-.090** (-2.627)
Total assets	.570***	1.017***	.761***	1.131***

	(9.515)	(41.526)	(21.425)	(17.666)
Firm age	.281*** (5.580)	X	.039** (2.065)	X
Employee	X	X	.254*** (7.999)	X
Insider board	X	-.056*** (-2.759)	-.054*** (-2.849)	X
Outsider board	X	X	-.067*** (-3.766)	X
Tenure	-.333*** (-3.650)	X	X	X
Education	.175** (2.549)	-.065*** (-2.229)	.086*** (4.530)	X
Experiences	.362*** (5.474)	X	-.124*** (-6.749)	X
Inflation	-.094** (-2.228)	X	X	X
BOP	X	.145*** (7.179)	.140*** (8.326)	X
GDP	X	X	X	X
No. of Significant Variables	7	5	10	3

Notes:

X: Not a significant variables

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Table 3 shows a summary of significant coefficient variables of banks in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines. For firm specific factors, pretax income in Malaysia and Indonesia show a positive significant relationship with BOD's compensation. However, Philippines show an inverse significant relationship. Meanwhile, coefficient estimation of operating expenses in Thailand is similar to the result of

Greg N Gregoriou (2003), where CEO compensation decreases with increasing net operating expenses. This indicates that the BODs of banks with high operating costs have to accept lower compensation due to cost management inefficiency. An interesting result is shown by the negative significant relationship of net income in the case of banks in Indonesia and Philippines. The result is in contrast with the result of past studies. The result suggests that despite an increase in net income, total boards' compensation decreases. The result implies that the banks management in the two countries might have reduced some of the perks in the BODs' compensation. Further more, total assets variable also shows a positively significant relationship with boards' compensation for all countries. This result shows that a total asset, which is a proxy for size are a major important determinant in determining boards' compensation in East Asia countries. This also suggests that the larger the size of the banks value the higher is BOD's compensation. Malaysia and Indonesia banks age have positive significant relationship with BOD Compensation. The result indicates that more establish banks (proxy by the number of years incorporated) pay higher board compensation. This result support Lerong He, (2007) where firm age is found to be positively associated with CEO total compensation and influence the level of CEO incentive compensation. In Finkelstein and Hambrick, (1989) and Tosi et al., (1997), firm age characteristics influence positively CEO compensation, incentives and performance. Mean while, number of employee variable in Indonesia shows a positive significant relationship but this variable is not significant for BODs' compensation in other countries.

Corporate governance factor shows that insider boards' coefficient estimation is similar to past studies result by

showing a negative significant relationship in Thailand and Indonesia banks. In the other side, outsider boards result shows a contradictory result with past studies where, in the case of Indonesia, it shows a negative and significant relationship. The result could probably be due to most of the boards of directors in Indonesia banks are family members. Beside that, tenure variable (measure as number of years the BOD has held his or her position) (in the case of Malaysian banks) has a significant but negative relationship with boards' compensation. In contrast, Indonesian banks BODs' compensation shows a positive significant relationship with education but in Thailand it is negative and significant. Experiences show a positive significant relationship with Malaysia but a negative significant relationship with Indonesia.

In term of economic factors, inflation is only significant in Malaysia as a determinant of BODs' compensation. Malaysia inflation is negatively significant related to boards' compensation. Balance of payment is positively and significantly related with banks boards' compensation in Thailand and Indonesia. GDP is not a significant determinant of BOD compensation of banks in four East Asia countries.

In summary, the regression result shows that seven variables are significant determinants to BOD Compensation of banks in Malaysia. They are pretax income, total assets, firm age, tenure, education, experiences and inflation. In Thailand, five significant variables are operating expenses, total assets, insider board, education and balance of payment. Meanwhile, Thailand has ten significant variables that will influence BOD compensation. They are pre tax income, net income, total assets, firm age, employee, insider board, outsider board, education, experiences and balance of

payment. In Philippines, three significant variables are pretax income, net income and total assets.

5.0 Conclusion

BODs' compensation is a dependent variable. Therefore, it is influenced by independent variables. As a conclusion this paper finds that bank size (total assets) has a strong influence on BODs' compensation. Bank's size is important in deciding directors' remuneration and banks with high earnings rely more on cash compensation to reward successful executive performance. These banks tend to be larger in size, and have larger earnings in East Asia countries. However, inflation is negatively significant past times in Malaysia banks and balance of payments positively significant in Thailand and Indonesia banks but GDP is not a significant factor in any sample countries. The findings of this paper hope to benefit both academic researchers as well as corporate officer who serve on compensation committees to structure boards' compensation.

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Profits or Sales?

How state shareholders discipline their CEOs in China

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Abstract

This study examines the determinants of CEO turnover in Chinese state-owned firms. Based on a sample of 1,555 turnover cases among listed firms in China during the period 1999 to 2003, we obtain three main results. First, CEO turnover is negatively related to the sales performance but not the profitability of the core business. Second, the negative relationship between CEO turnover and sales is stronger for firms with excessive employment and higher organizational slack. Third, there is a significant post-turnover increase in sales but a decline in profitability of the core business. Overall, our evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that state shareholders put a greater emphasis on sales generation than on profitability when they monitor their CEOs.

Key Words: state ownership, managerial monitoring, China's listed firms

JEL: G3, L2

1. Introduction

The way state owners run their companies has been a focal point of theoretical research. The general notion is that state owners have weak profit incentives due to the fact that they enjoy control rights without cash-flow rights. Moreover, state-owned firms typically benefit from generous transfers of government resources (Firth et al. 2008) and do not run the risk of bankruptcy (e.g., Shleifer and Vishny, 1994; Shleifer, 1998). Notwithstanding, state shareholders might still pursue sales maximization (hereafter referred to as the *sales motive*), as firms with a higher sales volume can generate more cash inflows, increasing the resources available to pursue political and personal objectives (Millward and Parker, 1983; Kornai, 1992). State shareholders are therefore assumed to have a strong incentive to maximize sales and a weak incentive to maximize profits.

Similar to owners of private companies, state shareholders develop monitoring mechanisms that help to align management performance with shareholder interests. As a result, the mechanisms of managerial turnover in state-controlled firms are expected to display distinct features that reflect the specific objectives of state shareholders. This has inspired a series of empirical studies exploring how turnover behavior in state-controlled companies responds to various performance measures. Prior studies have examined the sensitivity of turnover to three different performance measures, including labor productivity (Groves et al., 1995; Aviazian et al., 2005), sales-related measures (Aviazian et al., 2005; Firth et al., 2006; Kato and Long, 2006), and the accounting profitability measure of return on assets (ROA) (Firth et al., 2006; Kato and Long, 2006; Chang and Wong, 2008). As most of these studies find a negative relationship between turnover and

performance, the general conclusion is that state shareholders of corporatized firms, similar to private shareholders, discipline their managers on the basis of firm performance (Firth et al., 2006).

In spite of considerable empirical research, the underlying motives of state shareholders remain unclear because the performance measures previously employed could either reflect profit or sales maximization. Bai et al. (1997), for example, show that increasing labor productivity in state-owned firms (SOEs) can be associated both with profit maximization and output maximization. Additionally, the incentive to increase sales-related performance can help to maximize profits or could just be an end in itself. ROA, moreover, is analytically the product of profit margin (profit over sales) and asset turnover (sales over asset), which are measures of firm profitability and sales generation, respectively. Clearly, the question whether state shareholders act as profit or sales maximizers awaits more direct empirical testing strategies.

This study takes a first attempt to explicitly distinguish between the profit and sales motives and examine their relative importance in determining the forced turnover of Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) in listed firms in China. Managerial turnover in China's corporatized firms provides a useful testing venue because listed firms include both state-controlled and private firms that operate in different industries but in a similar institutional environment. This allows us to use private firms as a control group to isolate ownership-specific effects.

Based on a sample of 1,555 turnover cases in listed firms in China during the period 1999 to 2003, our analysis yields three main results. First, CEO turnover in state-controlled firms is negatively related to sales performance but not to profitability of the

core business. In contrast, turnover in private firms is negatively related to both sales performance and profitability of the core business. These results suggest that state shareholders place more weight on the sales motive than the profit motive when assessing CEO performance. Second, the negative relationship between CEO turnover and sales performance in state-controlled firms is stronger when firms have excessive employment and higher managerial expenses, whereas no such relationship is observed for private firms. These results suggest that state shareholders' emphasis on sales is closely associated with their desire to control large resource pools for the pursuit of political and personal objectives. Third, there is a significant post-turnover increase in sales performance but a decline in core business profitability. Overall, our study supports the hypothesis that state shareholders rely more on sales generation than on profitability as the basis of their CEO monitoring.

Our study makes at least two contributions to the literature on the corporate governance of state-controlled firms. First, we provide new evidence on managerial monitoring in state-controlled firms that shows that state shareholders actually place more emphasis on sales generation than profitability when monitoring their CEOs. To our knowledge, this is the first study to provide evidence that the inherent preference of state shareholders for sales maximization over profit maximization has material consequences for CEO monitoring. Despite massive waves of privatization in recent decades, state ownership remains globally important in many vital industries, such as telecommunications, energy, public utilities, and banking,¹ and the current global

¹ Bauer (2005) documents that 49.2% of fixed-access lines were still operated by either a fully or partially state-owned telecommunication operator at the end of 2004. Based on a study of the 10 largest banks in 92 countries, La Porta et al. (2003) document that 42% of their assets are controlled by state-owned entities.

financial crisis has led to the emergence of even more state-controlled firms. The quality of corporate control as exercised through CEO monitoring in wholly or partially state-owned firms is therefore of continued, and possibly increasing, relevance for policy makers and international investors.

Second, our study relates to the long-standing debate as to whether the privatization of state-owned firms is necessary to improve their financial performance. The property school regards privatization as a prerequisite to improve performance in traditional state-owned firms (Shleifer, 1998; Narjess et al. 2009), whereas the market approach claims that increasing competition and organizational changes in governance structures will be sufficient to improve performance (Yarrow, 1986; Vickers and Yarrow, 1991; Fang et al. 2009). Although listed firms in China operate under corporate governance structures that closely resemble the rules of the game in mature market economies, our evidence suggests that the inherently weak profit motive of state shareholders continues to influence company management through CEO monitoring.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides a discussion of corporate governance mechanisms and the incentive structures of state shareholders in listed firms in China. Section 3 introduces the data and research method while section 4 presents the empirical results and robustness checks. Section 5 concludes.

2. Corporate governance: Between the profit motive and the sales motive

Formally, China's corporate organization resembles Western models of corporate governance, with the shareholder meeting being the highest decision-making organ that elects the Board of Directors to oversee and monitor the performance of CEOs.

Notwithstanding, China's corporate governance system also has distinct features that stem from its unique ownership structure and administrative control mechanisms. As recent as 2003 the state controlled about two-thirds of the total equity of the majority of listed companies through holdings of non-tradable state shares (Sun and Tong, 2003). Control rights over these shares are exercised through a two-tier administrative system similar to international state asset management systems such as the Italian IRI or the Singapore Development Bank (Wu et al., 1997). During our observation period, the National Administrative Bureau of State-owned Property (NABSOP) was at the top of China's asset administration system. NABSOP is entrusted by the State Council to perform all overseeing duties to protect the state's ownership interest. The actual execution of ownership rights, however, is delegated to local business groups, locally run asset administrations, or state-asset operating companies (SAOCs), which are formally registered as state-holdings or state investment companies. Although these three types of agents are not an integral part of the Chinese bureaucracy, they remain closely linked with the government through the oversight of the NABSOP and the State Council.

Despite official statements emphasizing the formal separation of government and firms, politicians and bureaucrats can still rely on vertical ties and personnel dependencies to pursue multiple interests in state-owned firms. Even in corporatized firms, state influence is not limited to the formal authority of state shareholders to vote at shareholder meetings. Equally importantly, the state retains the formal right to approve the decisions of the Board of Directors on appointments and dismissals of CEOs and other key personnel (Qian, 1995). This factual monopoly power over management recruitment provides a valuable opportunity to directly explore which objectives state

shareholders seek to maximize when exercising their authority over management turnover.

There is a rich abundance of literature on the nature of state-owned firms that emphasizes their weak profit motive. Governments operate state-owned firms not only to correct market failures, but to also win public support by providing additional employment opportunities, above market-rate wages, and social security (Shleifer and Vishny, 1994, 1997). Moreover, the political economy perspective on state-ownership suggests that, similar to managers in private firms, politicians and bureaucrats tend to abuse their office to utilize state-owned resources for personal interest and material gain (Shleifer and Vishny, 1994, 1997; Krueger, 1990). There is a general conflict between firm profitability and political and personal goals because the pursuit of the latter is often connected with higher costs and, thus, lower profits (Shleifer, 1998; Sikorsky, 2007).² The lack of cost minimization suggests that state shareholders are unlikely to be profit maximizing, but will rather respond to the government's non-profit goals. Empirical studies documenting an increase in the profitability of previously state-owned enterprises after privatization support the view that state-owned firms are less profitable than private firms (Megginson and Netter, 2001; Narjess et al. 2009). The link between managerial turnover and firm profitability is therefore likely to be weak.

In China, institutional arrangements guiding the corporate governance of state-owned firms further reinforce the weak profit motive of state shareholders. To begin with, entrusted local state asset administrative agents do not receive dividends, unlike private owners, as these are directly transferred to the state budget. Second, state shareholders are

² Sikorsky (2007) reviews more than 50 studies and finds that only three studies identify the cost-advantages of state-owned firms, whereas five studies do not detect a significant difference in the cost structure of state and private firms.

not allowed to sell their firm's stock, and are therefore unable to capitalize on potential increases in their firm's stock price that result from increases in firm profitability. Finally, the management and control activities of local asset administrators do not carry with them the risk of bankruptcy or an alternative sanctioning mechanism when performance is poor (World Bank, 2007). It is therefore likely that the profit motive will naturally carry a low weight in the objective function of state shareholders.

Despite of a weak profit motive, the literature on state-owned firms also suggests that state shareholders are likely to have an incentive to maximize output and sales performance, as a higher transaction volume generates broader opportunities for state shareholders to achieve political and personal objectives. As emphasized by Shleifer and Vishny (1994), politicians tend to maximize output because larger firms can provide more resources to buy out political supporters. Similarly, firms with a higher transaction volume also provide state shareholders with more resources to serve their private interests. Following this logic, Millward and Parker (1983) suggest that bureaucrats who run public enterprises tend to "raise the volume of co-operating resources beyond profit-maximizing levels" (p. 222) to increase the resources available for their personal use. Matsumura (1998) further indicates that public firms are typically given the objective of maximizing output subject to the condition of breaking even. Kato and Long (2006) find that the compensation of top executives in listed firms in China is more sensitive to sales performance than firm profitability, indicating that state shareholders have a greater incentive to tie managerial incentive to sales performance than firm profitability.

Consistent with SOE's general incentive structure, the regulations on the administration of state ownership in corporatized state-controlled firms have not

explicitly included any profit or profitability goals as a guiding principle of state asset management. Instead, state shareholders are requested to guarantee, protect, and further increase the controlling position of state-dominated companies in line with industrial policy guidelines (He, 1999). To this end, local asset administrators are required to oversee company activities and managerial performance based on the management's ability to maintain and increase the value of state assets (Preliminary Method for the Administration of State Shares in Listed Companies, Art. 17). Local agents, in turn, are reviewed by NABSOP based on the same guiding principle that they should "supervise and administer the preservation of and increase in the value of state-owned assets."³ Although these regulations do not explicitly specify how the value of state-owned assets is to be measured, the lack of explicit reference to profitability signals that the profit motive plays, at best, a subordinate role when it comes to the assessment of state asset management.

3 Data and research methods

We use a sample of firms listed on the Shenzhen and Shanghai Stock Exchanges in the period from 1999 to 2006 to empirically estimate the extent to which profit and sales objectives influence CEO turnover. The data on CEO turnover comes from the China Corporate Research Database (CCGRD) provided by the GTA Information Technology Co. For our analysis of CEO turnover, we focus on people who hold the formal title of General Manager or Chief Executive. We limit the turnover cases to those

³ "Interim Regulations on Supervision and Management of State-owned Enterprises" (May 27, 2003), Art. 14.

occurring during the period of 1999 to 2003 to retain three additional years of financial data for the investigation of post-turnover performance changes.

Table 1 provides an overview of recorded changes in CEO during our observation period. During this time 1,555 such changes were made, with at least one change in 879 out of the 1,255 firms listed on the Chinese stock exchanges at the end of 2003. Turnover activity declined slightly over time, with 29.74% of firms experiencing a CEO turnover in 1999 compared with 25.98% in 2003. With an average turnover rate of 27.99%, our sample clearly surpasses the figures reported in earlier studies that focus on the U.S. and Japanese stock markets.⁴ Of the 879 firms for which changes in CEO were made, 105 report multiple changes in a given year. In following the standard in the literature in consolidating multiple CEO changes and reporting only the final turnover, the number of valid CEO changes for our sample is reduced from 1,555 to 1,438. Correspondingly, the adjusted turnover rate falls from 27.99% to 25.89%.

[Insert table 1 about here]

Detailed reasons for officially recorded changes in CEO are provided by the CCGRD and include: (1) change of job, (2) retirement, (3) contract expiration, (4) change in controlling shareholder, (5) resignation, (6) dismissal, (7) health, (8) personal reasons, (9) corporate governance reform, (10) legal disputes, (11) no reason given, and (12) completion of acting duties. Table 2 summarizes the distribution of the reasons for turnover for the total and consolidated samples. Change of job is the most common reason given for CEO turnover, accounting for 427 (or 29.69%) of the consolidated

⁴ Denis and Denis (1995) report a turnover rate of 12.7% for the U.S. stock market. A more recent study by Huson et al. (2004) reports a lower turnover rate of 9.3%. Turnover rates for the Japanese stock market are comparable (Kang and Shivdasani, 1995).

sample. This is followed by change due to contract expiration with 319 turnover instances (22.18%) and turnover due to resignation with 265 (18.43%).

[Insert table 2 about here]

An assessment of the motives underlying shareholders' decisions to replace a CEO hinges on the adequate identification of instances of forced CEO turnover. The ability to distinguish forced turnover from non-forced turnover, however, is inherently difficult due to pronounced information asymmetry (Denis and Denis, 1995; Huson et al., 2004). The classification system provided by CCGRD suffers from a similar problem, as a change of job, for instance, may actually be the result of a forced turnover. Inferences on the true nature of a job change therefore need to build on additional information. A reliable indicator is the change in position experienced by the outgoing CEO. If the post-turnover position held by a CEO is less attractive in terms of salary, status, and authority than the previously held position, then the job change turnover is likely to have been involuntary.

Our identification strategy for forced turnover proceeds as follows. First, we exclude all turnover cases that are due to retirement, health (including death), corporate governance reform, and a change in controlling shareholder.⁵ As the focal point of our study is the corporate monitoring of state shareholders, we also exclude those cases of turnover resulting from legal lawsuits as such suits are not initiated by state shareholders as part of their normal monitoring activities. These exclusions leave us with 1,178 turnover cases with an unclear motivation. For these cases we retrieve additional information on the post-turnover position of the outgoing CEO to partition them into the categories of "voluntary" and "forced." We use multiple data sources to maximize the

⁵ The exclusion of CEO changes following corporate governance reform is consistent, as departing CEOs are typically recruited as chairpersons of the board of directors or move on to key management positions in the parent firm.

data availability and reliability, employing information from the annual reports of the firms, Infobank's China Economic News Database, Infobank's China Listed Firms Database, China's Listed Firms Database⁶, and online material retrieved through the internet search engine Baidu⁷. We define as voluntary all instances of turnover where the status of the CEO's post-turnover position is comparable or higher than the original position held, and label as forced turnover all cases where the status of the post-turnover position is significantly lower than the previously held position.

[Insert table 3 about here]

Table 3 summarizes the results of our sorting strategy. Out of 1,178 unclear turnover cases we identify 665 that can be classified as voluntary. These include 17 cases where the CEO took over a high-ranking government position at the municipal or provincial leadership level, 225 cases where the CEO retained the position of Board chair or vice-chair, 197 cases where the CEO was promoted to the position of board-chair or vice-chair, and 150 cases where the post-turnover position was a comparable management position in another listed company or within the firm's parent company. In 10 cases turnover was due to health reasons (these cases are additional to those officially registered by CCGRD in this category), in 34 cases turnover was associated with a change in controlling shareholder, in 24 cases it was due to legal investigations or criminal conviction, and in 8 cases the CEO left the position to enroll in an educational program outside of China.

The remaining 513 cases are categorized as forced turnover. In 198 cases, the post-turnover positions of the CEOs carried a weaker authority and status, in 27 cases the

⁶ <http://www.sina.com.cn>

⁷ <http://www.baidu.com>

CEOs were employed by small-scale, non-listed firms, and in 288 cases no post-turnover position could be traced before the end of the observation period. Given our comprehensive search strategy, this lack of traceable information indicates that a CEO's post-turnover career ceases to be of interest to the business media, and therefore the new position is likely to be connected with a decline in post-turnover status and authority.

From the 513 cases classified as forced changes, we exclude 62 cases with less than one year of CEO tenure, as it is unlikely that such turnover decisions would be due to performance assessments. Further, we transfer 19 cases involving retirement as the official turnover reason from the category of voluntary turnover to forced turnover, because the CEO's age was less than China's official retirement age of 55 years. In total, our sample of 1,555 instances of CEO turnover includes 470 instances (30.23%) of forced turnover.⁸

3.1 *Estimation models*

We apply the following Probit regression model to estimate the extent to which CEO turnover is sensitive to the profit and sales motives of state shareholders.

$$\text{Probability (forced CEO turnover)} = f(\text{performance, control variables}). \quad (1)$$

Our dependent variable is a binary variable that equals 1 if there was an instance of forced turnover in a given period. Rather than using the common measure of *ROA* as a measure of profitability, we use two performance measures to capture whether CEO turnover is sensitive to the profit motive or the sales motive. The first is the industry-adjusted profit margin (*PM*) of the core business, which is defined as profit over sales

⁸ Comparable figures in more advanced stock markets are considerably lower, at less than 20% in the United States [Denis and Denis (1995) report 13.3%; Huson et al. (2004) report 18%] and 24% in Japan (Kang and Shivdasani, 1995).

minus the corresponding ratio of the industry and is used to capture the profit motive. *PM* is a measure of the effectiveness of cost control, and is particularly useful for capturing the profit motive because state-controlled firms tend to operate at a higher cost.⁹

We also use the industry-adjusted asset turnover (*AT*), which is defined as sales over assets minus the corresponding ratio of the industry, to capture the sales motive. *AT* is a traditional financial ratio that measures the ability of management to efficiently employ assets to generate sales (Singh and Davidson, 2003). A decline in asset turnover or a generally low asset turnover rate compared with the industry average indicates that the management of the firm is not generating sufficient sales to justify its asset size. *AT* appears as a relevant measure used by state shareholders in China to evaluate their CEOs' sales performance. Given the Chinese government's emphasis on the increase and preservation of the value of state assets, state shareholders are likely to benchmark the sales performance of their CEOs on the basis of assets that they can utilize. From the government's perspective, the under-utilization of state assets in generating sales is likely to be regarded as inefficient management of the state's assets. We therefore expect forced turnover to be negatively related to *AT* if sales performance matters for state shareholders. We include *PM* and *AT* simultaneously into regressions in order to determine the relative importance of *PM* and *AT* to state shareholders.

⁹ Kato and Long (2006) use *PM* as a measure of financial performance, but only estimate a negative relationship between *PM* and managerial turnover if they exclude control variables for private and state ownership. If ownership and some corresponding interaction terms are included, then the negative relation between *PM* and turnover disappears. As this study estimates the performance-turnover links for both state-owned and privately owned firms in a single regression, rather than separately in different regressions, the estimation results are likely to suffer from specification errors given that state and private firms tend to have distinctly different incentive structures. Furthermore, this study uses *PM* and other sales measures as alternative measures of firm performance and does not include them simultaneously, and thus does not examine the relative importance of sales and profits in determining managerial turnover.

In order to separate out possible confounding influences we introduce a set of control variables. First, we introduce three variables to capture individual features of the departing CEO. We control for the CEO's age (*Age*) and tenure (*Tenure*), as older CEOs and CEOs with a longer tenure seem to be less frequently subject to forced turnover (Kang and Shivdasani, 1995). We also control whether CEOs are concurrently holding the position of board chair (*Duality*), as a more powerful CEO is naturally in a better position to resist the threat of dismissal. Further, we control for several firm characteristics. We control for the number of years a firm has been listed on the stock exchange (*Years*), as a longer listing may be correlated with greater shareholder monitoring. Firm size, as measured by the natural logarithm of the book value of total firm assets (*Size*), is included because managers seem to be more entrenched in larger firms (Dalton and Kesner, 1983). Also, larger firms seem to enjoy greater bargaining power vis-à-vis the government. As debtors may attract additional management monitoring (Jensen, 1986), we also include the capital structure as measured by the book value of debt over the total book value of assets (*DAR*). Finally, we include a dummy variable to indicate the year of CEO turnover to control for business cycle effects.

As there is naturally a certain time lag in turnover decisions, we use the previous year's measures for all variables except those associated with the personal qualities of a CEO in instances where a CEO change occurs in the first six months of a given year. Where the turnover date falls in the second half of the year, we include measures for the current year. This procedure is in line with Huson et al. (2001) and aims to alleviate potential endogeneity problems. Moreover, the use of half-year lags also suits the rather short average period of 2.8 years for CEO tenure in listed firms in China.

4. Empirical results

4.1. Sample selection and descriptive statistics

There are a total of 5,555 firm-year observations in the period from 1999 to 2003 after excluding those that involve firms listed only in the B-share market and firms in the finance industry.¹⁰ We also exclude firm-year observations that involve firms with negative equity and that involve firms listed for less than six months. Our *ROA*, *DAR*, *PM*, and *AT* data have some extreme values, and we therefore winsorize these variables at the 1% level. After further eliminating observations with missing values in the variables included in our regression analysis, our final sample includes 3,815 firm-year observations.

Data on the ownership identity of the controlling shareholder is obtained from the Ultimate Ownership of Listed Chinese Firms Dataset provided by Sinofin. To ensure that our information is accurate, we also crosscheck these data with information provided by the WIND Information Co.

Panel A of Table 4 shows the summary statistics for the variables used in the subsequent analyses. Our sample firms have, on average, been listed for 4.97 years, with the average age and length of tenure of the managers being 46.43 and 2.75 years, respectively. Overall, we have 3,110 firm-year observations (81.5%) where the state is the controlling shareholder and 705 firm-year observations (18.5%) where private shareholders are in a controlling position. Duality is not a common feature, with only 15.4% of CEOs also serving as board chair.

¹⁰ The B-share market was originally reserved for foreign investors, but was opened up to individual domestic investors in February 2001.

Panel B of Table 4 presents some univariate analyses of state and private firms for our two performance measures. Consistent with our hypothesis on the weak profit motive of state shareholders, the PM of state-controlled firms (mean = 0.007) is significantly lower than that of private firms (mean = 0.043). Additionally, the AT of state-controlled firms (mean = 0.087) is substantially higher than that of private firms (mean = 0.006), which indicates a relatively strong sales motive among state shareholders. Similar results are obtained when median tests are used.

[Insert Table 4 about here]

4.2 Regression results for the baseline models

Two estimation issues are worth noting before we discuss our results. First, there is a potential lack of independence across observations for a given CEO because of the existence of certain unobservable person-specific factors. We therefore estimate the model using the Huber/White/sandwich robust method with adjustment for within-cluster correlation for each CEO (Wooldridge, 2002).¹¹ Second, we conduct a Pearson correlation test and find that all of the correlations among the variables included in our models are lower than 0.5. We also calculate the variance inflation factors (VIF) for each independent variable. The VIFs never exceed 3, suggesting that our models are not plagued by serious multicollinearity problems.

Table 5 reports estimates of the sensitivity of turnover to *PM* and *AT* for state-controlled and private firms, respectively. To illustrate the importance of decomposing the profit and sales motives, we also report the results using the ratio of profit from the

¹¹ Consistent results are obtained if we adjust for within-cluster correlation for each firm.

core business over total assets (*ROA*) as an alternative explanatory variable. Although the coefficient for *ROA* is negative and significant at 5% for state owned firms, the breakdown of *ROA* into *PM* and *AT* indicates that the negative coefficient for *PM* is not statistically significant at conventional levels, while only the coefficient for *AT* is significant at 10%. The results indicate that state shareholders rely more on sales performance than firm profitability in monitoring their CEOs and the negative relationship between *ROA* and turnover is actually driven by sales component (*AT*) rather than profit component (*PM*). For the private firm sample, the coefficients for *PM*, and *AT* are significantly negative at 5%, which suggests that CEO turnover in private firms is sensitive to both profitability and sales performance.

An additional estimation confirms the existence of different performance measures employed by state and private shareholders to monitor their CEOs. We create a new dummy variable, *Private*, which is set to 1 if a firm is a privately-controlled firm. We interact this variable with our two performance measures and re-estimate the baseline model for the full sample of the listed firms. The last column of Table 5 reports the results. The coefficient on the interaction term of *Private* and *PM* is significantly negative, which indicates that private shareholders place a greater emphasis on profit margin than state shareholders. On the other hand, the coefficient on the interaction term of *Private* and *AT* is statistically insignificant, suggesting that private and state shareholders respond similarly to the performance measure of asset turnover.

Our control variables behave broadly as expected. Similar to the results obtained in previous studies, the coefficients of *Age* are significantly positive and the coefficients of *Tenure* are significantly negative, indicating that the probability of forced turnover is

lower for younger CEOs and for those with a longer tenure. The coefficient for a combined CEO and board chair position (*Duality*) is significantly negative, suggesting that the duality structure undermines CEO monitoring and reduces the possibility of forced turnover instances in state-controlled firms.

[Insert table 5 about here]

4.3 Additional Tests

Our baseline results are consistent with our hypotheses on the weak profit motive but strong sales incentive of state shareholders. In this section, we conduct two tests to provide additional evidence of the underlying monitoring motive of state shareholders. In the first test, we examine the changes in post-turnover performance. Performance changes after a change in CEO can provide information on the monitoring incentive of state shareholders because post-turnover performance will be affected by how the new CEO is selected and monitored. If sales performance rather than profitability is the major cause of managerial turnover, then the new manager is more likely to be selected and monitored on the basis of *AT* rather than *PM*. This, in turn, means that a post-turnover increase in *AT* is more likely than an increase in *PM*.

We follow Huson et al. (2004) for the post-turnover analysis and use a control group to isolate the component of performance change that is attributable to the mean reversion of accounting performance. The timing of performance comparisons is a crucial issue, as both outgoing and incoming CEOs have an incentive to manage company accounts. Outgoing managers tend to over-report company performance in an effort to secure their jobs, whereas incoming managers may under-report company performance to

facilitate chances to “realize” performance increases in the following years. To mitigate problems stemming from account management, we construct two control groups. For one group we use the performance reported in the turnover year (year 0) and for the other group we use the performance reported in the year before the turnover event (year -1).

We construct the control groups as follows. We first match each firm that experienced a change of CEO in a given year with a firm that is both in the same industry and had a similar recorded firm performance (both PM and AT) (+ / - 20% of the sample firm’s performance) in the corresponding year while not undergoing a change in CEO in either the event year or the three preceding years. If multiple firms fulfill these conditions, then we choose the firm with an asset size that is closest to that of the sample firm. If there are no firms from the same industry with a performance level within the specified band, then we loosen our restrictions and match our sample firm with a firm with similar performance but in a different industry. In total, our control group includes 325 (319) firms that match in terms of both industry and performance in year 0 (and year -1) and add 80 (78) firms that only match the sample firms in terms of performance in year 0 (year -1). Finally we exclude 31 (39) firms from our sample because we are not able to identify any firms with matching performance.

Table 6 presents the median post-turnover performance changes for the samples of state-owned and private firms. The table reports only the results when year 0 is used as the reference, as we obtain consistent results for year 0 and year -1 as the comparison benchmark. Panel A reports the performance changes for state-owned firms. There is a significant decline in the unadjusted profit margin of the core business in all years, but no significant change in the industry-adjusted profit margin, control group adjusted profit

margin (measured as PM minus the median of the corresponding ratio in the control group), or the industry and control group adjusted profit margin. However, there are significant increases in the unadjusted asset turnover and industry-adjusted asset turnover in the three years following a CEO change. Significant positive changes in control group adjusted asset turnover and industry and control group adjusted asset turnover can also be observed in all years except for year 3, in which the changes are still positive but not statistically significant. Overall, the results indicate a significant improvement in asset turnover but no significant improvement in profit margin in the post-turnover years among state-controlled firms. The results are consistent with our regression results, which suggest that sales performance carries more weight than profitability when state shareholders monitor their CEOs.

Panel B reports the performance changes for private firms. The control group adjusted profit margin and the industry and control group adjusted profit margin are positive and statistically significant at the 10% level except for year 1, which indicates that the control-group adjusted profit margin improved for these firms. The changes in unadjusted asset turnover, moreover, are positive and statistically significant at the 5% level except for year 1. There are no significant changes in the industry-adjusted, control group adjusted, and industry and control group adjusted asset turnover.

[Insert table 6 about here]

The second test aims to examine whether the emphasis of shareholders on sales performance is related to their desire to obtain more resources to serve their political and

personal objectives. We construct two variables to capture the importance of political and personal interests. First, we respond to the general notion that governments have a key interest in controlling excess labor, partly in response to voter and interest group pressure (Shleifer and Vishny, 1994), by including a dummy variable to indicate whether there is any over-employment in a firm (*Over*). Particularly, China's state-owned enterprises have a history of pervasive over-employment (Yin, 2001). To identify the phenomenon of over-employment, we use three outcome variables that capture a firm's employment situation: the total number of employees, the ratio between the total number of employees and the book value of total assets, and the ratio of the number of employees to the main operating income. Further, we assume that a firm's normal labor demand is determined by firm size, capital intensity, firm growth, industry (controlling for different technology and production characteristics), and year (controlling for macroeconomic variations). We then employ three median regressions to estimate the supposed normal employment conditions for our three outcome variables and compare them with real employment conditions.¹² We regard over-employment as robustly confirmed for observations where all three median regressions produce positive residuals. Based on these findings we use the binary variable *Over* as a means to capture the need to obtain resources to support over-employment and construct it to equal 1 if a firm has over-employment and 0 otherwise. Second, we introduce a second binary variable to indicate whether a firm's administration fee over the book value of total sales is larger than the year-industry adjusted median value (*Fee*). This variable is used to capture bureaucratic slack, which often signals the extent of firm consumption (Ang et al., 2000; Singh and Davidson III,

¹² We use median regressions to remove the confounding effects of outliers. Consistent results are obtained if we estimate the normal employment conditions by using other quantiles such as the 60th and the 70th quantile.

2003). We include these two dummy variables and their interaction terms with AT to capture the effects of political and personal interests on the sensitivity of turnover to sales performance. Table 7 reports the results.

[Insert Table 7]

Consistent with our expectation, the negative relationship between turnover and AT is stronger for firms with excessive employment and higher organizational slack. When interaction effects are included, AT also loses its independent effect on forced turnover.¹³ Overall, the findings suggest that the emphasis of state shareholders on AT is at least partly driven by political and personal interests.

4.4 Robustness Checks

We explore the robustness of our findings in several dimensions. In our baseline models, we have chosen AT as a measure of sales performance. To ensure that evidence of the sales motive is robust to alternative measures of sales performance we also use sales growth (*GROW*) to capture the sales motive.¹⁴ Compared with AT, annual sales growth has two limitations. First, it is closely related to changes in asset size in the corresponding year, and we therefore add the change in asset size as an additional control

¹³ As Powers (2005) discusses, interpreting the interaction terms in logit models can be problematic because of model non-linearity. We follow McNeil et al. (2004) in using the delta method to check the statistical significance of the predicted turnover probability and its sensitivity with respect to a change in AT. By assuming that all of the other variables are equal to the median values of each sample, we calculate the predicted probabilities and derivatives at the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles of AT for firms with different statuses of excessive employment and organizational slack. For the state-controlled sample, we find that the differences in the predicted performance-AT sensitivity between firms with and without an over-employment problem (firms with a high or low organizational slack) are all statistically significant at least at the 10% level. For the private sample, none of the interaction effects is significant regardless of which performance variable is used.

¹⁴ We follow Firth et al. (2006) in using $\ln(\text{sales}/\text{sales}(t-1))$ as the measure of annual sales growth.

variable (*Asset_change*). Second, annual sales growth often displays a great deal of variability. We employ two measures to deal with this problem. First, we restrict our sample by excluding the upper and lower 5% of the observations. The resulting new sample for the regression using annual sales growth as a performance measure has a total of 3,312 observations. We construct the three-year moving average sales growth rate (*MGROW*) as an alternative measure of sales growth performance, as this smoothes out annual fluctuations in sales growth and also allows us to explore whether CEO turnover is more sensitive to average than to annual sales performance. The results using the two sales growth performance measures are consistent with those obtained from our baseline model. As shown in Table 8, we estimate a significant relationship between turnover and annual sales growth rate at the 10% level, while the relationship between turnover and average sales growth rate is significant at the 5% level. This indicates that turnover is more sensitive to the average growth rate than the annual growth rate. When the sales growth variables are included, PM is insignificant in all cases. Overall, our results provide robust support for a strong sales motive but weak profit motive among state shareholders.

[Insert table 8 about here]

Another concern is the following: If, for instance, CEOs have only limited managerial tools to actually affect firm profitability (for instance due to persisting price regulations in state-controlled industries), then reliance on AT rather than PM may not signal a stronger sales motive but may rather be a convenience-driven choice for CEO monitoring in state-controlled industries. To address possible confounding effects

resulting from government regulations, we partition our sample firms into those that operate in a state-controlled industry and those that operate in a liberalized industry. In line with the transition literature (Brada, 1996), we use the percentage of private employment in different industries as the basis for the classification of liberalized industries. Accordingly, an industry is classified as liberalized if the share of private employment in that industry is above the countrywide median value for private employment. By following this classification, we place 720 firm-year observations into a state-controlled industry sub-sample and 3,095 firm-year observations into a liberalized industry sub-sample. We re-estimate our baseline model for the two types of firms and report the results in Table 9. For firms operating in liberalized industries, there is still a significant negative relationship between turnover and AT but no relationship between turnover and PM. This suggests that the insensitivity of turnover to PM is not simply a response to weakly liberalized firm operations. However, there is neither a significant relationship between turnover and AT nor between turnover and PM in state-controlled industries, which is consistent with our expectation that CEOs are unlikely to be evaluated on the basis of financial performance in weakly liberalized industries.

[Insert table 9 about here]

Critics could also question the reliability of our chosen performance measures. CEOs may be evaluated by their average performance rather than fluctuations in annual performance, and we therefore also use a three-year moving average of PM (MPM) and a three-year moving average of AT (MAT) over a CEO's tenure as alternative measures of

CEO performance. Consistently, we find a negative relationship between turnover and MAT but no such relationship between turnover and MPM.

We also respond to concerns that our results could also be caused by heterogeneity in the broader institutional environment, as China's transition economy is characterized by pronounced variability in the extent and scope of its marketization. To rule out unobserved variable bias due to institutional heterogeneity, we control for the degree of provincial-level market development by using the National Economic Research Institute of China (NERI) marketization index (Fan and Wong, 2006). The composite index covers the fields of government and market relations, development of the non-state economy, development of the product market, development of the factor markets, and the legal environment. The index values range from 1 to 10, with 10 indicating the highest level of marketization. Our results are not only confirmed with the inclusion of the comprehensive overall marketization index, but also hold with the inclusion of specialized marketization sub-indices that focus on private sector development, legal quality, and firm-government relations.¹⁵

Different industries tend to have different PM and AT values due to the specific conditions within which they operate. In our baseline models, we use industry-adjusted performance measures to filter out some of these industry effects. Nevertheless, to further ensure that our results are not driven by industry effects, we include a set of industry dummy variables into our models, but the findings remain unaltered.

Finally, we check the sensitivity of the results to our classification of turnover instances. We use both 60 and then 65 years of age as the benchmark for the

¹⁵ For brevity, the results of the remaining robustness checks are not reported. The regression results are available upon request from the corresponding author.

classification of forced retirement. We also include turnover instances that are associated with legal disputes in the forced turnover category. Finally, we exclude turnover cases in which we fail to identify the destinations of the departing CEOs from our forced turnover sample. We obtain consistent results with these alternative classification schemes.¹⁶

5. Conclusion

Previous studies have confirmed that managerial turnover in state-controlled firms is responsive to various financial performance measures, including profitability as measured by ROA and different sales-related measures. These findings seemingly contradict the common notion that a weak profit motive guides and shapes state shareholder behavior. The problem, however, is that none of these studies explicitly distinguishes between state shareholders' sales and profit motives nor examines their relative importance. Based on the common notion that state shareholders tend to have a weak profit motive but a strong sales motive, we distinguish between both objectives and estimate their relative impact on CEO turnover in a sample of listed firms in China.

We obtain three main results. First, CEO turnover is negatively related to the sales performance but not the profitability of the core business. Second, further tests on the interaction effects confirm that the sensitivity of CEO turnover to sales is stronger for firms with over-employment and excessive administrative expenses. This suggests that state shareholders do not treat sales maximization as a tool or means of efficient management. In contrast, a greater sales volume helps to realize social and political objectives such as personal rent-seeking behavior and the provision of excess employment. Third, there is a significant post-turnover increase in sales performance but

¹⁶ The estimation results are available upon request from the authors.

a decline in profitability of the core business. Overall, our study suggests that CEO monitoring is guided by the interest of state shareholders in maximizing sales rather than profitability.

From a broader perspective, our study contributes to the literature on the corporate governance of partially privatized firms. Our results indicate that CEO turnover, as one of the key mechanisms of corporate control, differs profoundly between state-controlled and privately controlled firms. In particular, profit motive plays an insignificant role in state shareholder monitoring, whereas the preference for large sales is a crucial determinants (Buchanan et al., 1980; Kornai, 1992). Our evidence from listed firms in China suggests that corporatization and public listing may be insufficient devices to turn state-owned firms into profit-oriented entities.

In an era of the global revitalization of state shareholdings, these findings may have critical implications for private investors in corporatized state-owned firms and will hopefully inspire further research to better understand the specific monitoring incentives of state shareholders in corporatized state-controlled firms. Notwithstanding, before prematurely generalizing our results, we advocate caution on two counts. First, our evidence is obtained from listed public firms in China only, and further evidence both from developing and developed economies is needed to rule out the impact of country-specific cultural or political effects that might influence state shareholder behavior. Second, as the specific social welfare functions are unknown, our results do not invite inferences on overall welfare effects. Theoretically, the dominance of the sales motive could yield positive short-term welfare effects if local employment rates and wage levels

were taken into account. Nevertheless, such potentially positive social effects would be partly financed by lower firm profitability.

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Table 1
Annual CEO Turnover Rate in Listed Companies in China: 1999-2003

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	1995-2003
Number of listed companies	918	1054	1136	1192	1255	5555
Total number of CEO changes	273	332	314	310	326	1555
Annual turnover rate (%)	29.74	31.5	27.64	26.01	25.98	27.99
Number of CEO changes after consolidation	254	303	284	293	304	1438
Annual turnover rate after consolidation (%)	27.67	28.75	25	24.58	24.22	25.89

Table 2

Stated Reasons for CEO Turnover in Listed Companies in China

	Full Sample		Consolidated Sample	
	Number	Percentage of Sample (%)	Number	Percentage of Sample (%)
1. Change of job	464	29.84	427	29.69
2. Retirement	31	1.99	30	2.09
3. Contract expiration	327	21.03	319	22.18
4. Change in controlling shareholder	43	2.77	43	2.99
5. Resignation	298	19.16	265	18.43
6. Dismissal	65	4.18	53	3.69
7. Health	49	3.15	45	3.13
8. Personal reasons	11	0.71	9	0.63
9. Corporate governance reform	146	9.39	137	9.53
10. Legal disputes	5	0.32	5	0.35
11. No reason given	103	6.62	93	6.47
12. Completion of acting duties	13	0.84	12	0.83
Total number of observations	1555	100	1438	100

Table 3

Destination of Departing CEOs

Destination	No. of observations	Percentage of sample (%)
<i>Voluntary turnover</i>		
1. CEO position taken up at another listed company or within the parent company	150	13.11
2. Promoted to board chair or vice-chair	197	17.22
3. Important government position taken up	17	1.49
4. Health problems	10	0.87
5. Remaining as board chair or vice-chair	225	19.67
6. Arrested or under investigation	24	2.10
7. Going abroad to study	8	0.70
8. Change in controlling shareholder	34	2.90
<i>Non-voluntary turnover</i>		
9. Information unavailable	288	25.17
10. New position lower than CEO position	198	17.31
11. CEO position taken up at another unlisted and small company	27	2.36
Total	1178	100

Table 4
 Summary Statistics and Univariate Tests

Panel A: Summary Statistics for the Key Variables						
Variables	Number	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Years	3815	4.973	5	2.324	1	12
Age	3815	46.434	46	7.280	26	70
Tenure	3815	2.754	2.5	1.615	0	12
Duality	3815	0.154	0	0.361	0	1
DAR	3815	-0.003	-0.001	0.159	-0.516	0.535
Size	3815	21.033	20.977	0.841	17.917	26.632
Private	3815	0.185	0	0.388	0	1
ROA	3815	0.105	0.098	0.057	-0.065	0.329
PM	3815	0.013	0.000	0.126	-0.545	0.569
AT	3815	0.072	0.001	0.302	-0.761	1.689

Panel B: Univariate Tests for the Performance Measures						
Performance measures without industry adjustment						
	Mean test			Median test		
	State-owned sample	Private sample	P value	State-owned sample	Private sample	P value
Asset Turnover	0.532	0.442	0	0.442	0.370	0
Profit Margin	0.237	0.267	0	0.212	0.247	0

Performance measures with industry adjustment						
	Mean test			Median test		
	State-owned sample	Private sample	P value	State-owned sample	Private sample	P value
Asset Turnover	0.087	0.006	0	0.014	-0.049	0
Profit Margin	0.007	0.043	0	-0.004	0.027	0

Table 5

Probit Regression Estimation of the Turnover-Performance Links in Listed Companies
 in China

	State-owned sample		Private sample		Interaction
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Years	0.022 (1.367)	0.021 (1.336)	0.036 (1.270)	0.037 (1.281)	0.03 (2.432)**
Age	0.019** (3.692)	0.019*** (3.769)	0.029*** (3.171)	0.029*** (3.226)	0.02 (4.824)***
Tenure	-0.237*** (7.910)	-0.236*** (7.879)	-0.190*** (3.300)	-0.193*** (3.363)	-0.217 (8.318)***
Duality	-0.446** (3.388)	-0.455*** (3.474)	-0.466** (2.182)	-0.465** (2.193)	-0.462 (4.341)***
DAR	-0.040 (0.182)	0.017 (0.075)	0.605 (1.495)	0.580 (1.409)	0.126 (0.663)
Size	-0.145** (3.212)	-0.141*** (3.112)	-0.147* (1.778)	-0.147* (1.763)	-0.131 (3.589)***
ROA	-1.890** (2.723)		-2.361* (1.662)		
Private					0.175 (2.321)**
PM		-0.301 (0.915)		-1.080** (2.267)	-0.224 (0.718)
AT		-0.264* (1.868)		-0.498** (2.100)	-0.261 (1.807)*
Pri_PM					-0.951 (1.680)*
Pri_AT					-0.217 (0.827)
Constant	0.938 (1.005)	0.869 (0.927)	0.64 (0.373)	0.649 (0.376)	0.797 (1.054)
Observations	3110	3110	705	705	3815
Pseudo R-squared	0.078	0.075	0.093	0.098	0.072

Notes: Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses; * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%;
 *** significant at 1%. A series of year dummies are included but not reported here.

Table 6
 Changes in Post-turnover Performance in Listed Firms in China

Panel A: State-owned Sample					Panel B: Private Sample				
	Unadjusted PM	Industry adjusted PM	Control group adjusted PM	Both industry and control group adjusted PM		Unadjusted PM	Industry adjusted PM	Control group adjusted PM	Both industry and control group adjusted PM
(+1, 0)	-0.011	0.004	0.000	0.000	(+1, 0)	0.009	0.022	0.010	0.014
<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.005</i>	<i>0.962</i>	<i>0.945</i>	<i>0.987</i>	<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.927</i>	<i>0.117</i>	<i>0.189</i>	<i>0.201</i>
(+2, 0)	-0.025	-0.007	0.000	-0.003	(+2, 0)	-0.012	0.008	0.029	0.028
<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.373</i>	<i>0.640</i>	<i>0.711</i>	<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.148</i>	<i>0.504</i>	<i>0.096</i>	<i>0.090</i>
(+3, 0)	-0.025	-0.010	0.004	0.002	(+3, 0)	-0.014	0.018	0.009	0.016
<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.935</i>	<i>0.425</i>	<i>0.350</i>	<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.262</i>	<i>0.098</i>	<i>0.088</i>	<i>0.090</i>
	Unadjusted AT	Industry adjusted AT	Control group adjusted AT	Both industry and control group adjusted AT		Unadjusted AT	Industry adjusted AT	Control group adjusted AT	Both industry and control group adjusted AT
(+1, 0)	0.045	0.032	0.014	0.024	(+1, 0)	0.015	-0.007	0.017	0.012
<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.003</i>	<i>0.040</i>	<i>0.039</i>	<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.225</i>	<i>0.923</i>	<i>0.192</i>	<i>0.141</i>
(+2, 0)	0.071	0.036	0.018	0.023	(+2, 0)	0.021	0.001	0.000	0.003
<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.099</i>	<i>0.071</i>	<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.036</i>	<i>0.632</i>	<i>0.305</i>	<i>0.256</i>
(+3, 0)	0.095	0.035	0.014	0.019	(+3, 0)	0.032	-0.012	-0.010	-0.027
<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.001</i>	<i>0.477</i>	<i>0.386</i>	<i>p_value</i>	<i>0.011</i>	<i>0.748</i>	<i>0.486</i>	<i>0.299</i>

Table 7

Probit Regression Estimation with Interaction Effects

	State-owned Sample			Private sample		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Years	0.027* (1.667)	0.028* (1.715)	0.028* (1.726)	0.042 (1.455)	0.042 (1.447)	0.042 (1.446)
Age	0.019*** (3.797)	0.019*** (3.757)	0.019** (3.727)	0.029*** (3.185)	0.029*** (3.165)	0.029*** (3.159)
Tenure	-0.238*** (7.951)	-0.240*** (7.940)	-0.239** (7.958)	-0.190*** (3.280)	-0.189*** (3.259)	-0.189*** (3.258)
Duality	-0.448*** (3.413)	-0.450*** (3.421)	-0.449** (3.415)	-0.476** (2.244)	-0.477** (2.248)	-0.477** (2.248)
DAR	0.101 (0.437)	0.106 (0.457)	0.096 (0.416)	0.590 (1.443)	0.589 (1.437)	0.588 (1.438)
Size	-0.155*** (3.305)	-0.155*** (3.331)	-0.153** (3.262)	-0.186** (2.154)	-0.186** (2.151)	-0.185** (2.151)
PM	-0.235 (0.688)	-0.203 (0.602)	-0.197 (0.583)	-1.034** (2.095)	-1.041** (2.122)	-1.040** (2.120)
AT	-0.088 (0.540)	0.092 (0.500)	0.186 (0.959)	-0.383 (1.418)	-0.458 (1.484)	-0.455 (1.391)
Over	-0.047 (0.620)	-0.082 (1.105)	-0.062 (0.804)	0.021 (0.146)	0.020 (0.137)	0.020 (0.136)
Fee	-0.123 (1.580)	-0.084 (1.081)	-0.090 (1.154)	-0.223 (1.532)	-0.224 (1.536)	-0.223 (1.526)
Over*AT	-0.630** (2.077)		-0.559* (1.772)	0.002 (0.003)		-0.014 (0.030)
Fee*AT		-0.629** (2.419)	-0.579** (2.231)		0.165 (0.382)	0.166 (0.382)
Constant	1.191 (1.220)	1.220 (1.258)	1.169 (1.197)	1.525 (0.856)	1.524 (0.856)	1.518 (0.853)
Observations	3110	3110	3110	705	705	705
Pseudo R-squared	0.080	0.081	0.083	0.103	0.103	0.103

Notes: Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses; * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%. A series of year dummies are included but not reported here.

Table 8

Probit Regression Estimation with Alternative Measures of Sales Performance

	Annual sales growth		Average sales growth		
	State-owned sample	Private sample	State-owned sample	Private sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Years	0.003 (0.177)	0.032 (0.881)	Years	0.006 (0.350)	0.020 (0.545)
Age	0.022*** (3.857)	0.020* (1.913)	Age	0.022*** (3.857)	0.024** (2.322)
Tenure	-0.256*** (8.409)	-0.187*** (2.723)	Tenure	-0.260*** (8.610)	-0.213*** (3.135)
Duality	-0.588*** (3.817)	-0.659** (2.429)	Duality	-0.506*** (3.444)	-0.556** (2.173)
DAR	0.239 (1.020)	0.157 (0.346)	DAR	0.232 (1.012)	0.260 (0.604)
Size	-0.156*** (3.147)	-0.333*** (3.344)	Size	-0.158*** (3.196)	-0.290*** (3.037)
Asset_change	-0.235 (0.949)	0.490 (1.196)	Asset_change	-0.151 (0.621)	0.209 (0.523)
PM	-0.475 (1.410)	-1.512*** (2.813)	PM	-0.227 (0.681)	-1.256** (2.471)
GROW	-0.301* (1.726)	0.204 (0.759)	MGROW	-0.511** (2.317)	0.505 (1.361)
Constant	1.178 (1.161)	4.910** (2.346)	Constant	1.261 (1.231)	3.944** (1.986)
Observations	2721	591	Observations	2721	591
Pseudo R-squared	0.096	0.122	Pseudo R-squared	0.095	0.114

Notes: Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses; * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%. A series of year dummies are included but not reported here.

Table 9

Probit Regression for State-controlled and Liberalized Industries

	Liberalized industries		State-controlled industries	
	State-owned sample	Private sample	State-owned sample	Private sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Years	0.019 (1.051)	0.059* (1.846)	0.026 (0.689)	-0.071 (1.030)
Age	0.016*** (2.990)	0.029*** (2.915)	0.039*** (2.823)	0.028 (1.213)
Tenure	-0.212*** (6.532)	-0.196*** (3.164)	-0.391*** (6.221)	-0.223 (1.437)
Duality	-0.478*** (3.313)	-0.490** (2.078)	-0.352 (1.059)	-0.384 (0.902)
DAR	-0.041 (0.167)	0.304 (0.650)	0.214 (0.385)	1.696* (1.674)
Size	-0.114** (2.286)	-0.201** (2.047)	-0.304** (2.352)	0.245 (1.491)
PM	-0.351 (0.939)	-1.037* (1.929)	-0.291 (0.378)	-0.428 (0.317)
AT	-0.273* (1.865)	-0.511* (1.935)	-0.491 (1.018)	-0.168 (0.302)
Constant	0.397 (0.386)	1.479 (0.735)	3.582 (1.335)	-6.292* (1.716)
Observations	2538	557	572	148
Pseudo R-squared	0.065	0.107	0.157	0.167

Notes: Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses; * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%. A series of year dummies are included but not reported here.

Appendix A: Definitions of variables

Variable	Definition
Force	A binary variable that equals 1 if there was an instance of forced turnover in a given period.
Years	The number of years a firm has been listed on the stock exchange.
Age	The CEO's age
Tenure	The CEO's tenure
Duality	A dummy variable that equals 1 if a CEO is concurrently also holding the position of board chair
DAR	Capital structure as measured by the book value of debt over the total book value of assets.
Size	Firm size, as measured by the natural logarithm of the book value of total firm assets.
Private	A dummy variable that equals 1 if the private is in the position of the controlling shareholder
ROA	The ratio of profit from the core business over total assets
PM	The industry-adjusted profit margin of the core business, which is defined as profit over sales minus the corresponding ratio of the industry.
AT	Industry-adjusted asset turnover, which is defined as sales over assets minus the corresponding ratio of the industry.
Over	A dummy variable to indicate whether there is any over-employment in a firm, which equals 1 if a firm has over-employment and 0 otherwise.
Fee	A binary variable to indicate whether a firm's administration fee over the book value of total sales is larger than the year-industry adjusted median value
Over*AT	The interaction term of variable OVER and AT
Fee*AT	The interaction term of variable FEE and AT
Asset_change	Changes in asset size in the corresponding year
GROW	We follow Firth et al. (2006) in using $\ln(\text{sales}/\text{sales}(t-1))$ as the measure of annual sales growth.
MGROW	Three-year moving average sales growth rate.

Western Symbols of Power in Occupied Taiwan:
A study of the architectural 'Form' of the Governor General's Office in Taihoku

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Western Symbols of Power in Occupied Taiwan: a study of the architectural 'Form' of the Governor General's Office in Taihoku¹

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Introduction

The Governor General's Office of Taiwan, built from 1912 to 1919, was a curiously authoritarian building and an interesting snapshot into the period that it was built in. It was necessary because, since the beginning of Japanese rule in Taiwan, the Japanese authority had been run from the traditional Chinese Yamen office from the Ching dynasty whose structure had severely declined. The government needed a building which showed their ambitions and the values that the colonial government held. As part of this the building project team decided to use a design from a public architecture competition. Competitions were a very popular method of attracting high quality yet this was the only competition used in Taiwan during the colonial period and attracted more than 50 designs, all from mainland Japan rather than Taiwan. The architect who later became the technical director of the project, Matsunosuke Moriyama, was a successful architect in Taiwan, building many of the principal town halls, but had failed to progress beyond the first stage of the competition. He was appointed by the Japanese authorities to execute the project from the winning design of architect, Nagano Ueiji (長野宇平治). Of the other competition entries, the archival data found has shown that all of the entrants designed using western architectural forms with few if any 'Japanese' features. For a country which is perceived to be so proud of its architectural traditions, this newly invented tradition is worthy of further exploration.

In Japan western countries initially came for trade and, after being refused, to force Japanese ports to be opened. The humiliation of the subsequent Treaties and the wish to be free from the western threat led to the desire to use western technologies to develop the nation and the restoration of the Emperor Meiji. Under this new regime Japanese architecture opened to the West and the new government soon established a western based education system, with western tastes in style and technology and new building types for the country, such as banks, mints, universities and government buildings such as law courts and town halls. (Watanabe, 1996: 22) It was far easier to imitate western building types than to integrate new functions into traditional Japanese architectural forms.

The desire to learn from abroad was shown in the significant oath: 'Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule' in the "Five Charter Oath" in 1868. Much of these changes were therefore facilitated by government employed Western architects who became important translators of ideas from the west to Japan. As such the architecture of the period was representative of the government vision of taking outside influences to join the elite nations of the world and save itself through western learning.

Through this study of the architectural traces from Victorian Europe, through Japan to Taiwan in the form of the Governor General's office we can start to answer the questions of why the choices for the building's form were made, asking: "What is the effect of dominant groups – civil, military, ecclesiastical or, say, Freemasonic? Whose formal codes emerge? What explains exclusions – censored forms?" (Markus, 1993: 12) This paper will first explore the form development of National Government buildings through a study relationship between power and form of buildings and applying this to a short study of the history of national government buildings in Japan. The following part of the paper links these findings to an analysis of the form of Governor General's Office. After introducing the background of the building, this paper

¹ Taihoku is the old name of Taipei in the Japanese Colonial Period.

introduces of the spatial idea of form to explore form from the levels of space, decoration and style following the authority figure's route at the Office. The conclusion of the paper examines the effects that these invented traditions had on the Japanese architectural profession and how borrowing western forms represented the indirect domination of Japanese architectural identity.

Power and form in national government buildings

Buildings, particularly government buildings, possess a distinct quality of power in three main ways. First, by the *feelings* they transmit through their appearance. Buildings can inspire a sense of awe, respect, status and authority, or conversely, familiarity, banality and disrespect. Second, through their design, buildings can transmit *ideas and symbols* of power. Ideas of their importance and status can be shown by distinguishing them from other buildings in the general vicinity or functional group by their size, craftsmanship and expense, and, more particularly, through decorations. Third, buildings transmit power through the *organisation of space* and rooms within a building. "The articulation of space always embeds relationships of power, insofar as it governs interactions between users of a building, prescribes certain routines to them, and allows them to be subjected to particular forms of surveillance and control." (Markus and Cameron, 2002: 68-69)

One of the indications of these three aspects of power is how resources are distributed across the urban space and, at the building level, in certain rooms and areas. Since a building is split into component rooms, the way these resources are split can indicate a high or low degree of status and power. (Markus, 1993: 23) For example, in official buildings staff entrances are often practical whilst official entrances are ornate. Power can also be seen from the levels of hierarchical structures, control and surveillance, by placement or displacement from the axis and the floor a room is placed on. These criteria show that buildings are articulations of social meanings and, in particular, social power so that a decoration, style or articulation of space can be indicative of a level of power and authority.

Beyond the measurement of resource distribution as a crude gauge of power, there are certain symbolic characteristics which can be read in building forms; some of the most obvious examples of this are secular buildings such as banks resembling cathedrals and temples, and tall buildings such as skyscrapers using their height to create a powerful urban symbol. These are metaphors, easily interpretable, where the prestige of one type of building is borrowed for another or the height of a building is equated to its importance. (Markus and Cameron, 2002: 68.) More subtly, a decoration can have a deeper meaning which indicates the values and status that categories of forms are held in. Using the iconography of ancient Greece can denote something about the esteem and status that classical as opposed to national forms. The action of borrowing forms indicates the respect and power that the borrowed form is held in. When the country borrows forms from other cultures in its government buildings then the native culture has less faith in their own forms to show the power of the government.

The form will always reflect the public and hierarchy's understanding of what the building type represents so that forms are never strictly tied to functions. Taking governmental functions as an example, previous to the Meiji era castles were the main administrative buildings in Japan as in the early part of the Edo period the principle of 'one castle for one domain' was established which meant that each domain had to concentrate its military and administrative function in one castle town. (Sorenson, 2002: 15) Castles were therefore saturated with ideas of status and power with the building itself holding the functions of authority - legal, military and administrative - within it. The construction was necessarily large and the tall towers of the castle could be seen for miles. (Schmorleitz, 1974: 63) The urban environment was ordered around

these castles to the extent that an ideal emerged by the seventieth century that the distances of a samurai's residence should be in proportion to his status within the warrior hierarchy. (Sorenson, 2002: 15) This building form however was eclipsed in Meiji Japan with the establishment of new western based building types for national government buildings. This occurred after the restoration of the Emperor Meiji in the context of the threat of colonisation. The new building system became mature in its own way but bore no similarity in form to the previous indigenous government buildings.

These forms taken from the West were developed from the late twelfth century onwards and preserved from the early thirteenth. (Pevsner, 1976: 27) Until the end of the seventeenth century government buildings were nearly all town halls, which collected the functions of council meetings, administrative office and courts of justice in the same building. In the course of the eighteenth century this changed and the functions were re-housed into separate buildings. Differentiation of functions continued, so that by 1800 Houses of Parliament, buildings for Ministries, town halls and law courts all went their own way. (Pevsner, 1976: 34) After this time, any series of major town halls illustrated stylistic, not functional development. (Pevsner, 1976: 53) Therefore the Japanese government were borrowing stable governmental functions from the west, with uniformly separate functions for parliament, ministries, town halls and law courts. However the forms of these buildings were many and varied across Europe and America at a time of intense debate about the meaning and purpose of public architecture, a debate named the 'battle of the styles' which the Japanese were well aware of. The forms chosen were therefore indicative of both the self identity of the newly emerging government and the esteem which the Japanese government held western forms to impress and dominate the governed population. This was no where less the case than in Taiwan, Japan's first colony. The colonisation of the island made Japan the first non-western imperial power.

The Official "Form" of the Governor General's Office

"In Meiji Year 32, the fourth of Governor-General of Taiwan, Count Kodama Gentarō, was expected to be appointed. His first targets were to establish a 'Taiwan Shinto shrine' and 'Governor-General's Hall of Taiwan'. He believed the 'Taiwan Shinto shrine's purpose was to unify the people's consciousness. Yet, the 'Governor-General's Hall of Taiwan' was to show the prestige of Governor-General. Its purpose was to order the Taiwanese people to surrender and to threaten them; therefore, it should have an impressive style." 石川嘉太郎, the technician of the Department of Construction and Maintenance in the Governor-General's office. (Taiwan Architectural Association Magazine, 1936: 337.)

By the passage above it seems that demonstrating the prestige of Governor-General through an impressive style is most significant purpose of the Governor General's Office. As seen in the previous section, buildings, particularly government buildings, produce a powerful experience, and the building form of uses the mores and values of its society to great effect to influence the populace. (Markus, 1993: 27.) This is even more the case when the building is the seat of government and hence a symbol of the country in which it is based. The building process was long and complex with interventions by the central government on the building's form and style including a demand to increase the size of the central tower. The stylistic choices are analysed in order to draw out notions of authority and power in historical Taihoku and why such forms were chosen to influence the public at that time.

The Governor General's Office was a red brick and stone building, shown in figure 1, which used horizontal bands of red bricks and white pebbles on the outer walls. On the windows, keystones were arranged in a wheel shape to add diversity. The façade had sparsely-ornamented arcading along the fourth floor with the columns reaching down to the bottom of the first floor. This arcading gives the building a certain Italian squareness and regularity of outline. Although the façade of the first and second floors are simple with white square balconies which are separated by solid brick columns, the diversity of form from the third floor and ground floor make the front facade lively. This visual effect is very similar to the architecture of Tatsuno Kingo², Professor of Architecture at the Imperial College of Engineering where the architect Matsunosuke studied. There were echoes of the Queen Anne style in the building too, a style which was in vogue when Tatsuno Kingo worked in England in William Burges's office. This was a suitable style for much of the brick architecture constructed in the Meiji period, which Tatsuno recommended as "cheap and easy to produce". (Stewart, 1987: 38) The main traits of Queen Anne were "the use of plain red brick, English (and perforce Dutch) Renaissance details, a returning inclination towards symmetrical composition, and a quality of lightness and delicacy in treatment not associated with High Victorian architecture." (Macleod, 1971: 27) When used by Tatsuno, the lightness of the style was less evident than an emphasis on solidness and the use of white stone to add decoration to the red brick façade: so commonly did Tatsuno employ these features that it became known as "Tatsuno style" and therefore, to a certain extent, a Japanese architectural style.



Figure 1: the final design for the Governor General's Hall

Source: 黃俊銘, 2004: 113

The building's brick-tiled concrete construction, colonnades, gables, vaulted and oeil-de-boeuf windows, brackets, and composite columns reflect classic European elements common during the Japanese Occupation. Although we can say it's a "Tatsuno style" building with its elements of Queen Anne revival, the roots of the style found in Italian Renaissance revival, clear from its symmetrical layout around a vertical axis and classical features. Historically Renaissance architecture represented a return to Roman standards and motifs and this can be seen in the ornamentation in the Office as well as the use of Roman varieties of columns such as the Roman Ionic in the portico and a variation of the Roman composite order in the official entrance room. These features created a complex and imposing façade whilst the squareness and proportion of the building gave a feeling of permanence which was highly visible across the city as it was the tallest building in Taiwan for many years.

² Tatsuno Kingo was the best known of Conder's pupils, followed him as Professor of Architecture and Dean of the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Tokyo, and was responsible for the design and construction of some famous Japanese buildings. He could, perhaps, have been regarded as Conder's successor. (Checkland, 2003:78)

However, the impressive style of the building presents limited scope for understanding the building. In terms of communicating and directly influencing the building's inhabitants, perhaps the most direct effect was from the organisation of the building's space. The organisation of space "provides the material preconditions for the patterns of movement, encounter and avoidance which are the material realisation – as well as sometimes the generator – of social relations." (Hillier and Hanson, 1984: ix.) The spatial structure shows the practical purpose of the building as well as managing power relations. Therefore the circulation of the building connects all the spaces to show the borders of power and hierarchy.

This circulation can be shown by following the Governor General through the building which was his office. The route of the Governor General is logically the main hierarchy in this building which begins from the main official entrance. This entrance is the only one which rises from ground floor to the first floor - the other 8 entrances all lead to the ground floor. The official entrance in the middle of front of the building with a delicate façade surrounding it composed of an independent portico. This was only provided for the Governor or important visitors who would be driven from a private carriage from the left to right ramp (Figure 3). The portico (Figure 4), had a large, imposing Roman Ionic columns in octostyle with eight columns presented on approach and being roughly rectangular in shape. Between the middle columns there was a segmental arch with simple boxes hanging in the cornice below the front arch, which is repeated at either side. Under this arch is a large foliage based relief, which has since been removed, along with much else of the portico since the bomb damage of World War Two. However the original photographs show a classically inspired official entrance which is particularly decorative due to the Roman, rather than the simpler Greek, Ionic capitals.

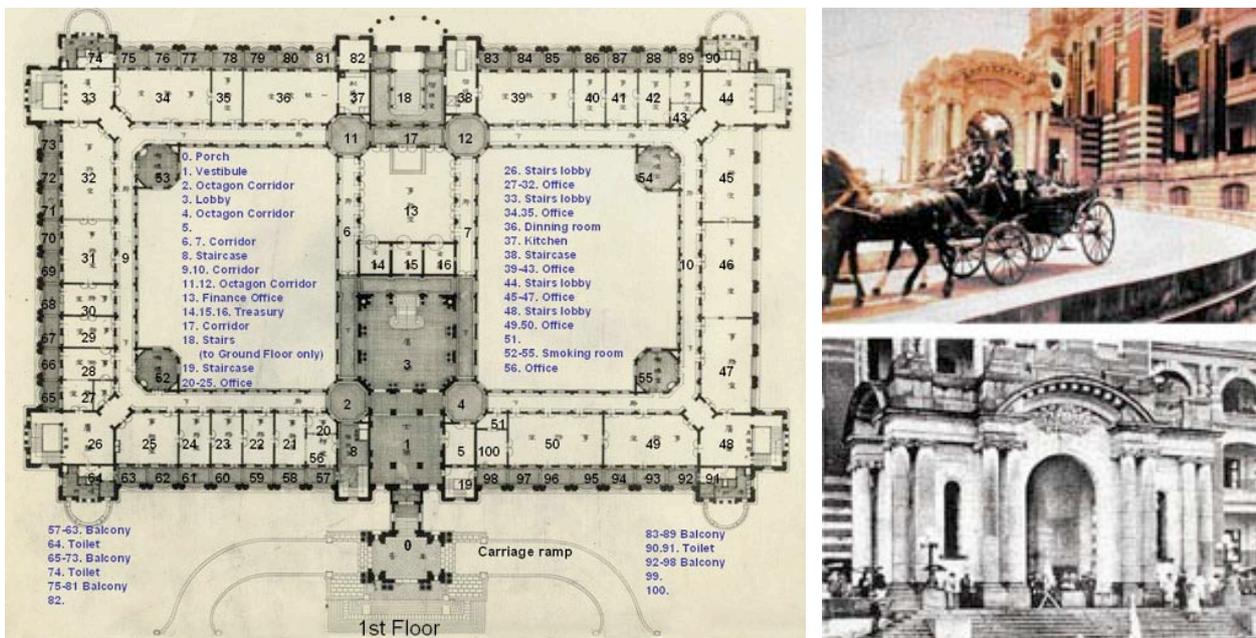


Figure 2 (left): First Floor Plan of Governor General's Office

Source: 李重耀建築師事務所 [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE & ENGINEERS]

Figure 3 (top right): The ramp at the official entrance

Source: 遠流視覺書編輯室,2000:142

Figure 4 (bottom right): Official entrance Portico

Source: 李重耀建築師事務所 [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE & ENGINEERS]

Once through the portico, the Governor would have reached the lobby. In western National Government building the grand staircase of entrance lobby is one of the key points of the building. As with the foreign office in London, built in 1868, the three-dimensional sketch shows as much as dignity as the architect can muster: a delicate curved ceiling with some huge beautiful decorated pendant lamps though the most significant feature is the grand staircase which branches left and right. (Figure 5) The equivalent purpose and stairway form can be seen in the Governor General's Office. (Figure 6) It was a three story high Baroque style room which used the Composite order of columniation. There were openings divided into three equal parts on the walls along the hallway. Flanking each doorway are two-story high double-pillars with a pair of square-walled pillars directly behind them.



Figure 5(left): The grade staircase at the Foreign office in 1868.
Source: Toplis, 1987: i

Figure 6: Lobby of Governor General's Office
Source: 李重耀建築師事務所 [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE & ENGINEERS]

The column stylobate (base) is tall, around the height of a person. The openings on the ground level are rectangular and each interrupted gable was originally decorated with flowers and mouldings. The openings at the upper level are arched and have a roaring lion's head at the top. A large mural by Japanese artist Okada Saburosuke, who was one of the founding members of the Paris-Pantheon art group in 1900, hung on the walls during the Japanese Occupation. The bull's skull in the fresco above these Composite columns, shown below (Figure 9), however, was unusual in its prominence and may betray either an erroneous understanding of the classical orders or defiance of the order. A bull's skull (Bucranium) was used in classical architecture and often garlanded but only used in the Doric order. (Parker, 1896: 156; Summerson, 1980: 123; Vitruvius, 1960) Therefore the presence of a Bucranium in the centre of a Composite order's frieze is puzzling in its symbolism given the importance of its position in the centre of the frieze above the official entrance lobby. (Figure 9) However the position did demand something to be there and, using the grammar of the classical orders, Matsunosuke may have thought that the bull's skull was eye catching, rather than imbued with meaning.

The columns in the lobby, shown below in figure 10, were in the giant order and the capitals roughly followed the Composite order with the key addition of a bird placed between the Roman Ionic volutes, likely to be an eagle. This use of a Roman Imperial symbol may have been used as its empire connotations were suitable to Japan's first overseas colony. The Composite frieze above the stairs is highly decorated as is usual in the order.

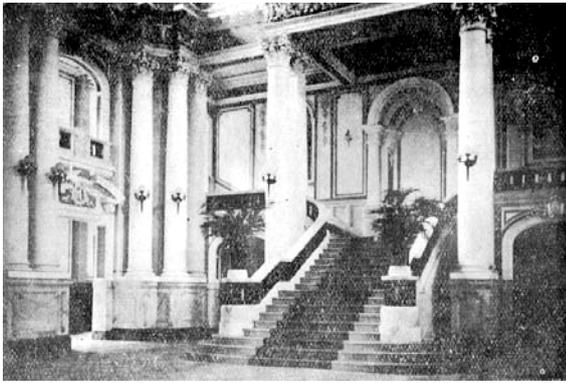


Figure 7: Lobby of Governor General's Office
 Source: 薛 琴, 黃俊銘, 2003: 62



Figure 8: The top of the stairs of lobby
 Source: [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE & ENGINEERS]



Figure 9 (left): Bucranium on Composite frieze in lobby
 Source: [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE & ENGINEERS]



Figure 10 (right): Customised Composite capital in lobby
 Source: 薛 琴, 黃俊銘, 2003: iv-63

The top of the stairs of lobby (room 3 in figure 2) was an important place in the building as it was the exact point where the two halves of the building are back to back. It notable in the Japanese period there was a tree in this position or sometimes empty. (Figure 7, 8) Directly behind this point was a huge portrait of the Emperor on the second floor in the back of the main meeting room. This room was working in the centre of the vertical and horizontal axis and so it can be seen as the accumulation of the axis. Therefore in the Governor General's Office the most important person is at the end of the axis on the highest seat (although the emperor was not present in person, merely as a photograph).

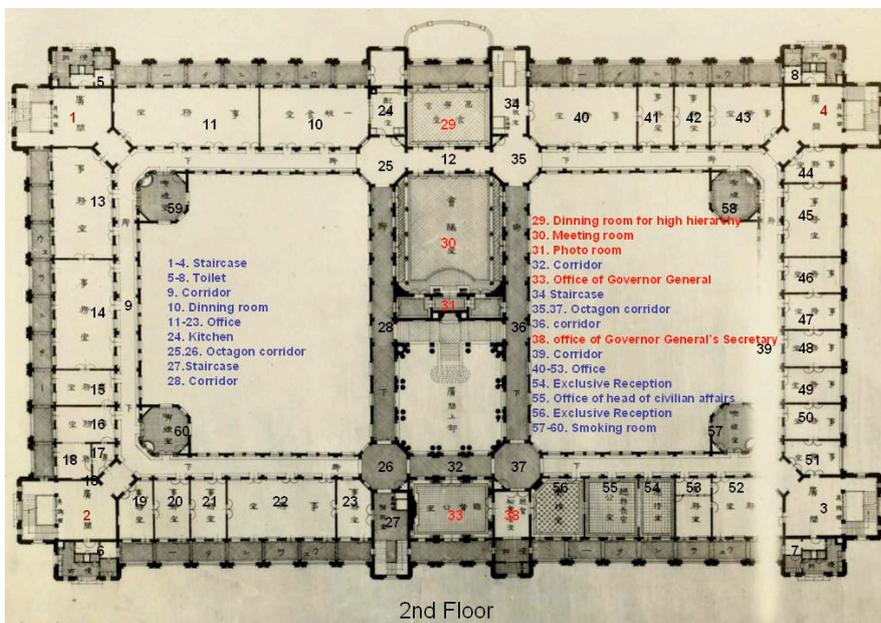


Figure 11: Second Floor Plan of Governor General's Office
 Source: 李重耀建築師事務所 [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE &

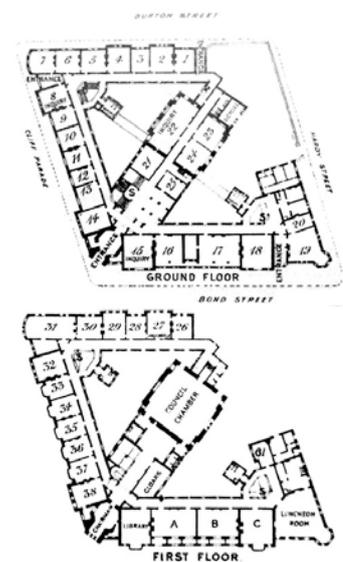


Figure 12: County hall floor plans
 Source: Barber, 1979:116

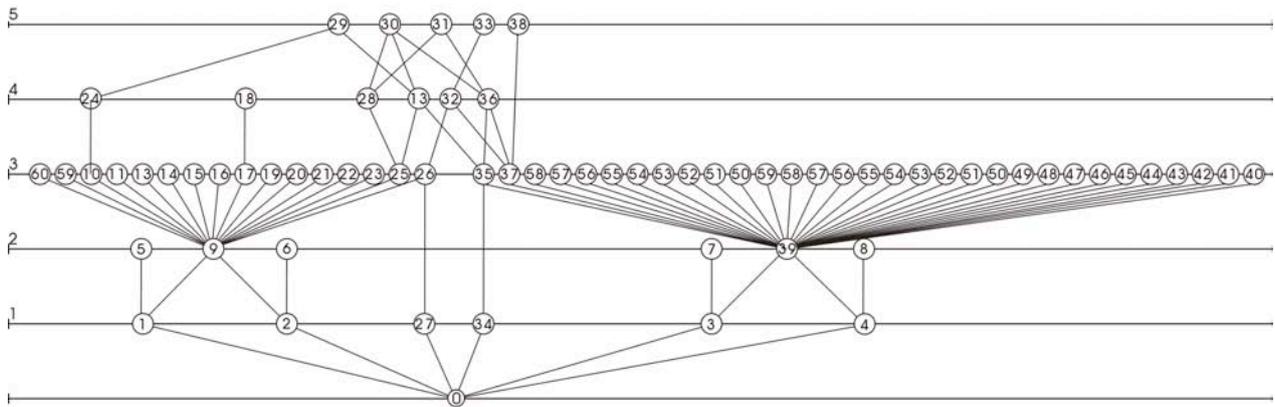


Figure 13: Space-syntax of Second Floor Plan of Governor General's Office

From this official entrance lobby, all the routes for the Governor were made easy by the spatial design; this is because of the high degree of centrality in the building, betraying the importance of the central axis. The rooms that the Governor might pass are all the important spaces to the building as seen the space analysis diagram (Figure 13) which shows the number of levels needed to go from the first to the second floor; the rooms 29, 30, 31, 33, and 38 are the deepest rooms (in red in Figure 11). As this figure above shows, the left and right U-shaped corridors (9 and 39) are almost symmetrically organised, providing easy access to the offices for most of the workforce, being only three levels from any point on the first floor. This suggests an emphasis on practicality and order for workers as well as showing the value of access and openness between colonial government departments. The official entrance is only a few short levels from the corridors too. However, this emphasis on easy access does not stretch to the Governor General's personal office. From any of the six sets of stairs on the first floor leading to the second floor, the Governor needs to go through a minimum of 5 levels, the maximum on the second floor's floor plan, to get to his office (33). This conforms to Markus' position that "depth indicates power... The person with the greatest power is at the tip of a tree, reached through corridors, stairs, outer and inner offices and waiting lobbies." (Markus, 1993: 16)

The Governor's personal office and his secretary's office are just to the right of the central axis (33 and 38 in figure 11) and facing the front of the building on the second floor. He also had his own private entrance so he did not necessarily need to parade. When necessary, the ceremonial entrance took place at the front entrance with the baroque lobby: such ceremonies were a very usual phenomenon for the period in Europe. The inaccessibility of the Governor General meant additional security for him as well as a prime position at the front of the building overlooking the front entrance which itself was guarded by soldiers. It is significant too that this axial system is strong in the centre of the building with the portrait of the emperor dead centre, and the position of the Governor's personal office at the front of the vertical axis, above the official entrance. This is similar to official buildings in the West: the chairman of Wakefield County Hall is also on the central axis and facing the front of the building on the top of entrance floor. (Figure 12) This vertical axis is very important: it is only by traversing the central axis and via a set of stairs that you can be taken through to the Governor General's personal office, often through the majestic two floor high committee hall and through past a portrait of the Emperor. This route is also for higher officers, the important honoured guests or any important ceremonial activity; the vertical axis is reserved for those of a high status.

The Governor General's personal office itself was embedded in western symbolism. It was a luxurious space with high standard, modern facilities. There was one of only three fireplaces in

the building in his personal office³: other heating facilities were not constructed until 1922. This was a feature imported from the west as fireplaces were very rare in Japanese houses where braziers were commonly used. In European countries such as England, heating was crucial. The traditional fireplace symbolised the heart of the home and formed a focal point around which people gathered. (Conway and Roenisch, 1994: 79) Architects in England at this time would always look at the impact of the fireplace on the room so it is a major focus and celebration. It is very interesting evidence to show that the fireplace is a strong western symbol and the architect saw need to have one in the Governor's personal office although it was functionally nearly redundant in the tropical weather of Taiwan.

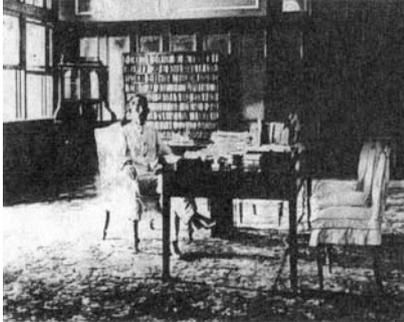


Figure 14: The Governor's personal office (fireplace right of bookcase)
Source: 黃俊銘, 2004: 133

The floor of his office was carpeted. In the near east, the carpet always had and still retains a practical function, as well as a symbolic function whose meaning is now obscured. It signified a magical space whose borders stood for the terrestrial, human sphere, erected as a protective barrier around the field, which symbolized the sphere of the heavens and the divine. (Milanesi and Hyams, 1999: 26) Unlike the consideration the carpet enjoyed in the Orient, it was deemed exclusively a luxury object in Europe, a symbol of authority and power, totally devoid of ties to practical everyday life. (Milanesi and Hyams, 1999: 184) It's usage in westernised Japan was almost certainly following contemporary western usage and symbolism rather than historical Chinese/Middle Eastern carpets.

An important decoration can be found in a room at the top of the main tower, far off the usual route of Governor General. A Taiwanese cypress tablet (figure 15, 16) was made with the date of the beam raising ceremony and the names of the government officials and workers responsible for the construction of the Office of the President. The variety of cypress trees in Japan and Taiwan were unique in the world and often used in traditional architecture in both countries. The use of a Taiwanese cypress tablet to mark the most important ceremony in the building process harked to the building traditions once shared between the two countries and their geographical bond. However the fact that this important symbol is so inaccessible being at the top of the tower reflects the withdrawn position of traditional symbolism in the building as a whole, hidden behind the dominant western architectural forms.



Figure 15, 16: Cypress tablet for beam raising ceremony
Source: 李重耀建築師事務所 [C.Y.LI ARCHITECTURE & ENGINEERS]

³ Besides the fireplace in his office, the other two were in the Governor's private reception and in the honoured guest lounge.

Conclusion

The work of linking the route of space with the appearance of the Governor General's Office discloses an unusual level of symbolism. Through analysing the form in an integrated way a more direct understanding of the effect that the environment has on the user can be found. The reflection of the power of the Governor General is not just in the way his building has been designed, it is also the way he and other bureaucrats perform for they are instruments for the power of the Japanese state. Yet the building shaped the building users behaviour in a new way, moving from the Ching period Yamen to a western style authority building and following a different historical trajectory. For example, the formal Roman Ionic portico entrance meant that the Governor would need to change his behaviour and parade to enter his office, following other European examples such as the Austrian Parliament (figure 17).



Figure 17: The Austrian Parliament building, Vienna.
Source: website

This behaviour change is related to the cultural power that Japan had in this period. Through hiring foreign architects, and following architectural education in the western mould, the only architects who were recognised by the state were those trained in western tradition at the College of Engineering. The traditional Japanese master builders' own qualifications and thus their status and recognition in their own culture (cultural capital) was reduced to near extinction by the advent of this new professional class of western trained architects. (Wendelken, 1996: 30) Yet although these architects had far greater cultural capital than the master builders they were not a dominant group but rather were dominated from afar. For Bourdieu (2001), professionals who have cultural capital but do not own the means of production (i.e. the things or ideas they use to make something) will be classed as the dominated group. The Japanese architect who built the Governor General's Office could never convincingly exercise the western building vocabulary due being dominated by a foreign tradition over which he had no ownership beyond familiarity. Through lending so completely from western architectural forms, the Japanese architects became a culturally dominated group. Indeed, by using culturally borrowed forms such as the Composite order in the Governor General's Office lobby, mistakes in using the vocabulary of the order were likely, as seen by the use of the Doric ox head on the frieze above the stairs.

To alter the position of the architects as a culturally dominated group the Japanese government attempted to change the status of the architectural vocabulary they employed by inventing traditions. According to Hobsbawm (1992) inventing traditions, "is essentially a process of formalisation and ritualisation, characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition." (Hobsbawm, 1992: 4) Invention of tradition through repetition appeared to be the strategy of the Japanese in the Governor General's Office and the city it was located in as all authority buildings in Taihoku, and important civic buildings such as hospitals and schools, were built in generic 'western style'. Indeed, by using such Roman inspired motifs as the eagle on the Composite columns in the lobby and Roman Ionic portico the Japanese forced visitors to

associate Imperial Rome with Imperial Japan. The route of authorities through the building would have gone through such symbolic and ornate rooms as the porch, lobby, staircase and the personal office of the governor, all rooms full of western motifs. This invention of tradition was not just through association but also through claiming historical commonality: the first architectural historical study by a Japanese architect showed how Horyuji temple's form had been influenced from Alexander the Great whose Greek architecture had spread across Asia to Japan and how echoes of this could be found in the 7th century Japanese temple. (Reynolds, 2002: 531)

Discussions focus on western symbols in the architecture of this period as they are so ubiquitous. Even without understanding the meaning of symbols on the building, the very fact that the Western symbols had become the formal Code which the Office was constructed in shows that the power of the west was already present and the western forms were labelled with a special meaning by the authority. By labelling western forms as suitable for authority buildings they were in turn seen as intrinsically powerful by the beholders. These unfamiliar symbols got their own status in the eastern world by plentiful media propagation through newspapers, postcards and events such as expositions. Ultimately, western symbols became a platform for the populace to obey and understand the new Japanese authority and this feeling transferred equally to respect and obey the West. This is reflected in that after the Kuomintang retook Taiwan from the Japanese all the buildings in Japanese form were destroyed whilst the western official buildings were kept: the Governor General's Office is now the Presidential Office.

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Cambodian Animism: Bioregional Living in Practice

By Gregory McCann

The minority people of Ratanakiri and Mondulakiri provinces in Cambodia have almost certainly never heard of the term “bioregionalism.” However, their communities and lifestyles offer much to students and scholars of Ecocriticism; this is especially true for those interested in bioregionalism. The Tampuan, Brao, Kreung, and other minority groups are what Peter Berg and Raymond Dasmann (1977) refer to as “ecosystem cultures” who are adapted to and integrated with their local ecology in a way that ensures long-term prospects for both human and non-human life (Berg and Dasmann). Gary Snyder (1995) elaborates on this point: “Ecosystem cultures are those whose economic base of support is a natural region, a watershed, a plant zone, a natural territory, within which they have to make their whole living” (131). This is certainly true of the indigenous people who provide the source material for this paper, as will be demonstrated in the pages that follow. Special attention is drawn to Cambodia’s minority people because many of them still practice animism, which gives their relationship to the environment a religious underpinning that is composed of a nature-based spirituality. Furthermore, they are what French anthropologist Frederic Bourdier (2006) refers to as “vernacular people” whose societal structures and epistemology are largely shaped by their natural environments –not the other way around (p. 6). Remarkably on the Tampuan, Bourdier concludes “Thus, the manner in which native populations use their environment is directly dependent on the ideas they have regarding themselves, their physical environment and their intervention in the latter” (Ibid, 7). It is in this way that Cambodian animists have much to impart in the way of bioregional knowledge; they are infused with

the ecological milieu and their actions are largely governed by spirits that reside in nature. Without intimate knowledge of the flora, fauna, watersheds and spirit places of their region, their lives would literally come to a halt. Yet despite these attributes, the animistic, ecosystem cultures of Cambodia are on the brink of extinction due to outside forces that are not a part of their bioregion.

Indigenous people represent only 1.4 percent of the population of Cambodia, with the majority living in the northeast part of the Kingdom¹. While the Cambodian government often refers to its indigenous people generally as Khmer Loeu, there are at least eight different tribes living in these two provinces: the Tampuan, Brao, Kreung, and others. Additional minority groups live in small, scattered populations in distant provinces but their numbers are extremely small and virtually no ethnographic research has been done on them and it is believed that they are in the advanced stages of “Khmerization,” meaning that they are heavily integrated into mainstream Cambodian society (Ovesen and Trankell, 2004, 254). While some members of the tribes of Ratanakiri and Monduliri have converted to Christianity, a substantial portion of them still believe in what the West has termed “animism.” The word “animism” was coined by Sir Edward Burnett Tylor in his 1871 book *Primitive Culture* though the definition he established was described in David Hume’s 1757 *A Natural History of Religion* without actually using the word ‘animism’ (Graham, 2005). This definition held that indigenous people were child-like in that they had difficulty distinguishing between animate and inanimate objects, deifying natural phenomenon out of superstition and ignorance. New definitions of animism have surfaced in recent years, most notably from British scholar Harvey Graham, who posits that the “new animism names worldviews and lifeways in

which people seek to know how they might respectively and properly engage with other persons” (Ibid, xiv.). The other “persons” Graham refers to are not always human, but by that he does not necessarily mean spirits, but trees, rocks, thunderstorms, etc.

In some ways, Tylor’s emphasis on the belief in “spirits” per se existing in numerous places fits closer with the reality uncovered in this research; his observation about aborigines being “naïve” or “childlike”, however, has no place in this discussion. Graham’s notion of animism being about living respectfully and harmoniously with one’s surrounding was also, under the right circumstances, supported by my informants, and it is this approach to Cambodian animism which lends itself most clearly to concept of bioregionalism.

The term bioregionalism can be interpreted and explained in many different ways; there is, to date, no concrete definition of the word, and perhaps that is a significant advantage to researchers and students of Ecocriticism. In *Dwellers of the Land*, Kirkpatrick Sale (2000) defines bioregionalism as knowing and appreciating the place where you live in terms of its flora and fauna, its carrying capacity for human impact, and the history of man’s activities in that area (42). A bioregion can also be defined by natural boundaries such as mountain ranges, rivers, wetlands, vegetation types, or climate zones –natural lines of demarcation, as opposed to arbitrary lines drawn up by governments for the sake of convenience –lines that, for the most part, ignore natural landforms and biotic zones. Mitchell Thomashow (1995) asserts that, “The basic premise of bioregionalism is that ecological considerations should determine cultural, political and economic boundaries” (p. 61). Perhaps most apposite for this paper, however, is an approach postulated by Jim Dodge (2007, p.344):

“One of the more provocative ideas to delineate bioregions is in terms of “spirit places” or psyche-tuning power-presences, such as Mount Shasta or the Pacific Ocean. By this criterion, a bioregion is defined by the predominant psychological influence where you live. You have to live in its presence long enough to truly feel its force within you and that it’s not mere descriptive geography.”

This perception strikes closest to the way Cambodian minorities live in terms bioregionalism. Animists in Ratanakiri and Mondulkiri are in tune with spirit presences in their area and extreme care must be taken not to offend or disturb them for fear of incurring their revenge. Bourdier, who has spent considerable time among the Tampuan and other tribes of Ratanakiri, notes “One must also show allegiance to the spirits who dwell in the forest, at water points, rocks, hills, trails and village sites. Without certainty of the “agreement” of supernatural powers (through dreams, sacrifices, prayers), no human action can be undertaken” (p. 28). His findings reflect what my informants explained to me. Highlighting the importance of obtaining the acceptance of local spirits before engaging in activities in spirit-places, Do Yok, a Tampuan, related the story of a large tree stump near the sacred Yeak Lom Lake on the outskirts of Ban Lung:

“Do you see the cut tree there? That was done by minority people. This angered the spirits at the sacred lake, who then killed several people from the minority village where the loggers came from, and all the people from the village had to move out of the area. Even now, minority languages cannot be spoken in the park, or the people who speak it will fall ill and die very quickly.”

(Source: Do Yok, a Tampuan informant, January 2010 in conversation with the author)

Do Yok informed me that the Tampuan villagers who felled the tree did so at the urging of Vietnamese buyers –distant forces who do not live in nor understand this particular bioregion who nonetheless have a serious negative impact on it. Later we will discuss how the most serious threats to animistic cultures practicing what Ecocritics call “bioregionalism” are remote, powerful entities (corporations, governments, etc), as well as economic migrants, none of whom must be allowed to wield too heavy a hand in regions where they are not a part of the ecological milieu.

The villagers who cut the tree at Yeak Lom Lake either understood the risks involved in poaching timber from a sacred locale and decided to try their luck, or they were former animists who no longer believe in the spirits. The former, according to Do Yok, represent a small but growing number of Tampuan people whose actions put not only themselves but innocent villagers at risk from vengeful spirits. As stated by Bourdier, the spirits can communicate messages through dreams; they can also make their wishes known by making people ill, thus instigating the use of a local shaman or “magic man” to relay messages between the human and spirit world. Yet another method employed by spirits for transmitting information is the use of wildlife as mediums. Several species of animals are known messengers of the spirits, among them the muntjac (or barking deer), eagle, leech, chicken and several species of birds.

According to my informants across five tribes, the muntjac is the most feared of all forest animals, and its meat is not eaten. Whether joining a hunting expedition or simply leaving the house, if a muntjac is heard or encountered within two hours of a

journey, the party or individual must turn back and return home at once; the spirits disapprove of your plans. Leu, a 42-year old man from the Kreung minority group near the Da Lai community forest, told a story which was witnessed by numerous villagers:

“A man walked out of his house one morning and even before he reached the bottom of the stairs there was a muntjac crying out. The man stood there, listening to the deer, and shouted back to it defiantly: ‘Yes, I hear you, barking deer. Yes, I know that I will supposedly die within 24 hours if I do not return home. But I don’t believe you! Sure, I will die in one day. Ha ha ha!’ The man taunted the deer all the way to his motorbike and then went about his business. Within twelve hours he was hit by a truck and killed.”

(Source: Leu, a Kreung minority man, January 2010 in conversation with the author)

Anecdotes such as this are difficult for outsiders to verify, but their prevalence among indigenous people in Cambodia is a testament to the significance that signs attributed to local spirits play in their culture, signs which can only be read with special knowledge of the bioregion.

Birds also carry potent messages from the spirit world. In a Jan. 13 2010 piece in the *Guardian*, Margaret Atwood wrote, “Some of us once believed that birds could carry messages, and that if only we had the skill to decipher them.” Traditional people in Cambodia appear to have retained the skill. Leu explained that if an eagle is spotted making a pass in your direction, one must return home; if the eagle flies in a straight line, one may proceed; ignoring these signals may result in illness or misfortune. In the same *Guardian* article, Atwood explains that “We believed the birds knew things we didn’t,

and this made sense to us, because only they had access to the panoramic picture –the ground we walked on, but seen widely because seen from above, a vantage that became known as the “bird’s eye view.” Furthermore, birds play a vital role in determining the end of our lives. Do Yok told of how every person’s time of death is decided:

“For a person to die, three things have to agree on it: the birds, the trees and the earth. When a man or woman dies, a coffin has to be made, and for that a tree must be cut down; the coffin has to be buried in the ground, which means a hole must be dug in the earth. Birds have powerful eyes and can fly and they can see and know everything you do. The birds, the trees and the earth know all about your life and they will decide when it is time for you to go. If someday you get sick and you are lying in bed and a bird comes near your window and chirps –that’s it; you are finished. Nobody and nothing can save you.”

(Source: Do Yok, January 2010 in conversation with the author)

Being in tune with the spirits, therefore, requires careful attention to the fauna and flora of the area you live in, which is also one of the main tenets of bioregionalism. Frederic Bender (2003) notes that, “Crucial to becoming dwellers in the land is knowing the particular ecological relationships operating in the specific place where we live, understanding the cultures native to our place, and knowing the distinctive lore of those who have grown up there” (374). The central theme espoused by Cambodian animists and Ecocritics alike seems to be that the more one knows and understands his natural environment, the less likely one will be to engage in ecologically unsustainable or destructive practices; being clued-in by local spirits makes this relationship all the more

fecund. Man-nature rapport can become a positive feedback cycle as a healthy natural environment inherently offers man greater opportunities for healthier and more prosperous living. As the school principal on the fictional island of Pala notes, “Treat Nature well, and Nature will treat you well. Hurt or destroy Nature, and Nature will soon destroy you” (Huxley, 2002, 261).

Environmental writers provide an abundance of philosophical possibilities about what might constitute a bioregion and how one ought to live within its domain, but how do real “dwellers in the land” practicing animism in Cambodia live? Where exactly do they live and how do they go about life? Is it even a bioregion at all? And what is their current status?

The autochthonous populations of Ratanakiri had extremely limited contact with the outside world until the 1990s (Bourdier, 117). Furthermore, according to Cambodia scholar David Chandler (2007), rural lifestyles and attitudes have changed very little “since Angkorean times (from the ninth to the mid-fifteenth centuries) or even over the last few thousands years” (15). During this vast time span they have practiced swidden (slash-and-burn) agriculture, switching between two land plots approximately every fifteen years. “They have developed over the centuries an intimate relationship with their natural environment by experiencing its potential resources, evaluating appropriate periods of its exploitation, as well as discerning its limits,” explains Bourdier (103). Slash-and-burn or shifting agriculture is not, however, without controversy, and some government officials with strong ties to industry often overplay the ecological destruction wrought by this practice in order to evict indigenous people from their ancestral lands, settle them elsewhere, and establish hydropower projects or agricultural plantations on

these sites. Accusations of environmental destruction are faced by indigenous peoples throughout Southeast Asia, including Cambodia. In a well-documented case in the Malaysian state of Sarawak, James Wong, former Minister of the Environment and Tourism, accused the Penan people of ecological destruction, despite strong evidence to the contrary. “I will not bow to the experts. I am the expert. I was here before the experts were born,” insisted Wong, who supports the expansion of oil palm and logging on their land (Davis, 1995, 101). Astonishingly, Wong also added –contrary to numerous studies– that “logged over areas will return to normal after five years” (ibid, 103). Considering the fact that indigenous populations, including those of Cambodia, have practiced their form of agriculture for millennia without causing serious environmental impacts, accusations of ecological devastation do not coincide with reality.

“Swiddening is above all a long-term technique that stems from the knowledge of the stages of forest regeneration. Its aim is to domesticate without conquering or dominating nature,” explains Bourdier (94). Furthermore, new land plots are not opened up in primary forest, and ceremonial offerings and communication with the spirits always accompanies a new land clearing (Ibid). Therefore, large-scale, permanent, and indiscriminate destruction of forests does not, in general, take place at the hands of indigenous people who practice their traditional way of life.

Kam La, whose Brao village is located near the bank of the Sesan River across from Veun Sai district, explained that before the Khmer Rouge and before construction of an upriver dam in Vietnam, trading and travel was unnecessary; everything his village of one thousand families needed could be obtained from the forest, which to this day is

designated as a “community forest” by the local government, a forest that also doubles as a buffer zone for Virachey National Park, located to the north. He explained that:

“Before the Khmer Rouge, we could get all the food we needed within a short distance of the village. Wildlife was so abundant that elephants used to raid our crops and villagers dare not walk outside at night for fear of tigers. But after the Khmer Rouge, everyone owned a gun. Everyone had a gun because everyone was a soldier, and with those weapons local wildlife populations were basically wiped out, and the villagers then had no choice but to enter the national park, which is sacred [primary] forest; this made the spirits angry and sometimes our people became sick and died, but we had no choice.”

(Source: Kam La, January 2010 in conversation with the author)

The Brao people did in fact live within a specific geographic area, not traveling far, and were intimately familiar with the fauna and flora and the spirits therein; it appears that they qualify as bioregionalists who broke from tradition only when it was absolutely necessary. Similar stories were related by DoYok and Leu, whose tribes reside south of the Sesan River and in and around the community forests of O Chum district.

After the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, the new Cambodian government offered fifty kilograms of rice for every gun turned in. Villagers, Kam La and Soukhon Thom explained, readily exchanged their arms for the ample food. This deal, which took effect in the early 1990s, was a boon to wildlife, which rebounded not only in Virachey National Park but in the multi-use community forests as well. For a time, ethnic minorities in Ratanakiri were able to return to what might resemble bioregional living,

hunting local animals, fishing locally, growing their own crops, making their own rice wine, and making offerings to the local spirits. This locally sustainable way of life, however, was soon disrupted by yet another outside force –construction of a major upriver hydropower project –the Yali Falls Damⁱⁱ- on the Sesan River in Vietnam.

Fish –as well as aquatic fauna and wild vegetables- from the Sesan River have provided a key source of food for indigenous people in the area for as far back as they can remember, explained Kam La, Soukhon and Do Yokⁱⁱⁱ. However, with the construction of the dam, water levels now fluctuate dramatically, with the result that fish have virtually stopped laying eggs; the Sesan today is nearly devoid of fish in many sections, particularly in the Veun Sai district and near the border with Vietnam. With few fish to catch, villagers once again have been forced to over-hunt in the community forests, depleting wildlife populations, and are compelled to poach in the national park. Additionally, explained Soukhon, many species of bird lay eggs on the banks of the river or in low-lying trees and shrubs and during large discharges their eggs and nests are washed away; many species have been rendered locally extinct as a result.

Yet another problem caused by the fluctuating water levels is flooding, which washes boats downstream, causing serious financial and practical losses to minority villagers. In a tragic event in October of 2009, dam authorities in Vietnam authorized a major discharge during the arrival of Typhoon Ketsana, resulting in a rapid 7-meter rise (in some places it was 13.3 meters high) of the river, a disaster which claimed the lives of two people, killed off large numbers of livestock, destroyed crops, washed away boats, destroyed homes and endangered the welfare of the villagers and other residents in the area^{iv}. Vietnam has yet to offer any reimbursement to those in Cambodia who suffered

losses. The dam also causes the Sesan River to dry up, and in a February 11, 2010 article in the *Phnom Penh Post*, it was reported that it is now sometimes possible to walk across the dry riverbed from one side to the other, and that in addition to fish depletion, villagers cannot wash and are developing rashes and sores when water is discharged because pollution levels have skyrocketed since the dam was constructed^v.

Another threat to minority people's ability to live sustainable and reasonably autonomous lives is the introduction of a cash trading system or "market economy."^{vi} With fish and game being scarce, villagers now have to buy some of their food in stores in Veun Sai and other towns. One way to make big money fast is to poach rare animals that are sold to Vietnam and China, such as the pangolin with its reputed traditional aphrodisiac properties, or the macaque -two species that are now extremely rare in Ratanakiri. Pangolins can be sold to middlemen in Ban Lung for US \$100 - \$300, depending on size; macaques sell for about \$100 on average. These sums represent a considerable amount of money for many village families, and if cash is now needed to purchase staple foods that were formerly available for free in or near the village, the temptation to engage in poaching activities is understandably difficult to resist. Traditional skills handed down through generations are then used to further deplete wildlife, threatening forest ecosystems. According to Do Yok, Leu, Kam La and Soukhon, the advent of a cash economy has also led to an increase in violence, theft, and cheating in the villages. Kam La related a chilling tale from 2004:

"There were two hunters who went into the forest to catch a pangolin. They spent two days to hunt a large animal that was valued at \$300. When they got back to the village,

one of the hunters agreed to go to Ban Lung to sell it while the other stayed in the village to rest. The man who went to Ban Lung returned empty-handed, claiming that his boat capsized in the Sesan River and that the pangolin was carried off downstream. Well, his partner knew he was lying and that he had kept the money for himself. When the thief went off hunting in the forest the next day, his partner entered his home, dismembered his wife and children limb by limb, and then decapitated them one by one. When the butchering was over he stole all of the man's money. The murderer is now serving a 20-year prison term and was ordered to pay 10 water buffalo to his hunting partner."

(Source: Kam La, January 2010 in conversation with the author)

Interactions with the market economy are set to increase as more Khmers and Sino-Khmers move to the region in search of business prospects. Bourdier notes that, "one observes in the villages near the capital the development of a market economy that tends to render previously autonomous villages increasingly dependent on external fluctuations and pressures from "new" populations" (128). Perhaps it is an axiom that migrations to the region, particularly in an age of globalization, are irreversible and futile to resist; it may also be said by some that minority people stand to gain from more outside investment in terms of education and healthcare. While there is some merit to these points (Vietnam built a school in Veun Sai that is free of charge specifically for minority children), this claim demands closer examination.

Many middle-aged and most elderly minority people in Ratanakiri cannot speak Khmer; they speak only their tribal language and perhaps another tribal language. Busy raising a family, farming, hunting, and making offerings to the spirits, they have little

time to learn Khmer; it goes without saying that they are also illiterate, as their languages are strictly oral. In addition, they do not have bank accounts, credit cards or telephones and many do not own vehicles. Many of these vernacular people have little or no formal education^{vii}. As such, they are not well positioned to compete in a cash economy against new settlers, particularly Chinese or Sino-Khmer, who arrive with enough money to buy land (land which in some cases is the minority people's ancestral lands) and set up businesses. Do Yok shared a popular Khmer idiom that sums up the situation: "The Chinese make the Khmer move, the Khmer make the minorities move, and minorities make the spirits move." This means that the minority populations are pushed so far out of their original zones by migrants that are forced to build homes in cemeteries. If cash-rich outsiders come to dominate all trade in Ratanakiri, then it is quite possible that the Tampuan, Brao and other minorities will meet a fate similar to that of the Penan of Malaysia –selling traditional jewelry and clothes and performing native dances and songs for camera-toting tourists where they are paid very little to make a spectacle of their extinguished culture^{viii}. This is hardly a lifestyle the knowledgeable, competent minority people of Ratanakiri would choose.

This situation is exacerbated by the arrival of Japanese, Malaysian and Vietnamese companies looking to set up rubber, oil palm, or other plantations. Unlike with swidden agriculture or selective logging, once plantations are established the native plants species are permanently extirpated and a once-biodiverse region is transformed into a biological desert of monoculture plantations. Worse still, indigenous knowledge systems that developed over millennia with these lost ecosystems are rendered almost useless. As Vandana Shiva notes (1993, pp.6-7):

“Monocultures are in fact a source of scarcity and poverty, both because they destroy diversity and alternatives and also because they destroy decentralized control on production and consumption systems. Diversity is an alternative to monoculture, homogeneity and uniformity. Living diversity in nature corresponds to a living diversity of cultures. The natural and cultural diversity is a source of wealth and a source of alternatives.”

Several benefits are therefore achieved by the establishment of large plantations: minority people are evicted from their traditional lands and thus brought a step closer to being in the fold of mainstream society, “unproductive” natural forests are converted into cash and tax revenue-earning crop lands, the hardwood trees standing on those lands are sold off to furniture companies in Vietnam, and the wildlife can be caught and sold into the pet trade, traditional medicine market, or consumed for food.

There seems to be little that minority people can do to stem this trend, particularly in a nation as notoriously corrupt as Cambodia. Bourdier (p.63) explains that:

“These investors, among whom notable Cambodians have insinuated themselves, come to a conquered territory with cash and in collusion with the highest level of Cambodian government; connivances that promoters of provincial rural development cannot resist, even less the local populations who have nothing to say in the matter.”

Compounding this problem is “land-grabbing” by powerful elites who can simply force minority people off their land under the threat of violence and other forms of retribution^{ix}.

Another direct threat to vernacular cultures grounded in animism in this region is the work of Christian missionaries, who make it plain that their mission is to extirpate animism^x. My informants described how villagers often profess faith in Christ in order to receive much-needed aid, such as medical help or assistance in finding jobs. In this sense, some Christian missionaries dangle a proverbial carrot before needy villagers who have few other alternatives but to accept Christianity and the rules that go along with it. This is not to say that all Christian missionaries are conspiring to overtly ruin traditional cultures in Ratanakiri; the free medical service they sometimes provide is of significant help to many minority people. Nonetheless the fact remains that conversion to Christianity means the end of animism for that individual, with a resulting disconnect from the community and its links to the environment.

Many villagers, however, coyly use the missionaries for help while secretly maintaining their animistic beliefs^{xi}. Leu explained that some people in his village “go to the church and pray to the God, but in their hearts, only animism. They go to the church because they need help, but deep inside, they are animists.” Do Yok said that his mother heard that the Christians could help young men get jobs, so she pressured him to join the faith. “I tried to be a Christian for one month,” he explained. “But then I got very sick, and my mother had to sacrifice a chicken, and after that I got better and went back to animism.” Nach Norb, of the Bunong tribe of Mondulkiri province, told of how the Christians “tried” talking to him:

“They wanted my family to get rid of our rice wine jars [when drinking rice wine, prayers are said to the spirits while stirring the brew], my spirit rice and my spirit things [ancestral shrines]. They told me to read the book about God and then my

life would be happy and I would not have problems, but I read the book and I still had problems; I did not see the God –I only read the book, and I still had my problems. How about my parents and grandparents? They cannot read and they don't understand the words when you explain it to them. And how about my great big forest? It cannot read either.”

(Source: Nach Norb, Mondulkiri province, February 2010 in conversation with the author)

Nach confided that he felt confused about why the Christians insisted that he dispose of his animistic paraphernalia, and that he was left feeling that the missionaries did not properly understand his culture or why these items were important to his family.

Kam La's wife converted to Christianity (there are approximately 30 converts in his village), and she has encouraged him to convert as well. However, Kam La related, “It is very difficult for me to believe in Jesus because I spend a lot of time in the forest and I know that there are many spirits there and I am afraid of them.” It seems probable that in seeing and experiencing nature, animists “see” the manifest forms of spirits and supernatural powers; a single, remote, omnipotent God is unfathomable to my informants, and they were skeptical of biblical claims^{xii}. Leu took an Israeli man trekking who told him about “God the Creator in Heaven.” Leu asked him: “have you seen this God for yourself, or did you only hear about Him on the news?” The Israeli admitted that he had only heard about Him on the news. Similarly, Den, a Bunong elder in Putang village outside Senmonorom, remarked “Every Christian just reads the book; they don't know God by their eyes. They just read the book.” Perhaps it should be taken into consideration the extent to which reading or “studying” about God in a book would seem

unduly abstract to a peoples who have always found spirituality in nature. Furthermore, missionaries should not underestimate the importance of ritual to minority people's daily lives and should understand that in demanding that they dismantle their traditional belief systems that they are, in effect, asking that they deconstruct their entire community and way of relating to the world.

Foreign religion is yet another threat from outside which arrives under a supposedly positive pretext but works all the while at undermining indigenous culture. Combined with the arrival of a market economy, economic migrants, agricultural corporations and large development projects such as hydroelectric dams^{xiii}, the future existence of what resembles bioregional living among the indigenous people of Ratanakiri appears increasingly uncertain. In *Dialectic of Enlightenment* Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno assert that, "Enlightenment's program was the disenchantment of the world. It wanted to dispel myths, to overthrow fantasy with knowledge" (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002, 1). On the following page, they put forward, "The disenchantment of the world means the extirpation of animism" (Ibid, 2). Furthermore, they explain, "The local spirits and demons had been replaced by heaven and its hierarchy, the incantatory practices of the magician by the carefully graduated sacrifice and the labor of enslaved men mediated by command" (Ibid, 5). Originally published in 1944, this text is a prescient observation for the fate of indigenous people throughout the world and in particular for those of Cambodia. The world, Adorno and Horkheimer note, had to be "disenchanted" in order for "progress" and "development" to prosper under the auspice of "enlightenment."

Highlighting the ramifications of disenchantment and the importance of natural belief systems, Morris Berman (1981) writes in *The Reenchantment of the World* (p. 23):

“For more than 99 percent of human history, the world was enchanted and man saw himself as an integral part of it. The complete reversal of this perception in a mere four hundred years or so has destroyed the continuity of the human experience and the integrity of the human psyche. It has very nearly wrecked the planet as well. The only hope, or so it seems to me, lies in a reenchantment of the world.”

In this sense, Ratanakiri and Mondulakiri provinces represent two still-enchanted domains –ones that proponents of bioregionalism can learn from- and two of the last bastions of animism not only in Cambodia but in all of Southeast Asia. These are places where traditional culture makes a stand, where man still sees himself as belonging to the ecosystem, but it is an area that is coming under relentless threat from powerful outside forces who have little knowledge of and probably less interest in understanding the spiritual and cultural elements that allow for the indigenous people to live prosperously and sustainably within their bioregion.

Arguments may be put forth that the idea of “preserving” or “saving” indigenous people from modern society is a “romantic” notion. However, this is a clichéd and hollow observation. Emphasizing the active verbs “preserving” and “saving” is a blind reversal of logic. It is modern society that is “threatening” these cultures; therefore, if we did not try to “destroy” them, there would be no need to “save” them. This is not a case of a “damsel in distress” or a pair of warring tribes threatening genocide on one another

whom the international community must rush out to rescue; quite the opposite: these are highly knowledgeable, skilled people who have survived through the ages due to their intelligence and understanding of the natural world.

If the Cambodian government and affiliated investors can demonstrate some tolerance for diversity and some ecological and cultural foresight, there is no reason why indigenous people cannot share their province with Khmers, Sino-Khmers and foreign agro-businesses who operate in fair and sensitive ways. Indeed, both indigenes and outsiders have much to share with one another and both sides would almost certainly stand to benefit if the correct approach is taken. It is now impossible to prevent outsiders from penetrating these (once) remote areas where animist cultures survive, but instead of sidelining indigenous people when it comes to decision making, Cambodia should offer them an important role in regional planning or, better yet, let minorities take the lead; from this a healthy relationship might follow where local knowledge systems thrive and are shared with outsiders who can benefit from ecological insights that have been cultivated over thousands of years through bioregional living.

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Notes

ⁱ United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Sixth Session:

http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/6_session_tebtebba_iwgia.pdf.

ⁱⁱ [Report from Mekong River organization on Yali Falls Dam](#)

ⁱⁱⁱ This statement is supported by the Living Rivers Newsletter (linked below)

^{iv} Living Rivers Newsletter: <http://www.dtp.unsw.edu.au/documents/LivingRiversNewsletter-edition1.pdf>

^v This issue was reported on in the *Phnom Penh Post* by Wells and Piseth in an article that can be found online at: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index.php/2010021131943/National-news/closed-dams-a-headache-for-fishermen.html> as well as in the Living Rivers Newsletter in note v above.

^{vi} It is interesting to note that the economy in ancient Cambodia's was "somewhat peculiar because, unlike neighboring states, the [Angkor] empire never used money of any kind" (Chandler, 9).

^{vii} NGO Forum: Land Alienation in Indigenous Minority Communities –Ratanakiri Province, Cambodia. (2006). p. 9

^{viii} In Sarawak, as well as performing for tourists, indigenous people give blowpipe shooting lessons for \$1.00

^{ix} NGO Forum: Land Alienation in Indigenous Minority Communities –Ratanakiri Province, Cambodia. (2006). p.8.

^x The 1st Commandment, regardless of faith, essentially reads as: I am the one and only God, thou shall worship no other Gods before me. Animism, which is unfamiliar with a single omnipresent God and maintains that numerous spirits live in everything from animals to trees to waterfalls, is incompatible with Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Mormonism, etc.

^{xi} This practice is widespread across Southeast Asia and is also described by Thom Henley on Siberut Island in Indonesia with the Mentawai people in *Living Legend of the Mentawai* (2001).

^{xii} In *Primitive Culture*, Tylor notes (with exaggeration) "Without any exception, they are without a belief in a Supreme Being, neither have they any form of worship or idolatry; nor is the darkness of their minds enlightened by even a ray of superstition" (Tylor, 7).

^{xiii} It was reported in *The Phnom Penh Post* that a second dam called the Sesan 2 has been approved for the Sesan River in neighboring Stung Treng province in Cambodia. And more recently, a 3rd dam, financed by a Korean cable company, is being considered for the Sesan.

Title: Sri Aurobindo's Critique of Modern Western Culture

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ABSTRACT:

The aim of this paper is to give a general outline of Sri Aurobindo's critique of modern Western culture. Since the turn of renaissance in Europe, it was found that Indian culture was deliberately misrepresented to the European mind. The critics like William Archer, A. H. Bowman, Claudius Buchanan, George Gogerley, Alexander Duff, Charles Grant, over the centuries made every effort to degenerate and debase Indian culture, which mainly stemmed from their ignorance about this culture of the world. Even in the twentieth century we find this practice still prevalent among the critics of Indian culture like the critique of William Archer. Sri Aurobindo took an enormous responsibility in enlightening the western mind about the true nature of Indian culture. He took firm cudgels against critics like William Archer, and not only disproved every of their arguments by exposing lopsided perspectives in them, but also rendered devastating critiques of western culture. However, it should be noted that Sri Aurobindo criticized only those aspects of modern western culture which really were worthy of criticism and which even the Europeans were coming to realize. Sri Aurobindo made them face the reality of their culture in its true form. This paper aims to give a gist of that critique of modern western culture by Aurobindo. What was said by him fifty years ago holds good even today, and the time it is not only to turn back from the influence of westernization, but strive hard also to understand and further our culture.

Sri Aurobindo's Critique of Modern Western Culture

I

Indian civilization from the very beginning has a great cultural heritage of its own. It has given more emphasis to the spiritual aspect of human life. It is unique in its own way of putting things. But most of us are not even aware of what this culture is. Why is it so?

Culture is embedded in our life and living. From the very beginning, human being starts living in a cultural environment. Thus, the word 'culture' has been defined in various ways by the historians, sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers, and psychologists. In the *Culture-Sociology*, Weber distinguishes culture from civilization. He restricts civilization to science and technology. He restricts culture to philosophy, religion and art. Civilization, according to Weber, is characterized by, "intellectual coherence than by struggles between groups, conjunctions ("elective affinities") of groups, forms of social organization, and ideologies..."¹

When we talk about culture or civilization we mean to say that there was a state of man's existence in his evolutionary history which was not civilized. Civilized here means the standards of living as acceptable by today's value systems. Nomadism is one such state. Myers define nomadism as, "that mode of life in which a human community is enabled, through its control of domestic animals, and also through its own dependence on them, to dispense with the cultivation or even the necessary collecting of plants or plant food, or any deliberate interference with the natural vegetation of a region. It also usually dispenses with any permanent abode, for such a nomad community can (and must) wander wherever its animals find pasture; and it maintains itself with the milk and other products of its cattle – wool, hair, and (occasionally) meat and skins."² Thus, before man became civilized he was a food-gatherer, moving from one place to the other in search of food. Even though he tamed some animals and birds they were moving along with them. It is only when man stopped moving and started growing his own food and built his permanent shelter that civilization took birth. The *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* finds the root of "Culture" in the word "Cultivate". Once a man became cultured he was no food-gatherer; he was a cultivator. So the origin of culture lies in cultivation. All great civilizations of the world like the Harappan, the Sumerian and the Egyptian exhibit settled life - the life, which is free from Nomadism. The Harppan civilization exhibits that India was ahead of the whole world in science and technology. But they ultimately came to prefer a spiritual life. The Vedic, the Buddhist and the Jain literature exemplify and reflect it. Alexander's invasion of India occurred when Buddhism and Jainism prevailed in India. Because of their religiosity and spirituality the Indians lost interest in wars and battles. More than leaving any impact on the Indian mind the Greek invaders carried the Indian thought to Greece.

A culture consists of the socially acquired ways of thinking, feeling and the activities of the member of a particular society. E. B. Tylor says that culture is "the complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"³. According to T.S. Elliot,

By culture then I mean first of all what the anthropologists mean, the way of life of a particular people living together in one place. The culture is visible in their arts, in heir social systems, in

their habits and customs, and their religion...but things are simply the parts into which culture can be anatomized, as a human body can... so culture is more than an assemblage of its arts, customs and beliefs.⁴

The western anthropologists and behaviorists view culture as a pattern of behaviour of a group of people. In other words culture is nothing but the way we lead our life. Thus both material and spiritual aspect of our life constitute the core of culture and it is that culture which unites us in a one room. As Sri Aurobindo says:

The culture of a people may be roughly described as the expression of a consciousness of life which formulates itself in the aspects. There is side of thought, of ideal, of upward will and the soul's, there is side of creative self expression and appreciative aesthesis, intelligence, and imagination; and there is side of practical and outward formulation. As people's philosophy and higher thinking give us its mind's purest, largest, and most general formulation of its consciousness of life and impulse. Its art, poetry and literature provide for us the creative intelligence. Its society and politics provide in their forms of and outward frame in which the more external life works out what it can of is inspiring ideal and of its special character and nature under the difficulties of the environment. We can see how much of it has taken the crude material of living, that it has done which it, how it as shaped as much of its as possible into some reflection of its guarding consciousness and deeper spirit. None of them express the whole spirit behind, but they derive from its their main idea and their cultural character. Together they make of its soul, mind and body.⁵

The traditional culture of India provides different dimension to human life, i.e., spiritual, religious, and moral. The spiritual and religious dimension presupposes the moral and social life and the moral and social sphere of life points to the religious spiritual goals. Indian culture basically emphasizes spiritual and religious aspects of life. That is, the Vedantic philosophy tells us what a human being is, does and should do in order to achieve the harmony of the spirit, mind and body. Human being is consists of spirit and matter. Here spirit is Atman or Self and matter is non-self.

A culture only consisting of economic necessity of life, social institution and political organizations cannot be called culture. Rather culture includes the most vital aspects of life, i.e. its spiritual aspect. As Sri Aurobindo says,

A mere intellectual, ethical and aesthetical culture does not go back to the inmost truth of the spirit; it is still ignorance, an incomplete, outward, and superficial knowledge. To have made the discovery of our deepest being and hidden spiritual nature is the first necessity and to have erected the living of an inmost spiritual life into the aim of existence is the characteristic sign of a spiritual culture.⁶

Human beings need freedom for his political, social, economic, religious life. But Aurobindo maintains that the highest freedom is spiritual freedom which is eternal also called *moksha* in Indian tradition. The harmony of spirit, mind body can be achieved only through the teaching of philosophy and religion. As Sri Aurobindo says:

The whole aim of great culture is to lift man up to something which at first he is not, to lead him to knowledge though he starts from an unfathomable ignorance, to teach him to live by his reason, though actually he lives much more by his unreason by the law of good and unity, though he is now full of evil and discord, by a law of beauty and harmony, though his actual life is a repulsive muddle of ugliness and jarring barbarism, by some high law of his spirit though at present he is egoistic, material, unspiritual, engrossed by the needs and desires of his physical being. If a civilization has not any of these aims, it can hardly at all be said to have culture and certainly in no sense a greater and noble culture. But the last of these aims as conceived by ancient India, is the highest of all because it included and suppresses all the others.⁷

Sri Aurobindo suggests degrees of transcendence from ignorance to knowledge, from unreason to reason, from obscure to unity, from ugliness to beauty, from material to spiritual. According to Sri Aurobindo:

A true happiness in this world is the right terrestrial aim of man, and true happiness lies in the finding and maintenance of a natural harmony of spirit, mind and body. A culture is to be valued to the extent to which it has discovered the right key of this harmony and organized its expressive motives and movements.⁸

Man always runs after material satisfaction. With the rise of modernization and technological advancement in the present day society this running-after has turned extreme. Being a social animal he always wants to fulfill his basic needs and wants to live in peace. Does he get peace out of his material satisfactions? Of course he cannot leave the material life and the advancement of the age. He is a seeker of peace and bliss. The mental peace springs only when there is a harmony between the inner and the outer. Man being the rational animal on the earth, has the capacity to maintain the balance between mind and body and keep them in harmony which brings for him the eternal peace. Thus happiness is the goal of all human beings and it can be achieved through this life only. Here happiness does not mean only the material comfort or the material progress, rather true happiness lies in the inner self. A human being can be taken into three levels of being such as physical, the mental and the spiritual. Thus true happiness will come only when there is happiness at these three levels. According to Sri Aurobindo:

India's central conception is that of the Eternal, the Spirit incased in matter, involved and immanent in it and evolving on the material plane by rebirth of the individual up the scale of being till in mental man it enters the world of ideas and the realm of conscious morality, dharma.⁹

II

A culture is characterized by the values it upholds as best for its people, values worth pursuing, and for it, forsaking everything else. Western culture is no exception to this generally accepted perspective of culture. It, geographically considered, belongs to that part of globe which lies on the western fringes of Europe, and includes in it along with those, American and South American countries. But, this is just its objective reality, and this is not criticized by Sri Aurobindo. It is 'modern' prefixed to Western culture that has come under severe censure of Aurobindo. The word 'modern' implies those aspects of culture that are products of this materialist epoch which started roughly with the advent of industrial revolutions throughout Europe. Emphasis on material production, wealth-hoarding, man-as-means, negligence to spiritual development, decline of ethical values are some of the aspects which characterize the modern culture, and give therefore, an altogether different coloring to Western culture. It is this aspect of Western culture that is criticized by Sri Aurobindo and that too, as a reply to attack on Indian culture from the West.

Modern Western culture is characterized by predominance of materialism in its ideology. With its emphasis on capitalism and globalization, condemnation of spiritual superfluity, comfortable relativity of societal norms and traditions, exaltation of reason, it has heralded its own decline in terms of decline of human values – ethical, and social. Compared to it, the Indian culture, characterized by its insistence on spiritual values, equality among races and creeds, emphasis on spirit over body, essence over existence, comes as a better choice for the future of turbulent chaos of today's life, i.e. in a global culture. Indian culture with all its pristine glory and humanitarian attitude has the better chance to survive than the materially reductionist attitude of modern western culture. And this is what emphasized by Sri Aurobindo, in his famous work, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, written as a counter to the various deliberately sarcastic critiques of Indian culture by the Western scholars like John Woodroffe.

Before we proceed further, a little background, in terms of criticism of Indian culture by William Archer, would not be out of place. Because it is through a response to Archer that Aurobindo makes a strong defense of Indian culture. And it is highlighting its humanitarian characteristics that would be the foremost contributors in making Indian culture a part of global culture in future. In one line, William Archer rendered his hostile critique of Indian culture as,

“The plain truth concerning mass of the [Indian] population – and the poorer classes alone – is that they are not civilized people.”¹⁰

Drawing upon the work of John Woodroffe's *Is India Civilized* which was an answer to William Archers' sarcastic critique *India and the Future* wherein he had spewed nearly every bitter raisin of his brain when he “assailed the whole life and culture of India and even lumped together all her greatest achievements in philosophy, religion, poetry, painting, sculpture, Upanishads, Mahabharata, Ramayana in one wholesome condemnation as a repulsive mass of unspeakable barbarism”¹¹, Sri Aurobindo takes firm cudgels against the whole 'modern' western

culture. Aurobindo exposes the instability and hypocrisy of 'modern' western culture, and refurbishes the image of Indian culture.

But, first he examines what culture is, how India holds on to its central conception of spirit while western culture thrives on the baser shreds of materialism, and why in any global system Indian culture has a better chance to stand while the presence of western culture might spell doom for the entire humanity.

Every culture, according to Sri Aurobindo, is characterized by its central conception, which may be Body or the Spirit. Each nation is a *Shakti* in this sense. While the western culture vouches for body, Indian culture stands out because of its preference for spirit. The body-emphasis ties down a culture to the material wants and desires of earthly life. This can afford momentarily happiness, but not eternal pleasure. The momentariness was never an Indian ideal, although Buddha did talk about Momentariness, but that was to expose the flux of life, and its realization as an ideal to the higher truth of life, which is eternal *Nirvana*. Every little current of Indian culture is seeped with this ideal of eternity. In its every little nuance of cultural life, therefore, the ideal of eternity speaks for itself.

The values here are imbibed not for the sake of immediate gratification, but lifelong commitments, and it should, indeed, be the first prerogative of a culture, i.e. to give values that are eternal to its individuals so as to permeating in them the assurance of their life's worth as well, which gets lost in realization of life's futility to cover up which an individual is led to seek pleasures on here-and-now basis.

In the light of the aims and characteristics of "a great culture" as cited earlier, Aurobindo launches a comparative study of western and Indian culture. Western culture is characterized by the values like rationalism, emphasis on individual's freedom of thought and speech, worldly happiness, human rights, democracy, free market economies and so on. These are not criticized by Sri Aurobindo, however. He himself is enamored by the progress of western culture, but what disappoints him is the simultaneous progress hypocrisy in it, that has not only squeezed life's higher aims from it, but has become responsible also for the subsequent degeneration of it as well. As Nolini Kant Gupta says:

The godless and mechanistic civilization which is rampant today in Europe is a distemper of comparatively recent growth. Its furthest limit does not go beyond the sixteenth or the fifteenth century when the first seeds were sown by the Humanists of the Renaissance. It sprouted with the rationalists of the eighteenth century and the French Revolution cleared the ground for its free and untrammelled growth. But, only in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries has it reached such vast and disconcerting proportions so as to swallow all Europe's other motives and velleities and to appear as the only form of her life-expression.¹²

Along with this superficial progress, we find the decadence of western culture as well in the form of its over-affection for materialism, open and disguised imperialism, tendency to dominate world's people, restlessness and killing monotony in day to day life, frequent disillusionments

etc. These ills have become such a prominent facet of western culture that these have nearly over-shadowed all its achievement. As notes Sri Aurobindo:

... the modern European civilization of the nineteenth century with all its triumphant and teeming production, its great developments of science, its achievements in the work of intellect we pass a certain condemnation, because it has turned all these things to commercialism, and to gross uses of vitalistic success.¹³

Any culture survives by being driven by its central conception. The central assumption of western culture is reason which is manifested in its other forms of expression which are of materialist nature. Whereas the central assumption of Indian culture is intuition and it is expressed in its spiritual tendency. Thus, when there is talk about the clash of Indian and western culture, it is not the matter about two cultures clashing with each other, but their basic philosophies. Wittgenstein views these phenomena as cultural perspectives and terms these two facets as culture of material development and culture of spiritual life. The first is the culture of progress, the scientific western culture, and the second is culture of liberation, the spiritual oriental cultures. As Wittgenstein says:

Our civilization is characterized by the word 'Progress'. Progress is its form rather than making progress being one of its features. Typically, it constructs. It is occupied with building more and more complicated structures.¹⁴

While such a culture emphasizes on quest of more and more knowledge and development of means to attain that, as is manifested in the spirit of scientific progress, the culture of liberation emphasizes on true understanding of cosmos and man's place in it. The spirit of the culture of liberation lies in 'striving after clarity and perspicuity in not matter what structure'¹⁵. In the words of R. C. Pradhan:

This typically brings in the idea of seeking liberation from the web of intellectual structures that are imposed on our understanding. It seeks freedom from the world-pictures that captivate the human mind. Here, the idea of liberation stands for clarity of understanding and the consequent sense of standing above scientific culture. The latter sense is the sense of transcending the scientific *weltanschauung* and its attendant value-systems. Scientific civilization creates its own value-system in the ideas of progress and progressive acquisition of the material resources. This model of progress thus makes man more and more inclined towards the gross products of our civilization, and contributes towards the impoverishment of the human spirit, especially towards 'separating man from his origins, from what is lofty and eternal'.¹⁶

Thus, culture of liberation is by its distinct characteristics towers high above the culture of progress which although aims, but aims too low, i.e. the conquest of material world instead of the eternal spirit. For the want of higher values like spiritual equanimity, western culture has become one big stinking bog of life that lives on number of sighs taken and given out without realizing the precious significance of that so much so that as a culture it lends its people not the comfort and bliss of life worth living, but a suffocating load of a burden that one has to carry on its shoulders. To entice its people in a perpetual illusion of being superior and civilized, its leading

figures talk about one humanity, one culture, one religion and so on, although, their own foundations of their religion and humanity are so unpredictably shaky that can give way, anytime unawares. As notes Sri Aurobindo:

The mentality of the West has long cherished the aggressive and quite illogical idea of a single religion for all mankind, a religion universal by the very force of its narrowness, one set of dogmas, one cult, one system of ceremonies, one array of prohibitions, one ecclesiastical ordinance. The narrow absurdity prances about as the one true. That narrow absurdity prances about as the one true religion which all must accept on peril of persecution by men here and spiritual rejection or fierce eternal punishment by God in other worlds.¹⁷

Whereas the Indian mind has always been for the comfortable co-existence of as many faiths and religions alongside each other, as long as, all these diverse paths lead to one Supreme Reality. That is the reason of the prevalence of so many faiths and religions in India, whereas the official religion of West comes out as Christianity. Their every critique of Indian culture is aimed at from the frontiers of Christianity, whereas to counter those, there are as many frontiers available as there are religions in India. Indian culture may be characterized by its different religions, so much distinct from each other at times so as to give an idea of hostility to the naïve mind of a westerner, but when the occasion of defending its hearth and home arises, all the different currents intermingle to make one great wave against the alien onslaught. The religious tolerance is proved by one more fact that nearly every major religion of the world is being practiced in India. As Aurobindo says,

“Indian religion has always felt that since the minds, the temperaments, the intellectual affinities of men are unlimited in their variety, a perfect liberty of thought and of worship must be allowed to the individual in his approach to the Infinite.”¹⁸

Aurobindo takes a serious note of William Archers’ warning that Indian culture is rapidly coming under the influence of western culture. How-so-much, the two cultures might seem to be poles apart, it is no denying the fact that a continuous co-existence for more than two millennia has led each of them exposed to the other, which at times have resulted in cultural clashes, but at others, a soft interaction between the two. Sri Aurobindo does not deny West’s rapidly increasing influence on Indian life and tradition, but he also does not forget to emphasize here the imperceptible invasion of Indian thought in the western arena. If West has influenced India, India too has infiltrated the mind of West with its thought. In various fields, this infiltration can be seen, right from religion to science. It has delimited the otherwise limited frontiers of science. Now science too admits occultism in their psychological researches. Theosophy now shows belief in

Karma, reincarnation, other planes of existence, the evolution of the embodied soul through intellect and psyche to spirit.¹⁹

Even Western art and poetry have not been able to escape from this influence from India. But, still, there are miles to go. As compared to West’s influence, Indian influence upon West is almost negligible, and that too, innocent, while West’s influence is not only rapid, but comprehensive and more devastating in the sense that it aims at obliterating the other’s cultural

identity altogether, assimilating the poor vanquished into its materialistic fold. Before this influence from outside assume momentous proportions, Aurobindo calls for an immediate and aggressive self-defense of home-frontiers, when he says:

There arises the necessity of a defense and a strong, even an aggressive defense; for not only an aggressive defense can be effective in the conditions of the modern struggle.... Aggressive defense implies a new creation from this inner and commanding vision and while it demands a bringing of what we have to a more expressive force of form, it must allow also an affective assimilation of whatever is useful to our new life and can be made harmonious with our spirit.... What we have to do is to front the attack with new and more powerful formations which will not only throw it back, but even, where that is possible and helpful to the race, carry the war into the assailant's country.²⁰

Thus, according to Sri Aurobindo, not only the positive defense of our own culture is necessary, but successful inroads into the assailing cultures of outside also is necessary, as this only would prevent further passive possession of our culture by them. Thus the Eternal Spirit, which is the breadth of body, is the real essence of a human being. And the aim of culture is the realization of the true and eternal spirit. Having spirit as its guiding force, a culture should aim at uplifting the human being to higher planes of existences, far above the mundane, worldly plane of material needs and wants. It should lead one to enlightenment, and not disillusionment. It should usher one into the realm of equanimity, and not hurl into the blind chaos of rushing from one desire to another.

¹ Kavolis, Vyatautas, "Civilization Theory and Collective Identity in the Post-Modern Globalized Era", in *Eurozine*. Available online at <http://eurozine.com/pdf/2006-07-24-kavolis-en.pdf>. Accessed on 14-10-2008

² Myers, John, "Nomadism", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 71, No. ½, 1941, 19-20

³ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958, p.1,

⁴ T. Elliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*. Faber and Faber, 1973, p. 120.

⁵ Sri Aurobindo, "The Defence of Indian Culture", from *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol, 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P. 106

⁶ Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Spirituality and Life-2", *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol, 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P. 197.

⁷ Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Spirituality and Life-4", *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol, 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P. 232

⁸ Sri Aurobindo, "Is India Civilized - 1", from *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol, 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P. 56

⁹ Sri Aurobindo, "Is India Civilized - 1", from *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol, 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P. 56

¹⁰ Archer, William, <http://www.gosai.com/chaitanya/saranagati/html/vedic-upanisads/india-indology>

¹¹ Sri Aurobindo, "Is India Civilized - 1", from *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol, 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P. 55

¹² Nolini Kant Gupta, *Collected Works, Vol.1*, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publications, Pondicherry, 1989, p.149-50

¹³ Sri Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle*, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publication, Pondicherry, 1977, P. 84.

¹⁴ Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value*, edited by G.H. von Wright, translated by Peter Winch, Blackwell, Oxford, 1977, p. 7.

¹⁵ Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Remarkstr.* By R. Hargreaves and R. Roger White, Blackwell, Oxford, 1975, Forward p. 7.

¹⁶ R. C. Pradhan, *Life, Culture and Value : Reflections on Wittgenstein's Culture and Value*, JICPR, Volm. XIII, 1996, p.20.

¹⁷ Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Spirituality and Life - 1", *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol. 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, pp. 186-187.

¹⁸ Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Spirituality and Life - 1", *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol. 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P-187.

¹⁹ Sri Aurobindo, "Is India Civilised – 1", *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol. 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P-70-71.

²⁰ Sri Aurobindo, "Is India Civilised – 2", *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Vol. 20, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1997, P-77-78.

Title: Sufism as the Blooming Branch in Doris Lessing's *The Four-Gated City*

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Sufism as the Blooming Branch in Doris Lessing's *The Four-Gated City*

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Since the 1960s, Doris Lessing has been persistently interested in Sufism, a kind of mysticism originated from the Eastern philosophy. She has been borrowing, embodying, and adapting Sufi ideas and using them openly in the western novel. It is difficult to define Sufism because it is much more than one "ism". Whatever the definition is, Sufism can provide for every person a revelatory means for spiritual life towards the transformation of being. According to Idris Shah, Lessing's Sufi mentor, it is "a certain kind of mental activity" that can produce "under special conditions and with particular efforts, what is termed as a high working of the mind, leading to special perceptions whose apparatus is latent in the ordinary man."⁽¹⁾ In the same manner, Sufism in Lessing's fiction is not a tradition of mystery or sensuality which has been associated with the East, nor should it be regarded as a specific religion. But rather it is a way of perception and a contemporary body of knowledge, rising up against any kind of prejudice and limitations.

Different critics in different works have offered a convincing demonstration of Lessing's Sufi commitment in her fiction.⁽²⁾ Lessing's *The Four-Gated City* (1969), the last volume of *The Children of Violence* series, is one of the early works inspired by and firmly established in Sufism.⁽³⁾ The series, consisting of five novels, traces the growth of the consciousness of its female protagonist-Martha Quest- from her adolescence in South Africa to her later life in England and until her death on an island. The last volume shows 15 years of Martha's life in England in the 50s and 60s, representing her change during the post-war era. The novel includes an apocalyptic Appendix which portrays a dystopian prophesy through some documents written between 1995-2000, describing events before and after "the Catastrophe". In order to make sense of her life and her "self", Martha experiences different ways-marriage, Communism, Color bar issues, World War encounter- but in the last book her experiences are more internal and psychological. Martha goes through extrasensory perceptions and recognizes the possibility of a higher understanding within her. What she finds out is beyond the rational and hierarchal mode of thought as the basis of the western civilization. Within such a scope, Lessing shifts her narrative towards prophesy of a dystopia in the form of "the catastrophe" which brings the western civilization to its end. The British Isles are depopulated by a nuclear disaster and a vast poison gas leak. Such prophesy expresses the author's most political, cultural, and yet spiritual concerns. It causes an end but paradoxically promises emancipation and transformation towards something new in an evolutionary form.

Martha's new Sufi knowledge she gains in the course of the novel is that humanity is in the process of evolution: "perhaps there'll be a mutation. That's why we are all so sick...something new is trying

to get born through our thick skin...everything's changed".⁽⁴⁾ Such knowledge brings Martha to new perceptions and intuitive power which help her to take over the responsibility of an active agent at the time of "the catastrophe". She becomes the nurturer of a new generation of children who are mix of all races and have no desire to hurt each other. The children have special talents: "they are grown-up-not physically of course, but mentally, emotionally. One talks to them as if they are adult...as if they are superior to us...They all carry with them a gentle strong authority. They don't have to be shielded from the knowledge of what the human race is in this century-they know it... we have no word for it. The nearest to it is that they are our guardians". (*Four-Gated City*, p. 662) In this way, the catastrophic ending promises something new in an evolutionary form, a sense of survival for human beings as Martha writes in a letter after the disaster: "we took heart and held on to our belief in a future for our race." (*Four-Gated City*, p. 658) It encourages the readers to break from the ordinary and habitual way of existence and to see themselves in a new way like Martha and the children survivors with extrasensory perceptions and ability to "hear" and "see" what ordinary people cannot. In fact, in the narrative of this novel it is Lessing's Sufi idea which offers her a significant process of reconstruction after deconstruction.

In the epigraph of the novel, Lessing writes a Sufi teaching story of a fool sent with a dish to get flour and salt for his master. In order to keep them separate, he turns over the plate after getting the flour. After getting the salt, he returns to his master and is asked where the flour is. He inverts the dish to show the flour thus losing both. Lessing's epigraph appropriately demonstrates the difficulty of rationality in capturing the two different realities separately. Through such story, Lessing emphasizes, as so do the Sufis, that the way of our perceptions must be examined afresh: "There is something in the human mind which makes it possible for one compartment to hold Fact A which matches Fact B in another compartment; but the two facts can exist side by side for years, decades, centuries, without coming together." (*Four-Gated City*, p.496) Her use of Sufi stories in this novel - and stories of Mulla Nasruddin in *Landlocked*- is her narrative strategy to criticize the one-dimensional mode of western thought and to find another level of meaning. It is a compensation for the rootlessness, discontinuity, and spiritual disintegration of the 1960s (the period of terror and decadence). Thus Sufism here does not advocate any religious or transcendental ideologies as always associated with the Eastern philosophy, but rather it is a trope, a vehicle, to criticize the limited present civilization and a reaction against the ideologies. For Martha, it becomes a higher form of understanding of her own hidden potentials that cannot be expressed by ordinary language. In Nancy Shields Hardin's words, it is a way "to shift in perspective from a more logical linear mode of thought process which we in the Western world have been taught to hold in the higher esteem, to a more intuitive perceptions".⁽⁵⁾ To put it in a nutshell, Lessing's use of Sufism in her writing is not a theistic voice to talk about any Absolute or Transcendentalism, but it is merely a possible alternative for the logical thinking and a warning against the Western sense of division and compartmentalization. Through Sufi ideas, Martha can combine the political with the personal and accept the contradictions and paradoxes as parts of life and to experience something new as Lessing herself says in an interview: "some new thing is happening. Maybe it will be marvelous...maybe out of destruction. There will be born some new creatures... What interests me more than anything is

how our minds are changing, how our ways of perceiving reality are changing.”⁽⁶⁾ In fact, Martha and her new generation of children are the embodiment of such change and transformation through Sufi thought.

Lessing’s Sufism in *The Four-Gated City* does not have any transcendental view; it is and remains in constant connection with politics and psychoanalysis. Martha’s childhood vision of an ideal city in which “There were splashing fountains, and the sound of the flute; and its citizens moved, grave and beautiful, black and white and brown together... the blue-eyed, fair-skinned children of the North playing hand in hand with the bronze-skinned, dark-eyed children of the south” (*Martha Quest*, p.21), and her later culmination of such experience have been a compensation for the violence of Imperialism, the war and post-war era, connected to the historical and political events of her time. Martha’s evolution “from that of a resentful, rebellious adolescent fighting against external forces” in the first volume of the series to “that of a mature woman who struggles against a more dangerous world” in the last volume has constantly been in relation with the external factors.⁽⁷⁾ Her vision of utopia but the achieved dystopia is the critique of her present ideologies. Even the post-apocalypse events documented in the appendix are set in a historical context with the exact time and place. Her realities, even the spiritual ones, are political, historical and psychological. So Lessing’s new Sufi ideas as a way to capture a sense of future of our culture include the framework of social and political realities on which her earlier works have been rested.

Martha’s intuitive power and higher understanding is associated with the psychological concept of madness and its root in social atmosphere. Much of Martha’s self-analysis grows in Coldridge’s house which is a kind of political-cultural microcosm of England of that time. The members of this house suffer from neurotic shabbiness under the pressure of the war and Cold war in the decayed London after the fall of the empire. Martha enters there as a secretary for Mark Coldridge, a political activist and a prominent writer, and stays as a mistress, surrogate mother, and servant. It is in her relationship with Lynda Coldridge, Mark’s wife who is suffering from neurotics, that Martha recognizes her extrasensory perceptions and power of telepathy. Martha shares madness with Lynda. The more she understands Lynda’s situation, the deeper she experiences many of Lynda’s horrors. She begins to realize that some people like Lynda, who can “hear voices” and are judged as mad, can in fact develop human mental potentials. Martha-Lynda bond provides an opportunity to criticize contemporary psychotherapy and its ineffectiveness to heal people like Lynda. They are diagnosed as insane because they cannot act according to the norms society/culture imposes on all people. The point the narrator/Lessing tries to emphasize is that a mad person is a victim and symptom of a mad and fragmented society. The character like Lynda is exactly the result of the pressures of the cultural engulfment that ordinary people cannot know or understand. Through Lynda, Martha gains the Sufi experience of the passage of insanity towards a greater understanding; she learns to read her dreams and to discover the hidden power of her psyche. They can hear each other’s thoughts and recognize each other in themselves. Hence Martha’s Sufi stage of awareness does not transcend but includes her social, political, and psychological factors. It makes her realize that her identity is determined by

both internal and external elements. She, like the Sufis, does not see the internal and external worlds as separate.

Lessing stands for the many-sidedness, complexity and sharpness of Sufism rather than its emotions. Mysticism in general and Sufism in particular embrace multiple opening paths which enable different people to operate in different contexts. Accordingly, Lessing writes: “In every part of the world, the forms of Sufism differ since they are shaped to fit the people living there. The way Sufism is being taught in Britain now differs from what happens in Morocco, Afghanistan, Greece...; the teachers and institutions containing Sufism for this time are different from those in the past, and always changing...”⁽⁸⁾ In the beginning of section four of *The Four-Gated City*, Lessing quotes from Rumi, the great 13th century Persian Sufi poet, which foreshadows the protagonist’s concern with consciousness growth and her effort to achieve an awakened state: “From realm to realm man went, reaching his present reasoning, knowledgeable, robust state- forgetting earlier form of intelligence. So too, shall he pass beyond the current forms of perception... There are a thousand other forms of Mind...” (p.461) This quality that one can participate in Sufi practices anywhere through various pathways towards that awakened state provides a model of pluralism. Lessing uses it as a narrative strategy in this novel to explain the pluralistic potential of Martha’s identity construction in an open process of becoming.

What constructs Martha’s identity is the process of her becoming through different roles that she performs in different contexts. *The Children of Violence* series is Martha’s life-long journey of self-quest. Through five successive novels, Martha performs different roles- a rebellious adolescent, a wife and mother, a Communist activist, a woman in love, a secretary, a surrogate mother- which stress the construction of her subjectivity in a discursive account of events with a sense of process in time and place. One novel continues the other, unfolding something new in a different setting and continuing what happens afterwards. Her quest includes her stage by stage awareness: sexual, social-political, psychological, and above all her awareness of gender roles as cultural constructs. She understands that her self-construction and definition is always bound to her gender identity as an individual woman on the basis of the roles she performs. So even in the last volume, in which Martha experiences her intuitive and mental power, she cannot transcend her gender roles. She remains gendered by caring and mothering the new children. In fact, her Sufi experience is another gender role which evolves her femininity/mothering role into a spiritual power but it is still bound to her time and place, giving her a distinctively social sense of identity. Martha’s Sufi knowledge becomes her author’s narrative technique to express the character’s awareness of her femininity as performance of plural roles. At the end of *The Four-Gated City*, Martha accepts the multiplicity of selves as “a mass of fragments, or facets, or bits of mirroring reflecting qualities”. (p.352) Accepting such multiplicity builds up hope for change, progress and transformation. Like the Sufi way which is fluid and multiple and changes from context to context, Martha changes role to role in the process of change and evolution through new modes of consciousness. What she offers is learning through experience.

Lessing's direct commitment to Eastern Sufism in the Western genre of novel offers a new view of her work as meeting of East and West by practicing syncretism through both-and rather than either/or process. Her use of Sufism should not make us categorize her under a certain circle or another "ism". It is meant to be a narrative strategy to express the multiplicity of meanings that cannot be grasped by ordinary consciousness because, based on Sufi knowledge, "for every ounce which is visible there must be a ton which is active, but not perceived by the ordinary man".⁽⁹⁾ Her use of Sufism is a creative vehicle to shake our minds loose from limited mode of thought and to express human and global evolution when war, natural calamity, and nuclear threats are bringing the civilization to its end. But she gives us hope for survival. Sufism in *The Four-Gated City* is not an ideology but an experience which cannot be "sold or taken: it could only be earned or accepted as a gift". (*Four-Gated City*, p.135) It is an immediate knowledge which encourages Martha along with the readers to enhance their own perceptions of humanity and take responsibility at the time of the growing global violence. It is required to hear the "screeching, wailing, howling bedlam of sounds as if all humanity begged for mercy and help". (*Four-Gated City*, p.657) Lessing's Sufism comes to rest as a tranquilizing solution for the Western nightmarish apocalypse and a blooming branch which she hopes to bend with fruit one day.⁽¹⁰⁾

Notes:

1. Idris Shah. *The Way of the Sufi*. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1970), p. 14.
2. Among the notable works in this regard, I can name: Mugan Galin. *Between East and West: Sufism in the Novels of Doris Lessing*. (New York: State University of America, 1997); Nancy Shields Hardin. "Doris Lessing and the Sufi Way". *Contemporary Literature* 14 (Autumn 1973): 565-581 & "The Sufi Teaching Story and Doris Lessing". *Twentieth Century Literature* 23 (1977), pp. 314-25; Dee Seligman. "The Sufi Quest". *World Literature Written in English* 12 (November 1973); Phyllis Sternberg Perrakis. *Spiritual Exploration in the Works of Doris Lessing*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999).
3. The five novels includes: *Martha Quest*. (London: Michael Joseph, 1952); *A Proper Marriage*. (London: Michael Joseph, 1954); *A Ripple From the Storm*. (London: Michael Joseph, 1958); *Landlocked*. (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1965); *The Four-Gated City*. (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1969).
4. Doris Lessing. *Landlocked*. (This extract is from *Landlocked*, the four volume of *The Children of Violence* series, in which there are richly pictorial and metaphorical imageries, especially in Martha's relationship with Thomas. Martha learns much of the meaning of love and intuition from Thomas, foreshadowing her psychological evolution in the next volume.
5. Nancy Shields Hardin. "The Sufi Teaching Story and Doris Lessing". *Twentieth Century Literature* 23 (1977), p. 316.
6. Jonah Raskin. "Doris Lessing at Stony Brook: An Interview". in *The Small Personal Voice*. Doris Lessing. (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1957), p.66.
7. Ellen W. Brooks. "Fragmentation and Integration: A Study of Doris Lessing's Fiction". *Dissertation Abstracts*, 32 (New York, 1971), p. 393.
8. Doris Lessing. "An Ancient Way to New Freedom" in *The Diffusing of Sufi Ideas in The West*, ed. L. Lewin (Baulder: Keysign Press, 1972), pp. 53-4.
9. William Foster. *Sufi Studies Today*. (London: Octagon Press, 1968), p.8.
10. In this line, I have meant to suggest one poem by Rumi, in which he says: "This blooming branch will bend with fruit one day/ This falcon will seek its prey one day/ His thoughts of you approach, then fly away/ Until at last they'll come to rest one day." This is ghazal number 1759: From Rumi's *Kolliyaat-e Shams-e Tabrizi*, ed. Badiozzaman Forouzanfar (Tehran, Amir Kabir, 1988).

**Literary Texts in Cultural Contexts: Problems and Possibilities in
Stage Adapting Prescribed Plays for College Students.**

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Literary Texts in Cultural Contexts: Problems and Possibilities in Stage Adapting Prescribed Plays for College Students.

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Culture reflects and mirrors in many ways the times and the contexts it is produced in. Thus stage renderings of prescribed texts not only show-case them as classroom books, but also bring the spotlight on the ages and cultures that generated the texts and provided a platform for visualizing them. This paper is inspired by a project floated by the author and funded by the University Grants Commission, India, as an attempt to make a new and different exploration into a better understanding and appreciation of two literary texts in English- William Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice" and J. M. Synge's "Riders to the Sea", considered as classics from their respective eras- prescribed for the students of the University of Calicut, India. The paper endeavors to project how the above mentioned texts were subjected to a universal cultural transformation for a new generation. The 16th century English and the 20th century Irish plays were remixed with the cultural essence of the indigenous dance form of Kathakali and the theatrical innovations of Experimental drama respectively. The name and fame of Kathakali has crossed the geographical boundaries, but it is yet to take off among the students and the young generations. Theatre, though popular, needs to draw in more students and youth. Therefore, this project was also aimed to shift these performing arts from museum pieces to popular media of entertainment and knowledge. This remixing of old and modern literary texts with different cultural performance media has hopefully resulted in a transnational impact.

In recent times renewed and rigorous attempts have been made to make the stage more acceptable and accessible to the public and in particular to the students. The article "An Ancient World Comes Alive" by H. S. Shivaprakash, about the reviving and re-enactment of Sanskrit classics in refreshingly new and interesting ways, vouchsafes this turn of events (The Hindu, Sunday, Jan. 13, 2008). The first part of this paper focuses on the complexities involved in the rendition of a renowned Shakespeare text on stage in Kathakali form and hints at the hitherto Shakespeare theatre adaptations and their benefits and talks about the novelty in approaching a Shakespeare classic through a classical Indian dance form. In the introduction to "Beginning Shakespeare", Lisa Hawkins talks about the undergraduates of English Studies who would have had previous experience of studying Shakespeare and harbouring the fear that everything has already been said about the bard, and that nothing new can now be discovered (Hawkins, P.2). Discussing the Shakespearian films of Kenneth Branagh, Douglas Lanier writes that "they constitute an extended meditation into the cultural life of the common man" (Lanier, P.149). Commenting on the accusation that he was making 'an appropriation of Indian Culture' in his theatre adaptations of Indian Classics for the Western audiences, Peter Brooks replied in an interview by Ananda Lal, "We are approaching this as part of the common heritage of man, like Shakespeare; one could make the same comment on every part of the world where non English people do Shakespeare. Certain geniuses like Shakespeare make works that belong to mankind" (Lal, P.301).

In recent years the study of Shakespeare in performance has gained momentum, illustrating how a multitude of factors work to exude meanings for a particular audience, and at the same time

expressing certain fears about the reception of the productions and performances. The first stage performance of the project by the school of performing arts, Unnayi Warriar Smaraka Kalanilayam, Irinjalakuda, Kerala, India, was a Kathakali adaptation of the Shakespearian play “The Merchant of Venice” performed for the benefit of the general English Students of Arts, Science and Commerce streams. It broke down such fears and preconceptions and offered a novel critical and academic practice that brought the prescribed text closer and brighter to the students for whom it was staged. Textual scholarship is undoubtedly enhanced by such a closer and colorful viewing and is contributory to the vigorous debate in Shakespeare studies.

There were in all about 25 artists on stage and more in the green room during the performance. All the component elements required by the stage were brought in, with costumes specially made for the presentation. Though the critical garb of Kathakali gave a sense of anonymity to the artists, the melancholy of Antonio, the wisdom of Portia, the villainy of Shylock and the love-driven determination and helplessness of Bassanio were immediately and adequately conveyed. The typical makeshift curtain which is an integral ingredient of Kathakali was used in the shifting of scenes. The vocal music was heightened by the background score provided by the traditional drumming instruments of ‘Chenda’, ‘Maddhalam’ and ‘Chenghala’. This Kathakali production was meticulously preplanned to suit the academic requirements of the students. The traditional form of Kathakali could only be understood by the students who are amateurs in the classical dance form if they are familiar with the thread of the story or the sequence of the story parts and if necessary instructions are given to them on the intricacies involved in the highly complex art form. So, prior to the rising of the curtain, a 15 minute demonstration class was given to the student-audience, making them acclimatized with the various Kathakali gestures (Mudras) and other symbolic nuances. Explanations were given on the peculiar patterns of facial expressions, vigorous and complex eye movements, highly synchronized music that rises and falls and the mystifying curtain, all of which add to the intrigue of the story. The script was in Malayalam, the regional language, but adhered to the art form’s strict rules. The translated version was in keeping with the Kathakali norms. However, sneak previews of the scenes to follow were given in English at regular intervals to the students.

All the key plots of the story of the tragi-comedy were thus succinctly portrayed for the students through the Kathakali performance. The rich and popular merchant of Venice, Antonio, his offer to help his dear friend Bassanio, Bassanio’s falling in love with Portia, a rich heiress of Belmont, Antonio’s borrowing of money from Shylock, the wealthy Jewish money lender, Shylock’s demand that Antonio sign a bond that allows the Jew to cut off a pound of flesh from any part of the Christian’s body, the story of the caskets that determine Portia’s fate, her appearance in the trial scene as the shrewd and learned judge, the final resolution of all the twists and turns related the Ring episode, were all relayed to the student with sufficient conviction.

The next part of the paper attempts to analyze J. M. Synge’s “Riders to the Sea” as a play shifted from the page to the stage. The paper examines the drama as a genre of Literature meant to be performed and refers to Synge’s contributions to the stage briefly explaining the thematic significance of the play and its theatrical possibilities. “Plays are cultural events as well as literary ones”, says Edward Kopper, commenting on the dramatic vision of J.M. Synge (Kopper, P.124). This observation is in keeping with the definition of drama as a genre of literature that is meant to be staged. The culture of the audience also contributes to the meaningful appreciation of the drama. The emotions conveyed through the play may be universally applicable whether it is staged in Europe, America, Asia or elsewhere. However, certain cultural nuances of the dress code, spoken dialect, the mannerisms and gestures or even the materials used, may appear strange to the culturally different

viewers hailing from a different geographical and social milieu. As in Mukunda Upadhyaya's words, drama is the most peculiar, elusive and at the same time enthralling of all types of literature. "It is so deeply associated with and dependant upon the whole material work of the theatre with its thronging crowds and universal appeal that it is undoubtedly so social in its aims and in its appreciations (Upadhyaya, P.157).

The realization of J.M.Synge's "Riders to the Sea" on stage was a successful combination of the theme's universal appeal and theatre's wide possibilities to help a student audience understand the prescribed text through a medium that involved the modern techniques of drama to project the cultural peculiarities of the author, the characters as well as the spectators. Synge discovered the culture of his own land in his play. The setting of the play is a lonely cottage by the sea coast. The roar of the ocean plays havoc with the bitter memories of the central character, Maurya, as she remembers the generations of men in the family who perished in the sea. Only one son is now left to her who also wishes to go to the distant horse fair. The sea is a key character in the play, a demon claiming all who belonged to Maurya- her husband, husband's father and her sons. Four of her sons – Sheamus, Patch, Stephen and Shawn- are already lost to the sea even before the play opens. Michael's death is reported just as the curtain rises. Maurya anticipates the draining of life from her remaining son when the cottage sinks into darkness.

The stage adaptation was by CULT- Calicut University Little Theatre. The theatrical version was scripted in the regional language, Malayalam. Suffice to say that the presentation encapsulated the thematic and especially, the structural pattern of a typical play- the exposition which presented the situation, introduced the characters and acquainted the audience with the action that had already taken place before the play opened, the complication which showed the plot thickening with the conflict, the climax where emotions reached the highest point and the denouement where the plot unraveled. The performance of the play was supported by the meticulously prepared stage settings and props. The focal point was the basin of water on stage which symbolized the rumbling, vicious ocean that claimed so many lives. There was also a circular structure at one end of the stage on which were cast shadows that accentuated the tragic feeling. The clothes worn by the characters had a semblance of Irish costumes and helped transpose another world on to the stage. This was a stark contrast to the Shakespeare adaptation in Kathakali form. All the actors, particularly the actor in the role of Maurya, the mother, struck a chord in the minds of the viewers. The spirit and structure of the play was as that of a Greek tragedy. The conflict between the forces of Nature symbolized by the sea and man was pathetically put across. The stoic courage the old woman imparted won the admiration of the viewers. Though the play dealt with the poor people living on the fringes of the Irish society, its universal appeal was conveyed by the acting prowess of the players, the skill of the technicians and the capability of the director. Prior to the play the Director and the Principal Investigator separately addressed the students and briefed them on the proceedings. A short summary of the play was followed by the exposition of the technicalities involved.

The term inter-culturalism implies that some kind of exchange and interaction takes place between the cultures involved. One of the objectives intended by the project was an inter-cultural study. This was effected to some extent by the translation of the original text in English to one in Malayalam. The characters on stage in a resemblance of western costumes delivering their dialogues in the mother tongue of the students also helped them understand the universality of emotions portrayed. The settings on stage as props were not, strictly speaking, period pieces, but projected an expressionistic platform for the conveyance of the story from a different geographical area.

The concluding part of this paper enumerates the laudatory and derogatory aspects of combining academics with aesthetics. It is observed as though there are quite a few pitfalls, they are outnumbered by the possibilities which sanction the facilitation of similar studies in future. The predominant modes of research on literature are fixed on the printed text, with the scholar trained to focus on the printed word. Oral transmission of ideas through classroom lectures is considered fundamental to imparting knowledge about the text, and is the method followed invariably. In the case of a play the teacher tries to read the text as dramatically as possible. Often the drama is performed on an imaginary stage in the classroom itself, with the students memorizing lines, doing the prompting, making do with minimal settings and props, and with the teacher acting as the director or critic or reviewer. On rare occasions, the student performance is shifted from the classroom to the auditorium, with the larger section of the students forming the audience. It is not often that a play which is prescribed for study in the classroom is stage adapted by professional agencies or troupes. With the experience, training and exposure available to the professionals, there is no doubt that they could make a better job of the presentation and leave the students free to sit back and relax and enjoy, and at the same time sit up and take note and recollect.

The fundamental aspect of a play that cannot be disregarded is that it is written not to be read, but to be watched. There are many moments in a play that depend on and demand to be subjected to a purely audio visual effect, which contributes to the meaning of the text by highlighting these moments and making them linger in mind. The impact on the eye and the ear heightens the intellectual sensitivity and leaves a lasting impression. Live theatre presentations bring about an interactive response which is immediate and spontaneous. It provides more clarity and accessibility to the viewers, and at the same time inspires the performers to give their best. The artists can fine-tune their performance and make suitable alterations in their degree of expression and action by the reaction of the audience. And it must be kept in mind that a student audience is more honest and impulsively responsive than any other. The adaptations of the plays showed that rather than being displaced, the texts were endowed with a new life. The students after the performances began to view the texts differently. Their sense of attachment to the texts became far greater than before. One could sense them relating to the characters and recalling the tales from memory. The stage versions had taken over and almost possessed their reader's imagination.

The stage adaptations also succeeded in effecting an intercultural and international impact and understanding transcending the boundaries built by nations, languages and civilizations. An Elizabethan text and a modern Irish play were hereby translated onto the stage by means of a world renowned classical dance form hailing from the temple premises of Kerala and an expressionist drama practiced and perfected by scholars of theatre studies of the University of Calicut. The English play with the 16th century linguistic nuances and the Irish play with the slang typical of the region were re-scripted in the Kathakali language and the regional language respectively. This kind of a re-rendering of the English texts was a novel experience for the students and enabled them to look at world literature from a different linguistic and cultural perspective.

The project has also established inter disciplinary and inter institutional ties. The work was undertaken by the Department of English at St. Joseph's College, Irinjalakuda, Kerala, India. The Kathakali rendering was by Kalanilayam, Irinjalakuda, a school of performing arts. The original play by William Shakespeare was redone in the Kathakali language by Mr. K. Narendra Warriar for the Kalanilayam. The Calicut University Little Theatre (CULT) presented "Riders to the Sea" with the script in Malayalam. "The Merchant of Venice" in Kathakali form was staged for the benefit of students from two colleges. "Riders to the Sea" was staged in two venues for the students from five

colleges. With projects like these the involvement of academics in productions as advisors is also ensured. This would prevent the adaptations from straying too much from the required realms of the text and guarantee that student requirements are met with.

One of the deepest and most dangerous pitfalls encountered in the stage and performance adaptations is the inadequate knowledge of the chosen dance or art form by the spectators. The techniques involved in the Kathakali rendition, the complexities of make-up, 'bhavas'(expressions), 'mudras'(gestures), the stage conventions etc. pose much difficulty for the viewer. Another problem faced in the realization of the project was regarding the selection and omission of scenes from the text. Kathakali renditions usually require hours, and in this case if the entire Shakespeare text was staged in Kathakali form, it would require several hours which might not help in sustaining the attention span of the students. Hence the need arose for severe editing of the text. This was done in consultation with the Principal Investigator and after considering the interests of both the students as well as the performance troupe.

Another danger posed by such performance adaptations is the fact that it might just result in the misreading of the text by the presenters unless it is supervised closely by the subject experts. Also, the literary aspects of the text could take a back seat with priority being given to the performance media at the expense of the textual details. Apart from the very valid hindrance of the expenses involved and the difficulties of raising funds for such presentations by professional troupes, which in this case was successfully overtaken by the granting of funds from the UGC, there is also the stumbling block of the staging of the adaptations cutting into the regular schedule of teaching. Finally there is the risk of presenting a live performance which cannot be stored for the future. It is true that video tapes are obtained, CDs retained and still photographs taken, but these offer only a shadow of the real experience of seeing a production live on stage. Not even the CD can offer the 3-dimensional reception extended by a live performance on stage.

There was not any de-centering impulse to upset the supremacy of the literary text or the classroom teaching of it. Instead of undermining the text, the aim was to underline it. As texts prescribed for the University students, the presentations were of untold advantage to the students in that they hammered home for the first time in their life what a western play would look like on stage. In classrooms, plays usually are dealt with centering chiefly on their literary aspects and the drama is often lost to the students. The project enlivened the theatre in the play and taught the students how a play is to be assimilated. It was really an event of unmatched informative and entertaining value for the spectators. The presentations proved to them that no theme, eastern or western, is alien to the art form and that it is capable of enacting convincingly any shade of universal human emotion. On the whole, it was an enriching experience and quite a satisfying one, to combine academics and aesthetics.

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Topic: *Niklas Luhmann's Observations on Eastern Wisdom and Zen Buddhism*

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Niklas Luhmann's Observations on Eastern Wisdom and Zen Buddhism

Abstract

While Niklas Luhmann might have inspired the academics in the social sciences, he has nevertheless discouraged Eastern readers by making two false premises in *European Rationality*. Luhmann criticizes Far Eastern “wisdom” as the “self-reference of knowledge,” developed on the level of first order observations. Also, Luhmann asserts that Far Eastern mysticism rejects the distinction in the communicative practice of the Kung-an in Zen Buddhism. This article attempts to rebut the two incorrect Eurocentric judgments on Eastern culture by pointing out Luhmann’s seeing the East as “Other” and inferior to the West is a typical Orientalism, and by pointing out his misunderstanding of Zen. Zen is not mysticism, not a systematic explanation of life, but a direct attack on formalism, like making distinctions. Zen is to come to direct grips with reality without the mediation of logical verbalizing. The modern epistemological situation is the result of “social differentiation,” the juxtaposition of and interaction between subsystems, according to Luhmann. Within our global society, the West and the East are both social subsystems. Only by the juxtaposition of both can “social differentiation” be possible. The interior of the system (Europe) is a zone of reduced complexity, and communication within a system operates by selecting only a limited amount of information available outside (Eastern wisdom and Zen). Gary Snyder’s understanding and practice of Eastern wisdom and Zen will also be applied to support this position.

Niklas Luhmann, a prominent German sociologist, has inspired the academics in the social sciences with numerous works, such as the influential *Risk: A Sociological Theory* and the monumental *Social Systems*. Recently, Luhmann has even caught the eyes of the researchers in literary studies in Taiwan by his *Ecological Communication, Love as Passion*, and especially his *Observations on Modernity*. The *Observations on Modernity* is a collection of five essays, in which Luhmann has tried to apply his systems theory to observe modernity and try to seek if there is anything modern in it. Luhmann has addressed several striking paradoxes and critically examined the common and prevailing concepts of modernity and rationality. The second essay *European Rationality* will be discussed in this article, whose thesis is that the distinction between European and non-European semantics can only be observed and described from the perspective of a distinctions-conscious rationality. Luhmann's discourses are rather creative indeed, but parts of them are too critical and cynical to be regarded justifiable. For example, Luhmann avers that "Psychoanalysis has never been recognized as a cognition theory but rather is known as a science of therapeutic practice." But actually, as first laid out by Sigmund Freud. Psychoanalytic theory has undergone many refinements through several theorist such as Jacques Lacan and Slovenj Žižek. Also, Luhmann thinks 'relativism' 'historicism,' and so forth are considered of little value, and the 'postmodern' (in reality: the modern) diversity of discussions, of deconstructionism, and of 'anything goes' can only cause a stir as 'happy sciences,' and they style themselves as such" (*Observations on Modernity* 29). Luhmann disapproves of relativism, historicism, and postmodernism. In his *The Ecology of Ignorance*, after outlining some research areas, Luhmann declares that the sponsors have yet to be identified. But in reality, we have great Ecological writers, such as Gary Snyder. What is more, he continues to criticize Eastern wisdom and Zen Buddhism. He has virtually discouraged Eastern readers by making the following two false suppositions in *European Rationality*. First, Luhmann criticizes Far Eastern "wisdom" as the "self-reference of knowledge," developed on the level of the first order observations. Secondly, Luhmann asserts that Far Eastern mysticism rejects the distinction in the communicative practice of the Kung-an in Zen Buddhism.

As a false supposition will lead to an incorrect conclusion, this article attempts to rebut the two incorrect Eurocentric judgments on Eastern culture by pointing out Luhmann's seeing the East as "Other" and inferior to the West is a typical Orientalism, and by pointing out his misunderstanding of Zen. Edward Said's *Orientalism* exposes the Eurocentric universalism which takes for granted the superiority of what is European or Western, and the inferiority of what is not. Without a second thought Luhmann writes, "However we may judge the cultural situation of contemporary world society, what is distinguishable as specifically modern has been formed by the European tradition" (22). Exactly as what Said says, Luhmann takes for granted the superiority of what is European without any hesitation or any doubt. Another

evidence is the clue of Luhmann's Eurocentric ideology unintentionally exposed in the sentence, "And the advantage of European rationality with regard to reflection would not necessarily mean that reflection leads to a self-verified superiority, to a self-assessing Eurocentrism" (23). According to psychoanalysis, Luhmann's denial of Eurocentric ideology only highlights his obvious ideology of Eurocentrism. "Even the Far Eastern tradition already recognizes the self-reference of knowledge, just as it knows self-referential signs, namely symbols. The forms of self-referential knowledge are communicated as 'wisdom.' Wisdom is precisely what is created when knowledge of knowledge, that is, self-referential knowledge, is developed on the level of observations of the first order, never to depart from that level" (37). What does Luhmann mean by self-reference? Luhmann makes a distinction between self-reference and external reference. He says, "With this it achieves that form of the distinction between self-reference and external reference. This ensures that reference to the difference between 'self-' and 'external' is clear for each system in its own way, namely, that that difference is itself... If necessary, the reentry can be repeated within the distinction of self-reference and external reference. The 'self-' then determines itself as a second-order observer that observes how it divides the world with the help of the schema of self-reference and external reference" (34). So in Luhmann's mind, the East with only self-referential knowledge is not able to observe how it divides the world with the help of both the schema of self-reference and external reference. What Luhmann tries to express is that the East does not have a constructive worldview and observes only things visible (the first order observation), instead of those invisible (the second order observation). Self-referential knowledge stays only at the phenomenological level, or the first order observation level, instead of that of cognition—the key to the second order observation. The so-called first order observation is the observed observation. Luhmann argues that the "naked eye does not recognize artistic quality," and Luhmann's first order observation is the naked eye observation and is certainly inferior to European second order observation, which is observing observation, or observation of observation. Edward Said identifies such kind of European cultural tradition as "Orientalism," which is a particular and long-standing way of identifying the East as "Other" and inferior to the West. Besides, Luhmann's using quotation marks on wisdom (that is "wisdom") exposes the fact that he does not regard Far Eastern (a remote "Other") wisdom as wisdom at all.

Actually, what does Luhmann mean by Eastern wisdom? How much does he know about Eastern culture? Luhmann believes "Origins might be sought in divinatory practices in the Near East as well as China, and also in their written textualization and in the reflection of failures in the semantic primary material" (37). Luhmann's knowledge about the Eastern wisdom seems to reside in his imagination with the ancient Chinese mystical divinatory practices prevailing in Zhou Dynasty 1045–256 BC. The East is seen by Luhmann as

homogeneous, the people there being anonymous masses, rather than individuals. They are superstitious and depend on the mystical divinatory practices to make decisions in daily life. In Eurocentric universalism, the actions of the East are determined by instinctive emotions rather than by conscious choices or decisions. Their emotions and reactions are always determined by racial considerations rather than by aspects of individual status or circumstance. Presumably, the *Book of 64 hexagrams* (周易六十四卦) is the hint of Luhmann's concept of the Eastern mystical divinatory practices. He has got his ideas from only the surface and therefore has derogated the profound implication in the *Book of 64 hexagrams*, or the *I Ching* (易經), a "reflection of the universe in miniature." Take *I Ching* (易經) as an example of a kind of Eastern wisdom to show how significant it is to our culture. The word "I" (易) has three meanings: ease and simplicity, change and transformation, and invariability. The three philosophical principles underlying *I Ching* are: First, simplicity, the root of the substance. It is the fundamental law of everything in the universe. Secondly, variability, the use of the substance. Everything in the universe is changing rapidly. Understanding the flexibility in life as something natural will cultivate the positive attitude to handle all the diverse situations. Thirdly, persistency, the essence of the substance. In the continually changing world, there is a persistent principle which does not vary with space and time. Such a principle is of absolute rationality as it deals with the essence of the substance. The 64 hexagrams are built from gradations of binary expressions based on yin and yang. The spirit of the *Book of 64 hexagrams* (周易六十四卦), or the *I Ching* (易經) has been alive in the Asia because of its approved wisdom.

For Luhmann, it seems that proverbs have made up a considerable part of Eastern wisdom. "In any case, as a result we have bodies of knowledge that are only practical in situational contexts (such as proverbs)" (37). Eastern proverbs are like Western ones which make only a small part of wisdom. Why can't proverbs be wisdom? There is a Japanese proverb that I particularly admire. That is "Fall down seven times, Get up eight," 七轉八起, "shichi ten hakki" or "nana korobi ya oki". If you fail seven times, you should be able to recover from those events and be prepared to rise an eighth time. If it is the world or circumstances that should knock you down seven times, you have one more chance to rise. Every one has the opportunity to conquer any kind of adversity. "Love is like a war: Easy to begin, Hard to end!" Isn't this Korean proverb true in reality? "A smile you send will always return." The proverb can be applied everywhere not just in India. The word "Meiji" in Japan's Meiji Restoration means "enlightened rule" whose goal was to combine "western advancements" with traditional "eastern" values. The Meiji Restoration is both self-referential and externally referential. There are various descriptions about Japanese wisdom. Here is one of them: The eight-point traditional Japanese wisdom, from the Japanese Association of Environment and Society for the 21st Century. (1) Mind over attachment to things, (2) Harmony with Nature, (3)

Learning to be Content, (4) Idea of Circulation, (5) Maintaining Harmony, (6) Freedom of Mind, (7) Living based on Respect for Ancestors and Predecessors, and (8) Caring for and Nurturing the Future Generations. Some of them sound spiritual, while some are considered rational, for example “Caring for and Nurturing the Future Generations.”

Luhmann’s ideas of knowledge in the East and the West contradict his observations on modernity. Luhmann regards our world as characterized by contingency and complexity and full of risk, and in such a world, rationality often becomes coextensive with imagination. Luhmann says, “...but also to a plethora of other distinctions that split rationality itself or distinguish it from other, equally valid world orientations of feeling or imagination.” (23) According to Spinoza, there are three kinds of knowledge. Spinoza’s knowledge of the first kind, or imagination, which is contingent, is the perception from the common order of nature. Knowledge of the second kind, or reason, which is necessary (the opposite of contingent), eternal and timeless, is our use of common notions. Knowledge of the third kind is the intuitive knowledge. According to Luhmann, Eastern knowledge is anything but reason, therefore it must be either the knowledge of imagination or that of intuition; while reason started in Europe during the Middle Age. “But only Europe has brought forth worldwide social descriptions that reflect the experience of radical structural transformation of society since the late Middle ages,” says Luhmann (22). “Coextensive” could be explained to mean that modern rationality embraces imagination and imagination penetrates into rationality. Thus, if Luhmann claims modern rationality, how can he despise the knowledge of imagination and intuition, no matter whether the knowledge belongs to the West or the East? Besides, Luhmann has mentioned about “pluralism” in the sentences: Another possibility, the laziest of all compromises, is to agree on “pluralism.” This both begins and avoids the deconstruction of the distinction between subject and object (27). The idea of pluralism, or parallelism, or juxtaposition will widen the visions visible or invisible.

Luhmann regards that “the dependence of the designation on distinctions is the problem that has guided the European development in the direction of a second-order observation” (42). Also, “When we formulate the problem this way, it becomes apparent that Far Eastern mysticism (if this European word is even appropriate) reacts differently, namely with a direct rejection of the distinction, in a particularly drastic manner with the communicative practice of the Kung-an in Zen Buddhism” (42). According to Luhmann, “there are countless explicit distinctions, such as those between mind and matter, state and society, society and community, individual and collective, or capital and labor, that serve as analytic instruments with open (or resulting open or hidden) options for one side or the other” (25). Also, he says that “rationality itself can also be made a component of a distinction whose other side must then be something irrational, for example, pleasure, fantasy, or imagination” (25). Luhmann might

have read a Kung-an story titled “Hsuen-Jei (玄覺) the monk who lodges over night” (一宿覺) But this is not the case designated by Luhmann as rejecting distinction. What is Kung-an anyway? And according to Professor John C. H. Wu (吳經熊) in his *The Golden Age of Zen*, Zen puts a special stress on kung-an (Japanese, *koan*) as a way to enlightenment, and this particular method has become one of the characteristic features of Zen. The Kung-an story goes like this. Hsuen-Jei visited Hwei-Neng (惠能), another monk, for studying Zen. When Hsuen-Jei intended to leave, Hwei-Neng asked, “Why are you in such a hurry?” Hsuen-Jei answered, “I have not even moved, how can you suppose that I am in a hurry?” Hwei-Neng continued, “Are you sure you did not move?” Hsuen-Jei replied, “That you feel that way is because of your sense of distinction (分別心).” Hsuen-Jei continued to say, “Inasmuch as there is no living (which actually signifies the transience of life 人生無常), there is no meaning. How can we recognize the nonexistence and make distinctions?” Hwei-Neng approved, “You are right. Distinction is meaningless.” But Luhmann seems to be seeing this story with his naked eyes, namely on the level of the first order observation. “Naked eye does not recognize artistic quality.” Zen is not this case at all. Luhmann’s idea is a very confused western idea of Zen Buddhism. To approach the subject with an intellectual or theological chip on the shoulder would end only in confusion. Zen can sound, at times, frankly and avowedly irreligious. And it is, in the sense that it makes a direct attack on formalism and myth and regards conventional religiosity as a hindrance to mature spiritual development. The idea to differentiate the East from the West is basically a matter of concern in formalism. To distinguish the external environment from social systems is what a formalist does. Luhmann will never realize and appreciate such a couplet found in a Chinese Zen temple: “剪一片白雲補納，邀半輪明月看經,” which is translated as “Cut a piece of white cloud to patch the monk garment, and invite the semi-round moon to read the sutra together.” That is a state of mind after Satori (enlightenment). Imagine such a picture that the monk himself has been merged into nature, is distinction necessary there? The whole aim of Zen is not to make foolproof statements about experience, but to come to direct grips with reality without the mediation of logical verbalizing, such as Luhmann’s criticism that Zen is a direct rejection of the distinction, in a particularly drastic manner with the communicative practice of the Kung-an in Zen Buddhism. The Zen experience is a direct grasp of the unity of the invisible and the visible, the noumenal and the phenomena, or if you prefer an experiential realization that any such division is bound to be pure imagination.

When we say Luhmann’s Europe is a system, the East is its environment. At the initial stage, indifference to environment is necessary because of building up its complexity. After the complexity reaches to some extent, the system selects some limited information from its environment so as to reduce its complexity. According to Luhmann, “A system excludes itself operatively from its environment and includes itself by observing. It does so by basing

the difference from the environment, a distinction between self-reference and external reference, on systems-internal observations” (35). He says that this means that the system, through exdifferentiation, becomes practically indifferent to what happens in the environment. But this indifference is used as a protective shield to build up the system’s own complexity, which can then be extremely sensitive to irritations from the environment as long as they can be internally perceived in the form of information (37). Luhmann regards that a system is defined by a boundary between itself and its environment, dividing it from an infinitely complex, or chaotic, exterior. The interior of the system (Europe) is a zone of reduced complexity, communication within a system operates by selecting only a limited amount of information available outside (Eastern wisdom and Zen). This process is called “reduction of complexity.” The criterion according to which information is selected and processed is “meaning.” Both social systems and psychical or personal systems operate by processing meaning. As Luhmann stays in his Eurocentric universalism, all the information from the East is meaningless to him. Therefore misunderstanding blocks the communication.

The East has meaning to a considerable number of the Westerners who admire Eastern culture. Allen Ginsberg, the American postmodern poet, claims that Kerouac’s “spontaneous bop prosody” required “an absolute, almost Zen-like complete absorption, attention to your own consciousness, to the act of writing.” (Ginsberg 147) Ginsberg is a lover of Eastern wisdom. In a *Paris Review* interview, he says, “They say intellect, like Saint Thomas Aquinas, will never do it, because it’s just like getting all hung up on whether I could remember what happened before I was born...Blake says something similar, like Energy, and Excess...leads to the palace of wisdom. The Hindu bhakti is like excess of devotion; you just, you know, give yourself all out to devotion” (Tyle 212). Bhakti Yoga denotes the spiritual practice of fostering loving devotion to a personal form of God. Gary Snyder, the American Ecological poet, won the 2008 Ruth Lilly Poetry Prize lifetime achievement award for *The Rabbit*. Ruth Lilly Poetry Prize, \$100,000, is one of the largest for poets. Please do notice the object à of Snyder in the last stanza, “Down arroyos and ditches by highways the water / The people to use it, the / mountains and juniper / Do it for men, / Said the rabbit.” I would like to associate Snyder’s second order observation in *The Rabbit* with a phrase in Chinese wisdom “飲水思源,” which means “think of its source when drinking water.” In *Spring Sesshin at Shokoku-ji* (相國寺), Snyder describes very vividly how severe the disciplines of Zen are. He says, “Zen aims at freedom but its practice is disciplined.” For example, “anyone showing signs of drowsiness will feel a light tap of the stick on the shoulder.” “While studying koans you should not relax even in the bath.” “When you understand Zen, you know that the tree is really there.” (92-101) Gary Snyder is a practitioner of Zen. He has written several poems on Zen, such as *How Zen Masters Are Like Mature Herring*. From his works we understand that he has been influenced greatly by Eastern culture, especially Japanese. Having read many of

Gary Snyder's poems and essays, I have come to the conclusion that although the "political tendency" in his works is completely western, his "literary quality" owes much to Eastern wisdom, especially Zen.

Many Westerners adore imagination, such as Baudelaire who believes that the imagination is the "queen of faculties." And he thinks the imagination must shape what nature makes available to it. Baudelaire's *Correspondences* generates a sort of occult wonder from both his imagination and intuition. De Quincey's imagination through the activation of drug is astonishing in *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater*. He blended and intertwined occasions of laughter and tears. Wordsworth's imagination is developed through spots of time and emits his particular dedicated spirit in *The Prelude*.

According to Luhmann, the modern epistemological situation is the result of "social differentiation," which designates the juxtaposition of and interaction between subsystems. This "social differentiation" is the natural consequence of the radical change in the Macro structure. Luhmann has mentioned that "We might question whether and to what extent the switch from primarily stratified to primarily functional differentiation of social systems has taken place in many regions on a structural level." Within our global society, the West and the East are both social subsystems, differentiated functionally instead of stratifiedly. Only by the juxtaposition of both can "social differentiation," the epistemological situation, be possible. In Luhmann's thought, human beings form part of the environment, while a social system consists only of communication. Our global society needs more communications between the West and the East in order to obtain resonances to solve or at least alleviate all the increasing global problems—population growth, nuclear crises, and global warming, and to achieve a sustainable way of life for all global citizens.

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Gender Neutrality Discourses and the Subjectivity of Socialist Women
——Reading novel “*Nǚren*”(Woman) by Wei Junyi

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This paper is one significant part of my dissertation, which will be one study on the multiple narratives surrounding the topic of “Chinese women’s liberation (Zhongguo Funü Jiefang)” in the post-liberation period after the establishment of People’s Republic of China in 1949. My thesis will target the historical and cultural texts that represented the complex interrelation between the state gender ideology/discourses and Chinese female subjectivities as its research objects. In this paper, I would like to touch upon the complexity of Chinese gender issues especially the female subject positions of Mao era during 1950s to 1970s by analyzing one literary text created by a Chinese female writer Wei Junyi.

This topic has great significance in rethinking of the gains and pains of Chinese women’s liberation movement——one of the essential Chinese socialist practices. They are critical particularly for the existing Chinese academia in the area of both cultural/literary studies and gender studies because it is closely related to the reappraisal of the so-called “top-down” mode of Chinese women’s liberation movement led by CCP. This description (“top-down”) becomes one generalization which is far from the highly complicated and polyhedral gender-panorama of socialist China, serving as the basis for the negative attitudes to women’s roles in the Mao era. The Marxist ideas on women’s emancipation were put into practice in the semi-colonial Chinese society since Yan’an period. After the founding of People’s Republic of China ,great achievements has been achieved in the improvement of Chinese women’s social status, the advocacy of equal gender relations and the protection of women’s economic, educational, legal and political rights. However, the masculinist order in the state gender ideology and the Party patriarchy in this women’s liberation movement has been identified by the existing scholarship. A popular argument was brought up of the subordination of Chinese feminist issues to socialist ones. However, is the moment of liberation also the moment of yielding one’s female subject position? I think the interaction of female subjects and the state socialization is more complicated that just a kind of one way direction. Or we can say both cooperation and resistance could be found in socialist women’s relations to hegemonic formation. In this process, there’re many kinds of possibilities of women’s gendered subjectivities in 1950s-1970s.

A big problem was found when I checked the existing criticism about the role of Chinese women in the Mao era among Chinese scholars is the appropriation of the theoretical terms “subject” /“subjectivity” underpinning their corresponding textual

interpretations. Most scholars centered on the idea that women lost their “subjectivity” and “femininity” and became androgynous or desexualized by Maoist culture. This kind of critique emphasized the subordination of Chinese women to the new socialist patriarchy by revealing the logic of the dominant narratives of the revolutionary novels. The critique from Chinese Scholar Meng Yue is a typical case for this angle of view when she contended that Lin Daojing, the heroine in *Song of Youth* “succeeds in becoming one of ‘us’, a comrade, facing ‘them’, the enemy, but never an ‘I’ or a ‘self’, nor a gendered individual, nor even an intellectual.” (Meng,1993). Other critics such as Liu Jianmei explored women’s writings of this period and found “traces of subjectivity” or maintenance of a self and gendered individuality which conflicted with the Party’s authority. What she called for is to avoid the risk of retotalizing the authoritarian voice in order to trace the changing, historically specific codes of the feminine.(Liu,2003) Although I agree with them in their detailed analyses of manifestations of patriarchal logic and its counter discourse in the dominant cultural texts, I by no means have in common with them the conceptualization of the interpretive use of the term “subjectivity”. The problem I found in both of the above two perspectives was their liberal view of the “subject” and their use of the concept “subjectivity” in a humanist, universalist and essentialist way. For the above two representative researchers, the legitimate “female subjectivity” can only be directed to individualism and the justified “female subject position” should always stand in opposite to all the aspects of state ideology. The fortunately survived “female subjectivity” which is against the Party’s authority is viewed as stable, unified instead of unstable, disunified or fluid. This standpoint will lead to the neglect of the multiple discursive formation of one’s subjectivity within concrete and complex social relations, institutions and practices in which a subject depends. The state power/ideology itself is not an integrated, unitary or unchangeless whole. The relationship between individuals and the state ideology is not always in a one-way direction. On the contrary, by adopting the poststructuralist way of viewing subject as socially constructed in multiple discursive practices, I will try to explore the complicated discursive formation of socialist female subject in a culturally and historically specific way.

Concurrently with that humanist perspective on the building of Chinese socialist subjects, one tendency showed from the existing Chinese scholarship in their treating of Chinese women’s emancipation is to depreciate its “from above to below” pattern under the influences of Western feminism theories which advocate an opposite “from bottom to top” way of liberating women. This point of view reflected a deep distrust in the state/Party ideology and the corresponding fear of the totalization of its dominating forces. However, aren’t any gaps in the seemingly all-encompassing embodiment of state’s political ideology? Or how do we view the state ideology if we put it into Foucault’s conceptualization of power as a network and of its asymmetries? One enlightening methodology I found from Joan W. Scott is that: “We need to replace the notion that social power is unified, coherent, and centralized with something like Michel Foucault’s concept of power as dispersed constellations of

unequal relationships, discursively constituted in social ‘fields of force’. Within these processes and structures, there is room for a concept of human agency as the attempt to construct an identity, a life, a set of relationships, a society within certain limits and with language—conceptual language that at once set boundaries and contains the possibilities for negation, resistance, reinterpretation, the play of metaphoric invention and imagination.” (Scott,1988). This encourages me to analyze the concrete policies, discourses and their corresponding functions under the title of state/Party ideologies especially the state’s gender politics. My aim is to probe into the extent to which the “from top to bottom” type of women’s liberation led by CCP has its emancipating and empowering force for Chinese women and also the extent to which this liberation is an incomplete one with its own pitfalls. The official sponsored discourses of women’s emancipation and its relationship to the construction of socialist female subjects will be my focus.

Rather than merely searching texts produced by men to find women’s subjective gender identities, I will use women’s own narratives and literary representations to explore the following questions: What’s the relationship between state ideology/discourse and the formation of female subjects in Mao era? What kind of gendered subjectivities did socialist new women own? How these subjectivities were constructed by different resources of gender discourses of this time? In this constructing process how were relationships of power signified? Is there any possible female agency within the power networks of socialist Chinese society? My research method will be based on the following viewpoint: “Although the subject in poststructuralism is socially constructed in discursive practices, she none the less exists as thinking, feeling subject and social agent, capable of resistance and innovations produced out of the clash between contradictory subject positions and practices. She is also a subject able to reflect upon the discursive relations which constitute her and the society in which she lives, and able to choose from the options available. ” (McLaren, 2002)

When CCP came into power in 1949, the emancipation of women and the gender equality policy was incorporated into the state ideology. Equal rights in the political, economic, educational and social domains were granted to the new category of “*funǔ*”(socialist women) , who would thereby enjoy higher social status and more opportunities to lead an economically independent life. Just like in May Fourth era when Chinese male New Culturalists identified women’s oppression as symptomatic of a Confucian culture built on patriarchy (Wang,1999), male intellectuals who adopted Marxism in socialist China ascribed the unsolving of women’s oppression in the past to the failure of the former liberal, bourgeois way to liberate broad Chinese masses without any radical social revolution. A simplified women’s history was then established in official history by just setting 1949 as the turning point for Chinese women’s transition from “the oppressed victims” to “the liberated modern subject”. By adopting gender equality policy and liberating women especially economically, Chinese CCP leaders took pride in the degree of Chinese women’s emancipation

which was viewed as the natural measure of the general emancipation of Chinese people since one of the Marxist principles guiding the official view on women (actually a quotation of French socialist Charles Fourier) is that “The degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation.” When there existed a Maoist Myth that the issue of women’s liberation was deemed as “already accomplished”, the social category of “gender” was no longer paid much attention to by the state ideology. Instead, “class” became the most significant perceptual, analytical and classification social term although the conceptualization of “class” mainly relied on gender for its articulation in the dominant narratives. Along with this was the emphasis on social, collective identities of the Chinese people instead of personal, individual ones.

There seemed to be a kind of nongendered image of socialist china since Chinese women were viewed the same as men. Along with the prevalent official discourses on gender equality, there emerged kinds of socialist identities which were gender neutral. These identities were embodied as diverse ways of naming citizens projected by official discourses. These diverse titles include “Qingnian” (youth), “Tongzhi”(comrade), “Shifu” (qualified worker). People were given these titles according to their ages[“Qingnian” (youth)] or professions [(“Shifu” (qualified worker)) Most of the time they were entitled as “Tongzhi”(comrade) which implies that they were viewed as a common member in the socialist society. Underlying all of these titles is the inclination to the social identities such as “socialist new person” and “socialist constructor”, but all of these naming themselves are without any gendered implications. Thus you have to add male or female before these title if you want to distinguish the named ones by their sex such as “female youth” and “male comrade”. But in most public situations, people were called “X Tongzhi” with their surname X.

What’s embedded in these naming strategies in terms of creating new titles and categories is to break the traditional gender boundaries as public/domestic to endow woman with a social identity/position and to include more of them into public labor sphere. When women were entitled with “Qingnian” (youth) or “Tongzhi”(comrade) instead of “funǚ”(socialist women), they were actually called for to direct their private life toward making a contribution to the public area rather than domesticity. Here naming could be seen as an important way of the operation of power by the state ideology. However, power does not operate just in a one-way direction. It is through the assimilation and internalization of these gender-connotation-free titles that a kind of empowerment is possible. Power works into the complex processes of the constitution of the subject. Wang Zheng argues in her article *“Call me Qingnian but not funǚ: A Maoist Youth in retrospect”* that “Coexisting with traditional gender expectations, the existence of a gender-neutral but hegemonic identity legitimates the crossing of gender boundaries for women and enabled personal development in girls.” CCP’s gender neutral and gender equal ideology with its plentiful discourses now serve to the breaking the gender hierarchies and the discursive construction of new subjectivities for women. In the eyes of scholar Wang Lihua who researched the life

of “Iron girls” from the perspective of sociology, the iron girl provided a new image for socialist females. Working hard for the society sometimes brought about social recognition. Although we admit that continuity of patriarchal power was passed on through the official creation of a male cadre system, we should not be blind to the possibility of state ideology in forming socialist women’s agency. A concrete case was brought up in Wang’s paper which is about how village women questioned about the unrealized of the “equal work with equal pay” policy using Mao’s language. “We applied Mao’s thoughts to our practice and asked the cadre ‘isn’t it true that Mao said that we should get equal pay?’ the women told me that even they knew the cadre had no answers, it was an opportunity to embarrass him in public.” (Wang, 1995) From this example we can see the interconnection of subject and power in a poststructuralist way—The subject is both an effect of power and a vehicle of power. Foucault explicitly rejects the idea that individuals are merely the inert or consenting target of power; as he says in his “Two lectures” that “The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation.” By seeing power has not only a negative but also a positive aspect, we can understand how it helps to produce subject and discourses in the context of Mao era. Socialist women’s individual interpretations of state ideology constituted subject positions which can question and challenge other subject position that was formed by others subculture in their lives and was trapped in the traditional gender boundaries.

Here I would like to use one novel named “nüren”(women) which was created in 1950s by a female writer Wei Junyi to further illustrate the constructive role of gender neutral discourses in its rejection of sex binary. The heroine in this novel is Lin Yun. She and her husband Song Cheng are both CCP members and cadres in their workplaces but Song Cheng’s position is much higher than hers. Consent to the request of Song Cheng, leaders in Lin Yun’s work unit has been ready to change her current work position into that of Song Cheng’s private life secretary (The real job under this title is do domesticity for Song). Another woman Ma Su who is an old revolutionary friend of Lin Yun also supports the translation of Lin’s job since she herself has already returned from public work place to private family life in the same way. Lin Yun refused to quit her job and was resistant to the job-translation order forced by her husband and the male authority in her workplace. Thus there are several disputes between Lin Yun, her husband Song Cheng and her friend Ma Su. Song Cheng justified his will to change Lin Yun’s twofold roles into a total domestic one as a housewife by arguing that he would like to get rid of Lin Yun’s double workload (public and domestic) in the name of loving and protecting her. “Whenever Song Cheng sees the wrinkles on Lin Yun’s canthus, thinking of her attrited youth time, he felt so indebted to her. Now he has conditions to care for and ease her by changing her job. She should understand him.” However, what Song wants is to draw Lin back to the “legitimate and most suitable” domestic role as a housewife. His idea just reinforced the traditional gender division of labor other than resisting or breaking down it. Meanwhile, what I found is that by debasing women’s participation in the

public work, Song Cheng wants to regain and re-strengthen his familial male authority which is weakened by the larger Party patriarchy which was embodied by appropriating of women's labor force. Harriet Evans maintained that when Chinese women were principally defined through 'class' and political' (communist) considerations and not through domestic, familial, bodily and sexual interests, it is because that the latter perceptive framework is oppressed which might suggest other axes of power and difference productive of social inequalities. (Evans,2007) Thus Song Cheng can resume his superior male position by rearticulating the propriety of the gender based division of labor and returning to gender hierarchy,

Both Song Cheng and Ma Su hold the ideas of the essential biological sexual differences and the inferior and weak female roles. "Nǚren!(woman), we are ultimately nǚren!" Ma Su argued, "We cannot compete with man just because we are nǚren." Then she expressed her dissatisfaction with the tendency of suppression of "femininity": "Why couldn't we pay much attention to our dressing up? Are you willing to be laughed at as bumpkins by those women from the groups of capitalist, merchants or Babbitts? I am most discontent to this! I can also be as fashionable as them!" It seems that this attitude is a rare female subject position which resisted to the degendered social atmosphere and maintained a gendered individual. However, this attitude is questionable if we explore the motives of Ma Su: "(Ma Su to Lin Yun) You'd better take care of Song Cheng such as preparing some invigorant soup for him. You should also pay much attention to your own appearances and dressing codes. We're growing older and older. Although Song Cheng is up to now self-disciplined and faithful to you, you should never lost your alertness to something possibly happen.....(marital disloyalty)". At last, what Ma Su means by "femininity" is mainly sexual appeal. This advocating of "femininity" is just out of her self-subjection to man and her acknowledging of the subordination and the sexual objectification of women.

What Lin Yun objected is this very notion of sex binary. In this fiction, her subject position was reflected by two articulations. In the dispute, Lin Yun rebuked her husband's role as that of Torvald Helmer by referring to Henrik Ibsen's famous play *A Doll's House*. When Song Cheng laughed at Lin Yun's resistance of his advice and order by saying that "well, you wish to become a leaving Nora?", Lin Yun recriminated that "I may not possibly become a leaving Nora, But you certainly resemble Torvald Helmer! ". The play "*A Doll's House*" gained much popularity in May Fourth period by providing a famous female protagonist Nora who seeks independence and challenges her objectification by the patriarchal world. "Grounded in a very different philosophical, political and cultural context, the Chinese enlightenment tells a story of male intellectuals' inclusion of women in their construction of the 'modern human being'".(Wang,1999) Thus May Fourth discourses on gaining an independent personhood(duli renge) played a significant role in forming new women's subjectivities. In this novel, Lin Yun used this very discourse on independence to resist her bestowed position of the sexed "other" with traditional

gender norms. What's more important, socialist gender neutral discourses also had its impact on bringing about women's agency. In her appeal letter to her leaders, Lin Yun argued that "I hope that leaders do not treat me as a housewife who should only attend her husband, but treat me as a Tongzhi(comrade)." Therefore for Lin Yun, the most important gender discourse in her subject position construction is a degendered, or a gender neutral concept "comrade" which signifies a new kind of socialist personal relationship. By treating herself as a Tongzhi(comrade) in both socialist construction cause and private familial relations, Lin Yun expressed her ideal on lovers' relationship basing on a neutral gendered identities. "I just discussed with him(Song Cheng) about the issue of my work, how did he treat this as an issue of love and conjugality?(Song Cheng said her refusal to his request means she did not love him.) Is my refusal to be his secretary due to the lost of my love to him? My words may have been sharp. He is not Torvald Helmer but my revolutionary lover from youth. We confirmed our love to each other through our common advancing steps. However, what our love will be if we share less and less common ground and understanding? This situation is sure to be changed! If not so there will emerge new problems." We can see that when Song Cheng builded the reasonable spouse relationship in his view on the male/female, subject/object sexist binary opposition, Lin Yun based hers on the comradeship which implies both gender equality and a kind of gender neutral identity. The ideal of gender equality between spouses was based on the notions of respecting and helping each other, was encouraged by the introduction of new language in the form of the term "comrade". "Comrade was a gender neural word, it could imply both male and female. As each spouse could be identified as equal partner in terms of comradeship, this relationship of the work place was meant to be carried over form the public to the private sphere."(Wang Lihua 173) From this perspective, we can understand the author Wei Junyi's own words about the motives of her writing this novel. In the postscript of this novel "About 'Nüren'", Wei Junyi contended that "Of course, when I was writing this novel I though I should express the idea that a woman is ought to have the same independent personhood, enterprise and career ideals as a man. However, this theme is not a dominating one. It is not the sexual differences between women and men, but the differences in mentality and morality (among people, either male or female) that really matters." We can see that the author has already presupposed the significant role played by "independent personhood/sense of independence" in the constitution of women's subject position. But more than that, what she emphasized here is a kind of significant "mentality and morality" which could surpass the sexual differences (either socially constructed or viewed as biologically exists which as also constructed/man-made). It is this special "mentality and morality" that weighs heavily in the constitution of socialist subject position, female subjectivity and agency. From the analysis above, we can see that this "mentality and morality" is out of a communist value system which highlights a new sort of personal relations as "socialist comradeship" with its ideals in equality, the devotion to the social cause as well as the belief in the common good.

Again, within this comradeship, like in the Chinese enlightenment movement,

Chinese women was not called on to become the other of man, but rather, were called on to be the same as man. Female intellectuals such as the author Wei Junyi who were influenced by the May Fourth “independent personhood” discourses, would find in the new socialist discourse such as “women are the same as man”, “comrade” and “gender equality” a forceful identity which serve to break the hierarchical gender boundaries and resist the sexual essentialism. “Modern human being”, “socialist constructor” and “comrades” are all discourses beneficial for Chinese women to fight against the positions as “objects” and “the other”. In this way, the state ideology and gender neutral discourse, together with the May Fourth liberal feminist legacy helped to construct women’s subject positions which can question both the male authorities and the essentialist sex binarism.

Of course, if we accept that gender is a primary way of signifying relations of power (Scott,1988), we should also see behind the socialist gender neutrality discourses the state power which always intend to utilize the liberation of women for its political, national ends. However, we should also see that individuals are not merely the inert or consenting target of power. Power has not only a negative but also a positive aspect; it produces subject, disciplines and discourses. The subject is both an effect of power and a vehicle of power. It is through power and its constitution of the subject that resistance is possible. Socialist state discourses on “gender neutrality”, “gender equality” can also be empowering ones in forming women’s sense of independence and agency. Thus we should not always treat socialist subjects as merely oppressed and restricted. This novel “Nüren” provides an example to us.

Meanwhile, there’re many kinds of possibilities of women’s gendered subjectivities in 1950s-1970s since at this time there coexisted the socialist state ideology on gender equality, the remaining gender based social division of labor as well as the scientific assumptions on women’s biological inferiority. Socialist female subjects were constituted discursively through complex social relations and institutions at that time. This led us to contextualize women’s experiences and analyze their constitution within asymmetries of power relations. The aim to reexamine and reevaluate the Chinese women’s liberation legacies will rely on the exploration of female subjectivities in a culturally and historically specific way. That’ll be the primary guiding principle for my future research devotions.

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**Evaluating the Universal Health Insurance Coverage (UC) scheme in Rural
Thailand-Using a 'Wellbeing Focused Evaluation (WFE) approach'**

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Evaluating the Universal Health Insurance Coverage (UC) scheme in Rural Thailand- Using a ‘Wellbeing Focused Evaluation (WFE) approach’¹

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This paper proposes a new approach to evaluation, ‘Wellbeing Focused Evaluation (WFE)’, to understand the impact of the UC scheme on the wellbeing of villagers in Northeast Thailand. This framework is adapted from the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD)’s conceptual models, as proposed by Gough and McGregor (2007). According to WeD’s definition, wellbeing can be understood as: needs met (having), meaningful action (doing) and satisfaction (thinking) with life. Ethnographic research was conducted for eight months in one non-remote and one remote village using a multi-methods approach, including questionnaire surveys, focus groups, in-depth qualitative interviews, participant observation and some of the WeD’s research methods. By investigating the villagers’ experiences, it was found that the UC scheme has provided a sense of security and has lowered the cost of healthcare, thereby contributing to the wellbeing of the villagers. However, the study also found that not everyone with a UC card used it and the main reasons given for this were: trivial illness, opportunity cost, having alternative facilities, the poor quality of service on offer and cultural gender role. In addition, the UC continues to experience problems with regards to its implementation and has come in for criticism. Such criticism has included: restricted number of choices, low quality of service and discriminatory treatment. Although these problems have affected the villagers card usage, they have not adversely affected their wellbeing and having a UC card is viewed by the villagers as a form of life insurance, which can be used whenever they need to.

Keywords: The Universal Healthcare Insurance Coverage Scheme (UC), wellbeing

1. Rationale: Why ‘Wellbeing Focused Evaluation (WFE)’?

The justification for applying WFE to healthcare evaluation in Thailand can be attributed to two key factors. The first is the current economic, political and social transformation taking place in Thailand. Such changes have led to the Thai population broadening their aspirations from that of economic security to that of wellbeing as the main development goal. The importance of wellbeing has been emphasised in the nation development plan (2002-2006) as illustrated below:

‘The plan prioritised solutions to problems arising from the economic crisis in order to build an economy with strong internal foundations and resilience to external changes, while aiming for balanced development with respect to people, society, economy, and environment in order to achieve sustainable development and the wellbeing of the Thai people’

¹ This paper is a part of the PhD thesis entitled: ‘The contribution of Universal Healthcare Insurance Coverage scheme (UC) to the wellbeing of villagers in Northeast Thailand’. It was presented at the Samaggi Conference on 7-8 February 2009, University of Cambridge. However, it has not been accepted for publication in a journal.

(NESDB, 2009)

Increasing concern with the concept of wellbeing and attempts to incorporate it into the public developmental framework have also been witnessed. In 2007, the Public Policy Development Office (PPDO) organised an international conference to discuss the concept of wellbeing at the UN Conference Centre (UNCC) in Bangkok, at which many participants suggested that the notion of wellbeing should be understood as both objective and subjective, because both dimensions are essential for human beings and policy development (McGregor et al., 2008; Cummins 2008; Frijters and Mujcic 2008; Gray et al., 2008).

The second factor which supports the use of WFE relates to the reforms which have been taking place within the Thai health sector since 1992, in response to the increasing demand for better healthcare policy, i.e. an affordable and equitable one as set out for the first time in sections 52 and 82 of the 1997 constitution (Pannarunothai 2005; Wongkongkathep *et al.*, 2004). More recently, the growth of interest in wellbeing can be seen through the first national health assembly conference in Bangkok in December 2008, which placed wellbeing as a primary national development goal (National Health Commission Office -NHCO, 2009)

In this context, socio-economic change combined with increasing interest in wellbeing at the national level and in the Thai health sector itself have encouraged health policy makers to launch a new health scheme called the Universal Health Insurance Coverage scheme (UC) in 2001. Although the ultimate objective of this scheme is to enhance the wellbeing of the Thai people, the UC evaluation which is used by the National Health Security Office (NHSO) i.e. the public opinion poll, does not take into consideration the fact that the healthcare system and Thailand as a whole are constantly undergoing change. Thus in attempting to address this gap, this paper argues for a WFE approach as a broader tool for healthcare evaluation.

2. The problem: What has happened in Thailand with regards to the UC scheme?

The UC scheme is known in Thai as the ‘30-baht²scheme.’ This scheme has wider significance for health policy in developing countries, because Thailand is one of the first middle or low-income countries to introduce universal healthcare coverage for its population. It has been seen as an innovative and important policy for increasing access to health services in a rapidly developing society and it has been suggested by the World Health Organisation (WHO) that its success will be watched closely as a possible model for other countries (Towse 2003).

In Thailand, inequality and inefficiency in the distribution of healthcare services has been a major issue for those who use the healthcare system (Ministry of Public Health-MoPH, 2004). Although the government had been attempting to provide various health insurance schemes before 2001, these systems had proved problematic and were often criticised by academics and health administrators. The main criticisms included: the burden of high expenditure on healthcare and inequalities of access generated by the existing types of

² Under the scheme, there were two types of card. The first one was a free card and the second one was a co-payment card with which people paid 30 baht (approximately £0.50, \$ 0.86) for each visit or admission. Although all cards launched under the UC scheme were replaced by free medical treatment throughout the country from 31 October 2006, the term ‘30 baht scheme’ remains well known because it was used in a previous ruling party’s political campaign under the motto ‘30 baht treats all diseases’ to explain that all illnesses could be cured for only 30 baht .

healthcare systems, that is to say the poor could not afford similar quality to that of the rich. Moreover, it was reported that in 2001 around 30 percent of Thai people had no health insurance and thus had to pay for treatment (Tangcharoensathien, 1996 and Jirojjanakul, 2004).

These problems led to changes at the policy level regarding the organising and financing of the healthcare system so as to improve the situation in order to make the healthcare more equal and accessible to poor people. These changes were driven by governmental initiatives and advocates for civil society, such as: research institutions, NGOs, user groups and private sector representatives. Consequently, various policies have been introduced, particularly aimed at increasing access to healthcare for poorer people. This culminated in the UC scheme which was launched in 2001 driven by former Prime Minister Thaksin. It was very popular among poor people and contributed greatly to his electoral success, certainly amongst the poor. However, this led to the UC being criticised because of its populist nature and some scholars have argued that the UC was a tactic to get votes from the poor (Siamwalla 2003, Phongpaichit and Baker 2004, 2005, Warr 2005).

The implementation of the UC scheme began in April 2001 and subsequently was expanded all over the country in the same year. It was the most expansive single policy initiative, in terms of coverage of the population, and had the largest budget of all the major initiatives introduced in 2001 (Changson, P and Chaitrong, W. 2003). The UC scheme aims to decrease inequity in healthcare by providing the same quality of service to uninsured people as to those covered by other forms of insurance, such as the Social Security Scheme (SSS) and the Civil Servants Medical Benefit Scheme (CSMBS). The ultimate goal of the UC scheme is to promote the wellbeing of the Thai people (NHSO 2007).

Two lines of debate have emerged with regard to the impact of the UC scheme. On the one hand supporters have argued in favour of the UC and have perceived that it has improved access among uninsured people, by lowering user costs. The government has used public opinion polls to measure the success of the UC scheme and polls have repeatedly shown that since 2001 approximately 80-90 % of Thai people have expressed themselves to be satisfied with the scheme. On the other hand, opponents have argued that the scheme has created numerous problems, many of which have been reported in newspaper articles and research studies. These problems include: staff shortages caused by numerous resignations of doctors, a corresponding increase in workload among the remaining healthcare workers, and inequitable treatment of patients. In addition, the quality of the UC scheme as a whole has been affected by ambiguity and instability within its administration. Although several research studies have been undertaken to investigate this controversy, the government continues to rely on its high level of support in the public opinion polls to justify people's satisfaction to the scheme. Given the nature of public opinion polls, namely that it draws heavily on large-scale surveys focussing on general satisfaction, the government has been of the opinion that most people are satisfied with the UC scheme. With regard to the debate outlined above this paper aims to contribute to it by proposing an alternative way to approach the evaluation of the UC scheme, that of 'Wellbeing Focused Evaluation (WFE)'. Moreover, in this paper argues that, in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of the UC scheme on people's wellbeing, a more holistic way of understanding it is needed than simplistic public opinion polls. The WFE approach which incorporates: objective subjective and social aspects is considered as being one such holistic way of evaluating the UC scheme and an outline of a suitable methodology for applying this approach is discussed.

It must be noted that the WFE approach does not completely discount the current methods of evaluation that exist in research on contemporary health services. However, I am trying to look at aspects of health and healthcare from a different perspective, namely that of wellbeing.

3. What is a Wellbeing Focused Evaluation (WFE)?

A WFE builds on and extends conceptual and methodological insights of an international research programme into wellbeing in developing countries (WeD)³.

According to the WeD project, wellbeing is defined as ‘a state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one’s goals, and where one enjoys a satisfactory quality of life’ (Gough and McGregor 2007). From this definition, it becomes evident that wellbeing encompasses people’s objective circumstances and subjective perceptions of their condition. In addition, this definition of wellbeing highlights relationships with others, so the wellbeing of one person is related to the wellbeing of others. Moreover, wellbeing is not only an outcome, but a ‘condition of being’ that arises from the dynamic interplay of outcomes and processes. Lastly, the interplay between outcomes and processes is firmly located in society and is shaped by social, economic, political, cultural and psychological processes (Gough and McGregor 2007).

Similar to the WeD approach, a WFE can employ both objective and subjective measures and allows for more emphasis being put on subjective views and assessments of wellbeing. A WFE is used to assess the perceived wellbeing of villagers in the context of the UC scheme in Thailand. The research that has been carried out focused on villagers’ actual experiences of, access to and use of the scheme, by looking at whether people of different gender, age and class in two villages, one remote and one non-remote, had different access to and use of the UC scheme, and if so how this affected their wellbeing.

This study adopts WeD’s definition of wellbeing, which considers people’s objective circumstances, subjective perceptions of their conditions and relationships with others. This definition emphasises ‘conditions’ for the pursuit of wellbeing in two areas, as detailed by McGregor (2008): the significant role of the government in creating appropriate conditions; and the fact that these wellbeing conditions are different in each society as they are involved with different stages of development.

This hybrid notion of wellbeing could therefore be measured in different ways, for example, through subjective and objective dimensions, according to individual and social levels or as both processes and outcomes. The wellbeing of the villagers in both locations is also influenced by internal factors and external conditions. Internal factors are mainly related to the villagers’ own circumstances (i.e. whether they are remote or non-remote or their

³ Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) is a project that aims to develop a conceptual and methodological framework for understanding the social and cultural aspects of wellbeing in developing countries. It is an ESRC funded research programme at The University of Bath. The research work has been on poverty, inequality and wellbeing in specific societies in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru and Thailand (<http://www.welldev.org.uk/>).

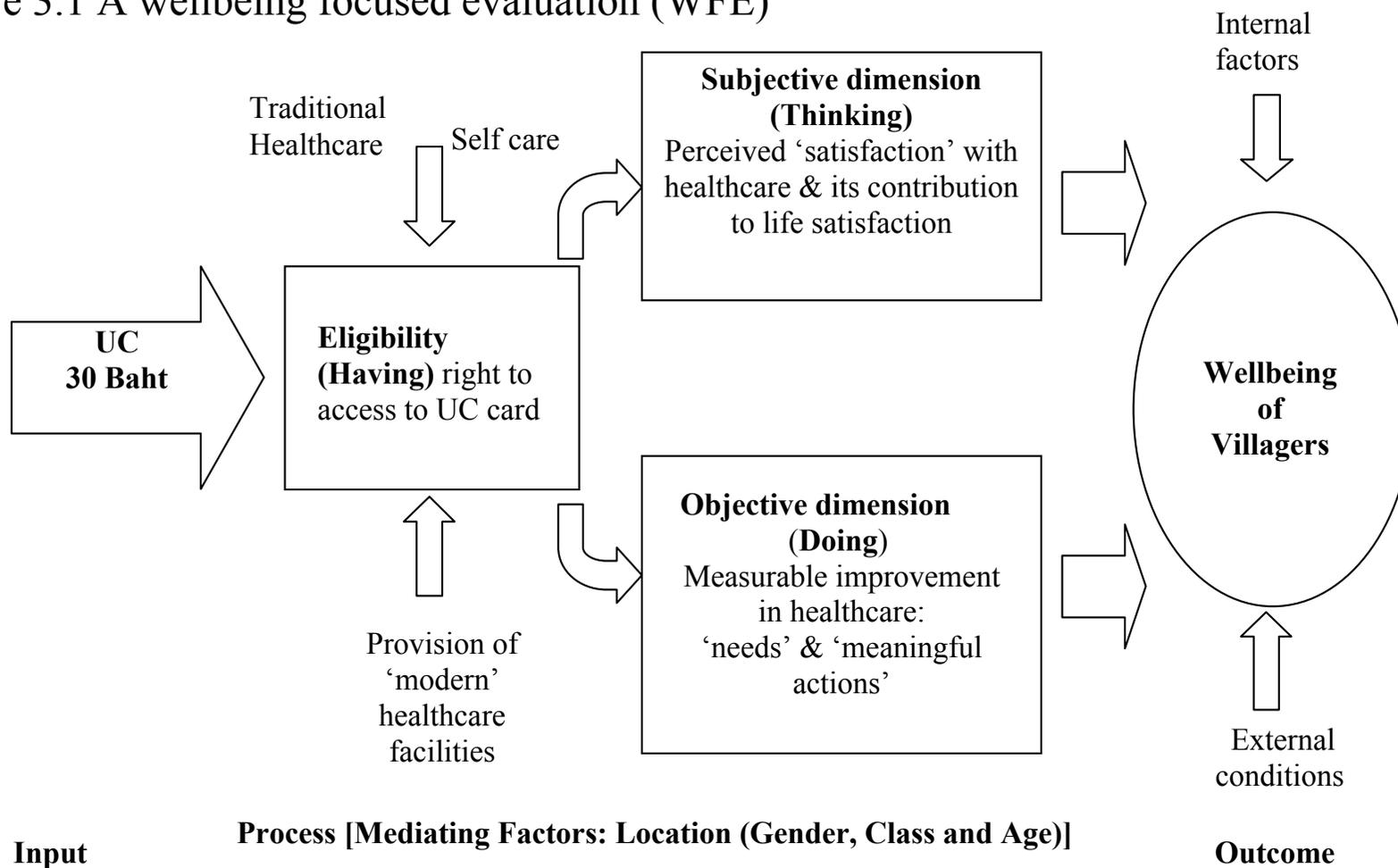
characteristics such as gender), while the external conditions are related to the state (government policies, i.e. the UC scheme), the market and the civil society.

In this study, objective and subjective dimensions are taken into account in the analysis of wellbeing. The objective dimensions are measured by investigating the level of uptake and utilisation of the UC card, and relevant data is compiled from questionnaires and the WeD Resources and Needs Questionnaire RANQ. The subjective dimensions are measured by the perceived satisfaction levels and the contribution of the scheme to villagers' lives as a whole, through in-depth interviews and other qualitative investigative processes such as participant observation and informal interviews. This part investigates villagers' feelings and their own explanations of how satisfied they are with the UC scheme and how the UC scheme has contributed to better living conditions.

The main focus of this study is to understand to what extent the UC has met its ultimate goal: 'to promote the wellbeing of Thai people'. As mentioned above, wellbeing is defined as 'a state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals and where one enjoys a satisfactory quality of life. To evaluate the impact of the UC on villagers' wellbeing, three types of observations are used to understand the villagers' experiences of the UC scheme (i.e. their uptake and use of the UC scheme), namely, the processes of 'having, doing and thinking'. Thus, in this research, the following three aspects of villagers' lives are investigated: needs [HAVING], meaningful actions [DOING], and satisfaction with life [THINKING].

The WFE is summarised in Figure 3.1. The figure shows the relationship between the UC scheme and the wellbeing of villagers, both in the remote and non-remote villages, and according to different profiles of gender, class and age.

Figure 3.1 A wellbeing focused evaluation (WFE)



4. Methodology and techniques

As discussed in the previous section, wellbeing is defined as: needs met, meaningful actions and experience of satisfaction with life, it is necessary to consider a broader concept of evaluation. This paper argues for a broader concept of evaluation and proposes a new approach to evaluation, WFE. The WFE was developed from the WeD framework; thus some of its methods were applied for researching the villages.

An ethnographic research was conducted for eight months in one non-remote and one remote village in Northeast of Thailand using a multi- methods approach, including questionnaire surveys, focus groups, in-depth interviews, participant observation and some of the WeD's methods. The research conducted a detailed survey of 216 villagers, 24 in-depth interviews (12 men and 12 women), 6 focus group discussions and participant observation, and interviews with policy makers and healthcare workers, as well as data from the WeD project.

The samples for the research were selected with reference to: gender, social and economic status, age and location. Data was collected from questionnaire surveys and in-depth interviews with an equal number of women and men, with different economic status and age in both villages. The questionnaire surveys were carried out amongst 216 people in both villages, the in-depth interviews totaled 24 and there were also 6 focus group discussions. In addition, various stakeholders (healthcare workers and policy makers) were also interviewed, so as to obtain informed opinion regarding the healthcare provision to the villagers and their level of wellbeing.

In order to reduce some bias that may occur from relying only one method, this study is undertaken by a multi-method (Kanbur 2001). Using multi-method allowed the researcher to have a more holistic understanding of how the UC scheme has contributed to the villagers' wellbeing. In addition, it has helped to crosscheck the results generated from the different researchers and different research methods, which it is possible to triangulate results. For example, while a large-scale survey is helpful in outlining the characteristics of the non-remote and remote villages, participatory observation and in-depth-interview allow the researcher to understand the reasons behind their characteristics, having provided more 'thick description' as suggested in the work of Geertz (1973). In addition, the flexibly structured and open interviews allowed access to information such as their experiences of wellbeing as a result of the UC scheme in relation to their background, identities, culture and beliefs, which would have been difficult to pick up using only quantitative techniques or an opinion poll.

5. The extent of the UC scheme's contribution to villagers' wellbeing

The results showed that the UC scheme has created better conditions for villagers in both villages to achieve a greater degree of wellbeing, especially in relation to the terms that are set out in the WeD definition, which lists the three criteria as mentioned above: needs met, meaningful actions and satisfaction with lives.

5.1 The first aspect: need met

It was found more of the villagers' healthcare needs are being met. Firstly, the majority of villagers in both locations (83.2 %) who had the right to access the UC, held UC cards. In terms of the distribution of each card type (co-payment or free) it was found that the free cards were held by women and the poor in higher proportions than other economic groups and men (tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Table 5.1 Percentage of the different types of UC card holders by **gender**

Gender	Type of Card				Total	
	Co-payment card		Free Card			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Baan</i> ⁴ non-remote						
1. Male	17	36.2	30	63.8	47	100
2. Female	14	29.8	33	70.2	47	100
Total	31	33.0	63	67.0	94	100
<i>Baan</i> remote						
1. Male	23	33.7	38	62.3	61	100
2. Female	18	29.5	43	70.5	61	100
Total	41	33.6	81	66.4	122	100

Source: Researcher's questionnaire surveys 2005

Table 5.2 Percentage of the different types of UC card holders by **economic class**

Economic class	Type of Card				Total	
	Co-payment card		Free Card			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Baan</i> non-remote(N=94)						
1. Poor	8	28.6	20	71.4	28	100
2. Medium	14	26.9	38	73.1	52	100
3. Rich	9	64.3	5	35.7	14	100
Total	31	33.0	63	67.0	94	100
<i>Baan</i> remote(N=122)						
1. Poor	15	28.8	37	71.2	52	100
2. Medium	20	34.5	38	65.5	58	100
3. Rich	6	50.0	6	50.0	12	100
Total	41	33.6	81	66.4	122	100

Source: Researcher's questionnaire surveys 2005

5.2 The second aspect: Acting meaningfully in pursuit of goals

Results show that the UC scheme has enabled the majority of the villagers (69.4%) who held the UC card to use it. In particular, it helped those who had limited access to healthcare before the UC scheme was introduced. This indicates by the fact that those with the greatest healthcare needs such as those living in remote community, women and the poor have had the highest percentage of card usage (tables 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5).

⁴ A village in Thai.

Table 5.3 Percentage utilisation of the UC card by **location**

Location	Utilisation of Card				Total	
	Used		Never Used		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
1. <i>Baan</i> non-remote (N=94)	60	63.8	34	36.2	94	100
2. <i>Baan</i> remote (N=122)	90	73.8	32	26.2	122	100
Total	150	69.4	66	30.6	216	100

Source: Researcher's questionnaire surveys 2005

Table 5.4 Percentage utilisation of the UC card by **gender**

Gender	Utilisation of Card				Total	
	Used		Never Used		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
<i>Baan</i> non-remote(N=94)						
1. Male	25	53.2	22	46.8	47	100
2. Female	35	74.5	12	25.2	47	100
Total	60	63.8	34	36.2	94	100
<i>Baan</i> remote(N=122)						
1. Male	40	65.6	21	34.4	61	100
2. Female	50	82.0	11	18.0	61	100
Total	90	73.8	32	26.2	122	100

Source: Researcher's questionnaire surveys 2005

Table 5.5 Percentage utilisation of the UC card by **economic class**

Economic class	Utilisation of Card				Total	
	Used		Never Used			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Baan non-remote(N=94)</i>						
1. Poor	20	71.4	8	28.6	28	100
2. Medium	34	65.4	18	34.6	52	100
3. Rich	6	42.9	8	57.1	14	100
Total	60	68.8	34	36.2	94	100
<i>Baan remote(N=122)</i>						
1.Poor	40	76.9	12	23.1	52	100
2. Medium	41	70.7	17	29.3	58	100
3. Rich	9	75.0	3	25	12	100
Total	90	73.8	32	26.2	122	100

Source: Researcher's questionnaire surveys 2005

Nonetheless, it is worth exploring the reasons why nearly a third of all the villagers (approximately 31 %) had never used the UC card, even though it has been available in one form or another since 2001. Apart from trivial illness⁵, there are several reasons that discourage villagers from using the UC card.

The first reason is economic cost (Buchanan 1969). According to Buchanan, the actual cost can be measured in units or resource input in an objective way, opportunity cost is subjective and is related to choice. Using the UC card was seen by some as being time consuming and inconvenient. Some villagers preferred to pay for their care, because they believed that it was worth paying money more than being absent from their work. The villagers who had this preference included the rich who had the ability to pay whilst some others were the poor who could not afford to wait and waste their working time.

The second is a matter of geography. It was found that although the non-remote village had a slightly greater percentage of UC cardholders, the percentage of usage was lower than in its remote counterpart. This is because the availability of alternative healthcare systems has resulted in less use of the UC card by the non-remote villagers.

The third reason is the UC's low quality of services. Some villagers reported that they had had direct experience of poor service provision, whereas others anticipated low quality of service, owing to the belief that free and low cost products were usually not as good as something they paid for. Although better off villagers enjoyed a greater choice than villagers in other economic classes, it emerged that economic class was not the only factor and perceptions regarding service quality formed an even more important reason for non-use of the card.

The last reason for not using the card concerned cultural factor. It was found that both women and men were concerned about their cultural gender role more than the actual health

⁵ This refers to illnesses that the villagers consider to be curable through self-treatment methods. These methods range from no action to simple self-treatment such as resting, eating nutritious food, taking herbal medicines or to purchasing medicines (Researcher's field note 2005).

conditions that they experienced themselves. For example, some women expressed that they were too embarrassed to see a doctor to receive a cervical screening test, and some men said that if they frequently visited a doctor they could be thought of as weak and less manly. Understandably, such attitudes as these have had a negative effect on card usage.

5.3 The third aspect: experiencing satisfaction with life

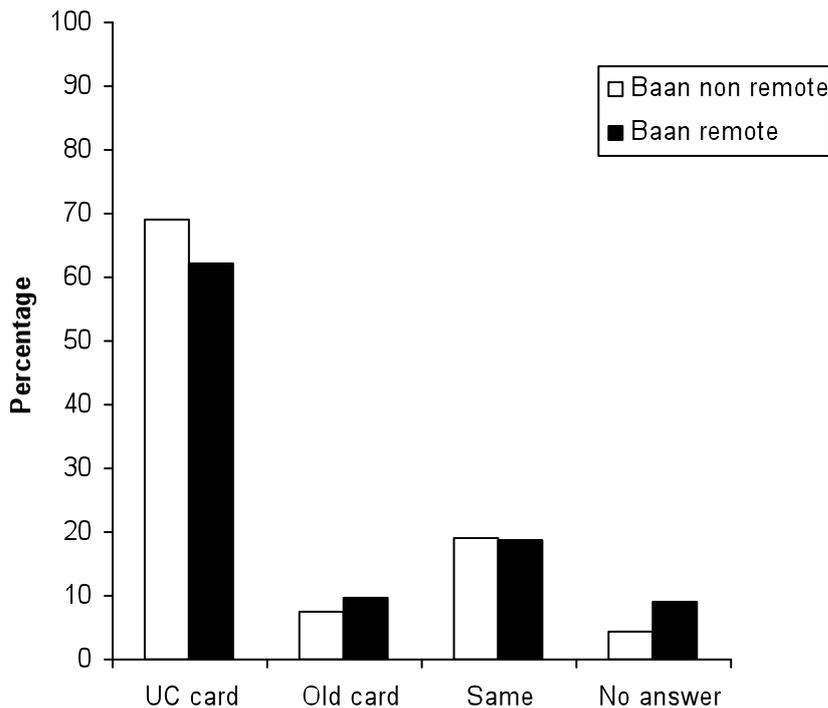
It emerged that in both locations, most of the villagers (76.4%) who used the card were satisfied with the scheme (see table 5.6) and 65.2% of villagers in both locations considered the UC scheme as being better than previous schemes (see chart 5.1)

Table 5.6 Percentage of villagers' satisfaction with the UC scheme

Villagers' opinions of the UC scheme	<i>Baan non-remote</i>		<i>Baan Remote</i>		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Satisfied	68	72.3	97	75.9	165	76.4
2. It needs to be developed	26	27.7	22	18.0	48	22.2
3. No answer / don't know	0	0	3	2.5	3	1.4
Total	94	100	122	100	216	100

Source: Researcher's questionnaire surveys 2005

Chart 5.1 Percentage of villagers’ satisfaction with the UC card as compared with the previous card



Source: Researcher’s questionnaire surveys 2005

Explanations for the villagers’ satisfaction with the UC scheme can be attributed to these two main reasons. The first relates to the UC scheme itself and the second was down to the villagers’ health goal within their social and cultural context.

Firstly, the UC scheme had provided affordable healthcare and had increased villagers’ security more than any other previous scheme and thus relieved their anxiety about paying for healthcare should they fall ill. Most villagers in both village reported that their household expenditure decreased after using the UC card (80.9 % in *Baan non remote* and 69.7 % in *Baan remote*). Saving on medical expenses is an underlying reason for villagers’ satisfaction, regardless of location, gender, age or economic class. The following statements highlight the results from questionnaires.

Non-remote villagers

‘In the past, the card didn’t exist. I had to pay a lot.’
 (A better off female, 18 years old, 26 November 2005)

‘We don’t have to pay ourselves. They charge the government for the fees’
 (A worse off male 56 years old, 27 November 2005)

Remote villagers

‘Elsewhere the prices of medicine and hospital fees are high.’
(A better off male 55 years old, 17 November 2005)

‘The scheme helps us to save’
(A worse off female 22 years old, 17 November 2005)

Secondly, the UC scheme is proved to be a suitable choice for the villagers’ need and goal. For villagers, being good health was considered an important factor for their wellbeing as it helped them to be happy and content. Thai people believe in *‘Khwarm mai mee rok pen lap an prasert’*, which can be translated into English, as ‘lack of disease is precious luck’. When the UC scheme has enabled villagers to meet their health needs and they are able to act more meaningfully it could be expected that satisfaction with the UC scheme can be transferred to satisfaction with other aspects of villagers’ lives in terms of objective (having more options in life) and subjective (feel less fear of threats to their health and wellbeing) aspects.

In terms of differences among the different types of people, it was found that women and the poor were significantly more satisfied with the UC scheme than men and the other economic classes. The higher level of satisfaction among women can be explained in relation to their gender roles in households that women in a given role are the one taking care of the family’s health and manage household expenditure, when the scheme has benefited the family in terms of its accessibility at lower cost they feel the scheme is helpful. Similarly the poor recognised that they were spending less on healthcare than they had been before. This affordable healthcare scheme has created the sense of ‘more security’ among women and the poor, particularly when they need to see a doctor, and they live with less fear of threats to their health and wellbeing. This has encouraged more timely use of healthcare by people who were previously economically restricted from doing so and thus it has enhanced their wellbeing.

The relative high level of satisfaction brought about by the existence of the UC scheme has been shown to be linked to the Thai culture involving Buddhist teachings of being *‘Por Jai’* or being satisfied with what one has (Gray et al 2008) and the King’s philosophy of ‘sufficient living’. That is, people in rural areas are grateful for any provision of goods or services that improve their lives and those of their families and have a tendency not to be too critical. In addition, for the poor, in general poor people have low expectation than the other economic groups and therefore a high satisfaction on the UC scheme can be expected reasonable. This statement is supported by Cummins (2008) who suggests that optimistic responses from Thais are part of the national culture in which they were brought up.

However, it was also found that not everybody who used the card satisfies with it. A considerable number (approximately 22%) of respondents who used the card reported dissatisfactions with using it. The reasons for this are: restricted number of choices as villagers cannot use the UC card as wherever they preferred, low quality of services on offer and discriminatory treatment.

6. Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, the research question was set out: to what extent has the existing UC scheme contributed to villagers' wellbeing in Northeast Thailand. This question was motivated by the controversial debates for and against the UC scheme. Based on eight months of ethnographic studies in one non-remote and one remote village in Northeast Thailand, this research has indicated that the UC scheme has made a contribution to conditions of the majority villagers' wellbeing in the two villages given that the needs of majority of them are actually met. The evidence is the finding that most of the people have the UC card, used the UC card and are satisfied with the scheme. Furthermore, villagers' satisfaction towards the UC card had exceeded that of previous cards. The satisfaction with the UC scheme has a positive effect to villagers' life satisfaction because the UC card is viewed by villagers as a form of their life insurance in which enabled them to access to healthcare services without having to worry about the cost that might exceed their ability to pay. The UC scheme has increased their economic and emotional security more than other previous schemes and thus relived their fear when facing with greater uncertainty when they fall ill.

Nevertheless, the study also found that there are many problems with regards to the UC scheme's implementation. These problems indicates by the fact that almost 31% of the villagers have never used the service offered by the UC scheme despite the fact that they have been entitled to it since 2001 and are in possession of the card. Furthermore, it was found that approximately 22 % people who used the card reported dissatisfactions. These problems require a great attention from policy makers to make the UC scheme perform better.

Although these problems have affected the villagers' UC card usage and their satisfaction, they have no adverse effects on their wellbeing. Villagers still reported being satisfied with having it. Having a UC card is viewed by the villagers as a form of life insurance, which they can use whenever they need to. Therefore it can be concluded that most villagers experienced a better sense of wellbeing as a result of the UC scheme.

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**East meets West? Sustainable quality of life practices in Hong Kong and
the United Kingdom**

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Introduction

This paper conducts a comparison of sustainable development (SD) activity in Hong Kong (HK) and the United Kingdom (UK). It utilises a comparative public policy framework to explain ‘how, why and to what effect’ the UK and HK governments have pursued ‘a particular course of (SD) action or inaction’ (Heidenheimer, et al., 1990: 3). Attention is drawn to their commensurate quality of life (QOL) orientations and related adoption of a range of ‘performance’ indicator systems designed to monitor sustainability progress. However, as with many other economies of the world, doubts exist about the authenticity and credibility of their sustainability efforts. Hence, by illuminating the emergence and content of an East and West approach to SD while uncovering similarities and differences in their underlying mechanics this paper will be in a position to reconsider the broader meaning and politics of sustainability.

Sustainable Development

Although the terms SD and QOL are both alluring and popular (Costanza, *et al.*, 2007; Akranaviciute and Ruzevicius, 2007; Elliott, 2007, Unruh, 2007, United Nations, 2007) they remain a source of cultural and conceptual confusion (O’Riordan, 2004; Atkinson, *et al.*, 2007). This leaves them exposed to various forms of abuse and manipulation, with all sorts of policies and practices able to be legitimised in their good name. While international SD guidance exists – such as that available from the United Nations and from publications on best practice SD by relevant international organisations - there is no single prescribed formula for presenting a SD strategy. Many cities and countries have thus produced strategies, which vary in format and in content, reflecting the concerns and priorities of their respective societies. As Lucas explains (2000: 10) SD strategies may range from “*deep green* policy statements advancing the need to entirely rethink the extent to which human activity should be allowed to impinge upon the natural environment, through to use of the word simply as a catch-phrase meaning little in terms of policy adjustment and implying a *business as usual* approach. Accordingly, sceptics ponder whether SD has any practical meaning. As Myerson and Rydin (1994: 439 in Gibbs, 2000: 11) ask:

“Does the discourse around the concept of sustainable development represent a cultural oxymoron, a continuation of policy goals from the distinct economic and environmental policy arenas, or is it an innovative step forward in policy thinking which provides new opportunities for goal achievement?”

Other commentators hold a more optimistic outlook arguing that the fluidity of the SD term does not imply that it is necessarily vacuous because as a unifying and visionary construct it provides a means to popularise environmental policy as an alternative strategy to pure economic growth. Thus, continuing criticism of the term’s elusiveness potentially deflects attention away from the political project that has to underpin the necessary shifts in human behaviour (Munton, 1997). In line with this latter position the implementation of SD was, in principle, given greater impetus at the United Nations conference on Environment and Development in June 1992 when officials from over 150 countries met to discuss how to achieve SD and agreed a plan of action for the 21st century, known as Agenda 21. This included a call on individual countries to prepare national strategies and action plans to implement the agreements (Whitby and Ward, 1994). The UK was one of the first countries to answer the Rio call and did so in 1994 when the then Conservative government published ‘Sustainable Development: The UK Strategy’ (HM Government, 1994).

This section provides an overview of SD activity in HK and the UK explaining how both produced SD strategies that have heralded sustainable QOL as a core focus. However, whereas the QOL direction in the UK emerged from the ruling Labour Party's stated desire to maintain social justice, in the Hong Kong case, it derived out of the Government's more pragmatic aim to ensure a sustainable urban living space while preserving economic opportunities.

Sustainable Development in England

Since the election of New Labour in 1997 a broad and strong sustainability approach to SD in the UK has been taken. This focuses on the meaning of development and formulates the SD agenda around a dual environmental and social justice approach (Heal and Kristrom, 2007; Ageyman, 2007) which heralds *sustainable* QOL as its core value (DETR, 1999; DEFRA, 2005). Labour's sustainability outlook moves beyond the goal of ensuring future generations have the necessary resources to progress sustainably towards one in which it becomes imperative that they also have the opportunities in their environment to enhance their level of well being.

At the same time, however, the magnitude of Labour's SD strategy can also be examined in terms of what it means politically. Here, it becomes insightful to view the strategy as a vehicle for New Labour to distinguish itself both from the consecutive 1992-1997 Conservative Government's approach to SD and, more profoundly, to demonstrate its principled separation from Old Labour values. New Labour's SD strategy managed to pursue this twin political objective by adopting a dual social and environmental justice stance that simultaneously targeted the former Conservative position on sustainability and the Old Labour position on the environment and rural affairs.

Regarding the former, New Labour broadened the meaning of SD beyond the Conservative's previous concern with inter-generational renewable resource availability (Scottish Parliament, 2001) to accommodate a social justice element too. It also embraced two issues that have been very controversial in the history of the Labour Party, the environment and rural affairs. To appreciate the magnitude of this latter repositioning effort one need only be reminded of Labour's previous stance towards the environmental or 'green' agenda which it had accused of being predicated on a manifest class bias which ignored the plight of the urban poor:

Its champions are often kindly and dedicated people. But they are affluent and fundamentally, though of course not consciously, they want to kick the ladder down behind them. They are highly selective in their concern, being militant mainly about threats to rural peace and wildlife and well loved beauty spots; they are little concerned with the far more desperate problem of the urban environment in which 80 per cent of our fellow citizens live (Anthony Crosland, 1971: 5 in Anderson, 1991).

Following the 1997 General election, however, 'New' Labour acted quickly to disown this former, 'outmoded,' position and did so on the principled and humane grounds that it shunned prevailing environmental injustices (Meacher in Boardman, *et al.*, 1999). This claim thus gave the impression that the Labour Party was about to ratchet up its longstanding preoccupation with social justice in order to tackle the environmental injustices of the modern era. Likewise, in revoking the Party's former hostility to the rural cause attention was drawn to the issues of agricultural demise, immigration and social exclusion (DETR/MAFF, 2000).

However, such headline redistributive claims did not manage to transpire into the implementation of SD which instead adopted an equality of opportunity-founded approach to sustainable communities formation (HMSO, 2007). In emphasising the revitalisation of each individual local community rather than addressing the prevailing inequities between them such a stance was largely alien to the Party's former commitment to spatial Keynesianism as built upon a strong national welfare state and the project of equalising the distribution of industry, population and infrastructure across national territories (Raco, 2007). Instead, responsibility and ownership for the rectification of prevailing QOL-deficits was to be mostly devolved directly to the communities and relevant authorities concerned.

Sustainable Development in Hong Kong

On a global scale, the SD discourse arrived comparatively late in HK (Mottershead, 2004a) and was first brought to the forefront of HK government policy in the 1999 Policy Address, when the Chief Executive maintained that: "*Every citizen, every business, every government department and bureau needs to start working in partnership*" to achieve SD. The roots of HK's SD strategy reside with environmental protection (Mottershead, 2004b) and a consultancy study undertaken by Environmental Resources Limited (now Environmental Resources Management, a global provider of environmental consulting services) which culminated in two reports: one surveying the state of HK's environment and the existing machinery for environmental protection (ERL, 1975), and the second (ERL, 1997), setting out priorities for environmental policy and an administrative framework for environmental protection.

Later in 1989 a White Paper entitled "*Pollution in Hong Kong – A time to act*¹" was released and led to the undertaking of a number of biannual reviews until 1999 (see Hills, 2004). Amidst this activity, a somewhat more enthusiastic commitment to SD emerged in September 1997 when the Government commissioned the "SD in the 21st Century Study" (SUSDEV 21), later concluding in August 2000. The study alluded to a definition of SD that, by stressing the need to *balance* economic, social and environmental considerations, drew criticism from major stakeholder groups for its lack of integration. According to Hills (2004) it also proved to be slightly at odds with the theme of SD developed by the Chief Executive in 1999 (Hills, 2004) which contained the following three principles:

1. Finding ways to increase prosperity and improve the quality of life while reducing overall pollution and waste
- 2 Meeting our own needs and aspirations without doing damage to the prospects of future generations and
- 3 Reducing the environmental burden we put on our neighbours and helping to preserve common resources.

¹ Pollution in HK and the surrounding industrial and urban centres of the Delta Region is a major problem. In HK it is estimated that 2000 people a year die prematurely from pollution-related illnesses and that the medical costs and reduction in productivity caused by pollution-related illnesses amounts to some HK\$4 billion per annum (GIS, 1999 in Cullinane and Cullinane, 2003). Individual pollutants frequently exceed World Health Organisation standards (Cullinane and Cullinane, 2003).

Following the recommendations of SUSDEV 21, a body called the Council for Sustainable Development (CSD) was established². Its remit was to advise and oversee the preparation of a SD strategy for HK, a process which began in December 2003 and concluded just over a year later following a five-stage engagement process and substantial campaign of community involvement³. The ensuing strategy, HK's first, contained the following mission:

“Our vision is for Hong Kong to be a healthy, economically vibrant and just society that respects the natural environment and values its cultural heritage. By engaging the community in the process of building a strategy for sustainable development, we aim to ensure that Hong Kong will be a city for all to share and enjoy, for this and future generations (SDU, 2005:7).”

In terms of structure, meanwhile, the SD strategy is divided into the three following ‘plot areas’ relevant to HK's long-term sustainability: *“Solid Waste Management: A Community Effort for Sustainability”*; *“Renewable Energy: Acting Locally on a Global Issue”* and *“Urban Living Space: Creating a Sustainable Built Environment”* and, of these, it is the third that expresses the need to enhance existing QOL conditions. Thus, as page ten of the SD strategy document (SDU, 2005: 10) explains:

“Creating a sustainable urban living environment involves a range of challenges. In seeking to improve the quality of life for people in Hong Kong, we need to consider how best to plan and to build so as to make our built environment attractive. We must also consider how best to maintain and enhance economic opportunities, whilst conserving a healthy and diverse natural environment and facilitating social and cultural development”.

However, rather than directly confronting its many social-economic tensions, as part of a strong sustainability outlook, the HK government instead turned attention to such urban design issues as height profile, waterfront development, cityscape, pedestrian environment and pollution mitigation. Consequently, the two major parties conducting urban redevelopment projects in the territory, the HK Government and the private developers, have mainly attempted to achieve various socio-economic objectives through urban renewal (Chan and Lee, 2009). Accordingly, one notable aim of HK's SD strategy is to consider “how to optimise the *economic value* of our scarce land resources for commercial and residential development whilst ensuring that we do not create an urban landscape that alienates citizens” (SDU, 2005:10 emphasis added).

It is not entirely clear from the above quote, however, what the term ‘alienate’ precisely means especially in a context where the HK government is regularly accused of colluding with developers to create a property market that maximises the economic value of the land to the detriment of flat buyers? At the same time, there is no sense in which HK's SD strategy

² The administrative arm of which was the Sustainable Development Unit (SDU), now called the Sustainable Development Division (SDD)

³ This included representatives of non-government organisations, District Councils, Chambers of Commerce and other business groups, as well as individuals all drawn together to engage with one another and decide on the choice of policy options and targets. The government also partnered with three major community groups, the Business Environmental Council, the Hong Kong Council of Social Service, and the Hong Kong People's Council for Sustainable Development, to facilitate the participation of diverse stakeholders with divergent views as well as grassroots and disadvantaged community groups.

recognises the ‘vulnerability⁴’ of its citizens with references to social justice and wealth redistribution notable for their absence. The word ‘just’ is mentioned only twice in the strategy and then somewhat ambiguously.

In summary, then, given the notable absence of social justice considerations in HK’s SD strategy, a more realistic and upfront position has been adopted compared to the UK. As such the relevant parties are not ashamed to proclaim that while SD matters the economy matters *more*. In the UK, in contrast, the combined principles of environmental and social justice have readily been bandied about without so much consideration for their practical achievement. Instead, their development seems to have more in common with Ageyman’s observation (2002) that they were deployed in order to avoid stoking up accusations of elitism and agenda control. Consequently, the ‘harder’ side of New Labour’s SD strategy is to be found in the ‘place shaping’ sustainable communities domain of implementation.

Quality of life indicators

It was explained earlier that the very ambiguity of the SD term permits a wide range of often contradictory social and political interests. This would suggest that its adoption as a purely technical term would be limited. However, despite vast differences in rationale, context and focus both the UK and HK SD strategies have been expressed in terms of a determined QOL focus that in one way or another has been operationalised via ‘performance’ indicator systems designed to monitor sustainability progress. However, given the vast differences in the nature of the sustainability trajectories taken what insights can be drawn from an examination of the various QOL-based indicator systems concerned? In this section, attention is drawn to the origins, variety and content of the two sets of performance indicators systems. It is explained that whereas in the UK context the *composition* of the indicators becomes particularly striking in the HK context it is the *origins* of the various systems that are more revealing.

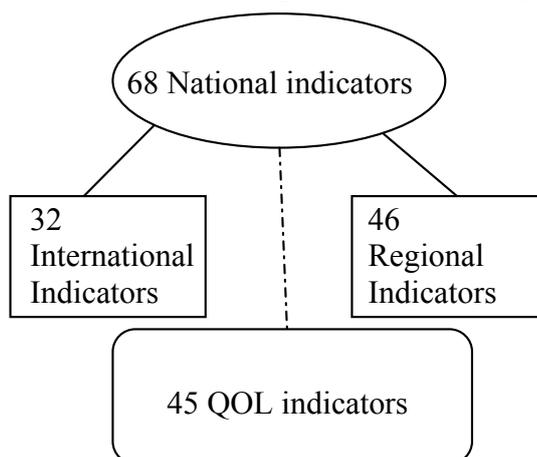
English QOL indicators

In the UK context, SD indicators are collected at four different, but integrated, geographical levels – International, National, Regional and Local. The overlapping and hierarchical nature of the UK SD indicators system (see <http://www.defra.gov.uk/sustainable/government/progress/>), compared to HK, is a reflection of the relatively larger geographical area concerned and the more integrated approach to SD taken. For example, the national indicators comprise a suite of 68 indicators, 32 of which double up as international indicators, to highlight the UK’s progress in an international context. Similarly, 46 of the national indicators have their regional equivalent, see Figure 1. However, in terms of the present focus of QOL, the relevant indicators derive from the audit and evaluation body the Audit Commission.

Compiled in 2005 from 45 core local government performance indicators, the local QOL dataset is designed to capture the key headline issues that local authorities should monitor to foster ‘sustainable communities’. The dataset forms, therefore, the basis of a sustainability reporting platform in local government (Ball and Grubnic, 2007) by capturing a range of objective and subjective indicators spread across ten QOL themes (see Table 1).

⁴ Rather than the dependency of their citizens given HK’s relatively limited social settlement.

Figure 1 United Kingdom’s sustainable development indicator system



Although the dataset contains a large number of environmentally and socially orientated indicators – see Table 3 and 7 – its dedicated commitment to justice-based considerations of these dimensions remains largely absent. For example, unlike HK’s social development index (see below) there is no such distributive consideration as ‘*household income received by the top 20 per cent of households divided by that received by the bottom 20 per cent*’. Instead, the social welfare measures tend to be concerned with key benefit claimant counts, deprivation levels amongst children and over 60’s and an all-encompassing measure of the ‘*proportion of population living in the most deprived super output areas in the country*’. These are absolute counts of deprivation rather than necessarily redistributive-orientated ones. This begs the question why, especially given the headline appeal to social and environmental justice outlined in the national strategy? Before answering this question it is useful to examine the HK equivalent.

Table 1 Audit Commission Local QOL indicators

Theme No.	Themes and QOL indices	Number of indicators
1	<i>People & Place</i>	1
2	<i>Community cohesion & involvement</i>	3
3	<i>Community safety</i>	4
4	<i>Culture & leisure</i>	2
5	<i>Economic well-being</i>	7
6	<i>Education & life-long learning</i>	4
7	<i>Environment</i>	9
8	<i>Health & social well-being</i>	5
9	<i>Housing</i>	6
10	<i>Transport & access</i>	4
	<i>Total</i>	45

HK QOL indicators

In HK numerous indicator systems have been developed to monitor sustainability and QOL progress and such diversity reflects the activities of diverse actors within the broader political arena jostling to exert an influence on government policy (see conclusion). Officially, HK’s formal approach to sustainability assessment is confined largely to an urban design and economic growth trajectory which provides little room for social considerations. The official

explanation for this (SDU, 2005:12) relates to technical/operationalisation concerns: “*unlike the areas of solid waste management and renewable energy, which lend themselves to clear objectives, quantifiable targets and clearly definable courses of action, the subject of urban living space is more difficult to link to specific measurable outcomes*”.

Thus, rather than devise a distinct set of social sustainable indicators *per se* the HK Government has chosen instead to integrate sustainability principles into its policy-making process via a sustainability assessment system⁵ through which all major initiatives - which may bring about noticeable or persistent implications on the economic, environmental and social conditions of Hong Kong - must undergo. Table 2 outlines the key principles of this eight-domain system.

Table 2 Sustainability principles

Domain	Guiding principles
<i>Economy</i>	Hong Kong should achieve a competitive and prosperous market-based economy which provides the resources to meet the needs and aspirations of the population, both now and in the future.
<i>Health and Hygiene</i>	Hong Kong should provide a living and working environment and pursue policies which promote and protect the physical and mental health and safety of the people of Hong Kong.
<i>Natural Resources</i>	Hong Kong should promote the sustainable use of natural resources to minimize its ecological footprint through improving consumption efficiency, minimizing the use of non-renewable resources and re-using, recycling waste and recovering energy from wastes.
<i>Society and Social Infrastructure</i>	Hong Kong should foster a stable, equitable, ethical and progressive society and enable present and future individuals to contribute to and fulfil their potential by providing universal access to adequate and appropriate educational opportunity and social infrastructure.
<i>Biodiversity</i>	To maintain the biodiversity of Hong Kong and to minimize any threat which consumption in Hong Kong may have on biodiversity elsewhere.
<i>Leisure and Cultural Vibrancy</i>	Protect and enhance the vibrancy of Hong Kong’s recreational opportunities, leisure activities, cultural diversity, archaeology, historical and architectural assets.
<i>Environment Quality</i>	Hong Kong should be pro-active in avoiding environmental problems for present and future generations, seek to find opportunities to enhance environmental quality, and minimize the unwanted side effects, locally, nationally and internationally, of development and inefficiencies such as air, noise and water pollution or land contamination.
<i>Mobility</i>	Hong Kong should provide safe, accessible, efficient and clean transport systems and pedestrian facilities along with an efficient transport network for the movement of goods and facilitation of services for the community.

What is particularly striking about the eight principles is the nature, and resulting treatment, of the two main social dimensions: ‘*society and social infrastructure*’ and ‘*health and hygiene*’, which in contrast to the other six domains stand alone in not being matched to associated performance indicators. Instead, they are subsumed under a list of ‘all social

⁵ Developed under the context of SUSDEV 21

checklist questions’ along with leisure and the additional dimensions of housing and education. It is also noticeable how the ‘*society and social infrastructure*’ domain stresses the importance of individuals to improve their situation via *access* to educational opportunity and social infrastructure, rather than say societal redistribution. In thus ignoring prevailing inequities of condition, this approach in ideological terms is akin to the UK’s sustainable communities initiative,⁶ albeit without being shrouded in the same degree of rhetoric.

Given the extent of social inequality that increasingly continues to pervade HK, however, alternative indicator systems have been launched to keep a track of its QOL conditions. While a number of the more notable initiatives have stemmed from University Departments such as “QOL in HK: the Chinese University of HK QOL index” (Chan, *et al.*, 2005) and City University of HK’s Sustainable Development Index Survey, the Hong Kong Council of Social Services⁷ (HKCSS) has been engaged in two social indicators projects. One is called ‘social indicators in HK’ and the other the ‘social development index’.

The first project derives from a conceptual framework developed by the Centre for Survey Research and Methodology European System of Social Indicators. Its stated purpose is to harness a theoretically and methodologically well-grounded framework and set of measurement dimensions and indicators for a continuous monitoring of the QOL and society in HK. As depicted in Table 3, the dataset centres upon three overlapping welfare concepts – QOL, Social Cohesion and Sustainability – together with three given social structures - demographic change, socio-economic development and changes in values and attitudes. However, the somewhat elaborate attempt to integrate the various dimensions and concepts into a coherent whole ironically results in a lack of clarity⁸.

Table 3 Social Indicators of HK (HK Council of Social Services)

Welfare Concept	Goal dimensions	Definition	Example
	Improvement of Objective Living conditions	Ascertainable living circumstances of individuals, such as working conditions	State of the environment, level of education

⁶ It is fair to note, however, that the economic domain of the sustainability assessment system contain two potentially socially-orientated criteria: “*Difference between percentage change in the upper quartile of after-tax household income and percentage change in the lower quartile of after-tax household income*” and a count of the *unemployment rate*. Minimum wage legislation is also currently being enacted.

⁷ In 1947, the HKCSS was formed to coordinate the service of various volunteer and non-government agencies which currently amount to over 370 Members via 3,000 service units all over HK. Although social welfare provision is one of the main responsibilities of the HK government it does not provide such services directly. Instead, over 90% of social welfare services are provided by non-government organizations, which are under the direct subvention of the HK government through the Social Welfare Department.

⁸ In fact, it seems that this approach has now been disbanded in favour of a more extensive social development index approach

Quality of life	Improvement of Objective Living conditions	or living standard.	State of the environment, level of education
	Enhancement of Subjective Well being	Perceptions, evaluations and appreciation of life and living conditions by individual citizens. Examples are measures of satisfaction or happiness.	Perception and evaluation of level of living
	Reduction of Disparities, Equal Opportunities, Social Exclusion	Concerns the current state as well as processes and measures that improve or deteriorate the base of natural resources.	e.g., equal opportunities for women and men, social discrimination, inequalities between women and men in political participation
Social Cohesion	Strengthening Social Connections and Ties, Social Capital	Focuses on processes and measures that affect people's skills, education and health.	e.g., availability of social relations, quality of social relations
Sustainability	Enhancement or Preservation of natural capitals	Concerns the current state as well as processes and measures that improve or deteriorate the base of natural resources.	e.g., resource use per unit of product or service or per unit of GDP, public expenditures on environmental protection and research
	Enhancement or Preservation of human capitals	Focuses on processes and measures that affect people's skills, education and health.	e.g., availability of health care facilities, health expenditures, health prevention measures
Remit	Structural Change	Definition	Examples
Individual structure	Values and Attitudes	Focuses on the general social change of values and attitudes	Effectiveness of education, perception and evaluation of personal employment situation, subjective importance of leisure and culture, subjective importance of work and job characteristics
Social Structure	Demographics	Addresses the general social change of demographic	e.g., Population size and growth, population structure (age, marital status), family structure
	Socio-economic Development	Addresses the general social change of socio-economic structures	e.g., employment status, occupational structure, sector structure

The second project, meanwhile, was initiated in 1999 when the HKSCC commissioned Professor Estes, from the University of Pennsylvania, to undertake work on HK's first comprehensive *Social Report*. The broad purpose of this task was to create an analytical tool, unique to HK, known as the social development index (SDI) for use in assessing the region's changing social, political and economic needs (Estes, 2002). The SDI is thus primarily a tool for assessing QOL indexed by official statistics in HK and to make an advance on the rather limited GDP per capita measure (Chua, *et al.*, 2009). Since the first report was published in 2000, the SDI has been updated bi-annually – SDI-2002, SDI-2004, SDI-2006 and SDI-2008.

The SDI consists of 47 indicators that are distributed across fourteen sectors of social development (see Table 4) and five disadvantaged population groups – women, low income, children, youth and the elderly. The low-income sub-index is particularly noticeable in social justice terms for containing the five following indicators: ‘*Number of people in low-income domestic households per 100,000 population*’, ‘*% of household expenditure on housing and food for the low-income households*’, ‘*Unemployment rate in low-income households*’, ‘*Real Wage Index of wage workers*’ and ‘*Homeless people per 100,000 population*’. In addition, the SDI uniquely contains a count of ‘*% of work force affiliated with trade unions.*’

Table 4 Social Development Index HK

Theme No.	Themes and QOL indices	Number of indicators
1	<i>Strength of civil society</i>	4
2	<i>Political participation</i>	3
3	<i>Internationalization</i>	3
4	<i>Economic</i>	3
5	<i>Environmental quality</i>	4
6	<i>Arts & entertainment</i>	4
7	<i>Sports and recreation</i>	3
8	<i>Science & technology</i>	2
9	<i>Education</i>	3
10	<i>Health</i>	6
11	<i>Personal safety</i>	3
12	<i>Housing</i>	2
13	<i>Crime & public safety</i>	4
14	<i>Family solidarity</i>	3
	<i>Total</i>	47

Indicator comparison

Given the distinct contexts in which sustainable QOL is being promoted in HK and the UK it is inevitable that in terms of capturing the most valued components of life quality there will be a number of dimensions unique to HK and others unique to the UK. For example in HK both the “strength of civil society,” and “family solidarity” (which is reported as being by far the worst performing dimension) are prominent in its SDI, see Table 5. The political participation theme is also more developed in HK compared to the UK equivalent (which measures election turnout only) and comprises three distinct items. In terms of ‘personal safety’ issues the HK index uniquely includes a food poisoning indicator, which is indicative of a number of HK food scares in recent time. It can also be seen that the SDI’s environmental quality theme differs greatly from the indicators listed by both the UK’s Audit Commission and HK’s sustainability assessment scheme (see Table 6) and includes data for ‘*per capita open space*’ and ‘*beach cleanliness*’, rather than more substantial environmental concerns.

Table 5 Social Development Index HK various themes

Strength of Civil Society

1. No. of charitable institutions and trusts qualifying for tax exemption
2. Private charitable donations as % of GDP
3. Ratio of private charitable donations to government subventions

4. % of work force affiliated with trade unions
Political participation
1. Turnout rate in most recent District Board elections
2. Ratio of District Board candidates to District Board offices
3. % of District Board candidates with political party affiliations
Environmental quality
1. % of gazetted beaches ranked as poor/very poor
2. Per capita square metres of public open space
3. Per capita cubic metres of annual fresh water consumption by domestic sector
4. % of municipal solid waste recycled
Family solidarity a hot topic, plus five vulnerable groups
1. Marriages per 100,000 people aged 15?
2. Divorces as % of marriages
3. Reported domestic violence cases per 100,000 households
Personal safety
1. No. of reported food poisoning cases per 100,000 population
2. No. of occupational fatalities per 100,000 workers
3. No. of traffic fatalities per 100,000 population

In further comparing the scope of *environmental* indicators contained within HK's sustainability assessment tool and the Audit Commission's QOL indicators attention is drawn to Table 6. It can be seen that both schemes contain data for carbon dioxide and other key air pollutants, water consumption, river water quality and sites of special interest. Yet, whereas the HK set also covers a noise exposure indicator, construction waste issues and land-fill, the Audit Commission dataset uniquely covers some indicators relating to household waste.

Table 6 Environmental indicators

HK sustainability assessment	UK Audit Commission QOL indicators
Environmental Quality	Environment
Quantity (tonnes) of carbon dioxide emitted per year.	The proportion of developed land that is derelict

Composite index for criteria air pollutants based on percentage of the Air Quality Objectives	The proportion of relevant land and highways that is assessed as having combined deposits of litter and detritus
Percentage of population exposed to excessive noise.	Levels of key air pollutants
Composite index for marine water quality pollutants based on percentage of the Water Quality Objectives	Carbon dioxide emissions by sector and per capita emissions: a) domestic b) total
Percentage of EPD's river monitoring stations ranked "Excellent" or "Good" using the EPD's Water Quality Index.	Average annual domestic consumption of a) gas b) electricity (kwh)
Composite index for toxic air pollutants based on percentage of acceptable risk.	Daily domestic water use (per capita consumption)
Natural resources	The percentage of river length assessed as a) good biological quality b) good chemical quality
Quantity of construction waste requiring final disposal per capita.	The volume of household waste a) collected per head b) the proportion recycled c) composted d) used to recover heat, power and other energy sources
Consumption of energy per unit of output (\$ GDP).	The percentage area of land designated as sites of special scientific interest (SSSI) within the local authority area in favourable condition b) the area of land designated as a local nature reserve per 1,000 population
Volume of freshwater supplied and consumed per capita.	
The total remaining landfill capacity (by volume).	
Percentage of demand met by locally-derived freshwater resources.	
Quantity of municipal solid waste requiring final disposal per capita.	
Total area of area-based significant landscape features.	
Total number of point-based significant landscape features and old and valuable trees.	

Table 7 finally singles out the three significant themes of crime (which according to some accounts such as the Gallup model is the most basic level of collective society that should be established) housing (HK's pressing topic) and education (New Labour's initial priority) for interest. It can be seen that, overall, the Audit Commission dataset is more extensive than its HK counterpart in relation to the issues of crime and housing. For example, differences in the types of reported crime are more explicitly detailed in the UK context which includes counts of perceptions of crime also, whereas HK uniquely captures corruption convictions. In terms of housing, meanwhile, the UK dataset is more concerned with the quality of housing and property prices as opposed to the HK dataset which is concerned with length of social waiting lists and housing expenditure as proportion of all household expenditure. The final dimension listed in Table 7 is education and it can be seen that both datasets share a concern with attainment and enrolment figures, and uniquely in the UK context, attendance.

Table 7 Comparison of crime, housing and education indicators

Hong Kong	United Kingdom
Crime	
No. of reported violent crimes per 100,000 population	The percentage of residents surveyed who said they feel 'fairly safe' or 'very safe' outside a) during the day b) after dark
No. of reported non-violent crimes per 100,000 population	Domestic burglaries per 1,000 households
% of population reporting victimized by violent crimes	Violent offences committed per 1,000 population
No. of corruption crime convictions per 100,000 population	Theft of a vehicle per 1,000 population
	Sexual offences per 1,000 population
	The percentage of residents who think that a) vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles b) people using or dealing drugs c) people being rowdy or drunk in public places is a very big or fairly big problem in their local area
	The number of a) pedestrian b) cyclist road accident casualties per 100,000 population
Housing	
% of expenditure on housing as share of total household expenditure	The total number of new housing completions
No. of waiting list applicants for Housing Authority rental flats	Affordable dwellings completed as a percentage of all new housing completions
	Household accommodation without central heating
	The percentage of residents who think that people sleeping rough on the streets or in other public places is a very big or fairly big problem in their local area
	The percentage of all housing that is unfit
	House price to income ratio
Education	
% of people aged 20 with upper secondary educational attainment	The percentage of half days missed due to total absence in a) primary b) secondary schools maintained by the local education authority
% of people aged 15 with tertiary education attainment	The proportion of young people (16-24 year olds) in full-time education or employment
No. of adults registered in continuing education courses per 100,000 population aged 15	The proportion of working-age population qualified to a) NVQ2 or equivalent b) NVQ4 or equivalent
	The percentage of 15-year-old pupils in schools maintained by the local authority achieving five or more <i>GCSEs</i> at grades A*-C or equivalent

CONCLUSION

Despite the close historical association between the UK and HK, SD in the latter context is shrouded in a non-democratic milieu where economic growth provides legitimacy⁹. As Rabushka, (1979 in Cullinane and Cullinane, 2003) once stingingly commented: “*The purpose of Hong Kong is to make money. Hong Kong has no other public, moral, intellectual, artistic, cultural or ethical purpose as a society. It is just one big bazaar.*”

Accordingly, having long enjoyed the material rewards of economic growth, HK’s attention has, in recent years, had to become more sensitive to the need for better protection of the natural environment. Far less attention has been placed on viewing poverty and social inequality as leading to distrust and instability, and negatively impacting on HK’s reputation as a first class city (Boyer King, 2004). However, HK’s poor record on social justice, despite broader economic development, need not imply that such environmental concerns are a reflection of the widespread attainment amongst its population of the higher echelons of Maslow’s (1970) hierarchy of needs. Instead, environmental concern among low-income communities is very much likely to be encouraged by the fact that they also live in the most polluted and hazardous localities.

Hence, it is by virtue of HK’s failure to formally tackle the social dimensions of SD and to fully integrate social, economic and environmental factors – the strategy currently uses the pragmatic phrase ‘to balance and integrate’ - that a space has been created in its young civil society for alternative voices to be heard. As noted above, the HKCSS, along with the social science departments of several HK universities, have been particularly active in trying to fill this void. Thus, while the formal domain of sustainability of assessment has been rather limited in its overall coverage, other actors in the broader political arena have been keen to exert an influence on the agenda. However, it also seems to be the case that while SD progress in HK can broadly be seen to represent a form of ‘ecological modernisation’¹⁰ (Hills, 2004) through which something more meaningful could develop¹¹ its tempering of otherwise raw-capitalism has shown strong signs of creaking under the weight of heightened societal dissatisfaction with gross and manifest inequality.

In contrast, in the UK where party politics rules the rhetorical discourse appears stronger than in HK. For example, while both social and environmental justice concerns are raised as two key principles in the UK’s SD strategy this momentum is lost in terms of implementation. The question that has been on many people’s lips since is how prepared is the bottom half of the population for recession?

Consequently, taken for what they are, whereas the goal dimensions of HK’s social indicators system explicitly include a commitment to wealth redistribution the requisite efforts are found lacking in the UK’s corresponding system despite the more justice-orientated flavour of its headline strategy. This outcome reflects the way in which the two indicator systems have been fostered. In the UK, the QOL dataset forms part of a top-down hierarchical system

⁹ However, Ming’s (2008) study of QOL in HK suggests that the more emphasis people lay on materialistic concerns, the worse their QOL. Likewise, the more respondents feel satisfied with non-materialistic items, the higher their overall QOL.

¹⁰ Taken to mean a set of processes and perspectives whereby capitalism sets out to achieve its own version of SD, by replacing earlier phases of crude environmentally damaging industrial capitalism (Pepper, 1998).

¹¹ This has very much been the tone of HK’s first SD strategy which its authors described as a “living” document, subject to review, and if necessary, modification in the coming years.

of indicators which involves the co-operation of predetermined parties and stakeholders, such as the Audit Commission. Consequently, little if any public debate has been had about whether the Audit Commission's QOL indicators, drawn from existing local government performance indicators, adequately reflect the concerns of the general population and even the spirit of the SD strategy.

In HK, by contrast, the existence of the SDI reflects some broader societal dissatisfaction with the *status quo* and the recognition by the government that the SD agenda could be an evolving and inclusive one. Thus, as HK's SD strategy maintains (SDU, 2005:16) "*the Government is not the sole agent responsible for HK's sustainability. Without efforts from people in the community, whether as members of sectoral bodies or individually, no strategy will be effective in taking us towards sustainable development*".

This is an important statement and returns us once again to the HK government's reservations about the limits of measuring urban living. One of the major problems with the adoption of narrow performance measures is that by capturing only the partial, usually quantifiable, aspects of activity they often serve to hide genuine differences in ideology and political values such as redistribution, issues that have long been the stuff of political debate (Cutler and Waine, 1997). Thus, despite the best intentions of authors to force onto the agenda social development indicators their existence raises the ironic outcome that they could preclude the evolution of a more participatory politics by locking-in certain forms of taken-for-granted analysis.

Overall, then, HK's SD strategy appears to be more pragmatic and realistic in its aspirations, less rhetorical in tone and potentially more flexible in its overall progression. In contrast, New Labour's SD tone has remained committed to a discourse of strong sustainability even though this has since become strained under the weight of an economic recession, where all manner of efforts have been made to re-stimulate the economy and to get consumption back on track. Of course the one final twist in the tale, here, is that this is because the incumbent government could face eviction at the next election. Here the notion of sustainability seems to have become committed to the premise that it is the system of capitalism that must be sustained, something that HK takes rather more for granted¹². Let us only hope that the same efforts are made to save the planet and its citizens.

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¹² This is not very surprising. Evidence from both HK and the United States suggests that in times of economic stress, the public would give initial priority to economic growth over the environment.

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Title

Adelaide's 30 Year Plan: a sustainable urban growth machine?

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Topic of the submission

Regional and urban planning for a sustainable world

Adelaide's 30 Year Plan: a sustainable urban growth machine?

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Abstract

Urban regime theory refers to the concept of an 'entrepreneurial city' in which a 'rentier class' or a coalition of powerful elites with a vision of a city's future can gain hegemonic power to advance their economic interests. The rentier class is usually posited as consisting of coalitions of developers, politicians and state planners who collude to implement pro-growth policies. In Australia, the interests of pro-growth coalitions have been challenged by community concerns over the environmental impact of sprawl, the unsustainable cost of providing infrastructure and services in expanding, low density cities, along with more general concerns over the impact of climate change. Australian State Governments have enacted urban boundary legislation to limit sprawl and encourage transit use, justifying these policies with reference to sustainable development. Such policies are in tension with neoliberal ideology, which permeates Australian public policy and demands minimal intervention by the state. It is argued that State Governments in Australia have responded to this tension with 'we can have it all' policies, ie both continuous urban growth and environmental sustainability. We argue that such policies rest on flawed assumptions that are antithetical to sustainable development. We offer a case study of the 30 Year Plan for Adelaide, the capital of South Australia. It is argued that the Plan claims to set limits to urban expansion whilst ensuring the interests of sectional interests are met at the expense of local communities.

Introduction

The dominant mode of urban regulation in western societies like Australia is changing, as governments respond to the continuing crisis of capitalism and more specifically to the recent meltdown of global financial markets. Traditionally urban regulation and planning has been concerned with the integration of social, economic and environmental considerations with land use to improve the built and social environments of communities. Local councils and local government authorities have been tasked with regulating land use in Australia. However regional State Governments are increasingly asserting a role in planning decisions. To shore up faltering regional economies Australian State Governments are shifting the focus of urban regulation from a concern with social and environmental outcomes to the facilitation of private investment and profit, and the augmentation of state revenues. This process seems likely to accelerate as governments seek to restore state revenue bases ravaged by the global economic crisis and facilitate private capital accumulation by investors damaged by failing financial markets.

Regulation of the urban environment

Brenner¹ notes that state regulation of the urban environment has been profoundly reconfigured over the past thirty years by the dominance of neoliberal economic planning in most western countries. The increasing globalisation of financial flows has affected the capacity of nation-states and regions to insulate themselves from the world economy. Intensified competition between states, cities and regions has caused state and local governments to assume direct roles in promoting capital accumulation on sub-national scales².

In Australia and other western countries, governments have pushed institutional transformation under the rubric of 'deregulation'. This has involved the dismantling of social and economic regulation at the national and regional levels in favour of weak governance regimes that focus on the rules of exchange rather than setting standards³. Indeed a study by Peck & Tickell⁴ suggests that we are witnessing a shift from 'roll-back' neoliberalism to 'roll-out neoliberalism'. The former involved dismantling state institutions to a point where deregulatory marketization began to produce adverse distributional consequences for the market economy. Realisation of the limits to deregulation has driven a new 'roll-out neoliberalism', which creates new modes of regulation to replace those dismantled. Roll-out neoliberalism favours state intervention and public spending provided it supports macro-economic management and the accumulation of capital.

The new, roll out neoliberal agenda is not about a return to a laissez faire free market model. It is now recognized that markets remain persistently vulnerable to failure and continue to depend critically on the non-market regulatory frameworks within which they are embedded. That is, while the market is positioned as the supreme coordinating mechanism in the roll out neoliberal project, actors in the market will seek protection from market failure within various institutional frameworks⁵.

Planning regulations inevitably place constraints on the operations of markets in relation to broadly defined community interests. For example, regulations on block sizes and urban density act to constrain increased residential densities in the inner areas of metropolitan regions. Such regulations might also influence the nature of housing construction in terms of the materials used, the height of buildings and other matters related to safety and amenity that have an impact on the cost of construction⁶. Urban and regional planners working in regional and local governments have a significant role in the framing of urban regulation, and discretion in mediating how regulation is interpreted in the field.

Hence planning and planners have been seen as arbiters of interests. As Sager⁷ notes

¹ Brenner in Brenner, N. and Keil, R. (2006) *The Global Cities Reader*. London: Routledge.

² See Kipfer, S. & Keil, R. (2002) 'Toronto Inc? Planning the competitive city in New Toronto', *Antipode* 34: 227-264.

³ Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2007) 'Variegated capitalism', *Progress in Human Geography* 31: 731-772.

⁴ Peck, J. and Tickell A. (2002) 'Neoliberalising space', *Antipode* 34: 380-403.

⁵ Deeg, R. & Jackson, G. (2007) 'Towards a more dynamic theory of capitalist variety', *Socio-economic Review* 5: 5-26.

⁶ Berry, M. and Dalton, T. (2004) 'Housing prices and policy dilemmas: a peculiarly Australian problem?', *Urban Policy and Research* 22: 69-91.

⁷ Sager, T. (1994) *Communicative Planning Theory*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p145.

Compromise and conflict resolution are the everyday experience of the planner. What else are we doing but working out and advancing proposals, taking account of competing interests so that something may be done in practice which furthers the public interest.

The 'public interest' is of course an elastic concept. When there is unanimity about what is in the public interest decisions are straightforward but when there is disagreement some amalgamation of preferences has to take place before a choice can be made⁸.

While the collective choice should be consistent and fair this is difficult to achieve when interests conflict. How the arbitration process is mediated affects the benefits that will accrue to one interest group or another. It is evident that in the current context of global economic crisis there is an overt tendency by regulators to privilege capital accumulation and associated interests in considerations of what is the public interest over other concerns with reference to public fears of an economic recession.

Appeals to such fears provides cover for regulatory shifts from a concern with metropolitan planning to the facilitation of private investment and profit. Under this new regime the regulation of urban space moves its focus from urban density, the provision of infrastructure and social and environmental concerns to making space more valuable to developers and investors through urban renewal projects, improving 'quality of life' in the immediate environs of a development and a qualified ecological commitment to the sustainable management of environmental resources to secure economic survival⁹. The relative exclusion of the concerns of non-economic actors from the regulation of space opens room for tensions between developers, communities and layers of government responding to different constituencies.

Local Governments in Australia have traditionally acted as mediators between the activities of market actors and the community. Mediation requires a degree of acceptance of the legitimacy of the mediator by competing stakeholders. Planning for land use in Australia has derived its legitimacy from the election of local councillors by local communities. Councillors set policy directions in consultation with urban planners and other professionals who are also tasked with implementing planning decisions. Councillors are meant to represent the interests of their electors in regard to how land will be used in their communities. Hence planning for land use is anchored in the democratic legitimacy of elected members acting in concert with planning professionals. The latter bring functional legitimacy to the process by virtue of their qualifications and expertise. Land use planning in Australia has always required a degree of coordination with the private sector and between layers of government to improve the built and social environments of communities in accordance with community consultation, civic culture and everyday discourse¹⁰.

However, a study by Benz and Papadopoulos¹¹ suggests that an increasing interest in public-private partnerships by governments in developed countries such as Australia is linked to a fragmentation of institutional frameworks that place policies and actors in tension with each other across layers of government. Fragmentation is perhaps most evident where regional or

⁸ Sager, T. (1994) *Communicative Planning Theory*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

⁹ See Brenner, N. and Keil, R. (2006) *The Global Cities Reader*. London: Routledge; Kipfer, S. & Keil, R. (2002) 'Toronto Inc? Planning the competitive city in New Toronto', *Antipode* 34: 227-264.

¹⁰ Hutchings, A. and Bunker, R. (1986), *With conscious purpose : a history of town planning in South Australia*, Eds Hutchings, A. & Bunker, R., Kent Town, Wakefield Press.

¹¹ Benz, A. and Papadopoulos, Y. (ed.) (2006): *Governance and Democracy*. London, Routledge.

state governments seek to foster partnerships with private developers without meaningful consultation with local communities and local governments. Public-private partnerships require private actors associated with land development corporations to be brought into the central decision making process to a significantly greater extent. The inclusion of private actors associated with the development industry in the central decision making process changes the basis of legitimacy. Private actors have neither democratic legitimacy conferred through election to office, nor functional legitimacy through the possession of expertise, albeit individual actors may hold appropriate qualifications, employ urban planning professionals in their firms, or offer support to candidates seeking election to office. While such private actors might favour cooperation between local government and grass-root communities to address varying local issues, including those referring to social and environmental concerns, their principal concern must necessarily be with profit and the interests of their shareholders. As the Nobel Prize winning economist Milton Friedman said, the social responsibility of business is to increase its profits¹².

As many have noted the social responsibility of business to increase profits sometimes brings it into tension with the sustainability of communities, broadly defined by Chiu¹³ as 'maintenance and improvement of well-being of current and future generations'. Less well understood is the changing role of urban regulation in mediating this process at a regional and local level and the challenges new, neoliberal models of urban regulation present to the legitimacy of this process. This is particularly so in the context of federal systems of government as exist in countries like Australia and the United States where State Governments form an intermediate layer of governance between the national and local government authorities.

In a reprise of their influential study of the city as a growth machine, Logan and Molotch¹⁴ argue that this process can be conceived of as a tension between the use value attached to a place by the communities that interact with it as part of their daily lives and the exchange value of making money from the land. Use value in this sense refers to cultural ties, the sense of place that might be attached to iconic heritage buildings and organic ties to community and neighbourhood. Logan and Molotch refer to a 'growth machine' comprised of those for whom 'the city is their business', an interlocking collection of organizations that include pro-growth developers and investors but also politicians whose interests align with capitalists seeking a profit from changes to land use.

At its most basic level this process might be understood in the words of 'Big Jim' Folsom, a former governor of Alabama who is reported to have said 'Nothing just happens. Everything is arranged.'¹⁵ In Australia, political arrangements that support public-private partnerships for urban development are increasingly codified in long terms strategic planning documents. Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide now have long term plans of up to 30 years that set out expected population and urban growth over coming decades and State Government plans to manage the process. The Plans represent an attempt by State Governments to assert greater control over local government authorities under the rubric of freeing the land market from constraints and allowing a more direct role for State Governments to promote capital accumulation on sub-national scales. Such attempts are allied with a new discourse that ties

¹² Friedman, M. (1970) The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits, The New York Times Magazine, September 13, 1970.

¹³ Chiu, R. (2003). Social Sustainability, sustainable development and housing development: The experience of Hong Kong. In R. Forrest & J. Lee (eds.), Housing and social change: East-west perspectives, Routledge., p245

¹⁴ Logan, J. and Molotch, H. (2007) Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place, 20th Anniversary Edition, University of California Press.

¹⁵ Stone, C. (2005), Urban Affairs Review, Vol. 40, No. 3, 309-341

such efforts to social concerns with saving the environment and reducing sprawl. A discourse on saving the environment by way of urban consolidation provides space for State Governments to address tensions between developers, communities and other constituencies by positioning a neoliberal policy on land use as in the interests of the environment. Adelaide's 30 year plan is the most recent of these long term plans for Australia's cities. A case study of this plan is illustrative of current focus of urban regulation by State Governments in Australia on the facilitation of private investment and profit, and the augmentation of state revenues.

Methodology

Our purpose in this paper is to illustrate the shifting the focus of urban regulation from a concern with social and environmental outcomes to the facilitation of private investment and profit, and the augmentation of state revenues through an examination of the 30 year plan for Adelaide in South Australia. Our aim is to offer a sharpened understanding of why the case has happened as it has. In this sense, the plan itself is offered as a critical case. Following Yin¹⁶, a critical case can be defined as having strategic importance in relation to a general problem or issue. In essence, the case is one that illustrates well the issues associated with changing models of urban regulation that place the state at the service of the private sector with a higher regard for private profit and the augmentation of state revenues and a diminished concern for social and environmental outcomes. What is valid for this case is likely to be valid for others, allowing a degree of generalizability.

State intervention in the land market in South Australia

South Australia has long been considered a 'rust bucket' state in Australia with an economy dominated by declining manufacturing industries and agriculture. As Gelber¹⁷ notes, South Australia's relative isolation and small market size forces a reliance on domestic demand from the rest of Australia for its manufacturing and agricultural products. As has been the case with most of the developed world, South Australia's economy has been battered by the global financial crisis over the past eighteen months albeit it has fared less poorly than other parts of the world because of the small size of the financial services sector¹⁸. Land and housing prices remained relatively buoyant throughout the global financial crisis and economic downturn that emerged after 2008. Moreover, the land market provides one of the few areas of significant domestic demand that the South Australian Government has control over.

In recent years the South Australian Government has signalled an increased willingness to override the planning authority of local government authorities to boost the land market and fast track development. The 30 year plan for 'Greater Adelaide' is the latest manifestation of this interest, which has been in evidence for some time. In 2006, the SA Government amended the Development Act to require local councils to appoint independent 'experts' to the Development Assessment Panels that review development applications in local government areas to replace the previous practice in which the panels were composed mainly

¹⁶ Yin, R. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Fourth Edition. SAGE Publications. California.

¹⁷ Gelber, F. (2005), 'Economy' in *State of South Australia: trends and issues*, J. Spoehr Ed., Wakefield Press.

¹⁸ Gelber, F. and Circosta, M. (2009), 'South Australia: the economic outlook', in *State of South Australia: from crisis to prosperity?*, J. Spoehr Ed., Wakefield Press.

of elected council members. The intention was to take planning decisions out of the hands of elected members¹⁹.

Similar intentions seemed to underpin the State Planning and Development Review established by the SA Government in 2007 to review the state's planning laws. Half of the appointed members of the Review panel were representatives of the Economic Development Council, an advisory group dominated by business interests. The Review offered a number of recommendations to 'fast track' development proposals, which were endorsed by the SA Government. A key proposal was to exclude some types of development from the requirement of planning approval. A Residential Development Code has been introduced which allows for a 'tick box' assessment of development. If a proposal meets the requirements set out in the code planning approval must be issued by a planning authority within 10 days. This process significantly limits the capacity of individual residents or affected communities to address a development that might threaten their interests²⁰.

Moreover under section 46 of the SA Development Act 1993, the Minister for Planning and Local Government can declare a proposed development a 'Major Development' at the behest of a developer. Major development status removes the project from the authority of local councils. The development is instead assessed by the Minister and his/her department. The Minister can grant major development status if he/she believes it is necessary for the 'proper' assessment of the proposed development and where the proposal is considered to be of major economic, social or environmental importance.

Such developments might be expected to be in the order of magnitude of a major dam, a desalination plant a road or rail bridge or a similar, large scale project. However the Minister has declared a Buddhist temple, a local shopping centre and a local hotel development to be major projects. Such actions have fuelled a debate in South Australia over the extent to which the government has intervened in the land market in the interests of property developers. SA Progressive Business is a fund raising arm of the governing Australian Labor Party. Major development companies like Urban Construct and Baulderstone Hornibrook are among the firms that make up SA Progressive Business. Such firms have paid up to \$10,000 for access to South Australian Labor Government Ministers and the SA Premier to lobby for their projects. In 2009, thirteen companies involved in Adelaide development projects paid to host functions with the Premier and Ministers in 2009 compared with three mining companies, two retailers, seven financial-sector companies and three law firms²¹.

It is noteworthy that a recent report to the SA Minister for Planning and Development recommends giving the Minister the power to identify 'State Significant Developments' encompassing 'public infrastructure and Crown development, mines, minerals and energy, urban development, defence and aerospace, education, health and other services, water management and manufacturing and food processing'²². Indeed the report recommends

¹⁹ Hamnett, S. and Hutchings, A. (2009), 'Urban development and planning', in *State of South Australia: from crisis to prosperity?* J. Spoehr, Ed., Wakefield Press.

²⁰ Hamnett, S. and Hutchings, A. (2009), 'Urban development and planning', in *State of South Australia: from crisis to prosperity?* J. Spoehr, Ed., Wakefield Press.

²¹ Kemp, M. (2009), Business showers Labor with money, *The Advertiser*, March 9th.

²² DPLG (2008) Report of the Planning and Development Review Steering Committee, Department of Planning and Local Government, p134.

giving the Minister the power to declare entire regions ‘State Significant’ and take control of all planning and development issues in this area.

The 30 year plan for greater Adelaide

The 30Year Plan for Greater Adelaide (hereafter referred to as The Plan), was developed by the consultants KPMG Consortium and Connor Holmes for the South Australian Department of Planning and Local Government (DPLG) and released in draft form for consultation in 2009²³. More than 600 submissions (most of them critical of aspects of the plan) were made to the Department after its release. Only minor amendments were made in response to the submissions and The Plan was formally released in early 2010²⁴.

The Plan sets out a broad planning strategy for Adelaide’s expected growth over the next 30 years. It does not contain detailed plans but has the appearance of an advertising brochure or a coffee table magazine that offers pages of dot points on expected outcomes interspersed with attractive pictures and maps of Adelaide. It offers general statements on plans for mass transit, transit-oriented development and infill densification but it lacks any credible detail and specific targets for achieving the new objectives. The original draft of The Plan was accompanied on the DPLG website by a Background Technical Document, which contained the technical reasoning behind The Plan. The Background Technical Document was poorly drafted, contained numerous spelling errors and lacked accurate citations for many of the claims advanced in the document. The Background Technical Document attracted much criticism in submissions on The Plan and has since been removed from the DPLG website.

The central premise of The Plan is that Adelaide will grow from its population by 560,000 people to achieve a population of 1.8 million by the year 2036²⁵. How this population increase was estimated is not made clear in The Plan. A consideration of population projections should incorporate a discussion of the assumptions and address matters such as the rate of natural increase, inward migration, internal migration, outward migration from South Australia and assumptions about related economic and social matters. This discussion does not appear in the Plan.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Adelaide had a population of about 1.1 million in 2006 and might be expected using the most optimistic projections to grow to about a population of 1.8 million by 2056 (not 2036) (see ABS cat. 3222.0 Population Projections). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) uses the cohort-component method for producing population projections. In this method, assumptions made about future levels of fertility, mortality, overseas migration and internal migration are applied to a base population (split by sex and single year of age) to obtain a projected population for the following year. The assumptions are then applied to this new (projected) population to obtain a projected population for the next year. This process is repeated until the end of the projection period is reached. No similar discussion appears in The Plan or the associated Background Technical Document to justify the population projections that appear there. The apparent difference

²³ DPLG (2009), Planning the Adelaide we all want: progressing the 30 year plan for Adelaide, SA Department of Planning and Local Government, piii.

²⁴ DPLG (2010), The 30 year Plan for Greater Adelaide: a volume of the South Australian Planning Strategy, SA Department of Planning and Local Government, pi.

²⁵ DPLG (2010), The 30 year Plan for Greater Adelaide: a volume of the South Australian Planning Strategy, SA Department of Planning and Local Government, p3.

between the population projections offered by the ABS and those that are given in The Plan is explained on page 19 of the Background Technical Document:

The reason why Greater Adelaide's projections are higher than previous estimates is largely attributable to the Australian Bureau of Statistics' (ABS) revised population estimates, based on the results of the 2006 Census. Consequently, South Australia's June 2006 population estimates were revised up from 1.554 million to 1.568 million. This indicated that the ABS had underestimated South Australia's population growth between 2001 and 2006 by approximately 14,000 residents, or 25 per cent. Thus, this level of population growth and the demand for housing and employment in the Greater Adelaide region has been larger than that predicted in most intercensal estimates.

If the ABS revised its population estimates up from 1.554 million to 1.568 million or by just 14,000 residents for all of South Australia for 2006 this does not seem to represent a difference of 25% but a difference of less than 1%. Moreover Adelaide's population increased at a rate of only 0.7% between the 2001 and 2006 Australian Census, for which we have a count of the population for 2001 and 2006, not a projection. The Plan seems to exaggerate Adelaide's expected population growth. Moreover The Plan does not refer to Adelaide but rather to a place called 'Greater Adelaide' a term not used in planning documents before the release of the draft Plan in 2009.

Most of the planning for infrastructure and jobs discussed in The Plan refers to the current metropolitan Adelaide area ranging from the suburbs of Gawler to Willunga (an area of less than 2000 square kilometres, which the ABS refers to as the 'Adelaide Statistical District') as is evident in map D1 on page 73 of The Plan. However map D1 also shows the boundaries of 'Greater Adelaide' as extending much further to cover an area of 9000 square kilometres that will be subject to urban expansion. To put this into perspective, the area of 9000 square kilometres claimed for Greater Adelaide, containing 1.2 million people in 2010, is six times the area of Greater London (1500 square kilometres), a city of eight million people and more than twice the geographic area of Sydney, an Australian city with four times the population of Adelaide. If Greater Adelaide is considered to be a city then urban densities in 'Greater Adelaide' are incredibly low with vast areas of this 'city' being open farmland or vacant land. The Plan indicates that more than 14,200 hectares will be developed for low density housing on the city's fringes. Three large housing developments are flagged in The Plan for the iconic Barossa Valley wine growing district to the north of the current metropolitan area and major developments in the semi-rural Mt Barker district of the Adelaide Hills²⁶. Oddly such peri-urban development is framed in The Plan in terms of containing 'sprawl' and as being in the interest of 'sustainability'. These developments are of course within the 9000 square kilometres claimed as 'Greater Adelaide' and hence might be considered consolidation if one accepts the premise that the natural boundaries of Adelaide cover twice the land area of Sydney²⁷.

In a related matter The Plan also makes provision for the establishment of 'structure plans' for 800 metre high density growth zones on either side of major roads, train lines and tram lines in the existing Adelaide metropolitan area, which local councils will be compelled to

²⁶ DPLG (2010), The 30 year Plan for Greater Adelaide: a volume of the South Australian Planning Strategy, SA Department of Planning and Local Government, p73.

²⁷ DPLG (2010), The 30 year Plan for Greater Adelaide: a volume of the South Australian Planning Strategy, SA Department of Planning and Local Government, p73.

implement by state legislation²⁸. Developments within the zones will be at much higher densities than currently exist and there will be constrained capacity for local residents or communities to appeal a development to local planning authorities. This provision is also couched in terms of enhancing urban 'sustainability' with references to saving the environment by encouraging public transit use. Whilst there is a significant body of planning literature that supports higher density Transit Oriented Development (TOD) around transport nodes (usually discussed as major railway stations or tram stops associated with mixed use developments) as a means of reducing sprawl and car usage, there is little to recommend adhoc, ribbon development along congested main roads served by the slow and unreliable bus services that provide public transport on most of Adelaide's main roads. It is revealing that in a 226 page document only five pages discuss public transport and transit corridors and only in terms of general objectives²⁹, whilst many pages are given over to discussions of the need to find sustainable solutions to rapid population growth by increasing urban densities.

Conclusion

The new 30 year Plan for Greater Adelaide is illustrative of recent policies pursued by Australian State Governments to assert greater control over local government authorities. These policies empower State Governments with limited control over regional economies to promote capital accumulation on sub-national scales. The new agenda is not about a return to a laissez faire free market model. It is in part a response to fluctuations in the strength of globalised, international markets and recognition that local economies continue to depend critically on the non-market regulatory frameworks in which they are embedded. The Australian Government in Canberra has policy control over most aspects of the economy in Australia and State Governments are constrained in what they can do to protect local economies. However the land market remains an area where a difference can be made. Alignment with developers who profit from the land market is a logical outcome of these processes. But State Governments have to serve diverse communities and there remains a need to address the concerns of other actors, at least superficially. In essence, Adelaide's 30 year plan represents an attempt to address the fragmentation of institutional frameworks produced by globalised economies that place policies and actors in tension with each other across layers of government. Such actors might include developers, environmentalists, planners concerned with sprawl, local communities in the inner city affected by densification, and peri-urban or rural communities affected by urbanisation. Adelaide's Plan stakes an ambit claim that realigns the city's boundaries to incorporate a much greater region than the current metropolitan area. This claim allows the State Government to simultaneously argue that it is engaging in urban consolidation thus providing a fig leaf for the environmental lobby and for planners concerned about sprawl, whilst providing room for developers to continue to build on the fringe of the city. Such claims are allied to plans to free up more land in the inner city using similar justifications.

The Plan and others like it are likely to do little to address the concerns of communities in Adelaide affected by development, particularly those who may find themselves living in 'State Significant Areas' or higher density structure zones and who will find avenues for consultation and appeal against developments that affect their interests to be increasingly limited. The Plan is indicative of an emerging alignment of the interests of regional State

²⁸ DPLG (2010), The 30 year Plan for Greater Adelaide: a volume of the South Australian Planning Strategy, SA Department of Planning and Local Government, p72.

²⁹ Transport planning is discussed in dot point form on pages 114 and 116 of The Plan. Transit corridors are discussed in general terms on pages 71-73.

Governments with those local sectional interests that may still be rewarded and in turn provide reciprocal favours. Such governments can be expected to continue to privilege private capital accumulation and mount further appeals to public fears of recession and environmental degradation as a justification for reducing the role of local government authorities as mediators between the activities of market actors and the community. Mediation requires a degree of acceptance of the legitimacy of the mediator by competing stakeholders as well as avenues for consultation and appeal. Current State policy on urban planning in Australia, as set out in the 30 year Plan for Adelaide and similar plans for other cities, undermines the legitimacy of the planning process by overtly favouring some market actors over others. Appeals to public apprehension over the state of the economy and the environment might not be enough to paper over the tensions that must eventually emerge as the mediation system is dismantled.

**Decision-Making Process in Donor Nation's Contribution:
Case Study of Kuwait**

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Decision-Making Process in Donor Nation's Contribution: Case Study of Kuwait

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Abstract

Oil wealth has provided Kuwait with the opportunity to become a player in contributing to the social sustainability of the world. Since Kuwait's independence in 1961, contributions to other nations' economic and social development are continuously being made. Many funding agencies were established to cater to the world's sustainability projects. This paper examines the case of Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development which has contributed 15 billion US Dollars to 101 countries since its establishment in 1961.

Introduction

Since the beginning of Kuwait as a social and political entity 300 years ago, Kuwaitis have realized that their existence and progress depends on their willingness and ability to fulfill a role in interacting cohesively with the rest of the world. Kuwait's limited resources in their pre-oil era made them dependent on pearl diving and trade by the process of buying and selling commodities. Such necessities carved in the Kuwaiti identity and culture the importance of precision in the decision-making process, and caring for others.

Over the past six decades, oil wealth has provided Kuwait with the opportunity to become a player in contributing to the social sustainability of the world. Since Kuwait's independence in 1961, contributions to other nations' economic and social development are continuously being made. Many funding agencies (governmental and non-governmental) were established to cater to the world's needs as well as to regional needs.

Some of the main motivators in contributing to world aid include becoming a responsible global citizen, enhancing Kuwait's position among nations, and encouraging other nations to act responsibly (Moubarak, 1987). As expected, there are a large number of projects from which a selection must be made, however, one realizes that most of Kuwait's efforts stems from the nation's historical and cultural heritage of reciprocal collaboration to sustain social benefits through communication, education, and health care.

This paper studies the Kuwaiti historical, social, and cultural elements that guide the decision-making process in various funding agencies, specifically in the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development due to its particular attention in contributing approximately 15 billion US Dollars since its establishment to 101 countries, in the form of low interest,

long-term loans. These funds benefit projects that have a direct social impact on infrastructure, agriculture, education, and health care of the recipient nations.

Historical Context

The economy of pre-oil Kuwait was depended primarily on trade. Kuwait is located in the Arabian Peninsula in West Asia. It has well-established sea routes to East African countries and the Indian Malabar coast located on the West of the India subcontinent. Kuwaiti ships were known to reach as far as South-East Asian ports in Malaysia and Indonesia. Kuwait's geographical location served as a major trade post on the route between Europe and East Asia.

Kuwait's population was involved in ship-building as well as navigation. Months were spent at sea and in foreign lands for the sake of trade and commerce. This intermingling with a range of populations created deep-rooted ties between Kuwaitis and other nations.

Following the discovery of oil and reaping the wealth that it created for the citizens of Kuwait, these ties with other nations were not forgotten. Currently, all of the oil wealth is nationalized, meaning that the nation uses the income for the benefit of its citizens (Richmond, 1977). This is demonstrated by the establishment of a public education system which provides free education from kindergarten all the way to university level. Also, a public health system is available for all citizens as well as residents of Kuwait.

Kuwait has been geographically and culturally autonomous for more than 300 years with the same ruling family leading the country. However, it is in 1961 when official independence was declared and a new constitution was endorsed. Since that time, Kuwait has used its oil wealth to become a major contributor in helping other countries achieve progress and development. There are numerous philanthropic societies as well as well-established funding institutions. The focus of this paper will be to present a case for the government-run Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development.

Case Study

The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) was established in the same year that Kuwait officially declared its independence, in 1961. Its initial mission was to provide assistance to other Arab countries. In 1974, it extended its mandate to all developing countries irrespective of geographical, ethnic, religious, caste, or cultural barriers. The countries whose economies are in transition are also eligible.

KFAED states its objectives as follows: "Assist Arab and other developing countries in developing their economies and to provide such countries with loans required for the implementation of their development programs."

Lending Conditions

The programs established by KFAED are low-interest and long-term loan programs issued to governments and public institutions in other countries. These include central and provincial governments, public utilities, and other public corporations. The loans are exempt from taxes and other duties.

The loan contract stipulates the rate of interest and the grace period before repayment starts. In past projects the interest rates were set at around 2.5% per year on average. The grace period averages around 4 years. For past programs, the average loan period was 22 years. In order to encourage the economy of the recipient country, preference is given to local suppliers based on competitive bids.

Types of Projects

KFAED provides loans for projects that have the purpose of sustaining a society and providing long-term benefits for the citizens of the countries awarded the funds. The projects are classified in the following categories (KFAED, 2009):

1. Transport and communication (35.3%)
2. Energy (23.9%)
3. Agricultural and irrigation (13.1%)
4. Water and sewage treatment (9.9%)
5. Industry (8.4%)
6. Development banks (3.3%)
7. Telecommunication (2.6%)
8. Social (2.5%)
9. Other (1%)

KFAED also contributes to financial institutions, including:

1. Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development
2. African Development Bank
3. Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa
4. Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation
5. International Development Association
6. International Fund for Agricultural Development
7. Special Program for Sub-Saharan African Countries

Recipient Countries

Since 1961 till today, there are 101 countries that benefitted from the loan programs established by KFAED with 737 loans consisting of a total value of about 4,011,000,000 Kuwaiti Dinars (approximately US \$ 13 billion). To date, the beneficiary countries are distributed as follows:

1. Arab countries (16 countries) with a share of 53.5% of the total loans
2. African countries (40 countries) with a share of 17.7% of the total loans
3. Asia, Pacific, and European countries (34 countries) with a share of 26.2% of the total loans
4. Latin American and the Caribbean countries (11 countries) with a share of 2.6% of the total loans

Examples of Recent Projects

What follows are some examples of recent projects completed by KFAED:

1. *Nepal*: Praganna Irrigation Project, an agricultural project which is estimated to benefit 4,500 families.
2. *Viet Nam*: Irrigation project for rice and coffee cultivation and development of fishery. This project is estimated to benefit 60,000 people.

3. *Lebanon*: Hydro-agricultural development project which is estimated to benefit 400,000 people in the region over time.
5. *Ghana*: A water and sanitation project which involves the ecological restoration of Korle Lagoon in Accra by dredging the lagoon to remove contaminants and installation of wastewater treatment plant and pump stations (Grant, 2006).
6. *People's Republic of China*: A water and sanitation project in Shouzhou which aims at environmental rehabilitation by implementing flood protection works and construction of sewage treatment plants.
7. *Ukraine*: contributions were made to the Chernobyl disaster fund for the "new safe confinement" project.
8. *West African countries*: In the sector of health and social programs, funds were awarded to combating River Blindness in West African countries by contributing to the Onchocerciasis Control Program. This project will protect 100 million people in 19 West African countries.
9. *"Guinea Worm" Eradication Program*: A project aimed at eradicating a major public health problem that impedes socio-economic development. This project benefits people in 19 African countries.

Concluding Remarks

The government of Kuwait maintained a process of reciprocating the good-will with other nations by functioning through the United Nations and its institutions and at the same time communicating directly with other nations in a manner that is built on mutual understanding and cooperation.

An important element in the communication process is the exchange of ideas, goods and services among nations. Such a process strengthens relationships and directs nations toward a unified purpose. A relationship that is based on mutual respect over time is a relationship that has the designs necessary for longevity.

The KFAED represents the government of Kuwait and its citizens in international and regional developments. Over time it has gained a stellar international reputation as a reliable funding agency providing long-term low-interest loans to governmental institutions in developing and transitional countries. Through these interactions, the KFAED manages to promote cooperation and friendship among diverse nations and peoples.

Respectful dialogue among nations by utilizing the services of responsible financial institutions can be a cornerstone in advancing a sustainable future, concentrated on countering poverty, promoting education and health care, thus empowering nations to accelerate a comprehensive sustainable paradigm for all.

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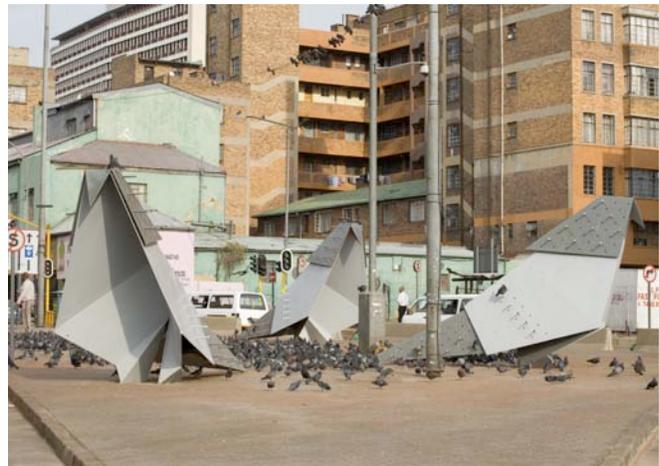
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Pecking and Pooing at Pigeon Square. A Call for Revising Site-Specific Interventions in the Johannesburg CBD.



All images are reproduced courtesy of Gerhard and Maja Marx. Photographs by John Hodgkiss. Additional selected photographs by Maja and Gerhard Marx.

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On the Western outskirts of the City of Johannesburg, traveling east along Main Reef Road one passes the Johannesburg Police Department.¹ Nestled at the confluence of Market Street and Main Reef Road with Main Road intersecting to make its western boundary, is a peculiar triangular space. Oddly enough the site has always been called Pigeon Square referencing an enormous feral pigeon population that occupies architectural cantilevers, window ledges, plaster moldings and a webbed array of telecommunication and power lines streaking over head. Pigeon Square is literally boxed in on the left by provincial government buildings including the Family Court Center and the Department of Home Affairs. The south boundary constitutes an enclosed parking lot and inner city residences and on the west side, along Main Road is the Madrasah Islaamia (an Islamic School) and a small hairdressing shop.

I have always known this inner city area for the kaleidoscopically colorful and diverse Diagonal Street not far from Pigeon Square and the vibrant Asian (predominately Chinese) trading community along Commissioner Street, with its almost inconspicuous noodle bars and fascinating general convenience stores filled from floor to brazier top with all things Asian, strange, exotic and other worldly. Also one should not over look the Oriental Plaza less than five kilometers to the west of the city. This is ironically second only to the prosaic Pigeon Square. A dead and banal space shared by jostling pedestrians (at peak foot traffic time) and a lively feral pigeon population. The two communities still eye each other with equal suspicion and at times contempt never quite at ease with each other's rightful passage through the space.²

In this paper I focus on the installation of three large origami-styled pigeon shapes by Gerhard and Maja Marx at Pigeon Square called *Paper Pigeons* (2009). I problematize the installation as a site-specific piece by drawing selectively on writings around public space and site-specificity. In doing this I want to bring attention to the discursive ways that public sculpture relates both purposefully, physically, spatially and culturally.³ My argument in this paper is limited to a study of the conceptual collapsing together and conflation of physical, spatial and thematic elements and in so doing draws attention to the many ways *Paper Pigeons* (2009) as a site-specific piece assists in our revision of public art installations as historical, sociopolitical and cultural markers.

In her book, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (2002) Miwon Kwon plots out a comprehensive genealogy of 20th Century site-specific art. She begins with a contentious working definition of site-specificity as a traditional practice emerging in the 1960s and 1970s as involving, "...something grounded ...playing with gravity [and] ...obstinate about 'presence'..." Drawing on a reading of Deleuze and Quattari's notions of rhizomic nomadism and deterritorialization, Kwon calls for a revision of conventional views on the subject. She advocates rather for a site-specificity that moves "...beyond the inherited conception of site-specific art as a grounded, fixed (even ephemeral), singular event..." and advances rather an "...altogether different notion of site as predominantly an intertextually coordinated, multiply located, discursive field of

operation” (Kwon 2002:159). With reference to James Meyer’s term, “functional site” Kwon, underscores the significance of recent site-specific art to embrace an, “...idea of meaning as an open, unfixd constellation, porous to contingencies...” (Kwon 2002:160).

As a form of public expression, site-specific art should fit as a constituent part of the fluidity of the city. By this I don’t mean a complacent decorative feature but rather a form of visual expression that denotes a point at which interaction with different and discursive identities and situations are enabled through a certain critical momentum that agitates rather than dominates a place. Following Kwon, I am referring to creative interventions that articulate a “...prevalent description of contemporary life as a network of unanchored flows” (Kwon 2002:164). To further this point, Kwon drawing on Deutsche (1998) suggests that public art has as its social prerogative an operation within a cultural field of social contradictions, calling for an understanding of “...seeming oppositions as *sustaining* relations” (Kwon 2002:166, Kwon’s emphasis). Elsewhere Dirsuweit (in Farber 2008:52) refers to this as, “...unassimilated difference and a culture of agonistic disagreement.”

As part of this genealogy, Kwon identifies three paradigms of site-specific art practice. The first she categorizes as phenomenological or existential (Kwon in Gaiger 2009:47)⁴ referring to the “...inextricable, indivisible relationship between the work and its site...” to the extent that work and site became physically inseparable (Kwon 2002:12-13). Here, artists are essentially concerned with the relation between the viewer’s encounter with the work of art and the physical space in which it is located. In the second category, Kwon discusses examples of site-specific art, “...concerned with the social and political meanings of the site.” Here Kwon analyses examples of work in which attention is drawn to “...the hidden institutional conditions that sustain the supposedly ‘innocent’ space of the gallery... the wider institutional framework within which works of art are displayed, marketed and sold” (Kwon in Gaiger 2009:47-48).

Taking critical aim at Kwon’s third paradigm, Gaiger raises a series of objections to Kwon’s genealogy. In a critique of Kwon’s third paradigm, he alludes to forms of expression that move “...beyond the confines of the art world to address non-art spaces, institutions, and issues...” (Kwon in Gaiger 2009:48-49). For Gaiger the problem resides in the fact that the notion of site is dissolved entirely to the point that physical space is no longer relevant. He elaborates: “She terms this paradigm ‘discursive site-specificity’ to indicate that the site is now understood not as a physical place or as an institution but as a discourse of knowledge and ideas” (Kwon in Gaiger 2009:49).

Most importantly for this paper, is the purposefulness of site-specific public art to resonate beyond mere nostalgic yearning for a historical past. Rather as a form of public expression, site-specific art brings relevance and significance to ordinary everyday lived experience. Kwon (2002:166) explains this further when she writes: “Today’s site-orientated practices inherit the task of demarcating the *relational specificity* that can hold in dialectical tension the distant poles of spatial experience...” It is this concern with “relational specificity” that I seek to forward as a guiding principle in my analysis of *Paper Pigeons* (2009) at Pigeon Square by drawing selectively on Kwon’s ideas around site-specificity.

In March 2009, Gerhard and Maja Marx submitted a proposal for a site-specific sculpture in response to a sculpture commission administered by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and its commissioning agents, the Wits School of Arts (WSOA). The commission was publicized as part of the JDA’s inner city development and rejuvenation initiative which in part, has over the past few years seen a number of site-specific sculptural works installed in and around the city of

Johannesburg. Jeremy Wafer, a member of the selection panel from the WSOA, outlined some of the criteria for selection.⁵ In their consideration of the short listed proposals, the panelists considered the need for the successful work to above all *mark* the site as the Western “gate” of the City. It should also contribute to a rejuvenation of an area that has over the years slipped into a state of urban decay and in so doing respond to historical and cultural aspects of the site. In this sense the work should not merely decorate the site but respond and resonate meaningfully to everyday urban experiences (Wafer 2010).

The proposal to install three meter high pigeon shaped sculptures was (by the artists’s admission) a literal interpretation of the brief but in many ways not (Marx and Marx 2010). Their intention was to produce a site-specific work that addressed the problem of urban engagement. Rather than transform, refigure, mask or remake the site, their proposal sort to pull together aspects of the site that were already in place and highlight these in the way the sculpture relates to the site. I want to suggest here that Kwon’s revision of site-specific interventions and the epistemological conditions surrounding our understanding of this form of public expression can be applied to usefully situate *Paper Pigeons* (2009). In this sense, public art not only recalls more conventional definitions around the tricky locale of site but more importantly draws attention to the ontological significance of site-specificity as a social and cultural conduit synchronizing aspects of the city in an ephemeral and transient spatial locality. This kind of urban space demands creative forms that infiltrate, permeate, transgress and transcend geographical, spatial and cultural barriers thereby enabling a tangible and tactile social fluidity and mobility.

Pigeon Square is positioned precisely at an intersection of multifarious movement in and out of the city. It is a transitory space of coagulating but also dissipating and dispersing trajectories including the feral pigeon population, pedestrian and vehicular traffic, the buzz of a thriving localized retail culture as well as the scheduled timely arrival and departure of the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) system. These methods of movement (historical, social, cultural, private/personal and public/collective) signal the conceptually discursive nature of the site. This is not a space of prolonged belonging.⁶ The nature of movement through the space underscores its fleeting-ness: a place whose physicality in time and space is fixed oddly enough, through its inherent transience.⁷

In many ways *Paper Pigeons* (2009) is essentially about interaction. It is in this we find its significance as a *public* work. The original proposal referred to one very large monumental pigeon form rather than three relatively smaller ones to effect a kind of care-giving aspect providing shelter from rain or shade from scorching sun. Interestingly, the artists draw attention to the way the pigeon structures function as “pedestals” for real pigeons in as much as they function as public sculptures. This doubling in structural purpose signals a shift in functionality – from aestheticized iconography to utilitarian object (Marx and Marx 2010).

The monumentality of the three pigeon forms problematically recalls the defensive armory of military combat vehicles - the rusty old war machines of long dead conflict on which children clamber to enact imaginary battles. In part this resolves the brief’s requirements for a sculptural installation that is robust, low maintenance and sustainable, in other words: a valued commodity; a fixed asset, but also defiantly references the impenetrability of the surrounding architecture.⁸

Too easily public sculpture *masks* rather than *marks* or *makes* social conditions enabling material cohesiveness that is conducive to social spatial production (Lefebvre 1991). Cultural resonance is displaced and camouflaged in guileful decorative beautification obliterating prescriptive symbolic

intentionality. Part of the conceptual and visual strength of *Paper Pigeons* (2009) is the many ways that this visual effect of militaristic defensiveness is undercut and contradicted through its physical and conceptual responsiveness to the site. I am reminded of Deutsche (1996:xxii) who alludes to what she calls "...the democratic possibilities of site-specific art..." when she disapprovingly discusses more established and conventional definitions of site-specificity that are, "...consistent with the concealment, rather than the questioning, of power in public art's urban sites." *Paper Pigeons* (2009) prompts social interaction and historical and cultural responsiveness in its visually and physically accessible apertures and appendages, exploding potentially prescient meaning.

The installation at Pigeon Square presents a public sculpture that integrates with the site in the way it osmotically absorbs physical and conceptual characteristics. The work invokes a spirit of and feeling for urban Johannesburg in the mixture of "harshness" and "lightness" inscribed in the site and its reciprocal relationship to the sculpture (Wafer 2010). It invigorates a cultural significance in the way it signals the milieu of Johannesburg City through a playful tension of delicacy and monumentality, heaviness and lightness thus signaling a space that Nuttall (in Mbembe and Nuttall 2008:195) argues is "...an intricate entanglement of *éclat* and somberness, lightness and darkness, comprehension and bewilderment, polis and necropolis, desegregation and resegregation."

In the three pigeon forms, formal elements are not imposed but rather radiate from the site recalling Kwon's (2002:26) assertion of a third site-specific category that an, "...art work's relationship to the actuality of the location (as site) and the social conditions of the institutional frame (as site) are both subordinate to a discursively determined site that is delineated as a field of knowledge, intellectual exchange, or cultural debate." For Gerhard and Maja Marx (2010) it was important that the idea for the installation emanates from the ideological significance of the site rather than a totalitarian imposition of ideological allusions or at worst a balsamic obscuring of its potential for social agglutination. In doing so it reestablishes a relationship with the current-ness of the site (and more broadly, Johannesburg the City) by re-emphasizing the lived experience of the place rather than a strictly ideological nostalgia for a historical (past/previous) significance. In this sense *Paper Pigeons* (2009) interpellates community ownership by emerging as a potent signifier of inner city identity.

Through powerfully centripetal cohesiveness, behaviour, ritual, trend and daily routine (in selected public art), signals *real* time as a product of the site's idiosyncratic multiplicity. Echoing Kwon's (2002:24) point that "...the guarantee of a specific relationship between an art work and its site is not based on a physical permanence of that relationship... but rather on the recognition of its unfixed *impermanence*, to be experienced as an unrepeatable and fleeting situation..." One could extend this point in a reading of *Paper Pigeons* (2009) as it recalls a potent reference to Mbembe's argument for the superfluity (Mbembe in Mbembe and Nuttall 2008:38) and mobility of everyday experience of the inner city intimating the everyday rather than the charged conceptual and cultural distance of traditional monumental public sculpture. The City as a backdrop defaults to a multi layered functional entity of shifting social dynamisms in the way social interaction is prompted publicly.

A number of devices further encode the work's conceptual rather than empirical relevance in its proximity to the site. In the short time that the work has been installed a significant contribution has been made through an ever growing inadvertent and inevitable defacement of the pigeon-shaped structures through a gentle but persistent avian vandalism; a *mark* of a more sympathetic kind: *poo*. Pigeon guano functions to assist in the assimilation with site and structure literally but this also prompts an alternative thematic reading. Aside from actualizing the anatomical bird, through colour and texture, pigeon guano signifies a recycling of urban matter as a process endemic to an

ontological experience of the city. One's sense of being in the city is brought to bear through a realisation of matter (fecal and otherwise) materialized in differing forms and recycled to affect a sense of things new, refigured or re-made.

A grey scale colour range in *Paper Pigeons* (2009) relates literally to the feral pigeon bird colouring injecting a sense of realism into the final solution. Yellow colour accents on the ends of the perching rods that protrude from the sides of the structures reference pigeon speckle. In addition to this, shadows cast by the rods further ebulate and enliven the surface. The artists note how this effect injects a second life into the work by animating the surface and transforming the visual totality through a play of light.⁹ Additionally, the choice of grey scale colouring enables a blending with the grey-ness of the site in the way it evokes the colouring of surrounding provincial buildings (Marx and Marx 2010). This has implications for how we understand site as "...not defined as a precondition. Rather, it is generated by the work (often as "content"), and then verified by its convergence with an existing discursive formation" (Kwon 2002:26).

The visual and structural language of origami is arguably the most significant sculptural consideration in the technical and structural visualization of *Paper Pigeons* (2009). In its conceptual resonance origami affords a sense of simplicity in the technical resolution of the sculpture. Formal considerations such as the shape and structure of the bird form proved technically problematic especially on this scale. The origami solution presented possibilities that were already in place and inviting application (Marx and Marx 2010). For the artists this was not necessarily directed at a need for cultural-specificity or referencing a cultural literalness in interpretation (Marx and Marx 2010). Beginning with paper as a starting point for experimenting with form, a planar structural language presented immediate aesthetic and technological solutions. *Paper Pigeons* (2009) is conceptually and spatially situated at the nodal visual play of thin-ness, flexibility, fragility and transience. The translation of form from a two dimensional (flat and ostensibly fragile) format into a three dimensional (spatial and structurally sound) format underpins a pulling together of conflicting spatial criteria exposing an optical dynamism. As a venerably antiquarian practice in structural engineering, origami enabled a shape-shifting of surface into an elevated three dimensionality appealing to the required sculptural outcome thereby feeding a structural purpose over and above a simply decorative outcome.

This tectonic play recalls a degree of humor in the quirky visual dance of binary opposites. The flimsy superficiality of the paper motif in the planar aspect of origami translates sculpturally into something structurally and visually powerful. Physical strength, permanence, foundational place-ness (synonymous with monumentality) is quickly undercut through an imposing visual significance that at the same time references transience, lightness and ephemerality. These subtle contradictions prompt curiosity and ultimately provoke, as integral to their design, concerted public interaction. The artists jokingly acknowledge this playfulness as a consideration in the engineering of the structures. The rods are engineered to easily accommodate climbing children or adequately facilitate eager tourists for that once in a life time 2010 FIFA World Cup photo opportunity (Marx and Marx 2010).

Conclusion

Relationally specific and responsive public art, particularly site-specific installations provide the necessary means to catheterize a flow of cultural information and knowledge that is otherwise invisible on the spectrum of everyday experience. I rather enjoy Hannah Le Roux's use of the acupuncture metaphor in her analysis of selected architectural design studios that collectively explore forgotten and discarded city spaces and places. She writes: "Acupuncture is a metaphor for a way of

working on the city through mapping the intensities of flows of people and processes, identifying nodes where obstacles – bureaucratic, legal, spatial, and social – block their realisation and create tension and malaise.” Through this inclusive approach, “the agency of everyday users can transform the city to a more socially fluid and multiple space” (Le Roux in Farber 2008:63). In my mind *Paper Pigeons* (2009) does exactly that. Not only does it activate a conceptual resonance to and presence on the site, but it becomes an important means through which we, the Johannesburgian public (and others), could begin to revisit and reclaim those parts of the City previously lost.



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Notes

¹ This building was once home to the apartheid police headquarters: the notorious John Vorster Square, and negatively popularized by *known* incidents of police brutality and political suppression. It is now the headquarters of the Johannesburg Police Department.

² In their research for the project, Gerhard and Maja Marx found that according to a local Chinese shop owner the pigeons are fed daily by an Indian hairdresser who owns a small shop next to the Madrasah Islaamia on Main Road (on the west side of Pigeon Square). It is known that pigeon feeding in Pigeon Square has been active since the 1930s.

³ For reasons of scope, the content of this paper may only refer in passing to the significant political discussions and positions around public art, ownership and accountability. Also, there is enormous potential in my approach here to explore a reading of these works in relation to a discourse on the sublime.

⁴ For an excellent critique of Kwon's work, the reader is referred to Jason Gaiger's article, Dismantling the Frame: Site-Specific Art and Aesthetic Autonomy, *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 49(1), January 2009: 43-58.

⁵ I interviewed Jeremy Wafer to establish specific details governing the commissioning circumstances as well as the criteria for selection. The conversation also focused on the *Paper Pigeon* (2009) sculpture and its significance in relation to the Pigeon Square site.

⁶ The public are actually discouraged from loitering or pausing for too long in the space. Security officers are known to regularly chase dilatory individuals away, presumably to alleviate the threat of inner city crime (Wafer 2010).

⁷ This is reinforced literally through the reference to avian flight circulating notions of communal interactivity. Bird and human communities regard each other through fleeting interference and other usage of the space such as feeding.

⁸ It is also interesting to know that the Family Court Center for example, was built initially by the Apartheid government to house the much-hated department of Native Affairs (Marx and Marx 2010).

⁹ To a large extent this effect operates also as a means to undercut the visual implications of the rods as referencing a military or defensive structure (Marx and Marx 2010).

Japanese Abroad: Preparing Japanese students to study abroad
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Abstract: This presentation examines best practices for ensuring maximum learning and benefit from study abroad for Japanese students in Canada and North America. Based on research examining the effects of study abroad among Japanese high school students in Canada and college students in the United States, various shortcomings in study abroad programs are identified. The value of better pre-departure training, oversight and instruction while abroad, and comprehensive debriefing upon returning to Japan are discussed. Since preparations based on descriptive notions of culture fail to sufficiently prepare students for understanding the host culture, cultural changes among students are rare. A new model of culture based on the cognitive theory of culture provides a better model for explaining not just how Western culture differs from Japan but why these differences exist at all. This functional appreciation of the process of culture better prepares students to understand the thoughts and behaviors of people in the host country and best prepares them for learning while abroad. Programs that incorporate these suggestions are expected to have fewer problems and participants are likely to learn more about both home and host cultures as well as develop greater cross-cultural awareness, improve their intercultural communication skills, and increase self-awareness.

Japanese Abroad: Preparing Japanese students to study abroad

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Research examining the effects of studying abroad in North America (Hansen, 1999; Hansen, 2004) has identified ways in which culture learning can be enhanced or restricted. Different ways of preparing students for the sojourn, the structure of their environment abroad, and the manner of debriefing upon returning home are just some of the variables that administrators should consider when creating or reforming programs. Programs that fail to consider these variables risk squandering the unique opportunities for learning and personal development that study abroad provides.

Below I briefly introduce two study abroad programs that sent Japanese students to North America and discuss the different outcomes seen among students in those programs as well as factors influencing these outcomes. I distinguish two general types of change as learning and development. The lack of cultural change (a developmental change) among participants is understood as a consequence of the relatively short duration abroad and the fundamental nature of culture according to the cognitive theory of culture. The paper closes with a consideration of how the cognitive concept of culture may be used to prepare students to study abroad.

Two Programs: Introduction

An examination of study abroad programs is necessary to begin an analysis of best practices. As part of two independent research projects, I examined two different cohorts of Japanese students who studied in North America. The first was a group of college students studying at an American college in a 5 month program. The second group of high school students studied at Canadian high schools for one year. Although the author recognizes the differences between Canada and the USA, for the purposes of this analysis they are treated as equal.

The college group is characterized as the low immersion group. This designation is due to a combination of factors, starting with the comparatively shorter time spent abroad. In addition to spending less than half a year overseas, the college students traveled, lived, and studied in a group of over 100 students. There were no minimal English requirements for participation in the program and thus there were varied levels of ESL skill among the students. Because the group did not have sufficient skill to participate in standard classes (aside from Physical Education), they took classes that were designed solely for this program. There were no students from the host institution or other programs in any of their classes but the the classes were taught in English. Participants in this program were not considered as students of the hosting institution. Some students did have non-Japanese roommates in the dormitories but more often than not they shared a room with someone from the program.

The high school program is considered to be a high or deep immersion program. Participants in this program were abroad in Canada for one full calendar year. While abroad, they lived alone with a Canadian host family. At most, four students from the program attended the same high school with most students “sharing” their host high school with only one or two others from the program. They were enrolled in standard classes alongside Canadian students and essentially lived as a Canadian teenager for one year.

Two Programs: Effects

These two programs are representative of the ends of the spectrum of long-term study abroad programs (characterized in terms of months rather than weeks). At first glance, it would appear that participants in the high school program would exhibit greater changes in their awareness and personal development due to the apparent greater contact with the host culture. Surprisingly, the

opposite effect was found. The “low-immersion” college students returned to Japan significantly affected by the experience whereas the high school students, while not unaffected, flowed back into their pre-sojourn roles quite easily. There are several factors that explain this difference.

Although the college group had quantitatively lower levels of contact with the host culture, particular elements of the structure of that program combined to maximize the impact of the time abroad. The large group, low English level, and on-campus lodging structure contributed to a situation where many students were free to spend time on campus outside of classes and observe American college life, which they did intently. Surrounded by other Japanese students, they would often talk about what they had seen or any interactions they’d had. One student recalled being asked if he would share his cigarettes by an unknown American student. In and of itself this was a big event for him, but its impact grew as he shared the story with his friends and they all talked about how easy it is for Americans to do such things.

The high school students, in contrast, spent very little time with other Japanese speakers and in fact generally spent a majority of their time with their host families, either together at home or running errands or alone at home. The consistency of school and domestic life did not offer as many novel opportunities and experiences as the college students had, nor did they have as much opportunity to reflect on the experiences they were exposed to. Compared to the college students, the high school students did not spend as much time observing, discussing, or learning from their host culture.

This is not to say that the high school students were unchanged at all. On the contrary, their English skills developed dramatically. There was noticeable differences in many of the students regarding self-expression and many commented that the experience made them more confident and independent. They uniformly were dissatisfied with the schedule of their sojourn, as it had them arriving and departing in January. This meant they arrived in the middle of one academic year, then, just as they were making progress with language and social development, had a multi-month summer break before returning to school to start a new academic year. This schedule is also partly responsible for the counterintuitive effects of a one year sojourn. For many students, they met few Canadian friends during the 3 month summer vacation. Other factors including the long winter months in Canada and the lack of easy transportation or entertainment options reduced the amount of time that the high school students spent with other Canadian teenagers, contributing to an overall lower than expected degree of immersion, especially when compared to the college program.

Comparing these two programs highlights the unreliability of gross indicators such as time spent abroad. It is apparent that administrators have many options for influencing the impact of their programs. Prior to departing is an excellent opportunity to prepare students for the experience, above and beyond the essential safety instructions. Teaching students about the nature of culture as well as the specific differences between their home and host culture improves the likelihood that students will be able to make engaged observations immediately after arrival and reduces the stresses that, contrary to the intuitive U-curve hypothesis (Oberg, 1960), often mark the beginning of a foray into a foreign culture (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham, 2001).

Once students depart, there is still much that can be done to take full advantage of the experience. Official oversight of students’ experiences and progress ensures that any problems that may develop do not blossom into disasters. Additionally, regular contact with students can be used to inspire careful observation and reflection of the experience. Journals of daily experiences are very useful, especially after returning home, yet it is difficult for many students to keep a regular journal. Persistent (yet unobtrusive) reminders in this regard can reap tremendous benefits later during reflection and processing of the experience.

Students should be encouraged to continue using the observation, reflection, and documentation skills developed while abroad during the reentry process as well. Returning home often provides

a mirror to which participants can compare their overseas experiences. This can be the source of so-called reverse culture shock but can also be a method for identifying previously unrealized differences or changes in one's self.

All three phases of study abroad are important and deserve the full attention of students and administrators. To adopt an obvious travel metaphor, the pre-departure take-off, the in-flight sojourn, and the reentry landing are all part of studying abroad. Each is distinct in the opportunities for learning and development. Care must be taken to recognize these different opportunities and adapt one's posture accordingly to maximize the benefits to participants.

Types of Change

The effects of study abroad can be broadly divided into two categories, learning and development. Learning effects include language learning, new knowledge and awareness of local customs and ways of living, and improved communication and coping skills in intercultural contexts. Development effects are more psychological and include personal growth such as improved confidence in one's abilities, a greater sense of personal independence or responsibility, and unconscious cultural changes. Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001) reviewed different models of adaptation and reveal that adaptation is commonly conceived of as a skills set to be acquired or refined via various coping mechanisms and learning strategies. They also introduce a stress and coping model of acculturation that improves upon many of the shortcomings of other models, specifically by including a social identity element which I include under the Development category.

Within this framework, the two programs included in this analysis produced both learning and developmental effects, especially personal development. But neither had a significant impact on the underlying culture of the participants in the sense that they returned to Japan as hybrid cultured individuals. They were still thoroughly Japanese in a cultural sense even if they had developed personally and were armed with stronger skills for navigating multicultural environments.

The explanation for this lack of cultural change is simple. Study abroad excursions are not substantial enough to impart deep cultural concepts in a psychological sense. Participants are not abroad long enough or immersed enough to absorb enough of the host culture. While they may have learned a great deal about the host culture and developed skills and abilities that allow them to function in the host culture, psychologically they have not acculturated to the standards of the host culture. This sort of change may not be a goal of participants and the lack of this sort of change may even be preferred. An understanding of the psychological underpinnings of culture at a cognitive level nevertheless may aid students as they transition to the new cultural environment, enhancing their ability to learn and develop from the experience.

The Cognitive Theory of Culture

Essentially the cognitive model of culture describes how culture operates as a psychological phenomenon. The strength of this approach is its explanatory power. Where other models of culture are descriptive, the cultural psychology approach identifies the mechanism where culture is both created by yet responsible for the creation of collective cognitive trends and shared psychology. Nisbett (2004) provides the best explanation of the cognitive culture model. Others explore the concept of the self (Benson, 2001; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Taylor, 2003), cultures of violence (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996) and the constitutive process of meaning making (Bruner, 1990; Tomasello, 1999). (See Schaller and Crandall (2004), Shweder (1991), Shweder and LeVine (1984), and Stigler, Shweder, and Herdt (1990) for general overviews of cultural psychology.)

Nisbett explains how culture is an emergent phenomenon subject to the way we process information, that is to say, subject to cognition. Broadly speaking, there are two divergent styles

of cognition. Analytic cognition tends to focus on salient objects and their attributes. Holistic cognition tends to organize the world according to relationships and as a result considers wholes, rather than parts. From this fundamental difference in how the mind interacts with the environment, a host of cultural differences emerge, including demonstrable differences relating to how we conceive of our selves, how we literally “see” the world, how we explain the behaviors of others, and our utilization of logic (or lack thereof).

One of the strongest elements of the cognitive model of culture is its acknowledgement that although culture is a product of cognition and thus human minds, human minds and cognition are in turn the product of culture. Other models of culture break down when subjected to a repetitive analysis of causation (“Yes, but why?”) but the cognitive model has broken through this conundrum by recognizing that culture is a product of psychology that is itself subject to influence from culture. This so mutually-constitutive process can appear tautological if considered simultaneously, but when the process is considered over time, the apparent contradiction disappears.

Understanding that culture is more than just beliefs and customs releases students from the burden of having to learn and understand those beliefs and customs before feeling comfortable. Culture is a process and culture is an effect. Knowing this helps to unlock awareness of not just differences between cultures, but the reasons for those differences. Armed with this explanatory tool, participants are capable of learning and understanding more about the cultural environment. This can only enhance what they learn and the degree of personal development and perhaps even cultural change in study abroad.

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THE INFORMATIONAL SYSTEM MANAGEMENT

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1. Introductory Notions

The informational society represents a new stage in the human civilization's development, a new, qualitatively superior way of life, implying the intensive use of information in all spheres of human activity and existence and having a major economic and social impact. „The informational society” can be defined as „*the society in which most of the active population works in the informational area, where information is created, processed, distributed and/or used.*”

The informational system includes the set of data, document included information, informational circuits, informational flows and means of processing the information, all of them involved in the fundamenting of administrative decisions, elaborated by institutions belonging to the public administration system and that contribute, due to their content, to satisfying the general needs of the population. (Androniceanu 2006).

The employment of information in the elaboration of norms and their transmission towards the local administrative authorities in order to be enforced implies an informational circuit and/or flow.

The informational circuit represents the route of the information from the transmitter to the beneficiary of information.

The informational flow is the quantity of information conveyed between the transmitter and the beneficiary of information.

In order to meet the social needs of the members of society, to provide public services in certain conditions, just the human, material and technical resources are not sufficient; it is also necessary to have a permanent contact with the social environment evidence, which the public management serves.

Within a local public administration, the informational system performs the following functions (Verboncu 2008):

a. The decisional function – means that the informational system must ensure the informational elements needed to fundament administrative documents and all categories of administrative decisions.

b. The operational function – is ensuring the enforcement of administrative documents: laws, decrees, resolutions and all types of administrative decisions.

c. The documentation function – expresses the system's purpose of registering information needed by the dedicated personnel, in order to create the basis of the objectives and subsequently of the deriving administrative decisions.

2. The Analysis of the Current Situation

Within a local public administration all official documents will enter the registry's office, being forbidden to pass them to the specialised departments without the resolution of the competent decision makers that decide over their solving.

Schematically, the circuit of official documents in the administration is presented in diagram 2.1.

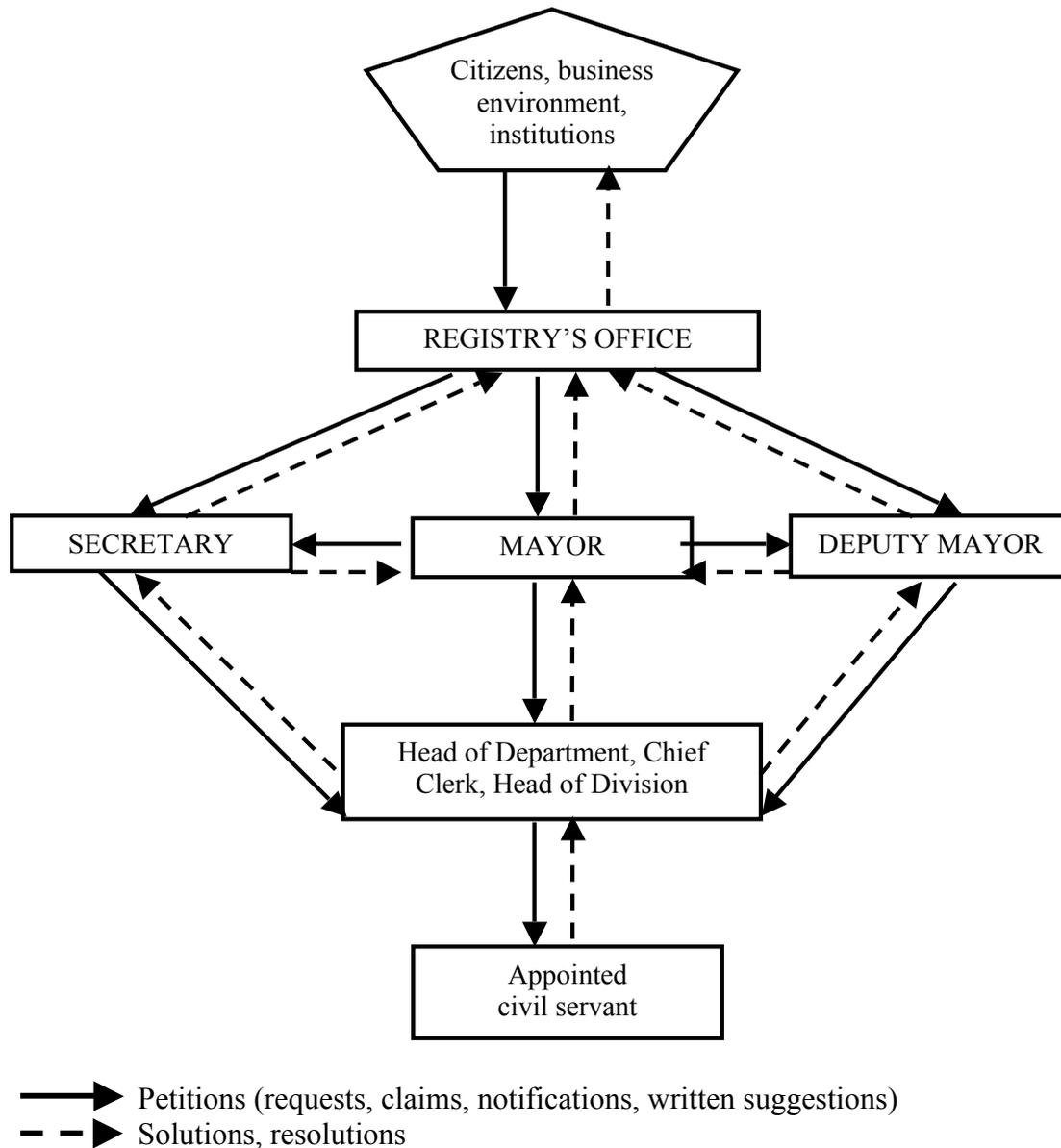


Diagram 2.1 – *The informational circuit in local public administration*

In the presented circuit, information goes as follows (OFR 2009):

- Duties are hierarchically established from the directly superior manager, a similar procedure applying to how duties are fulfilled.
- The directly responsible civil servant is asked by the management of the institution to offer information or to carry on specific works; he has the obligation to inform the hierarchically superior manager on the stage of works and the fulfillment of tasks.
- The access to public information is made from the official position or upon citizen's request, through the Public Relations department.
- Petitions addressed to the City Hall (requests, claims, notifications, written suggestions), would be solved and resolutions communicated to the petent within 30 days.
- The institution departments and office communicate between them by addresses.

Analysing this circuit we came upon a series of functional deficiencies that we are presenting in diagram 2.2.

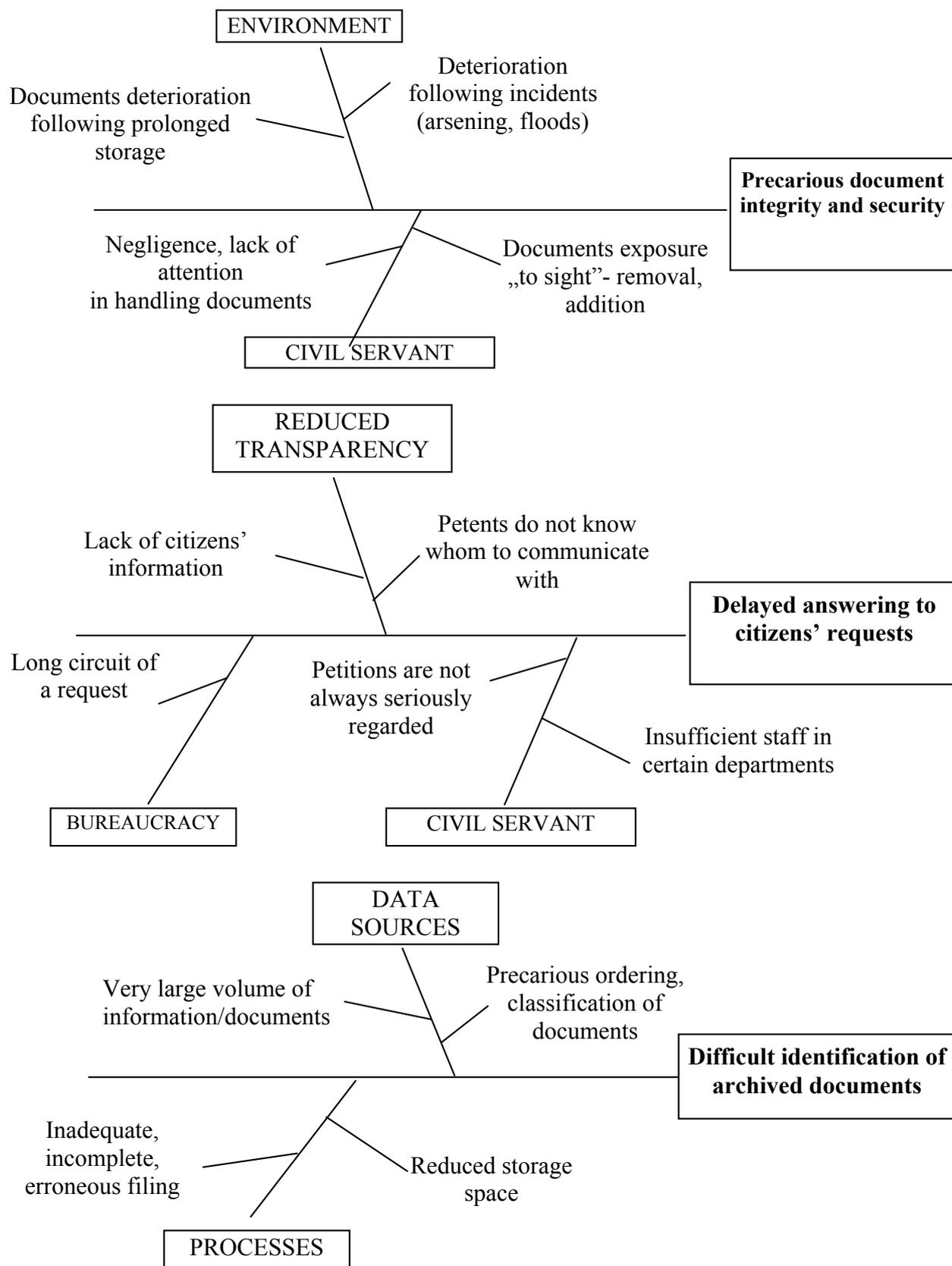


Diagram 2.2 – Deficiencies in the existing informational system in administration

3. The Optimization of the Informational System

One of the European Union's requirements in the context of Romania's integration views the modernisation of the working and structural system of local public administration, in the sense of modernization and employing informational technology.

In order to comply with these requirements, a modern informational system would have to provide (Tarbutaru 2009):

- A sole entrance for all current requests addressed to local public administration;
- Increase of speed in answering to citizen's requests;
- Improvement of data and information integrity, as well as in the quality of documents;
- Increase of the communication level between different departments in local public administration;
- Growth of cooperation between different public institutions, by means of extranet;
- Growth of data, information and public knowledge access;
- Integrated administration of the entire data, information and documents cycle;
- Data processing automatization, acceleration and safety;
- Diminution in the volume of archived papers;
- Diminution of documents copying costs;
- Complete and instantaneous identification of documents;
- Total data and information safety.

Taking into consideration the aforementioned requirements and the observed deficiencies, we have designed an information and communication technology system within a modern local public administration (Diagram 2 – *The Architecture of an Integrated System*) that would provide a maximum efficiency and optimal running of the entire administrative activity. The structure of this integrated system has the following components (Feasibility Study 2009):

- A) The Citizens Information and Communication Integrated Informational System:
 - A1) Unique registry's office ;
 - A2) Telephone switchboard;
 - A3) Infokiosks;
 - A4) Offices for the public access to information.
- B) The Hardware Integrated System (the infrastructure);
- C) The Communications Integrated System:
 - C1) Intranet;
 - C2) Extranet;
 - C3) City Hall private telephone network;
 - C4) City Hall private mobile phone network;
 - C5) Internet (optical fibre).
- D) Data and information archiving, saving and recovering
- E) The Integrated Software System:
 - E1) the Geographic Informational System (GIS)–digital map of the town;
 - E2) Modules of specific integrated applications for each department;
 - E3) Document Management (documents tracking application);
 - E4) Content Management (management of the entire informational cycle);
 - E5) Administrative Intelligent (Analysis and Reporting).

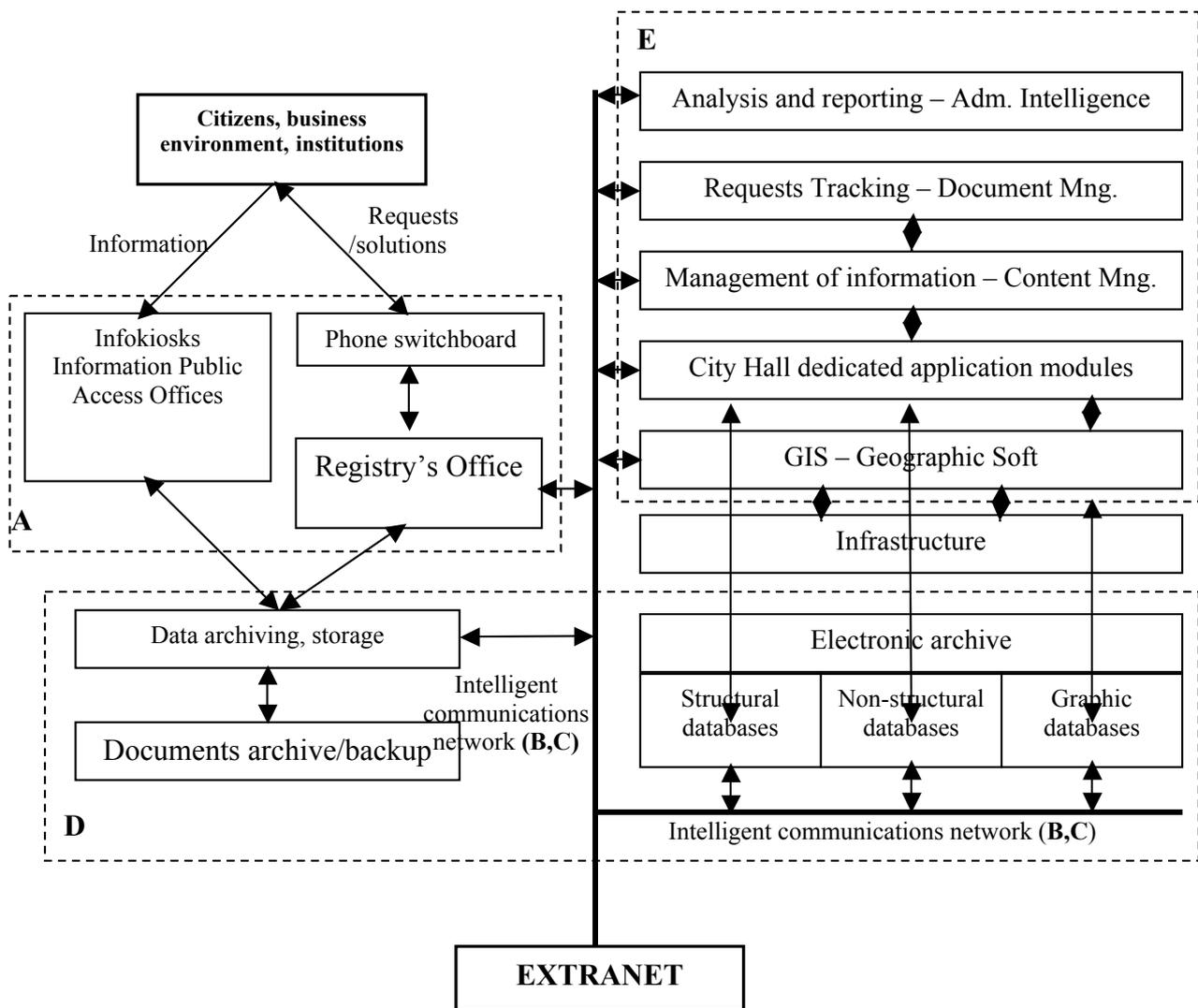


Diagram 3.1 – The Architecture of an Integrated System

A. The Citizens Information and Communication Integrated Informational System

The main perspective the entire body of civil servants and officials in local public activity of the municipality should regard their activity from is the perspective of the relation to the public. To this aim, modules should be integrated, such as the Unique Registry Office, Citizens Information Centres, Infokiosks, Telephone Switchboard, Public Access Offices, Portals (City Hall’s webpage), all of them connected online to the City Hall intranet, 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

The unique registry’s office becomes the sole place where citizens will directly contact civil servants. Thus, the chances of interrupting the civil servant from his/her current activity, the loss of time in repeatedly explaining as well as the possibility of corruption will disappear.

Infokiosks will be set up at all entrances in the building where the executive body of the City Hall carries on the activity, as well as in the main areas of pedestrian traffic, so that every citizen could access the needed information.

The telephone switchboard will provide an easy communication channel 24 hours a day, seven days a week, concerning all necessary information.

All necessary public information will be posted on the City Hall’s site, so that all patents should inquire on the legal procedures and norms to solve one’s request. A facility of this site would be the possibility to download the standard forms one needs to fill in.

B. The Hardware Integrated System (Intelligent computer network)

The City Hall's intelligent computer network will be the hardware support (the infrastructure), needed to implement the intranet (internal networks).

This intelligent computer network will be less expensive on an average length of time, taking into account that the necessary upgradings will be made on cheaper terminals. At first sight, the initial investment is high, but it will rapidly pay off by the efficiency and economy it will be running on.

C. The Communications Integrated System

In an information and communication integrated system, the communications infrastructure plays a determining role. The running parameters and quality of communications decisively influence the quality of public services performed by the local public administration.

The information and communication integrated system of the City Hall will be composed of the communications hardware-ul și software of:

- City Hall Intranet;
- City Hall Extranet;
- City Hall private telephone network;
- City Hall private mobile phone network;
- The access to the international communication network (Internet – optical fibre).

Through these three communication channels (telephone, mobile phone, optical fibre) a damage proof system will be provided, ensuring communication even if a certain channel will not function, by one reason or another.

The intranet represents the dedicated internet – type communication network of the City Hall. By means of this network, any civil servant would fulfill one's own job tasks from his office, without moving to another office, waiting for a colleague, searching for some data, information or documents, briefly, without losing time.

The extranet is a dedicated IP network (Internet Protocol) that allows restricted access to just a group of authorized users, that identify themselves when accessing the extranet. In other words, it can be seen as an extension of the City Hall's extranet, representing the connection to the dedicated networks of other public institutions that the local public administration enters into a relation: Police Department, Education, Culture, Environmental Protection, Hospitals and other subordinated institutions (Diagram 3.3).

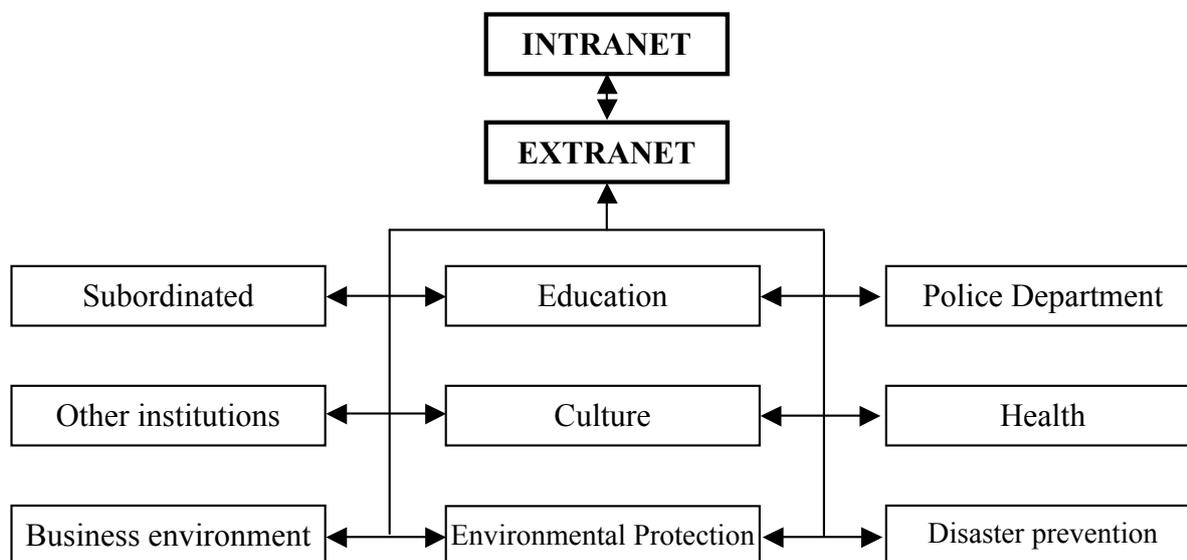


Diagram 3.3 – Architecture of the City Hall's Extranet

D. Data archiving, saving and recovery

Another area where important time resources are wasted is older data, information and documents identification. At present, this search is made by coming to the City Hall's Archive office, where, at best, the searched documents are classified, arranged, ordered, but the process takes too much time anyway, with searching, copying and restoring.

The implementation of the integrated system in the City Hall will eliminate this deficiency, by using the electronic archive or digital archive which presumes saving on a magnetic support all data, information and documents that are handled in the City Hall's current activities.

The methods of saving data, information and documents is very important, as long as the entire information is digitized. Within this system, data saving will be automatically done in three different locations, on breakdown tolerant systems with a high level of safety.

E. The Software Integrated System

The City Halls Software Integrated System will have several components:

- E.1 The Geographic Informational System (GIS – Electronic map of the city);
- E.2 Applications which are specific to certain areas of activity: economic, financial, investments, human resources, urban planning etc;
- E.3. Tracking documents (Document Management)
- E.4 Informational cycle (Content Management);
- E.5 Analyses, syntheses and reports (Administrative Intelligence)

E1. The Geographic Informational System is a collection of transparent drawing sheets of paper, electronically superposed, that allow any operator have a broad image on the territorial administrative unit. Each sheet of paper represents graphically an urban network (streets, buildings, parks – green areas, water distribution networks, gas supply networks, telephone lines, optical fibre networks, parcels etc). Their superposition give the overall graphical image on our city.

E.2 Applications which are specific to the City Hall.

There is a series of applications that local public administration employs:

- Taxes and duties application;
- Budget, budgeting, budget reports applications;
- Application for assets;
- Human resources application;
- Agriculture registry application;
- Urban planning and land register application;
- Civil office application – evidence of the population.

E3. The tracking documents informational system (Document Management)

The document management (the citizens' requests) is one of the most acute problems in city halls, because a defficient management, civil servants' lack of attention, excessive bureaucracy, temptation to corruption and various less or bigger interests.

The integrated informational system helps in solving this problem by implementing a software application of tracking documents and allowing to search the stage of solving the issues in a document according to registration number, petent, the object of petition, where did the document arrive to and how long did it stay in that office, where is it at present, which are the resolutions of different departments etc.

The implementation of Document Management is a first compulsory stage in making the city hall's activity more efficient and in easing the flow in the circuit of petitions.

E4. Management of Data Flow (Content Management)

In public administration, data, information and documents are the main tools helping in accomplishing objectives and job duties, according to the law.

A soft dedicated to manage in a centralized way all data and documents, to permanently check the inputs and outputs, as well as to provide a data, information and documents safety will surely lead to an improvement in data integrity, in raising the efficiency of administrative productivity, by an integrated management of the entire document flow.

E5. The Reporting Informational System (Administrative Intelligence)

Administrative Intelligence is a tool helping the management of a city hall to take decisions, to achieve planning and strategies, as well as in the periodical reportings to the hierarchically superior institutions.

It benefits from a report editor that allows configuring different statistical situations and reports the mayor wishes to find out, according to the information and databases existing in the integrated informational system.

Administrative Intelligence will be the top software tool that will integrate all managerial functions of the city hall's management and will run over all the other informational modules previously identified and detailed.

The information and communication technology system represents one of the component systems, which is vital in the context of integration, development level, reflecting at the same time the general level of technological, economic and social development of local community.

4. Conclusions

To use IT technologies in the governmental process and in public administration is an utmost necessity of our days. The advantages brought by the new technologies may lead to simplifying and dynamizing the governing processes.

From another perspective, taking into account the scope of e-government projects, the implied informational systems present a high complexity level and raise problems regarding their implementation. The citizen is at the core of the e-governing process, being the main beneficiary of integrating informational technologies in this area of activity.

The advantages of using the Internet in e-government processes are related not only to the widespread of this technology, but regard mostly the possibilities to interact with citizens by means of this type of communication. As such, the Internet and the digital technologies offer a high level of informational systems interactivity, as they are employed in administration, making the two-way communication easier.

The modernization of institutional communication, derived from using the informational technology, results in increasing the efficiency of public administration, eliminating bureaucracy and optimising the quality of public services. Therefore, the move from a directed, centralized administration towards a decentralized administration to the service of the citizen determines the redefinition of the „administration-citizen” and „administration – administration” types of relationship, using the means of information and communication technology.

The implementation of the public administration's informational update presumes changing the managerial approach in the public administration's activity. It is absolutely necessary to implement the ISO standards, programmes and projects such as strategic management, performance management, the management of changes, that will standardize the administrative activities and harmonize them with the European Union's regulations, making the whole activity more effective.

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Organizational Complexity and Departmental Leadership: perceptions of leadership and teaching/learning in a research-intensive academic department

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Abstract

This study aims to contribute to the discussion about the role of leadership in academic departments in research-intensive universities. The objective here is to understand how leadership and teaching are perceived in the context of an academic department of one elite US research-intensive university. Semi-structured interviews carried out in a dialogical manner aiming at grasping faculty perceptions of leadership in their academic department were the main data gathering method. Complexity theory which involves the investigation of how apparently random patterns of behaviour form complex dynamic systems, constitutes the theoretical framework of this study. The contribution of this school of thought is the emphasis on non-linearity as the main approach to understanding living systems. The main finding of this study is that participants identified self-organization as their main organizational strength. Dispersed, non-hierarchical leadership was described both as an outcome and as major factor contributing to what was perceived as organizational success. This study which has the initial ambition of contributing to the discussion about higher education reform in Europe, explores issues such as interdependence and sustainability which have been not emphasized in the debate about organizational change in higher education institutions worldwide.

Keywords: Leadership, Complexity Theory, Systems Thinking, Higher Education

Organizational Complexity and Departmental Leadership: perceptions of leadership and teaching/learning in a research-intensive academic department

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Introduction

In most European countries, higher education policy reforms implemented as part of the Bologna process aimed at restructuring and unifying degree systems, promoting internationalization increasing commercialization of knowledge and, thereby transforming universities' relation with society. Policy makers claim that such reforms provide institutions with greater autonomy and increase accountability to different stakeholders and to society in general. It is also argued that in autonomous institutions, the quality of management and decision-making processes are decisive in a competitive environment. In official documents, competitiveness is expressed as a driving force in at least two ways. First, the contribution of European higher education to economical growth and national competitiveness is emphasized. Second, it is the need to compete in a global market which is expressed through the claim that European higher education institutions are "lagging behind": "the European university world is not trouble-free, and the European universities are not globally competitive with those of our major partners, even though they produce high quality scientific publications" (European Commission, 2003:2). The same policy documents present American research universities as Europe's major competitors usually implying that the US higher education is the result of the marketization of their system, high private investments in education coupled with low state intervention (Gornitzka, Maassen, Olsen & Stensaker, 2007:211).

The present study which aims at understanding perceptions of leadership and teaching in one academic department in one US elite research university, was designed and conducted based on the assumption that especially in large research-intensive universities with highly decentralized structures, academic departments are the key organisational units when it comes to understand organisational features such as leadership. This is due to the fact that for most academic staff, the department or its subunit is the main activity system. I followed a phenomenological research strategy aiming at understanding perceptions of leadership and quality teaching in their own work environment. However, rather than looking for generalizable practices in one US institution, this study applies new conceptions of complexity in organization theory to empirically investigate and discuss assumptions regarding the US system that seem to permeate some political discourses in Europe. I begin by presenting complexity theory which has its origin in the natural sciences and how it is perceived to contribute to the study of organizations.

Theoretical Framework

Complexity theory has been presented in the social sciences as a new set of conceptual tools to help to understand process change in contemporary societies (Walby, 2003:1). In the specific case of organizational studies, complexity theory assumes that organizations are characterized by non-linearity, generation of variation rather than uniformity and adaptiveness (Hatch, 2006:330). Historically the development of general theory in social sciences has involved a process of reducing complex phenomena to simpler ones (Walby, 2003). This has happened in two contrary ways. One movement has been downwards as a reduction to the level of smaller units of analysis rather than focusing in large scale processes. Another reduction which is usually associated with structuralism has taken place upwards mostly aiming at reaching casual explanations. Complexity theory overcomes this polarization as it aims at addressing different ontological concerns: “this facilitates the development of some of the concerns of classical sociology, such as combining an understanding of both individual and social structure, that does not deny the significance of the self-reflexivity of the human subject while yet theorising changes in the social totality” (Walby, 2003:2). This is due to a multidisciplinary process of re-thinking of the concept of systems.

Globalization itself urged a new re-thinking of the concept of systems in social sciences as its analysis requires a reflection of the notion of systemness in order to understand how events in one part of the world might impact those in another. Thus, in order to address social processes in the globalized world it is crucial to reflect upon potential systematic interconnections at a global level (Walby, 2003:4). Here the main shift in relation to much what had prevailed in terms of conceptions of systems in social sciences is the rejection of the notion of equilibrium that was perceived to limit our ability to understand diversity and change. This rejection reflects broader shifts in scientific concepts which pave the way for a theoretical linkage between different fields. Although not presenting a clear definition of complexity, Waddington (1977) states that the complexity of a system has to do with the number of components of a system and the number of ways through which they are related. If we follow Waddington’s claim, then the level of complexity of system varies according to how the observer identifies and understand these relations. Thus rather than being a fundamental characteristic of the system observed, complexity is associated with the different descriptions that the observer can produce: the more and different descriptions, the more complex the system will be regarded as. Rather than an inherent feature of the problem studied, complexity becomes then a mode of thought and even a worldview as described by Tôrres (2005). He presents the *Complex Worldview* which rises from global transformations and perceptions of intrinsic limitations of the *Mechanicist Worldview* and the *Economical Worldview* that had previously been hegemonic. A worldview here is understood as an individual’s set of fundamental beliefs and principles, sometimes not fully examined or questioned and often unconscious assumptions about the nature of reality.

Mechanistic which was the dominant worldview from the 17th century impacted all areas of knowledge by advocating for an objective reality as explicated by Newton’s law legitimation its main implications: linearity, monocausality, determinism, reductionism and immediatism (Tôrres, 2005:1). That was a worldview that was characterized by the rise of the positivist philosophy and the technological development that originated from the industrial revolution. Then, organizations were divided in different units according to specific tasks. With the exception of individuals in formal management positions who centralized power and control, people were seen as “human resources”. Strategy is formulated by following a principle of mechanical efficiency. During the late 1970s, when the *economical worldview* rose from new

developments in information technology, the metaphor of the market substituted to a great extent the metaphor of the machine (Tôrres, 2005). In this worldview the focus of organizations is the market and the customer. Structure and tasks are similar to the mechanistic worldview: the worker applies knowledge that already exists while managers try to implement procedures that have been associated with examples of success. Competitiveness is emphasized in different spheres of human life and a culture of quality control and benchmarking is imposed. From the *complex worldview*, reality is essentially defined by relationships and processes. Monocausality is seen as the exception and not as the rule as outcomes are seen as the effects of multiple interactions. Rather than searching for one single “right answer”, it is accepted that there might be many right answers sometimes paradoxical and sometimes even contradictory. Reality is seen as a web of relationships where non-linearity is the main feature (Capra, 1997). When it comes to understanding organizations, this worldview claims that more important than focusing on structures, it is necessary to observe the quality of relationships and processes. It also claims that rather than a management culture of command and control, it is necessary to encourage dialogue and shared leadership which will contribute to creativity. The language of complexity, non-linearity and systems analysis have been translated and applied to the field of organizational studies generating a way of seeing organization based on the following claims (Hatch, 2006:301; Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001:988):

- Complex systems are **non-linear** which means that there is no proportionality between effects and causes. Simple cause-effect relationships are rare. It becomes impossible to make precise predictions of how living systems behave.
- Systems become more complex as they evolve. **Emergence**, which is understood as the rise of new structures and patterns of behaviour from internal interrelations is a property of such systems.
- **Self-organization** as order can emerge from chaos or even contain order. Popularly the word “chaos” has the connotation of “anti-order” or “disorganization” but in the jargon of complexity theorists it means a state when small variations can send off a system in a completely different direction. It rejects the idea that big changes can only be produced by big causes. Instead small causes can produce large changes and vice-versa.
- **Non-equilibrium** as organizations are open-systems that import, accumulate and export energy. In the particular case of organizations, information and financial resources, for example, can be seen as forms of energy.

Sustainability is thus understood as not as the search for perfect equilibrium but in the capacity to respond, adapt and create. Stacey (1996) claims that today’s organizations should be seen as adaptive systems which are interacting with an environment of complexity and uncertainty and, that complex thinking enables organizational conditions that enhance creativity and adaptability. In other words, organizations should take benefit of internal complexity to face complexity. The main units of analysis of complexity science are complex adaptive systems (CAS) which are defined by Uhl-Bien, Marion & McKelvey (2007:299) as “neural-like networks of interacting, interdependent agents who are bonded in a cooperative dynamic by common goal, outlook, need, etc. They are changeable structures with multiple, overlapping hierarchies, and like the individuals that comprise them, CAS are linked with one

another in a dynamic, interactive network”. The adaptive leadership concept sees leadership as a process of mutual influence that is a property of social systems. It is that perspective that permeates the strategy adopted in this study.

Research Strategy

Faculty who agreed to participate represented 25% of the academic staff members of this department. The semi-structured interviews enquired teaching and learning were perceived and how leadership was experienced and if they identified any relation between these. In phenomenological studies, the researcher aims at identifying the essence of human experiences as described by participants in the study (Creswell, 2003:15). Among the interviewees, there were also the two faculty members that at this point were holding formal management positions. The interview with the Chair and the Associate Chair responsible for educational affairs were important not only as a way of learning about their personal experiences but also as sources of information regarding internal regulations, financial patterns, and access to documents, such as the department’s four-years strategic plan that were also analyzed. The contribution of analyzing strategic documents in this study is two-fold: first, it gives valuable information on how decision-making takes, and: second, it gives possibility of comparing more formally explicit organizational views of the department with individual perceptions. The sample of interviews was composed of recently appointed staff as well as professors who had been there for over two decades. Some had been students in this department before assuming academic posts. The fact of having interviewed people who had been at this department for a long time gave an interesting insight of what might have changed (or not) in a historical perspective.

I conducted a coding procedure that identified pieces of interviews that exemplified main ideas and concepts. These categories were provided by the data itself rather than being pre-determined by the literature. However, knowledge of main theoretical concepts regarding leadership in higher education and teaching influenced the construction of the interview guide and certainly influenced the categorization and analysis of the data. Nevertheless, the data categorization procedure used here was mostly data-driven. (Gibbs, 2002:59). There were identified over thirty categories describing either perceptions or personal experience, being the most present ones presented in this paper. In order to report the findings in a clearer and more structured manner, these were reduced to the seven that were both more recurrent and that more directly answers to the problem statement of this study:

Leadership	Teaching
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Flat, collegial organization - Consensual Decision making - Non-positional Leadership - Emergence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internal discussions about teaching are content-driven - Little changes in terms of student background - Top Students as factor of motivation

Perceptions of Leadership

Different theoretical models have been presented to understand organizational changes in higher education. The model presented by McNay (1995) describes a process of shift in terms

of organizational culture in higher education in the west: from a collegial culture to a bureaucratic one and, then to corporate and finally to enterprise, involving first a tightening up on implementation, then a tightening up on goals and policy definition and, finally losing up on control of implementation while retaining clear goals.

This shift however cannot be witnessed in the same terms at the studied department. There were very few variations in terms of perceptions of leadership in the department as interviewees described organizational processes that are characteristics of the collegial culture model which is described by McNay (1995) as: decision-making is **consensual** and management style permissive. Leadership assumes here a “first among equals” style and authority of professional power is more present than authority based on positional power. In collegial culture, organizational change is expected to happen as a result of a process of discussion among institutional actors in professional networks (Miller, 1995). At this department, interviewees described a very **flat internal organization** characterized by consensual decision-making and little positional power. Here are some illustrations of this perception:

It's not a strongly hierarchical arrangement. It's a very weak hierarchy. There is a department chair that is more an organizer, a cheerleader than a boss. Each faculty member is their own boss and they do fundamentally what they want to do. There is not a strong leadership in the department in the sense of someone telling the others what to do (Interview 4, recently appointed).

They identified leadership with non-positional **power**. Some individuals were regarded as leaders either because of their professional expertise or, by gaining collective support in relation to that they suggest. They described processes change that were initiated and led by individual initiatives by faculty members that demonstrated a personal interest in a certain challenge faced by the department. Changes occurred when these individuals obtained collective support which was described as:

Professor Y is one of these people. She is not the director of this lab but in terms of her involvement in terms of pushing things like student research projects, pushing new programs, I would say that things that she's done from an educational perspective and research perspective have demonstrated a huge amount of leadership. I think she has demonstrated more leadership than some of the previous directors of the lab but she doesn't have the title of director of the lab (Associate Chair, one year in the department).

We are very consensus-driven but the consensus doesn't emerge out of vacuum. I think that the most successful academic leaders set consensus. It's not their own vision that they are putting forward. They articulate it and build consensus about it. I don't think that good consensus doesn't just happen. I think that leadership is about building that consensus (Department Chair, 11 years in the department).

Interviewees justified the flat organization of the department in two ways. First, by evocating the history of the department by claiming that since its foundation and consolidation process, the department was composed by highly capable and independent people who were leaders in their respective fields. Those who had been longer at the department reported not having witnessed internal changes in terms of leadership throughout the years. Another argument to justify this non-hierarchical leadership model supports some assumptions by the complexity theory: it gives space for personal initiative and creativity. Formal leaders are not seen as source of innovation when it comes to organizational challenges. Instead, innovation was enabled by **emergence**. This was described as:

Looking back over the years and taking a broad view, there is very little (change in leadership). The attitude which is similar to when I came here is: the department chair is that things get running and get money and get the professors to do what they want on their own (Interview 3, about 35 years in the department).

The role of the leadership is not to develop the good ideas, it's to recognize them. The reason is, I don't think good ideas can come from the top in a large organization because people in the top spend most of their time with management. They are too far away from details with which you discover the problems and the opportunities. So I think that in a great organization, being an university or a company, the way to structure is to allow these ideas from the bottom to find their way up to the top as quickly as possible. The leaders never come up with any good ideas. It's not that they are dumb people. They are just not in the position to do that (Interview 4, recently appointed).

This department has consolidated a central position in their research area in a technology-related field and has throughout the years established close links with industry. The department's strategic plan shows gradual shifts in previous years towards a more diverse funding base with both private and public resources. Interviews revealed a self-perception of success in the department which is sometimes expressed by the capacity that the department has historically demonstrated in raising funds from different external sources. It does not provide an entirely harmonic sight, as interviewees reported situations of internal conflicts which were mainly manifested in strategic discussions. However, a situation of economic stability and abundance flows of external financial resources was identified as a main enabler of this leadership model as there was little internal competition for resources as described by interviews:

And that's because individual faculty are good at raising money and not because the department is doing anything. What the department leadership tries to do is to position the department so that it will always be that way (Department Chair).

The formulation of the strategic plan is associated with internal vision of the department but also a mechanism to promote the department in the overall university structure with which the department has to interact in order to struggle for resources to hire new faculty and invest in new study programs. While the process that led to the formulation of the strategic plan was regarded as an interesting exercise in terms of discussion of a vision for the department, most interviewees also claimed that it had a more direct impact on the department relations with the university structure. When it was founded in the 1960s, this department was exclusively devoted to research with no undergraduate education which was only established after some years when the overall management of the university put that as a condition to hire new faculty. Still today, research is seen as the main priority in the department. For example, research excellence plays a much more decisive role in the appointment of new faculty than teaching. The same can be said in relation to decisions regarding tenure and internal promotion. That is why the shift in teaching paradigms is important to follow in research-intensive environments like this one as previous research shows that changes in approaches to teaching encounter much more resistance in such environments than on "teaching-focused" universities (Gibbs, Knapper & Picinin, 2007). The next section presents findings regarding perceptions of teaching in the studied department.

Perceptions of Teaching

Higher education institutions face the challenge of providing quality education for more students coming from more diverse social economic backgrounds. Promoting a learning-centred approach has been presented a way of facing this challenge. It is based on the

assumption that better learning is related to the behaviour of the lecturers and it is the way that they design courses which facilitates deep learning rather than some essential characteristics of individual students (Ramsden, 1994). According to Knight and Trowler (2000:71), university lecturers tend to adopt an approach to teaching which may be more, or less sophisticated: they can adopt a “surface” or “deep” approach to teaching. The claim that a shift from “teaching-centred” to “learning-centred” higher education observes that the expansion of the higher education sector has diversified student bodies in terms of previous abilities, motivation and socio-cultural background (Biggs 2007; Nygaard & Holtham, 2008). When university programs were targeted to highly selected students traditional methods of teaching were seen as appropriate. However, with the expansion of access, there is now the claim that a shift from syllabus-driven didactics towards learning-centred higher education will benefit students’ development of independent thinking and analytical skills. In the core of this argument is the recognition that students are now different and more diverse. Thus, I tried to investigate if and how faculty perceived changes in the student population over time. The strategic plan of the department gives initial signs that **changes cannot be witnessed** at this department as gender imbalance and under-representation of ethnic minorities remain as one of the main strategic challenges to be faced. According to this document, only 15% of the undergraduate population in 2006 was female, contrasting with the national figures in the same year which showed that 57% of all undergraduate students were female. The strategic plan also presents data suggesting under-representation of minority students in 2006: only 7% of the students were African-American, 6% were Hispanics and not a single student was Native American. This document described this situation as unacceptable and that the undergraduate program reform should develop ways of attracting more female and minority students and increase the success rate of these underrepresented groups on the department. Interviews with faculty reinforce the internal perception that little has changed in terms of student’s cultural background but give a blurred picture in terms of describing students’ previous skills and motivation. In terms of motivation some reported not witnessing changes at all while others noticed that students seemed to have become more pragmatic and more concerned with their professional future. One of them claimed that:

I don’t sense that students have a lot of expectations when they come to class. They come to be told things. They don’t come with particular plans or expectations about material. They are there to learn and today it’s similar to what it was before. And overall attitude doesn’t seem any different. College kids are still college kids. (Interview 4, one year at the department and a teaching award winner in his previous institution where he taught for about twenty years)

On the other hand, another interviewee claimed that:

The change in the perception of university education has changed dramatically. My childhood was in the tail end of a period of time when the university education was perceived as something you did to be a fully educated person. It was a finishing school for adulthood. They wouldn’t necessarily use it in your life but it would make you a better person. In the last thirty years, it has been much more about a career. It has been much more getting your first job. In a global scale, the value of higher education has gone up dramatically bringing very different expectations to someone who has college education and someone who doesn’t. And it means that college has been more important in people’s lives. There is a push to be more pragmatic (Interview 6, five years in the department).

In terms of previous skills, interviewees provided a general perception of students arriving at the department now better prepared and with more technical knowledge. They claimed that the university’s highly competitive selection procedure played a central role. The selection of top students was perceived by faculty as a factor that facilitated their task and made teaching often more enjoyable as they often could also learn from students. The overall argument for a

shift in terms of educational paradigms which has its roots in the expansion of the access to higher education to groups that previously did not have access (Biggs, 2003) cannot be found in this department. Here, the overall perception was that being part of a very selective private university enabled the department to work only with top students who taught themselves with very little help. Teaching **top students** are mentioned as source of motivation. When asked about what motivation they had to teaching and/if continuously improve their teaching, interviewees presented three sources of motivation: personal motivation (pride), peer pressure and internal competition for PhD students.

Discussions about reforms of study programs also gave signs that faculty had a “**content-centred**” **approach to learning**. Both the strategic plan and informal conversations with faculty showed that changes in study programs were mostly initiated by perceptions in the field that happen quite often in their research area. Most internal discussions about program reform and teaching in general are led by developments in their field of study. In other words, internal discussions about teaching are almost exclusively about what to teach and rarely about how to teach.

Discussion

The findings show striking differences between higher education in Europe and the context of the department that was studied here particularly in relation to change. While change in terms of both organizational structures and educational approaches is advocated not only in Europe but worldwide, the word “change” was hardly mentioned by interviewees and in strategic documents. While policy documents in Europe (European Commission 2003) present the US top universities as successful institutions by emphasizing competitiveness, participants of this study presented a self-perception of success that had its roots on their history and on internal interrelations that according to them, create an environment that enhances creativity and initiative. Rather than an obstacle, the collegial leadership model was presented by participants both as an underpinning and an outcome of what they regarded as organizational success. I discuss here how these findings can be interpreted in the light of complexity theory focusing particularly on leadership.

An analysis of how participants experienced decision-making and their own approach to teaching showed properties of emergence which are characteristic of self-organizing systems. Main strategic decisions were emergent of processes of interrelations rather than driven by positional power. The perceptions of teaching regarding what was defined as quality, as well as motivation to teaching seemed to emerge from personal experiences and from a horizontal process of relations which involved individual pride, peer pressure and internal competition for research students. Leadership was an emergence of these horizontal relations with different individuals assuming leadership roles in different moments by gaining support (Uhl-Bien et. al., 2007). Although participants demonstrated a positive view in relation to the collegial and distributed leadership model that they experience, their description of their work environment is far from one of equilibrium. By non-equilibrium, I do not refer here to existence of internal conflicts and personal disagreements which were actually also described by participants, but more to inherent dissipative characteristics of open systems. Open systems present dual dissipative properties: they import energy from the immediate environment that transform and enhance internal complexity, as well they export complexity (Harvey & Reed, 1994:377).

Thus organizational outcomes in this environment cannot be understood within the scope of linear models as a multiplicity of both internal and external factors interact and shape the organization. In the jargon of complexity, interaction does not refer only to the general sociological connotation as describing social interactions among individuals but also in the statistical sense where the relationship between two variables is affected by the value of other variables (Byrne, 1998:19). Organizational studies about knowledge-based organizations in which the theoretical framework is based on complexity science have suggested a leadership model that rather than being hierarchically based, emerges from complex interactive system dynamics. As mentioned earlier, from a complexity perspective, this model enables learning, innovation and creativity in complex adaptive systems. And it is also true they are in context where they do not have the same external pressure to change as in the case of public research-intensive universities in Europe that faced a much faster expansion of access to higher education based on the assumption that they should respond more directly to economical imperatives and system reforms driven by a principle of competitiveness together with fiscal austerity (Morley, 2003). Thus, the analysis of differences in terms and profile, financial patterns and historical perceptions of social role of higher education in different parts of the world makes the claim that European higher education institutions are lagging behind elite institutions abroad extremely questionable.

Conclusion

It was not the objective of this study to identify patterns of behaviour that could be generalized to other academic departments. The findings here regarding leadership and teaching cannot be generalizable even in the US context with a diverse system where management varies a lot according to many factors being among them the size and the wealth of the institution (Cohen & March 1986). Maybe these findings cannot be generalized even to other departments in the same university. The goal of this paper was to depart from a complexity theory perspective towards the study of organizations to investigate perceptions of leadership and teaching in one affluent academic department in one of the main research-intensive US higher education institutions. However, the investigation of perceptions of leadership and teaching in this department becomes relevant in a context when system reform proposals in Europe identify such institutions as those to which European are lagging behind. I share here Olsen and Maassen (2007:14) proposition that this claim is not the result of how American elite universities are organized and governed as well as it does not take into account the different economic, social and cultural environments surrounding higher education institutions in the US and in Europe. This study found evidences that in the specific context of a prosperous elite US university non-hierarchical leadership is present in a department that has largely contributed both in terms of technological transfer and provision of qualified labour force to economic development of the region where it is located. In order to understand changes (hopefully sustainable changes) in higher education institutions we need to focus on how patterns of behaviour and perceptions of leadership emerge rather than assuming a linear perspective.

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**THE EFFECT OF EMPLOYEE-ORIENTED SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ACTIVITIES
ON JOB SATISFACTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT**

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THE EFFECT OF EMPLOYEE-ORIENTED SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ACTIVITIES ON JOB SATISFACTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT

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ABSTRACT

In the basis of corporate social responsibility, as well as the apprehension of bringing back the brought one to the society, there lies the fulfillment of the responsibilities, by the institutions, for the society and certainly for the employees who are the internal target group, and by this way; to increase the organizational commitment via creating reputation.

The main objectives of the corporate social responsibility projects which are realized by the institutions include; providing facilities to the employees that they can improve themselves; providing their expectations and needs; and by creating a corporate structure and work environment, investing to the human capital.

In today's working conditions, the quality products and the services are not produced on the corporations where the employees are unhappy. The factors such as extended working hours, unsecured working areas, low wages and discrimination, are no more accepted by the new management systems.

The objective of the research in this context is to develop a theoretical model which will present the relations among work satisfaction, organizational commitment and employee-oriented social responsibility activities. Besides, by inspecting the relations among the aforementioned variables within the scope of a model, which will be developed with a field research for the employees of "The Most Popular Companies of Turkey", there will be a contribution for the generalizations that are made up to the present.

Keywords: employee-oriented social responsibility activities, job satisfaction, organizational commitment

1. INTRODUCTION

The developments, changes and the studies throughout the world have changed the way institutions view their employees. As institutions become aware of their responsibility towards the employees and the society, the job satisfaction and organizational commitment of their employees improve and thus, they feel as a part and a value of the organization.

In today's world, the efforts, expectations and demands of business managers are oriented towards realizing the corporate objectives and sustainability. Managers require many inputs in

order to reach the designated corporate objectives, and they employ or use such inputs in production of goods and services. Human factor is an important requirement for institutions, and also a factor of production that employs and gives meaning to other inputs during production stage (Mullins, 1999:177). Given these features, employees, who are well known by the institutions and are regarded as the most efficient means of reaching the designated corporate objectives and create a unique resource among factors of production, constitute the target group of institutions which could get the most direct influence.

The first signals of the acknowledgement of corporate social responsibility by institutions according to legal practices came when the employees in industrialized countries gained union rights, better wages, working conditions and social rights, and when anti-trust laws and more humanitarian rights were granted to employees as a result of the cultural and social changes in 1930s. And the institutions and corporations started to understand the importance of their employees with the WWII, and they began to fulfill their social responsibilities towards employees (Aydintan, 2010). And the number of initiatives, struggling to prove that the labor is managed within the scope of a healthy social responsibility both in public and private sector, is increasing day by day.

At this point, it is important that; the employee-oriented social responsibility activities of organizations, which rank among the most popular companies of Turkey with their social responsibility activities in business life, reveal the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment of the employees.

With these findings in mind, this study, which is carried out on the employees of the most popular companies of Turkey, is considered to yield significant results about the analysis of the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment created as a result of employee-oriented social responsibility activities. From this point forth, the related literature was analyzed and no study analyzing the relation among these three variables were found. Hence, the assumptions of the study were established in the first place regarding the measurement of employee-oriented social responsibility activities of organizations and the determination of the relation between the job satisfaction level and organizational commitment of employees.

1.1. JOB SATISFACTION

What makes an employee comfortable in business life and social life is working in the demanded position, getting the wage adequate to satisfy the needs, and fulfilling most of the needs with the acquisition of the preferred conditions. On the contrary, the employees who don't work in the desired position, who work in an environment where their demands are always ignored and can't fulfill their requirements take a negative attitude and this will negatively affects their business and social lives. Therefore, business managers are now showing deeper interest in job satisfaction measurement activities.

Moreover, the need to implement organizational change in institutions and the resistance against change and the necessity to establish changes have made job satisfaction an object of interest. With the invigoration of unionism in 1930s and the enactment of labor relations act of Wagner in 1937, collective bargaining has become a legal existence, and that brought along the interest towards job satisfaction in the country. The early systematic information about the business-related attitudes of employees were obtained with Hawthorne studies in 1930s (Baysal, 1997:30).

According to Wolf (1970 cited by Gülnar, 2007:162), the most significant variables drawing the attention of researchers in the last seven decades are researches about job satisfaction, its causes, results and evaluation. Besides, Wolf asserts that; the first studies are devoted to productivity and labor cycle while later studies focus on whether the earnings from job meet the psychological and physical needs of employees, i.e satisfying the needs of employees.

Later on, existing job forms and requirements also began to change in parallel with the social development and awareness of organizations. Beginning with the demand to improve performance at first, this interest has recently taken the form of social responsibility.

Due to its multidimensional nature, it is possible to come across different definitions of job satisfaction in literature. Some of these definitions are given below:

Job satisfaction is the sense of satisfaction and the positive attitude taken by the employee towards the job resulting from the harmony between the business life or the employee and the working conditions (Ugboro and Obeng, 2000: 254).

Job satisfaction, which is an important concept in determining the reactions of employees towards their job experience, is “the extent to which employees like their work” according to Agho et al., (Agho et al., 1993:1007). It is also considered that; the sense of belonging in the employees to their institution and their commitment may also be a product of their job satisfaction. In this context, job satisfaction can be defined in general terms as “an individual’s reaction to the working experience” (Berry, 1997).

Furthermore, job satisfaction covers the positive or negative feelings of the employee towards the job and the internal, external and general approaches (Odom et al., 1990:157). A similar definition is coined by Kutanis (2003 cited by Gülnar, 2007:163) who describes job satisfaction as “the general behaviors and attitudes of the employee towards his/her work”.

As clearly seen above, the concept of job satisfaction is generally regarded as a factor which increases productivity in terms of corporate behavior development throughout the studies. So, we can conclude that; the pleasure or the positive feelings the employee feels by means of evaluating the job or business life is effective in shaping corporate behaviors. On the other hand, variables like wage, job quality, promotion opportunities, working conditions, social rights, attitude and behavior of the management, occupational safety and communication facilities are also considerably influential elements that affect job satisfaction.

1.2. ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT

As one of the most popular concepts among modern management terms, organizational commitment is a useful indicator of corporate effectiveness in adoption of corporate objectives by employees, sustaining the wish to remain in the company, the participation of employees in management activities, exhibition of a creative and innovative attitude for the company and the success of the company.

That being said, the rapidly changing environmental conditions, the stiff competition environment and the need of companies, that show a continuous trend towards becoming distinct, for educated and qualified labor in the total employment have brought this subject to a more significant point. Therefore, we can see many different commitment definitions in organizational commitment literature.

Nijhof et al., defines organizational commitment as “what the individual feels towards the organization”. From their point of view, the principal elements of organizational commitment are as follows: a) accepting the objectives and values of the organization and have a strong commitment to these values, b) endeavoring more than expected for the benefit of the organization, c) having a powerful desire for the continuation of organizational membership (Nijhof et al., 1998:243). Çöl defines organizational commitment in his studies related to organizational commitment as “the extent to which the employee adopts the organizational principles, objectives values, struggles for organizational achievements and wants to keep working in the organization by identifying with the said organization”.

And Schermerhorn et al., defines organizational commitment as “the extent to which the individual aligns himself/herself with the organization and the degree to which the person in question feels as part of the organization (Schermerhorn et al., 1994: 144), while Sims (1998: 388) describes organizational commitment as the sense of belonging and displaying loyalty according to attitudinal commitment approach, the wish to keep on with the organization according to affective commitment approach, and the necessity to stay in the organization due to lack of financial, security means and alternatives in terms of continuance commitment approach.

1.3. THE EFFECT OF EMPLOYEE-ORIENTED SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ACTIVITIES UPON JOB SATISFACTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT

Some international organizations about employees have tried to bring some regulations related to the rights and freedoms of employees. According to the definition on the subject of maintaining health and security in business life, prepared by ILO (International Labor Organization) and WHO (World Health Organization) in 1950s and took its final shape in 1995, “Occupational safety and health aims at maximizing the physical, mental and social welfare employees from all work fields and keeping it at this level, preventing health problems caused by working conditions, protecting workers against occupational health risks, in short, tailoring the work experience for man, and vice versa. (Sungur, 2010:2)

And European Union created its own social policies in order to improve the living and working conditions of member states and to harmonize social policies of member countries. The steps to be taken by Turkey regarding social policies are given in the progress report drawn up by European Commission in 2003 about European Union Social Policy harmonization. The things to be done by Turkey are discussed in the official gazette published in July, 2003. Some of these are about child labor, equal wages, equal employment treatment, maternity leave, occupational health and safety, and extension of union rights. www.deltur.cec.eu.int/default.asp?pId=tree&lan=zero&fld=10&prnld=16&hnd=1&docId=326&fop=0, cited by, Bayraktaroğlu et al., 2009:13)

Considering this approach, all practices in Human Resources can be regarded as echoes of the social responsibility approach of organizations. Because, all Human Resources practices are based on the philosophy of bringing benefits to employees, organizations and the society at the same time. Business organizations are no more defined merely as economic and technical institutions, and they are forced to undertake or review their social responsibilities as the expectations of employees reach another dimension.

UN developed a set of CSR principles under the name “UN Global Compact”. Developed together with the voluntary cooperation of corporate leaders and other actors, UN Global Compact puts forward the principles that could be taken as basis in management processes and practices (United Nations, 2007). According to these principles, businesses should support and respect the protection of human rights and their association, eliminate all forms of compulsory labor, discrimination and develop working conditions to abolish child labor.

In addition, the protest movements of recently strengthened non-governmental organizations against corporations, which don't offer a healthy working environment to their employees, don't grant their social rights, and carry out their production in third world countries so as to reduce the costs and keep away from the laws, played a crucial role in establishing the SA 8000 standard. And with the more conscious approach of customers and society at large, the corporate social responsibilities of the producers are now questioned more than ever (Büyük, 2006).

As a consequence of these pressures, SAI (Social Accountability International), with its headquarters in New York, set forth in 1997 some conditions to be met in businesses which are typically about improvement of occupational working conditions.

2. 2. RESEARCH

2.1. Purpose and Method

The main purpose of this study is to determine the effects of employee-oriented social responsibility activities on job satisfaction and organizational commitment. The focal point of the study is to find out the relations between job satisfaction, organizational commitment and employee-oriented corporate social responsibility from the point of employees.

2.2. Universe and Sample

The theoretical scope of the study is set according to the gathered information and findings. Following this, an empirical research was planned in line with this theoretical scope. The field research was carried out on “The Most Popular Companies of Turkey” according to a 2009 survey of Capital Monthly Business and Finance Magazine. The questionnaires were sent to the general directorates of 10 companies, but only 3 companies responded. The number of employees in these general directorates is 600, and 240 of them responded to the questionnaire. The number of questionnaires can be regarded as positive since it equals to about 40% of the number of employees in these 3 companies, and is sufficient for statistical analyzes. Questionnaire was used as the instrument for gathering data, and 5-point Likert scale was used as balanced keying.

Social Responsibility Management System (SA 8000) scale was taken as an example and a scale consisting of 21 questions was developed in order to measure employee-oriented social responsibility activities. The validity and reliability analysis of the scale was conducted with a pilot study. Besides, 4 profile questions reflecting the demographic features and 2 questions giving place to occupational features were included in the questionnaire.

Organizational Commitment Scale, which is developed by Meyer and Allen (Meyer et al., 1991) and composed of 9 questions, was used in the study to measure Organizational Commitment. And the 20-question including Minnesota Job Satisfaction Scale was also utilized to measure job satisfaction. The aspects questioned in this scale are communication, satisfaction with job, satisfaction with supervisory approach, co-workers and wages.

Hence, the results of 50 questions prepared with 5-point Likert scale were evaluated with SPSS (Statistical Programme for Social Sciences) 11.5 statistical package.

Later, a correlation analysis was performed in order to figure out the relations between the independent variables. One-way Anova and Unrelated Group t tests were carried out between employee-oriented social responsibility activities, job satisfaction and organizational commitment points depending on the demographic characteristic of employees.

2.3. Research Hypotheses

H1 There is a positive relation between variables included in employee-oriented social responsibility activities and job satisfaction variables.

H2 There is a positive relation between variables included in employee-oriented social responsibility activities and organizational commitment variables.

H3 There is a significant difference between employee-oriented social responsibility activity points and organizational commitment points depending on the demographic characteristics of employees.

2.4. Demographic Properties of Participants

When we analyze the distribution of participants in terms of sex, 119 of them (49.6%) are female, and 121 (50.4%) are male. Regarding their distribution according to age groups, 18 (7.5%) of the employees are within 18-24 age group, 7 (29.2%) within 25-30 age group, 104 (43.3%) within 31-40 age group, 32 (13.3%) in 41-45 age group and 15 (6.3%) are 46 and above. When we come to the level of education, 10.8% of the participants (26) graduated from high school, 10.8% (26) graduated from a 2-year associate program, 54.2% (130) hold an undergraduate degree, 20% (48) hold a master's degree and 2.9% (7) did doctorate. Moreover, 52.9% (127) of the participants are married, 43.8% (105) of them are divorced or widows/widowers, and 4 people didn't state their marital status.

37.1% of the participants were working in their company for less than 1 year, 24.2% between 1-3 years, 27.2% between 4-6 years, and 10.4% served for over 7 years. And 1 person didn't answer this question. And when we look at the positions of the participants, 12 of them (5.0%) are senior managers, 68 (28.3%) are mid-level managers and 158 (65.8%) are personnel.

The following are coefficient values that could reveal whether the scale on employee-oriented social responsibility activities is valid and reliable.

TABLE 1. Internal Consistency Coefficients of Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility Scale

Internal Consistency Coefficients	Value
Cronbach α	0,8671
Spearman Brown	0.8387
Guttman Split Half	0.8385

As you can see in the table, the internal consistency coefficient of this scale is maximum 0.8671, and minimum 0.8385. And this proves the validity of the scale according to internal consistency criteria.

With a total of 25 questions, the Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility Scale was directed at 50 employee groups and the acquired data were subjected to factor analysis by principal components method. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin and Barlett's Tests were carried out in the first place to see whether the sample was satisfactory and the scale had sub-dimensions.

TABLE 2. Results of Kaiser Meyer and Barlett's Tests on Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility Scale

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Sample Adequacy Test = 0.644
Bartlett's Test = 8, $p < 0.01$

According to the analysis, Kaisery-Meyer-Olkin value was found to be above 0.50 (0.644). That means, the number of samples taken are adequate for factor analysis in this scale. Bartlett's Test showed a maximum of 8 sub-dimensions explaining that; the total variance in universe parameter is 74.159%.

TABLE 3. Eigenvalues and Variances Obtained From Factor Analysis Results on Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility Scale

Factors	Eigenvalue (E)	Variance (%)	Total Variance (%)
1 st DIMENSION	6.688	26.751	26.751
2 nd DIMENSION	2.374	9.496	36.246
3 rd DIMENSION	2.146	8.583	44.829

According to Kaiser criterion, there are 3 factors with Eigenvalues over 1 and making for the 44,829% of total variance of the variable to be measured. The factor analysis table for all questions is given below:

TABLE 4. Factory Analysis Results on Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility Scale

FACTORS	ITEMS	FACTOR LOAD
Factor 1 E = 6.688 IMPROVEMENT OF HEALTH-SAFETY AND EMPLOYMENT	7. Women are given employment opportunities and such facilities are becoming improved.	0.666
	8. Disabled people are given employment opportunities and such facilities are becoming improved.	0.694
	11. Employees are offered sustainable employment opportunities.	0.459
	12. Management is conscious and effective about health and safety standards.	0.511
	14. Occupational safety culture is endeavored to be established in the working environment.	0.425
	15. Healthy working environments are created for employees.	0.546
	21. Private lives of employees are respected.	0.468
	22. Business processes are safe and sound.	0.647
Factor 2 E = 2.374 SUPPORT ON EDUCATION AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP	24. Employees get health and safety training.	0.717
	2. CSR practices for education and career development of employees are being carried out.	0.581
	3. Training programs to aid disabled are implemented.	0.496
	5. Activities related to social and personal development of children are organized.	0.460
	16. The organization is takes steps for raising CSR awareness.	0.767
Factor 3 E = 2.146 EGALITARIAN BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT	17. Voluntary participation of employees to CSR practices are encouraged.	0.762
	18. Incentives and tools for supporting the entrepreneurship projects are established.	0.816
	4. Fair performance evaluation.	0.582
	6. Suitable conditions provided for achieving new information.	0.488
	10. Flexible working hours given to female workers with children.	0.555
	20. Merit rating principle is adopted in the workplace.	0.714
	24. Good workers are awarded.	0.590
25. Employees give their opinion about the job.	0.606	

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As a result of the statistical studies, this scale, which could measure employee-oriented social responsibility in three dimensions, was found to be highly reliable and valid. The number of items went down to 21 after omitting 4 items that violated the validity and reliability of the scale.

TABLE 5. The Number of Questions on Job Satisfaction and Reliability Analysis

Factors	Nr. of Quest.	Alpha Value
Communication	3	0.79
Satisfaction With Job	6	0.81
Satisfaction With Supervisory Approach	4	0.87
Satisfaction With Co-Workers	4	0.81
Satisfaction With Wage	3	0.81

TABLE 6. The Number of Questions on Organizational Commitment and Reliability Analysis

	Nr. of Quest.	Alpha Value
Organizational Commitment	9	0.76

The correlation relations and defining statistics between the grouped variables are given in Table 7.

TABLE 7. Pearson Correlation Coefficients Result on the Relation Between Job Satisfaction, Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility and Organizational Commitment

	Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility	Improvement of Health – Safety and Employment	Support on Education and Entrepreneurship	Egalitarian Business Environment	Job Satisfaction	Organizational Commitment
Employee-Oriented Social Responsibility	$\bar{x} = 68.108$	$t = 0.962$	$t = 0.932$	$t = 0.888$	$t = 0.765$	$t = 0.222$
Improvement of Health – Safety and Employment	$p < 0.01$	$\bar{x} = 34.737$	$t = 0.844$	$t = 0.775$	$t = 0.778$	$t = 0.233$
Support on Education and Entrepreneurship	$p < 0.01$	$p < 0.01$	$\bar{x} = 19.091$	$t = 0.775$	$t = 0.678$	$t = 0.226$
Egalitarian Business Environment	$p < 0.01$	$p < 0.01$	$p < 0.01$	$\bar{x} = 14.279$	$t = 0.643$	$t = 0.137$
Job Satisfaction	$p < 0.01$	$p < 0.01$	$p < 0.01$	$p < 0.01$	$\bar{x} = 69.670$	$t = 0.182$

Organizational Commitment	p < 0.01	p < 0.01	p < 0.01	p < 0.05	p < 0.01	$\bar{x} = 29.846$
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According to the results of the correlation analysis between the sub-factors of employee-oriented social responsibility activities scale and job satisfaction and organizational commitment variables, there is a positive relation between the improvement of health-safety and employment and job satisfaction general variable ($t=0.778$). It is explained that; the components of improvement of health-safety and employment are influential in perception of job satisfaction variable components. There is also a positive relation between the support on education and entrepreneurship variables and job satisfaction general variables. ($t=0.678$) Support on education and entrepreneurship variable and job satisfaction components have a complementary and a positive relation. A positive relation was found between egalitarian business environmental variables and job satisfaction general variables ($t=0.643$). Egalitarian business environment positively affects job satisfaction. A positive relation exists between improvement of health-safety and employment and organizational commitment variable ($t=0.233$). It shows that; these components positively affect one another. There is positive relation between the support on education and entrepreneurship variables and organizational commitment values. ($t=0.226$) Activities that support education and entrepreneurship were shown to influence the organizational commitments of employees. There is also a positive relation between egalitarian business environment variables and organizational commitment variables ($t=0.182$).

In the light of these findings, the hypotheses (H1), (H2) which show that; there is a positive relation between employee-oriented social responsibility scale variables and job satisfaction and organizational commitment variables, are accepted.

One-Way Anova and Unrelated Group t tests were carried out between job satisfaction scores depending on the demographic properties of employees.

It is found that; there is no significant difference between job satisfaction and the positions of employees in the workplace, between job satisfaction and working hours, between sexes of the employees and job satisfaction, and between marital status of the employees and job satisfaction. However, there is a significant difference between the level of education and job satisfaction of the employees. In 0.01 significance level, 2-year associate program graduates ($\bar{x} = 63.423$) got the lowest score, while the employees who did doctorate got the highest score ($\bar{x} = 84.285$). Moreover, there is a significant difference between job satisfaction and age variables. In 0.01 significance level, 31 – 40 got the lowest score ($\bar{x} = 64.067$), while 46 and above reached the highest score ($\bar{x} = 79.730$).

One-Way Anova and Unrelated Group t tests were conducted between organizational commitment scores depending on the demographic properties of employees.

It was found that; there is a significant difference between organizational commitment and positions of the employees in the workplace depending on their demographic properties; and mid-level managers got the lowest score ($\bar{x} = 29,338$), while senior managers got the top score ($\bar{x} =$

31,750) in 0.05 significance level. Moreover, there is a significant difference between organizational commitment and age variables; and in 0.01 significance level, the ones within 31 – 40 age group scored highest ($\bar{x} = 30,558$), and 46 and above got the lowest score ($\bar{x} = 28,733$).

One-Way Anova and Unrelated Group t tests were conducted between employee-oriented social responsibility activity scores depending on the demographic properties of employees.

It is observed that; there is a significant difference between employee-oriented social responsibility activities and level of education and sex variables of employees depending on their demographic properties. High school graduates obtained the lowest score ($\bar{x} = 58,000$), and the ones with doctoral degree got the highest score ($\bar{x} = 70,966$) in 0.01 significance level between employee-oriented social responsibility and education. In addition, the employee-oriented social responsibility scores of men ($\bar{x} = 70,966$) are higher than women ($\bar{x} = 65,297$).

Following these findings, there is a significant difference in some variables between employee-oriented social responsibility activity scores and job satisfaction and organizational commitment scores depending on the demographic properties of employees, and some do not have a significant difference. And H3 hypothesis is accepted in some situations from this point of view.

3. CONCLUSION AND ASSESSMENT

It is seen that; the most important variable in the first factor of the scale developed for employee-oriented social responsibility activities, improvement of health-safety and employment, is provision of health and safety trainings to employees by the management. The importance given by businesses that participated in the survey to health, safety and employment is evident from the employment opportunities provided to disabled and women, development of safety in business processes, healthy working environments for employees, consciousness and effectiveness of management in health and safety standards and the endeavor to establish occupational health and safety culture in the workplaces.

The most important variable in the second factor of the employee-oriented social responsibility activities, the support on education and entrepreneurship, is to provide the desired incentives and tools to encourage corporate entrepreneurship projects. Moreover, Corporate Social Responsibility awareness initiatives are supported, employees voluntarily take part in CSR practices, CSR practices for employee training and career development are carried out, education programs to solve the problems of disabled people are applied and social and personal development activities are organized for working children.

And the most significant variable in egalitarian business environment, the third factor of the scale developed on employee-oriented social responsibility activities, is the implementation of merit rating principle in the workplace, and then respectively, receiving the opinions of employees about their jobs, providing the suitable conditions for acquiring new information, fair performance evaluation, flexible working hours for women with children and awarding the successful workers.

According to the satisfaction from job factor, which is included among the job satisfaction scale factors, the employees reported working in a position they desire, which is suited to their knowledge and abilities, contributes to their personal development and meeting other business expectations where they can use their creativity. They stated that; their powers and responsibilities were clearly designated and they also engaged in activities required by their jobs. When we collectively review the responses to the propositions about satisfaction from job, the employees generally presented positive opinions.

From the point of communication factor, the employees recognize the existence of a successful communication in their workplaces, and they expressed their ability to share their demands and problems with managers, which is thought to improve job satisfaction.

According to the opinions of employees regarding satisfaction from supervisory approach, the behaviors and the attitude of management play a crucial role in job satisfaction. Management should continuously stay in touch with employees while taking administrative decisions and making schedules.

The point where the most positive opinions were seen about job satisfaction was satisfaction from co-workers. The participants stated that; their co-workers are experts in their fields, they have good relations and they help one another when necessary. We can tell that the employees typically have positive thoughts about their co-workers and establish good relations.

However, the wage side of job satisfaction tells us that; the employees are not getting the wages they deserve and suffer from financial problems.

According to the results from One-Way Anova and Unrelated Group t tests between job satisfaction scores depending on level of education and age variable, the employees with the highest level of education and those at the age of 46 and over it are more satisfied with their jobs. Besides, the organizational commitment levels of senior managers are considerably high compared to other employees. The employees with the highest level of education think more positively about employee-oriented social responsibility activities than other employees. In addition, men hold more positive views towards employee-oriented social responsibility activities compared to women.

To make a general assessment, these results can be said to support theoretical assumptions. According to the sample mass designated as a result of the analyses, it is concluded that; there is a positive relation between employee-oriented social responsibility activities, job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Accordingly, the perceptions of employees about employee-oriented social responsibility activities in their workplaces are aimed at improving their job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

In conclusion, the measurement of the employee-oriented social responsibility activities, job satisfaction and organizational commitment of the employees of The Most Popular Companies of Turkey yield notable results and information to managers. Companies have the chance to evaluate and review their employee-oriented social responsibility activities thanks to these data. The vocational training to be provided by companies to their employees within the scope of their social responsibilities, new employment opportunities, measures for establishing a healthy and safe workplaces, investments supporting to the entrepreneurship of employees and egalitarian business environments will bring employees who embrace their jobs and workplaces as well as providing competitive advantage and contributing to a superior and productive production infrastructure. In addition to all the above points, these practices of businesses within the scope of responsible citizenship will bring along a high level of job satisfaction, and increase the sense of belonging in the employees besides helping the management sustain its activities as part of a management approach supporting organizational commitment.

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Title: The Image of Russia and Great Britain in the Late Nineteenth Century Japan: A Comparative Analysis of “Kokumin Shimbun” Publications (April – June, 1895)

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Topic: The Image of Russia and Great Britain in the Japanese Press during the period of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)

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The last decade of the nineteenth century marks the formation of a new balance of power in the Far East. Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) urged Europeans to revise their views on Japan and its role in world politics. Simultaneously, Japan’s victory prompted Japan to revise its perceptions of and interactions with the states of the West.

The analysis of the “Kokumin Shimbun” articles published in the spring of 1895 reveals that Japanese publicists of the late nineteenth century widely used some infant geopolitical theories in their attempts to analyse European nations’ states of affairs and international policies based on these countries’ geographical and climatic characteristics. In doing so, Japanese publicists tried to predict international policies of European states, specifically, the Far Eastern policies of Great Britain and Russia and to identify their potential as Japan’s future rivals or allies on land and at sea.

In May 1895 “Kokumin Shimbun” published several articles by its publicist Hisashi Hirata entitled “Russian Nature.” In his articles Hirata tried to provide a geopolitical analysis of the Russian Empire and its future potential by bringing attention to the peculiarities of Russia’s geographical characteristics. As a result, he came to a very interesting conclusion. According to Hirata, Russia was the only European nation, which could be considered the mainland power. This was due to the fact that Russia – a country with the largest territory in Eastern Europe – possessed a unique natural and climatic unity, despite its extensive territory. In addition, Russia almost completely lacked access to the navigable seas, which also made her more of a mainland power. By contrast, other European countries, in Hirata’s opinion, could be considered rather island civilizations rather than mainland civilizations, because of their cut landscape and small territories.

Drawing parallels between Greco-Roman and contemporary European civilizations, Hirata arrived at the conclusion that Japan should be far more concerned with Russia than with other European states, such as Great Britain, France, and Germany, despite the fact that the latter currently appeared more technologically advanced than Russia.¹

Based on the assumption that a so-called “island” civilization of ancient Greece reached the apogee of its cultural and technological advancement as it blended into the extensive territory of Roman Empire, Hirata concludes that modern Western European civilization will likewise continue its development on the boundless space of the Russian Empire, whose territory constantly continued to increase due the expansionistic policy of its government.

From the perspective of the geopolitical theory, which typically separates all states into sea powers and land powers and places them into contraposition as such, the characterization of Russia by “Kokumin Shimbun” as a boundless land giant could create a rather negative image of Russia in the eyes of Japanese who were typical representatives of sea civilization. During the period from the autumn of 1894 through the spring of 1895, in addition to “Kokumin Shimbun” publications, several other Japanese newspapers published numerous comparisons between Japan

and Great Britain based on their island nature. In this light, Hirata's characterization of Russia as the only mainland power of Europe once again emphasized the fact that there is almost nothing in common between Russia and Japan.

Regarding Great Britain, our analysis of "Kokumin Shimbun" publications during the period of the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) revealed that it was the "Sea Power" theory invented by the American navy officer Alfred Mahan in the early 1890's that had the greatest impact on the further geopolitical estimation of Great Britain as a possible ally or enemy of Japan.

Four years after the publication, namely in 1894, his work "*The Influence of Sea Power upon the History*" was examined in detail in the Japanese press. Moreover, according to "Kokumin Shimbun" in May 1894 the first chapter of that book was translated into Japanese and presented to the country's naval minister.²

Mahan's theory convinced the Japanese of the fact that it was Great Britain's insular character and other peculiar geographical characteristics that allowed her to reach her unprecedented sea power and made her into "the queen of seas and oceans" in the 19th century.

The tradition to emphasize the similarity between Great Britain and Japan as "island" civilizations, located on the opposite sides of the Eurasian continent, had existed long before the Japanese learnt about Mahan's theory.

Interestingly enough, it were the British who, as early as in 1850-s, began to emphasize that the insular nature of Japan is similar to that of Great Britain.

In his lectures on the Japanese Empire presented in December 1852 in the Newcastle Library and the London Philosophical Society (which, according to British historians³, were the first public lectures on Japan in Great Britain), Dr. S. T. Dauning described the special features of the Japanese nation and called the Japanese no less than "Englishmen of the East" or "Oriental Englishmen." And in the following years, the British often referred to Japan as the "Britain of the East."

It is hard to say to what extent the comparison of Japan with Great Britain convinced the Japanese government in the necessity to transform Japan into the strong naval state. However, it is well known that England was chosen as an example when Japanese fleet was created. This choice was naturally determined. Starting the modernization of the state, the Meiji government tried to cater for the best world examples and British authority on the sea was incontestable at that moment.

The naval victories of Japan in the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) revealed that Japan made a right choice. Victory in the war with China, which for a long time was considered as the strongest Asian nation in the Far East, gave to Japan confidence in its power. At the same time the acquaintance with the Mahan's theory of the "sea power" revealed that success of Japanese transformation into the strong naval power was predetermined by natural characteristics of Japanese islands.

Mahan pointed out the following six factors that, in his view, exert utmost influence on the formation of the naval power of a state:

1. The geographic position of a state: its access to the seas and the possibility to communicate with other countries via the sea; extensive land borders; capacity to control strategically important regions and trade routes, and to use its navy to threaten the territory of its adversary.

- 2.The physical conformation: the quality of the shoreline and the number of natural harbors where port facilities can be built.
- 3.The extent of the territory: i.e., the length of the coastline, not the total area.
- 4.The number of population: the capacity of the state to build and maintain a fleet of ship.
- 5.national character: the propensity of the populace to trade and enterprise.
- 6.The character of the government: the interest to develop as a maritime state.⁴

The analysis proposed by the Japanese naval officer Kikotsu Sei in “Kokumin Shimbun” in October 1894 revealed that Japan had all characteristics, necessary for the successful naval development. “The position of our country bears a strong resemblance to that of Great Britain,” said Kimotsuki in a conversation with the “Kokumin Shimbun” journalist. “Hence, we must pay special attention to the development of our navy as England... Because we do not have land borders with other states there is no need for us to build up land forces; conversely, we must capitalize on the rarely advantageous position that nature benefited us with, and direct all our efforts towards an acquisition of naval power.”⁵

In addition to the above six main factors, Mahan mentions many other geographical factors that might, in his opinion, encourage or slow down a country’s development as a naval power. For example, Mahan stressed the worth, or importance, of what he called the central position of a country at the crossroads of sea trading routes. If, in addition to facilitating its ability to defend itself, nature has placed a nation in a position where it has easy access to the main oceanic trading routes and, moreover, can exercise control over one of the major lines of world merchant traffic, such position has a great strategic importance, he wrote.

Britain occupied such a position during the era of the sailing vessels; by using its geographic advantage and the strategy of assailing the ships in its adversaries (the English called it “commerce-destroying”) it had assumed control over the English Channel, a passage used by the merchant vessels of the Netherlands, Russia, Denmark, Sweden and other countries.⁶

While agreeing to Mahan’s conclusions that the basis of Britain’s sea power was built by nature, the Japanese military and analysts stressed that the similarity between the geographical positions of Britain and Japan might hold a good promise for the naval development of their country. In the article “The Sea Power” Kimotsuki assumed that its geographic characteristics gave Japan a real opportunity to establish control over the most important trading routes in the Pacific and, hence, to occupy as important position in that part of the world ocean as Britain had in the Atlantic. “Even today, our country is at the crossroads of the principal marine routes linking the Chinese ports and the Pacific, and after the conclusion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, the Tsushima (Korean, M.K.) and Tsugari (Sangar, M.K.) Straits will inevitably acquire not only mercantile but also strategic importance.”⁷

Thus, the analysis of Japan’s marine potential based on Mahan’s theory led to the conclusion that the Japanese islands had all the advantageous geographical and physical characteristics. With nature having done a very good job, it was now up to the Japanese people, according to the Japanese journalists and the military, to be wise enough to appreciate the importance of these conditions and embark on an appropriate course of political action. The conclusion that the geographical position of a state should be taken into account in determining the direction of its home and foreign policy indicated that the seeds sown by Mahan’s geopolitical theory resulted in new sprouts in the fertile soil of emerging Japanese imperialism.

The new awareness of its naval might, which relied on Mahan’s theoretical work and, in practical terms, on the victories scored in the war against China, played a major enough role in the

formulation in the Japanese press of an idea that an Anglo-Japanese union was not impossible in the near future. Contributing to this thinking was a new perspective that the Japanese had formed about Great Britain's marine potential.

Although the British navy continued to be the most powerful in the world in the 1890s, its positions no longer seemed as invincible after Britain's main opponents, Russia and France, signed a treaty of alliance in 1892. In March 1895, journalist Fukai Eigo, wrote a series of articles in the "Kokumin Shimbun" newspaper under the heading "England at the End of the 19th Century", in which he attempted to answer the question: how long would Britain be able to oppose the growing naval might of the Russo-French alliance.

With 200 warships flying the British flags in 1807 against 180 for the rest of the world, no navy could compete with the British one in the early 19th century. It was not fortuitous that the Japanese selected the British marine as a model for the building and modernization of its navy. The first 17 English instructors were invited to teach at the Japanese Kaigunshyo - Naval Academy by the Shogun's cabinet during the Keio period (1865-1868). After Meiji restoration, the Japanese again addressed the British for assistance. Between 1870 and 1900, naval officers were regularly sent to Britain for studies and training, while most of the Japanese warships were being built in the Britain's dockyards.⁸ As Fukai put it, the very word 'sea' was associated in the Japanese minds with the word 'England'.⁹

The scope of the British colonial possessions produced an equally strong impression on the Japanese. The best illustration of the Japanese admiration of the British Empire was, in our opinion, the following passage in the issue of the "Kokumin Shimbun" of December 1894: "Today, the area of the British colonial possessions scattered all over the globe equals 10 thousand square miles, and their population comes close to 300 million people. You may circumnavigate the globe by moving from one British colony to another without setting your foot even once on the territory of a foreign country."¹⁰

Three months after this publication, the idea of a round-the-globe trip via the territories under British rule came up again in the Fukai's article. His itinerary practically repeated that of his predecessor, but unlike the author of the article entitled "The State Might of England" Fukai was in no hurry to express his admiration at the sweeping scope of the British colonial system.

His task, he said, was not to sing the praise of the British Empire's past achievements, but to give an objective evaluation of its present potential to defend itself and preserve the territories that had proved the principal source of its power and riches. "In the good old days England would overpower Spain, got the upper hand in its confrontations with France, and built an empire that the world had not seen before. Britain's skills in sustaining its dominance over such vast lands, so different and so far apart bewildered and caused the admiration of the entire world. However, even a good swimmer may drown some day and a good rider may fall off his horse. What makes Britain's position weak is the need to defend such vast and scattered colonies. Today, the English are not concerned about aggrandizing their possessions, but about how to protect what they ceased earlier... Therefore, let us not look back at the glorious past of the British Empire, but try to evaluate objectively its present status."¹¹

The Japanese journalist stressed, that the Britain's greatest fear is to lose "the biggest gem in its crown"—India, because its passage to the hands of one of Britain's competitors would deprive Britain of its main source of wealth. "Who is Britain's chief opponent is an open secret", - went on Fukai. "The English readily admit that only one people will be able to compete with Britain in the future, and it is the Russians"¹². This passage belonged to Charles Dilke (1843–1911), the

author of a work, *Greater Britain* that made quite a sensation. The article quotes other well-known and influential Britons, such as the former deputy head of the British administration in India, George Curzon, the future viceroy of India and foreign secretary. Russia and France are expanding their colonial possessions and are approaching India. France had already swallowed Tonkin, Annam, Vietnam and Cambodia, and is setting its aims at Siam. Therefore, defense of our possessions should be the priority tasks of our policy”, - he wrote.¹³ These quotations indicate that the notion making its way to the Japanese press that Britain should change its course from expansion to defense came as a result of analysis of appropriate statements of Britain’s political and military elites. In fact, similar quotations are found in almost all twelve parts of Fukai’s article. The majority of the critical comments on the state of the British navy and the defensive potential of its colonies were excerpted from the British newspapers and reports prepared by various departments of the Ministry of the Navy of Japan for the general public.

One can imagine how shocked was the Japanese public, used as it was to defer to the might of Great Britain, when English historian and publicist Goldwin Smith (1823–1910), writing in his *Problems of the Present Day* (1894), virtually destroyed the illusion that an immense territory of a state was the basis of its power. One may threaten one’s enemy with a toy pistol only for as long as the enemy is not aware that the weapon is not real, he wrote. When the fraud is uncovered the counterfeit pistol becomes useless. If a state possessing immense colonies lacks sufficient military power to defend them, these possessions would weaken the state instead of strengthening it, he observed. For as long as an enemy of the state is not aware of this weak spot in its defenses, the state may be quite proud of its gains; but when the adversary finds out about it, you are in real danger, warned Smith and concluded that since the enemies of Britain are aware of its vulnerabilities it would better expect an attack at any time and any place.¹⁴

That Great Britain, which controlled one third of the globe, was unable to preserve its possessions might seem a figment of an English publicist’s imagination; yet, strange as it seemed, it was echoed by pronouncements of competent spokesmen of the Ministry of the Navy of Japan. It was such statements that induced Fukai to start his own investigation of Britain’s defensive capacity and to bring the result of his study to the attention of the Japanese reading public.

Convinced that only unquestionable naval superiority over all other countries could guarantee Britain full safety of its colonial possessions, Fukai equated Britain’s defensive capacity to the state of its navy.

The importance that he attached to Britain’s naval power stemmed from the formidable number of tasks it had to fulfill. The navy was not only the only means of communication between colonies and other possessions, vast and far away from the British Isles as they were, but also from the fact that the warships were their only protectors. In our opinion, Fukai conveyed the significance of the British navy clearly and succinctly by quoting British Admiral Crome’s statement: “If our warships are defeated it would mean the end of the British Empire because they are its only border-line.”¹⁵ Ch. Dilke was of the same opinion, which he conveyed by means of the following allegories in *his Theory of Imperial Defense*: just imagine, he wrote, that the entire surface of the world ocean is covered with ice, or that it suddenly turned into wilderness. What will become of Britain in this case? Or imagine that due to some unspecified chemical reaction sea water would no longer keep our ships afloat. What will happen to Britain then? Some people would probably consider these examples far-fetched, but should Britain lose its unquestionable marine supremacy it may well find itself in a situation very similar to what I have just described, he wrote.¹⁶

Judging by his text, Fukai agreed to the Englishmen absolutely. Relying on the 1894 data on the number and displacement of the British warships, which he compared to the corresponding data

dealing the navies of Russia and France, he sought an answer to what seemed to him the question of utmost importance: whether Great Britain had managed to preserve her status as the most powerful naval state in the world after the conclusion of the Russo-French treaty.

Fukai made use of the report of a commission that appraised the 1888 exercises of the British Navy that were to determine the level of its combat readiness. According the Japanese analyst, their outcome proved shocking to the British public. Members of the commission concluded that “at the present day, Great Britain does not possess sufficient resources in either personnel or materiel (shops, arms, ammunition, etc.) to maintain the necessary priority positions at sea,”¹⁷ he wrote.

What caused so negative an appraisal becomes evident when one examines the report that members of the committee presented to the Chamber of Commons later that year. In it they stressed that unless the number of British combat ships exceeds the numbers of its opponents, represented by one or several states, in the ratio of 5 to 3, Britain’s unquestionable supremacy in the sea is out of the question. Only such an advantage could enable the British navy, to quote Admiral Charles Beresford,¹⁸ to use, even in the age of ‘steam and steel,’ one of the most successful strategies of the sailing warships, namely to lock enemy ships in their ports. Meanwhile, in 1888, Britain possessed only 36 ships that could be rated as warships, while France had 30 such ships¹⁹ at the time. The conclusion was that even in 1888 Britain could not boast an unquestionable advantage. Taking these figures into account, Fukai concluded that the conclusion of the Russo-French treaty the position of Great Britain in this sense could only deteriorate.

It goes to his credit that Fukai went beyond mere six-year-old quotations from English statesmen; instead, he managed to uncover fresh data reflecting the ratio between the marine potentials of Britain and its two opponents during the time of the Sino-Japanese war. According to the information appearing in his article, the most marine powers of the day were in possessions of the following fleets: Great Britain, 46; France, 34; Germany, 22; Italy, 21; Russia, 17; and the United States, 6.²⁰ Fukai did not disclose the sources of his information, but, in any case, it appeared from his article that Great Britain not only had forfeited its indisputable supremacy in the sea, but, in effect, could no longer claim even a minimum superiority over the combined naval forces of Russia and France.

Let us adduce, for comparison’s sake, the figures published in January 1894 by one of Britain’s influential periodical magazines, “Edinburgh Review”, which claimed that it had received the information from the Admiralty. The magazine presented the comparative data relating to battleships of the 1st and 2nd classes of three countries: Great Britain, Russia and France (which is yet another proof that London held France and Russia to be its principal rivals at sea). According to the publication, as of December 31, 1893, Britain had 27, France 18, and Russia only seven vessels.²¹ Hence, the combined forces of France and Russia could only put forward 25 ships against Britain’s 27. Although the figures quoted by Fukai and the “Edinburgh Review” differ greatly it is clear from both publications that Britain failed to maintain supremacy in the 1st and 2nd class ships necessary to protect its colonies and external trade. Moreover, as the British sources stressed that Russia and France were actively increasing their marine spending, which is fraught with the possibility that might gain an advantage over Great Britain in the future. Unless the British government takes urgent steps to change the situation and come up with additional finances to strengthen the marine, the ration between the warships of Britain and the Russo-French alliance will be 34 to 49 in favor of the latter, maintained the “Edinburgh Review.”²²

In referring to Mahan’s *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, Fukai inferred that in addition to

losing its superiority in the mere numbers of warships, Britain could also no longer rely on a factor that used to provide it with considerable advantages over opponents: “After France had allowed its ally, Russia, to bring ships in the Mediterranean”, he wrote, “Britain virtually forfeited its control over this geographic area, which is a natural barrier on the way to its colonial possessions in India and Australia.”²³ According to the data published in the “Kokumin” by early 1894, the British fleet in the Mediterranean had only a minimum advantage over its opponents in the number of battleships—ten to nine—but had only 37 warships compared to 44 of the French-Russian alliance. Though this gap might seem insignificant at first glance, it somehow redoubled in comparison to Britain’s former unconditional dominance. “The shortest route from Britain to the East is via the Mediterranean”- Fukai wrote. “Well aware of it, Britain did everything in its power to be able to use this route. It established control of the Strait of Gibraltar, built a military base on Malta, established protectorate in Egypt, captured Cyprus, closed the Dardanelle and made itself one of the principal owners of the Suez Canal Company.”²⁴ But if an armed conflict (between Britain and the Russo-French alliance, M.K.), Britain will hardly have a chance to use this pathway because its fleet is inferior to that of the Russo-French alliance. Fukai went on that according to Charles Dilke, in such a situation Britain could only count on the alternative route round the Cape of Good Hope, which is three if not four times longer the passage via the Suez Canal. In practical terms, this deprives Britain of control over the Eastern seas, he concluded. India is not only a symbol of Britain’s might in the Orient, Fukai wrote, but also the cause of many concerns and problems that the British are faced up with, because Britain simply does not have enough resources to protect it... The English realize that they need a reliable ally in the East. But who can it be? The answer to this question may be tantamount to the resolution of all British problems, he wrote.²⁵

The conclusion that Britain is in need of a “reliable ally in the East” suggests that the “objective evaluation of the situation in which Britain found itself after the conclusion of the Russo-French alliance, was presented to the Japanese reader with the intention to convince him that Britain harbored not expansionist plans, at least not in the state it was in at the time, but that it had a strong desire to preserve intact what it had succeeded in conquer during the years of its unchallenged naval supremacy. Fighting capacity is probably the most basic indicator of the strength and health of a nation in our age, when the last word in the resolution of a conflict is the prerogative of the strongest in the military sense”, - Fukai wrote in the concluding portion of his article. “My studies indicate, however that the overly extended borders of the British Empire had a weakening effect, that it did lose the unquestioned naval supremacy, that its land forces had not a few shortcomings, and that its position in the East was no longer safe. Britain, in other words, had come to resemble an old man who had amassed a great wealth while being young, but had driven himself to psychiatric disorder in the old age by fearing he might lose it. Today, should the British government receive a message from some adventurer that he discovered some new lands, he would have been instructed without delay to forget about them and get back home.”²⁶

His comparative analysis of the naval forces of Britain and the Russo-French alliance convinced Fukai that Britain should enter into a coalition with a country that is strong on land and at sea and that could help Britain preserve its colonial empire. According to the Japanese analyst, such an ally should be looked for in the East. Bearing in mind that this article was to be published on the eve of the signing of the Sino-Japanese peaceful treaty, when the defeat of China was quite certain, it was just as certain that Fukai referred to Japan as an ally that Britain needed. It is difficult to say the least to assess, on the basis of newspaper publications, to what extent Japan’s political elite shared the views of the journalists and analysts. There are grounds to suppose, however, that because Britain’s stand on the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) was closely monitored by Tokyo from the very start of Sino-Japanese conflict²⁷, statements made by prominent English spokesmen on the problems confronting the British navy and the defense of

India were not unheeded by members of the Ito Hirobumi cabinet and were even taken into account during the drawing up of the Simonoseki Treaty.

In conclusion we can say that Alfred Mahan's notion that "sea power" was the principal instrument in the building of the great British Empire and remained the only potent weapon for its preservation—this notion was given a life of its own in the Japanese press. His theories played an important role in analysis of defensive capacity and naval potential and of Japan's allies and opponents, present and future, and it was not by accident that 20 years after the events described here, lectures on Mahan's theories were delivered to the young prince and future Emperor Shyova.

¹ Kokumin Shimbun. May 28 – June 7, 1895.

² Kokumin Shimbun. October 25, 1894.

³ Marie Conte-Helm. *Japan and the North East of England. From the 1862 to the Present Day.* London, 1989. P. 55-56.

⁴ Mahan Alfred. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History. 1660-1783.* Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1894. - 1894.

⁵ Kokumin Shimbun. October 25, 1894.

⁶ See in: Mahan. *Op.cit.*

⁷ Kokumin Shimbun. October 25, 1894.

⁸ Asakawa Michio. *Anglo-Japanese Military Relations, 1800-1900 - The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600-2000. Vol.3: The Military Dimension.* L., 2003. P.16-17.

⁹ Kokumin Shimbun. March 23, 1895.

¹⁰ Kokumin Shimbun. December 20, 1894.

¹¹ Kokumin Shimbun. March 12, 1895.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Kokumin Shimbun. March 13, 1895.

¹⁵ Kokumin Shimbun. March 26, 1895.

¹⁶ Kokumin Shimbun. March 14, 1895.

¹⁷ Kokumin Shimbun. March 15, 1895.

¹⁸ Kokumin Shimbun. March 16, 1895.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Kokumin Shimbun. March 16, 1895.

²¹ *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal.* Vol. CLXXIX (January-April 1894). P. 458.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Kokumin Shimbun. March 23, 1895.

²⁴ Kokumin Shimbun. March 28, 1895.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Kokumin Shimbun. March 29, 1895.

²⁷ See in: Mutsu Munemitsu. *Kenkenroku. A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War. 1894-1895.* Tokyo, 1982.

‘Germany’s Forgotten War’: German POW in Japanese POW camps 1914-1920

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Official relations between Japan and Germany date back to 1861 when the first bilateral treaty between Japan and Prussia was concluded, followed by the employment of the first German foreign experts by the Meiji government in 1872 (Spang and Wippich 2006:1). Although Japan, in her strive for modernisation during the Meiji period, had considered at first Britain, France and the US as ‘role models’, increasingly turned towards Germany in the 1880s and early 1890s, which has been described as a process of ‘Germanization’ (Akira 2006:80) and the high point of German-Japanese relations (Wippich 1986:17). For example, the Japanese Meiji Constitution was heavily influenced by the Imperial German Constitution (Dickinson 1999:23), just as the Meiji education system and military modernisation was inspired by the German system. The German government, including the Kaiser, as well as parts of the population, displayed pro-Japanese sentiments during the first Sino-Japanese War 1894-5 (Wippich 2006:66). Wippich (2006, 1986) also provides an interesting analysis of 214 congratulatory letters (161 of which came from Germany), which arrived in Japan after their victory in 1895. These letters, as well as the Kaiser himself, expressed a general admiration for the ‘plucky little Japs’ and benevolent sympathy for the ‘Prussians of the East’ (Wippich 1986:22).

This public sympathy for Japan during the war remained by and large without political consequences. Indeed, the turning point in German-Japanese relations came very shortly after the war when Germany joined the Triple Intervention. Although the German government acted largely for reasons relating to her European politics (especially with regards to Russia), the Intervention led to disillusionment and bitterness on the Japanese side, which was not helped by Wilhelm II’s subsequent increasing agitation against the ‘dangers of a unified yellow race’ and the German acquisition of Jiaozhou Bay in China in 1897, which threatened Japanese ambitions in China (Spang and Wippich 2006: 2-3). The Triple Intervention really marked the end of friendly relations between the German and Meiji governments (Akira 2006:82). Spang and Wippich (2006:6) note that several obstacles thereafter impeded closer relations between the two countries, including the above mentioned ‘Yellow Peril’ propaganda of the Kaiser and Germany’s inability to acknowledge and respect Japan as an equal power in world politics, which was a legacy of Japan’s former ‘unequal treaty’ status and the German-Japanese teacher-pupil relationship. Despite the admiration for Japan’s development and modernisation, when Japan asserted that they had entered the circle of European Great Powers as an equal power, the Kaiser sharply criticised what he called the ‘megalomania and arrogance’ of Japan (Wippich 1986:45). We can find similar sentiments in some POW letters, which will be discussed below. Unsurprisingly, the Japanese government harboured during the final years of the Meiji period, what Nish (1986:82) called ‘a strong sense of resentment’ against Germany as Germany was believed to be more racially conscious and thus more hostile towards Japan.

However, the Japanese decision to declare war on Germany on 23 August 1914 and enter Jiaozhou Bay, cannot be considered the result of these deteriorating Japanese-German relations, or simply as a result of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, but as an integral part of Japanese expansionism in Asia (Saaler 2006:26), which must be viewed in the context of

previous expansionist Japanese Asian policies and ambitions since the late nineteenth century. Thus, Japan was keen to possess the German sphere of influence in Shandong (and her industries and railway there) rather than simply driving the Germans out of China (Nish 1986:86). Japanese policy makers in 1914 greeted the Japanese entry into the war as an opportunity to obtain their long standing national goals in China and to redefine the nation (Dickinson 1999:36+80¹).

After the fall of Qingdao in November 1914, around 5000² German and Austro-Hungarian ‘defenders of Qingdao’ including the governor Captain Alfred Meyer-Waldeck were transported to Japan to spend the rest of the war (which was expected in the not so distant future) in fifteen hastily organised Prisoner-of-War camps³. The Japanese government created an ‘Information Bureau for POW questions’ [*Informationsbüro für Kriegsgefangenfragen*] within the Army Ministry whose remit included liaising with the Red Cross and the ‘protector nations’ [*Schutzmächte*] (Krebs 1999:196)⁴.

Although a considerable amount of research has been undertaken, especially by German scholars, into German Imperialism and the German colony in Qingdao, comparatively little research has been carried out concerning the direct aftermath of the fall of Qingdao, including the POW camps in Japan during WW1 (notable exceptions are for example Burdick and Moessner, and Krebs, all discussed in this paper). A wealth of primary source material can be found in the various locations of the German National Archive and the Foreign Office Archive in Berlin, but a great deal of surviving POW letters are locked up in private philatelic collections and are, as such, lost to academic research.

Once the POWs had been shipped to Japan, Krebs (1999), Burdick and Moessner (1984) as well as Dickinson (1999) describe the initial welcome by the Japanese population as generally curious and friendly since ‘no deep-seated animosity existed between the two countries’ (Burdick and Moessner 1984:7). Burdick and Moessner (1984:7) further note that the Japanese government had not engaged in an anti-German propaganda campaign since the outbreak of hostilities, but had described the German soldiers as ‘brave and daring’. The Japanese Emperor even sent a representative to greet the arriving POW. The Japanese government was keen to adhere to the Hague Conventions of 1907 regarding treatment of POW and allocated the same remuneration and food allowance to the German POW than to its own soldiers (R2/50306). As the Japan Times of 3.2.1915 stated ‘except for German beer and free outing, the German prisoners suffer no privation at all. The officers, in most cases, get European meals from restaurants at monthly rates, while non-commissioned officers and men cook their own food [...]’. (R9208/235). Reality, however, was somewhat different. The allocated remuneration provided for adequate Japanese meals for the POW, but European meals were more expensive and more difficult to come by (particularly if the individual POW did not have own funds), especially since Japan was suffering from an economic crisis and inflation. Subsequently, the food provision was an issue right from the start.

¹ We can see evidence of this in the 21 Demands issued to China in 1915 after the Japanese occupation of Shandong

² the actual number of POWs is very difficult to determine and varies from source to source. Burdick and Moessner (1984) give the overall number as 4592, a report from the Japanese Prisoner of War Bureau dated 1914 lists 5025 imprisoned German soldiers plus officers, medical officer and Austro-Hungarian prisoners

³ Note that the British, who had fought with around 2000 troops alongside the approx. 58,000 troops of their Japanese allies in Qingdao, also transported a number of wounded POW to Hong Kong and Australia (Burdick and Moessner 1984:xvi)

⁴⁴ At first the USA was the *Schutzmacht* in Japan, after the US entry into the war, the role was carried out by Switzerland

To give an example, initially, the POW were housed in provisional accommodation including temples, empty school buildings and other public buildings, many of which were, by and large, unsuitable for long-term habitation by such a large number of men. The first POW to arrive in Japan in October 1914 (before the final fall of Qingdao), some 55 men, were housed in the temple complex at Kurume. A series of reports dated October 1914, sent to the German Imperial General Consul Mr Knipping in Shanghai (R2/50306), describe the arrival of the first German troops in Kurume, initially indicating that ‘the Japanese military ministry undertakes every effort to make the stay for the POW as tolerable as possible’. They ‘delivered iron bedsteads with straw mats as well as meats, which the POW are cooking themselves’. The POW would be allowed to receive parcels and mail. The report also describes the creation of help committees among the German civilians of Tokyo, Kobe and Yokohama to care for the POW (in the form of for example regular deliveries of German bread, butter and tobacco), but indicates if the ‘number of POW reaches several hundred, larger sacrifices would be necessary’. Already three days after the initial report, the same source (not named, but seems to be a member of one of the help committees) reports that ‘the position of the POW is apparently not as good as initially indicated to me through the Japanese lens at the Japanese Ministry of War’. The food ‘leaves much to be desired’ and heating ovens were not permitted in the temple. A further report dated 29 October (R2/50306) explains that the insufficient food is down to the fact that the Japanese officials are ‘totally unclear about what a European [man] requires’. An investigation at Kurume instigated by the committee found that the POW had been ‘hungry for several weeks now and need first and foremost bread’. A note to the State Secretary of the Imperial Navy Ministry dated 15 January 1915 (R2/50306) also concludes, that although it is evident that the Japanese are trying to improve the conditions of the POW, ‘they [the Japanese] are completely unaware concerning the minimal requirements of a European due to the very different European standard of living’. Thus, if the food does not match the ‘taste and nutritional demands of the POW’, it is primarily due to this lack of knowledge since the Japanese are otherwise eager to treat their POW just as well as the European Powers theirs, especially considering the ‘general German-friendly attitudes in Japan’. However, the German Imperial Navy Ministry states on 30 January 1915 (R2/50306) that Japanese food is entirely insufficient for Europeans and would lead to illness and malnutrition. Some form of financial help to provide adequate foodstuffs was therefore recommended, although it was also agreed that any official offers of help to improve the care of and provisions for the POW are a ‘diplomatic minefield’, as a Japanese acceptance of such offers would equal a confession that they did not fulfil their commitments according to the international law⁵. It is obvious from various camp inspection tour report and letters that the food situation at least in some camps did not improve much for the remainder of the war. A 1917 tour (R2/50306) reported that in nearly all camps the food was described as ‘too scarce’, the POW wanted more meat, bread and fresh vegetables. The food situation was described as particularly bad in Narashino, Oita, Ninoshima and Kurume (where many POW complained of ‘malnutrition’). The health of the POW, however, was described for all camps as good or satisfactory.

Overall, the situation differed greatly from camp to camp and over time, but, as Krebs (1999:197) notes, the post-war myth of the “cosy imprisonment” [*gemütliche Gefangenschaft*] did not necessarily match reality and many former POW protested what they called “these

⁵ Interestingly, and in stark contrast to these early evaluations of the Japanese treatment of POW, in 1921 a report from the Siemens-Schukert Werke Japan to the Head of the German Navy (R2/50306) states that ‘the Japanese, eager to appear as a cultured nation [*Kulturvolk*] tried to follow the letter of the international treaties, but not their sense’

homegrown fairy tales” [*daheim entstandenen Märchen*]. The 1917 camp inspection tour (R2/50306) found that treatment in the camps differed significantly, much of which depended on the camp commanders. Some camp commanders were described as ‘soft-hearted and humane’, especially at Bando, while others were little more than ‘correct civil servants’, especially in Kurume and Ninoshima. Although all camps were inspected monthly by the division commanders (who report to the Ministry of War), they were usually ‘unaware of the real complaints’. Not surprisingly, letters from different camps can tell a very different story. In addition, some letters indicate that in some camps there were certain benefits in writing positive letters (while negative accounts, if read by the censor and passed on to the camp commander, may result in small retributions). This may have also led to some distortion in individual accounts.

Overall, we can note that some camps were consistently reported as ‘lacking’. They included Kurume, Fukuoka, Matsuyama and Marugame. The already mentioned camp of Kurume in particular often stands out as particularly unsuitable for the large number of POW housed there. Here, the inadequate facilities and the rather harsh attitude of the camp commander, who had given orders for a strict disciplinary approach, combined to create an atmosphere of ‘mental hostility’ between the POW and the guards (Burdick and Moessner 1984:11). A lengthy letter from a German officer POW named Wilhelm-Werner von Bobers, dated 19 October 1915 (R9208/236) and addressed to a German newspaper, described the conditions at Kurume as ‘hair raising’. He stated that the initially good treatment as well as the ‘so-called politeness and chivalrousness of the Japanese’ was nothing but a ‘mask’. Now, the treatment was ‘not worthy of humans’, the POW were treated not as POW but as ‘criminals’. He described the accommodation (‘worse than stable boxes at home’), the frequent beatings and punishments, the lack of beds, the plague of rats in winter, the destruction of incoming or outgoing mail and so on. A similar lengthy letter dated 1915, and again addressed to a national German newspaper, described the conditions at Shizuoka (R9208/236). Again, the letter stated that initially the conditions were good, but deteriorated quickly (according to the letter writer ‘once everyone had written an enthusiastic letter home and the Japanese had managed to create, with real Japanese cleverness, a good first impression’). His complaints included the incompetence of the resident doctor, the sanitary facilities (which were too close to the bedrooms and the kitchen), the unsuitable sleeping arrangements, the lack of heating, the abundance of fleas and rats as well as the punishments of prisoners. He also bemoaned the destruction of letters and the censor who was ‘either too lazy to read our letters or had a shamefully low disposition’.

On the other hand, the purpose built camp at Bando, which opened in April 1917 to take the POW from the camps at Marugame, Matsuyama and Tokushima, has often been called a ‘model camp’ led by Major Matsuye, which contributed much to the later arising romanticised accounts of POW imprisonment. Bando is often noted in letters and inspection tour reports as ‘commendable’ with better food supply (thanks to the pig farming allowed there), better exercise and educational facilities. Bando is also famous for the frequent interaction of the German POW with the Japanese population, which included concerts by the POW orchestra, building works carried out by the prisoners as well as the German ‘exhibitions’, which were open to the public. Burdick and Moessner (1984:78-82) provide a detailed description of this German-Japanese co-operation at Bando and the exhibitions, which, according to Burdick and Moessner (1984:79) provoked mutual interest in each other’s culture and skills. These ‘close encounters’ between German POW and the local Japanese inhabitants led to lasting friendships, which are now remembered at the German House and Museum in Bando (built in 1972). As Burdick and Moessner (1984:86) put it ‘perhaps the creation of affection between the European warriors and the Oriental villagers was Bando’s

finest legacy'⁶. The POW at Bando also published their own camp magazine [Die Baracke] which provides an interesting account of POW life at Bando.

On the other hand, and in stark contrast to the good relations at Bando, letters from camps with less good reputations, expressed a bitter and often racially-influenced attitude towards their Japanese captors. The already mentioned POW letter written by Lieutenant von Bobers at Kurume dated October 1915 (R9208/236) declared that 'everyone who traded with the Japanese in the past will know what wily, scrupulous rogues they are'. He goes on to call the guards 'yellow cultural bastards [*Kulturbastarde*]' who were still halfway 'the barbarians of old. In the past, they killed or tortured their POW, today they have to harass them and make them feel that they are POW'. He concluded his letter by stating that the POW would 'forever feel the bitter gall whenever the word Japan or Japanese is mentioned. The so-called cultured nation [*Kulturvolk*] has made sure of that with their chivalrous treatment of us, although otherwise, and given time, we might have eventually forgiven them their treacherous attack on Tsingtau, which they only undertook after being put up for it by England'.

Another letter from Shizuoka (R9208/236) expresses feelings of racial superiority. When describing the camp, a former girls school, the letter writer states 'what the Whites were meant to see [the school accommodation] is good and clean, but those parts which the Whites will hardly ever or never see is just as primitive as when the ancestors of Japan climbed down from their trees'. He also described 'Japanese customs' in a mocking manner designed to highlight the bad state of affairs at the camp. For example, he stated that the value of the hot Japanese bath is generally accepted and acknowledged, but 'once 60 people bathed in the tub, the bath water looks like pigs had been cooked in it, but I guess that is one of those "Japanese customs", which were mentioned on our arrival, and we dutifully have to get used to'. Furthermore, he stated that 'apparently it is also one of those "Japanese customs" that the living and sleeping quarters are full of rats and fleas'. Later in the letter he referred to the Japanese several times as the 'yellow ones' or with the condescending term 'Japse' (equal to the English usage of 'the Japs' but slightly even more demeaning). The letter writer also used the term 'monkey' for the Japanese. He concluded by explaining that 'even if we don't encounter the country and its people in the normal sense, we still gained a deep insight into the dark sides of the Japanese character. It is unbelievable, how much arrogance, brutality, impudence and dog-like cowardice can be found among the ranks of the military, officers and ordinary ranks alike. Rare exceptions confirm the rule. Imagine that this motley gang considers itself the strongest nation on earth! They won victory over the largest military powers on earth, Russia ten years ago, and Germany in Tsingtau. Japanese newspapers report of this daily and every Japanese person is whole puffed up with this truth. [...] There would be no better lesson for them to take part in a real war [the main theatre of war in Europe] where we would meet them in equal numbers. [...] Then the Yellows would learn with great fear who really is the strongest nation on earth [...] The Japanese have managed, with their arrogance and harassment, to plant an undying hatred for Japan in very POW [...] The hour of revenge will come, did you consider that, you blown up [arrogant] monkeys??'

Krebs (1999:197) notes that, in relation to punishments, many POW seemed to be under the impression that the Japanese guards (in some camps) could not help but try to 'pay back the Whites' for the so far endured racism (see discussion of the 'Yellow Peril' above). A letter from Fukuoka camp (1916) stated that the treatment is 'typically Asiatic, mean, revengeful, harassing and full of a petty desire to treat the officers the same as the ordinary ranks' (R9208/236). Interestingly, a report from an officer imprisoned at Marugame (1916) also

⁶ One cannot help but be reminded of early twentieth century cultural imperialism

bemoans that the POW officers' 'behaviour towards our hosts often leaves much to be desired for, so that we never managed to establish a good relationship with them' (R9208/236).

The repatriation of the German former POW commenced, with some delay, at the end of 1919 and early in 1920, although 171 former POW preferred to stay in Japan to build there a new existence, while 149 returned to Qingdao (Krebs 1999:201-202). But Germany did not return to East Asia after the war except for trade. The Qingdao leasehold was formally taken over by Japan, who eventually returned it to China. The other German colonies in the Pacific became League of Nation mandates.

Overall, and especially if we consider a comparison with WW2 Japanese POW camps, the German POW during WW1 seemed to live in good or at least improving conditions (Krebs 1999:197). The Japanese government was eager to adhere to the international laws concerning POWs and to present itself as a 'civilised nation in the Western sense and thus gain respect as an equal nation' (Krebs 1999:202). Letters and reports from the camps indicate that the conditions overall were at least bearable apart from widespread complaints about provisions and the treatment in some camps. Some camps, such as Kurume, stand out as particularly ill-run examples, which contributed to the above described ill-feelings and animosity of the POW towards their captor nation. The camp of Bando, on the other hand, contributed much to friendly local Japanese-German relations and to the above discussed post-war 'myth of the cosy imprisonment'. Overall, however, as Spang and Wippich (2006:7) note, the 'favourable treatment' of the German POW meant that post-war there was little ill-feeling between the two nations and diplomatic relations resumed in March 1920, albeit remaining low-key at first. In the immediate post-war years, the defeated Germany had little to offer to Japan, while German foreign policies remained firmly focussed on Europe and a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. Interwar relations between Germany and Japan amounted to little more than cultural exchanges until the renewed cooperation between Third Reich Germany and Japan, when, again the relationship between Germany and Japan was undermined by the Nazi 'Aryan' racial ideas, which resulted in similar (if more radical) notions of racial and cultural superiority that we found in some of the 'Yellow Peril' agitations of the Kaiser⁷.

⁷ Although the Nazi Party forbade the use of the term 'Yellow Peril' in 1935 (Akira 2006:94)

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Schreiben and den Herrn Staatssekretär des Reichs-Marine-Amtes (15 January 1915)
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R 9208/236

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R 9208/236

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Title A study of the Core Value of Cultural Property as a Development Strategy for
Creative & Cultural Parks in Taiwan

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1. Introduction:

The Council for Cultural Affairs began implementing Phase II of the Cultural & Creative Industries Development Plan two years ago(2007-2011)¹, but results have fallen somewhat short of expectations. Although an immense amount of resources was invested in cultural & creative industries, an “independent” approach and operations were adopted for development, not only lacking effective integration with other resources, but also overlooking the potential of sustainability that can be created by resource integration. The resource that has the most direct influence is cultural property. The development of creative & cultural parks, which is an ongoing effort of the Council of Cultural Affairs, plays a key role in the development of cultural & creative industries.

The five locations selected for creative & cultural parks are all old wineries and warehouses of Taiwan Tobacco & Liquor Company, in which many of the buildings are historic monuments or historic buildings because of their unique value. The current approach to planning creative & cultural parks is to retain the original appearance of buildings, however, not much attention is paid to the core value of cultural property, and there is a weak connection between the reutilization direction and the original building. Creative & cultural parks lack interaction with peripheral communities and industries; they are isolated islands in urban areas and develop apart from their surroundings. This not only makes the preservation of cultural property an empty shell, but also loses the opportunity of developing creative & cultural park features based on the core value of cultural property. Therefore, there is significant meaning attached to how the core value of cultural property is defined and redeveloped in coordination with regional development, and how it is used as a development strategy for creative & cultural parks.

2. Core Value and Reutilization of Cultural Property

(1) Core Value of Cultural Property

Different countries have somewhat different definitions of cultural property. Varied words and expressions are used to define different types of cultural heritage, showing the nature of each

individual type of cultural heritage. The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention establishes art, history and science as important indicators in “cultural monuments” and “groups of buildings”; historical sites emphasize on aesthetic, historical, ethnological and anthropological points of view. Taiwan’s Cultural Heritage Preservation Act states that cultural property must possess historical, cultural, aesthetic and scientific values.

Dr. Gerrit Fenenga² lists seven cultural property values: symbolic, aesthetic, economic, scientific research, educational, public interest and public relations. After analysis, Randall Mason³ generalized cultural property values into two categories: economic values and social culture values. Economic values can be divided into use value and non-use value; use value refers to the economic benefits generated by the use of cultural property for living, scientific research, cultural education and recreation; non-use value refers to the abstract and intangible value of cultural property, including options, legacy and existence value. Social culture values include historical value, cultural/symbolic value, social value, spiritual/religious and aesthetic values.

A clear description of the proper attitude towards objects of different eras appeared as early as 1964 in the Venice Charter. The International Charter on Cultural Tourism in 1999 when describing heritage pointed out that “It is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change. The particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and into the future.” Norberg-Schulz⁴ indicated that “preservation and change are not relative, because change without reservation is destruction, whereas preservation without change is stubbornness...if we are to preserve objects of the past, we must do it with new methods.” The above passages clearly describe the significant meaning of the core value of cultural property and principles of how they should be expressed. This also means that reutilization targets should correspond to the present age, and not be confined to the original architecture.

Taiwan’s creative & cultural parks belong to a special category of cultural property that is closely related to industries because they are situated in old wineries of Taiwan Tobacco & Liquor Company. Fu Chao-Ching⁵ pointed out that industrial heritage refers to business facilities that used machinery for production after the industrial revolution and products that they produced, which is unlike products of the traditional handicraft industry. Therefore, factories where machinery operated often comprise the main content of industrial heritage. Besides tangible cultural property (buildings, space, production machinery, equipment and products), industrial heritage also includes other intangible values (production technology, employees and social composition), such as the factory’s history and social and historical transitions that induced by its operation, as well as its relationship with urban spatial structure. Industrial heritage possess historic, social, scientific and economic values, as well as a symbolic collective memory of its time. Combining the above, industrial heritage values can be divided into scientific (structure, production technology, products and machinery), aesthetic (architecture, space, details and

appreciation of beauty), social culture (social context, urban development structure and history), economic (cultural recreation, cultural tourism, cultural consumption and cultural marketing) and public interest (collective memories, mutual assets, community identification and community development).

(2) The Meaning of Cultural Property Reutilization

In terms of sustainable development, cultural property not only plays a major role in environment construction in the 21st century, but also comprises the historical traces in cities because of their cultural connotation; they are evidence of human history and also irreplaceable landmarks. Reutilization is the aspiration to practice a kind of life value; it adjusts and satisfies new demands of the society on living via the innovative utilization of space, and could create a new industry for the locality. The construction of a new cultural space itself is the concrete form of a new cultural experience. This is spatial culture, the cultural form reflected by the interaction between man and nature, or even the profound meaning of overlapping cultures within a certain space.

Fu Chao-Ching⁶ describes the theory of reutilization from four aspects: (1) The extension of a building's life cycle – the continued use of its functions. (2) A preservation method that gives consideration to both structural safety and modern functionality. (3) A preservation method that gives consideration to both history and modernity. (4) Financial sustainability of buildings. Whether it is a historic monument, historic building or abandoned space of an old building, reutilization shares a common theoretical foundation, which is that structurally safe old buildings can extend its life cycle while giving consideration to both history and modernity, and that its conditions allow it to survive financially.

The International Charter on Cultural Tourism, the Encyclopedia of Architecture, Design, Engineering & Construction, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and Fu Chao-Ching all explained and defined the reutilization of cultural property. Besides emphasizing on the interpretation of the cultural value of building preservation, they also stress the use of appropriate, stimulating and contemporary forms of education, media, technology and personal explanation of historical, environmental and cultural information. Reutilization makes the continuity of cultural property feasible, because modern cities need the continuity of history, and the public needs to understand that the preservation of history is a necessity to their spiritual lives and urban development. Reutilization is a more positive preservation strategy that is closer to daily life, besides preserving a part or the whole of history, it injects new life into obsolete or abandoned buildings, discovers the potential of old buildings, and allows the building to become a part of the surrounding environment and daily lives of residents, creating new meaning for buildings, and allowing local and industrial cultures to achieve sustainable development. The concept of regional operation brings cultural property to life, the core value and meaning of cultural property preservation and reutilization lies in the close

interaction between people, land and daily life. Finding a permanent preservation mechanism that allows new and old to survive together will allow industrial heritage to achieve sustainable existence.

The design strategy of deindustrialization is to adjust or change the form, function and meaning of space, especially closed spaces used for industrial production in the past, making space more public so that it becomes a part of daily life to residents. This creates a spatial symbol that all urban residents are able to recognize, creates new space aesthetics and field for daily life, improves the living environment and benefits the redevelopment of urban space, which produces different collective memories that cause residents to identify future developments.

(3) Connection between Urban Development and Cultural Property

In the highly competitive age of globalization, culture is considered the most advanced and competitive factor for bringing harmony to the society, economy and life. Unique cultures are the most important asset to urban development, and the core resource for gaining a competitive advantage. Culture not only represents various cultural products, but also a way of life, expression, thinking and learning. Culture has become the core strategy of urban development, and is developing closer and closer relationships with the economy, society, technologies and education. Urban culture planning should pay close attention to both the culture of space and space of cultures, ponder upon the relationship between culture and the economy, and be concerned about how space and localities can become part of a cultural experience.

The preservation and reutilization of cultural property plays an significant role in the competitiveness of globalized cities, as well as their sustainable development. Juan I-San⁷ of Shanghai's Tongji University once indicated that "cities are the land where culture converge, the protection of historical and cultural appearances can enhance peoples' sense of belonging and identification to the city, and further increase their cohesiveness." Fu Chao-Ching⁸ believes that strengthening regional consciousness and implementing regional economic development are major issues of urban and rural development in the 21st century, and that more importance should be attached to the core value of cultural property in regional development. Ma Tzu-Hsiu⁹ also believes that the new trend of urban development is to mold regional and living culture styles, turning them into issues that will enhance competitiveness; future directions also include developing core values of cultural property into regional features, and integrating resources of peripheral communities.

City governments have shifted from a protective strategy, which emphasizes on social culture development and historic culture preservation, to utilizing urban culture strategies to boost economic development and competitiveness. With unique and symbolic cultures, urban culture strategies possess the ability to facilitate urban regeneration, remold the local economy, cohere community consciousness, attract tourists from around the world, create a globalized city and elevate the city's regional status. The fact that countries strive to become cultural cities or cities of

design serves as evidence of this transition. Charles Landry¹⁰ and Florida¹¹ both mentioned that the importance of creative cities is to create unique local cultures, in which the core value of cultural property best shows the uniqueness of local cultures.

Cultural resources are the foundation for developing cultural industries, but not all cultural resources can be industrialized, public acceptance of the attributes of a cultural resource is a prerequisite to industrialization. Cultural industries can improve national living quality, and high living quality is the key to creating a good image. Therefore, the importance of creative & cultural industries lies not only in its economic meaning, but also cultural enrichment. Cultural activities are the main force of commercial development, they are the infrastructure of cities, and enhance cultural tourism. Cultural industries are introduced via different marketing methods and diverse cultural activities, and enhance the effects of local marketing. The construction of cultural industrial parks is an important force driving economic and urban development, and a major part of urban culture strategies.

(4) Integration of Cultural Property with Communities

The vitalization of cultural property must be combined with regional development and involve public participation. Helping residents understand that the core value of cultural property benefits community development is to create an opportunity for redeveloping the community's historical environment. To achieve this goal, the core value of cultural property to a region must be shown via an appropriate and accurate interpretation. The International Charter on Cultural Tourism indicated that "Interpretation programs should present that significance in a relevant and accessible manner to the host community and the visitor, with appropriate, stimulating and contemporary forms of education, media, technology and personal explanation of historical, environmental and cultural information." The preservation and reutilization of Taiwan's cultural property should shift from individual, passive and rigid thoughts to utilizing the charm of core values to drive community development and aid new purposes.

Following the rise of public participation and consciousness, the preservation of cultural property is now seeing the participation of communities, and has transformed from construction technology into a public issue that involves social actions; actions by communities are able to boost cultural property vitalization and enhance local identification. It is a future trend to combine cultural property reutilization with cultural tourism and interact with community residents. The International Charter on Cultural Tourism states that "Tourism projects, activities and developments should achieve positive outcomes and minimize adverse impacts on the heritage and lifestyles of the host community." Therefore, in order to effectively achieve community redevelopment via cultural tourism, the core value of cultural property to a region must be appropriately and accurately interpreted. We must affirm the importance of community participation and identification to history preservation, and emphasize that history preservation should effectively give back to communities.

3. Developments of Cultural Property Reutilization in Taiwan and Status Quo

Before 1994, the Council for Cultural Affairs focused on hardware constructions of cultural facilities; it began implementing the preservation of Huashan Winery in 1997; it began implementing abandoned space reutilization in 1998; in 2000, it began implementing community empowerment and making comprehensive plans for the development of local cultures and industries. The Art Village and New Hometown Community Development Project in 2002 reutilized abandoned spaces for art performances and exhibitions, and invited artists to move in. In 2003 the Council began implementing its cultural & creative industries policy, and used abandoned wineries for creative & cultural parks, inspiring cultural creativity and producing economic benefits. Although contents of projects and plans over the years have some differences, they are all efforts that serve a common purpose. According to the Council's abandoned space reutilization principles, under the premise that buildings are structurally safe, buildings that serve the purpose of "promoting culture and art" can be reutilized, however, the area used for commercial purposes must not exceed 30% of the total area.

Issues faced by cultural property preservation and reutilization in Taiwan are as follows:

- (1) Complicated property rights and unclear long-term operation strategy: Most cultural property are public-owned, but ownership, administrative rights and right to use are often separated, causing difficulties in formulating long-term management strategies, and wasting long hours in negotiations.
- (2) Land use change lacks flexibility and affects the timetable and efficiency of abandoned space reutilization: Due to restrictions from Taiwan's urban planning laws and land use regulations, a long and complicated series of procedures for change in land use must be completed before cultural property can be reutilized; eight years after locations for the five creative & cultural parks were announced, procedures for change in land use still haven't been completed for all five locations.
- (3) Emphasis on only the preservation of a building's appearance: When it comes to the reutilization of cultural property, many people are only concerned about the preservation of a building's appearance, believing that building renovation equals cultural preservation. As a result, cultural property are only able to attract a small group of people who are interested in the architectural design, and can not become a common interest of the general public, even locals don't develop the identification they should.
- (4) The myth and predicament that cultural property can only be used for art and culture: Reutilization is limited to the promotion of culture and art, and although large volumes of space were released, the number of artists, art appreciating population and art managers has not showed corresponding growth. All redeveloped space should have diverse functions, e.g.

commerce, education and accommodations, and not be limited to art exhibitions and performances.

- (5) Inability to achieve financial sustainability: Cultural property lack long-term financial support after transforming into locations for art performances and exhibitions because their operation patterns are unclear, and the law stipulates that they must be non-profit, public-owned and for public interest, meaning that they must rely on government subsidies. Limited area for commercial use, designated for the purpose of art performances and exhibitions, the birth of collective elite consciousness, and difference with reality are all reasons why cultural property cannot achieve financial sustainability.
- (6) The elitist art and space have disconnected from communities: Art performance and exhibition space are used by only a few groups that target small audiences; contemporary art types and high priced foods and beverages are intimidating to surrounding residents. This abrupt space and exhibition system that is cut off from local life creates even more abandoned spaces; the contents of exhibitions and performances often feature foreign, exquisite and mainstream art types, forming the elitist artistic values.
- (7) Massively reproduced spatial culture has produced similar cultural properties: Swarming to implement cultural property reutilization has gradually turned into the reproduction of spatial functions; the industrial production of spatial culture has produced a great number of elite cultural properties. This pattern of producing “mass culture” has become the way the modern society views cultural property. Such stereotyped cultural property lack local features and cannot gain the identification of local residents.
- (8) Cultural property reutilization only focuses on the redevelopment of single locations: Most cultural property lack dynamic integration with its surrounding environment. They are often disconnected from transitions of the surrounding environment, urban activities and urban development, some are even ridiculed as the home of mosquitos. How to fully utilize the charm of cultural property and connect with developments of its surroundings are major issues of cultural property preservation and reutilization, especially large scale cultural property, e.g. historic villages or industrial heritage (wineries, residential military communities, etc.).

Developments and trends of cultural property reutilization in Taiwan: preservation and reutilization should be expanded from single buildings to the overall environment. The dynamic combination with urban development should be emphasized to prevent cultural property from being destroyed by inappropriate urban planning. Expand the definition of cultural landscapes that are worth preserving, including industrial heritage and abandoned spaces. Recognize the economic value of cultural property, promote cultural tourism, combine community industries with historic spaces, and allow cultural property to become a powerful instrument for urban marketing. Further interact with communities to boost community identification, and combine

with cultural tourism to effectively give back to communities.

4. Developments and Direction of Creative & Cultural Parks in Taiwan

(1) The Importance of Developing Creative & Cultural Parks

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in its report on “Cultural Industries and Enterprises” pointed out that “clusters and creativity are foundation stones of creative cities and complement each other. So an excellent creativity location naturally possesses the spatial qualities that cause creative people to gather together; creative people and creativity operators are mainly active in creative villages, creating, developing, cultivating talents, marketing and promoting.” Present day social development emphasizes on experience economy and innovation in aesthetics, creative energy is the core element to developing creative & cultural industries with high competitiveness. A creative village built in a urban area must possess attractions that will cause creative people to stay there, including creative activities and a creative atmosphere, which will further develop into cultural features and economic advantages characteristic of the area. These will create a high quality living environment for urban residents and further attract foreign tourists. Creative & cultural parks are a link of creative villages.

In this “creative economy” era under economic globalization, new human capital and creative & cultural capital have replaced conventional land capital and natural resources. With consideration to economic benefits and value-added, European and American countries at the end of the 20th century listed the creative & cultural industry as an emerging industry, and used it as a strategy for enhancing their international competitiveness. Therefore, they attached great importance to the implementation of cultural policies and construction of cultural facilities, and devoted to the maintenance and renovation of historic buildings, holding cultural activities and molding their urban image. These became major directions for preserving local cultures, regenerating traditional spaces, and revitalizing the economy. They also used creative & cultural parks to effectively gather creative and cultural resources; the parks merged and interacted with the urban commercial space and drove urban development. The great number of creative & cultural park that sprung up everywhere around were mostly transformed from industrial heritage sites or old urban areas that possess historic cultures; the rich connotation of cultural property became a advantage for developing creative & cultural industries. Florida¹², the American economist who proposed the creative capital theory, also indicated diverse cultural property that possess cultural and historic features are able to attract creative people, forming a unique attraction for localities, gathering creative communities, driving the accumulation of creative capital, and boosting local economic development.

In response to transitions of the global economy and social trends, developments of Taiwan’s cultural & creative industries in the past only emphasized on the economy itself, formulating

strategies for industrial transformation and upgrades, but neglecting the relationship with other industries, such as cultural tourism and cultural marketing. With “culture, economy and space already in a close codependent relationship,” using creative & cultural parks to drive development of cultural & creative industries is a new strategy that the government has been hoping to try in recent years. The role of creative & cultural parks is similar to that of science parks in which the government has placed great expectations, hoping that they will become a new base for developing creativity, driving regeneration and development of urban spaces, and revitalizing industrial economics.

(2) Status Quo of Creative & Cultural Parks in Taiwan

Taiwan’s government in 2002 began implementing the “Challenge 2008: National Development Plan,” in which it specified five creative & cultural parks around the country, using abandoned buildings of wineries in five cities as bases for implementing cultural & creative industries, including Taipei Winery, Taichung Winery, Chiayi Winery, Hualien Winery and Tainan Warehouses. All five locations were selected for being state-owned land and easy to acquire, and did not go through evaluations of culture and creativity and industrial clusters. The parks are in the state of isolated islands because no consideration was given to geographic relationships, connection with peripheral communities and urban development. Although these parks have reutilized precious industrial heritage sites, they have not been able to use the value of these cultural properties to benefit the cultural & creative industries.

Due to land acquisition, change in land use, and building renovation and maintenance, progress of the five creative & cultural parks has been slow; Huashan creative & cultural park (Taipei Winery) has the fastest progress, its operation was outsourced in 2008, and a winning team for phase III BOT¹³ was selected last year; operation and management of Hualien creative & cultural park has also been outsourced, and the county government provides several million NTD each year; Taichung creative & cultural park was closed for over a year for renovations and was reopened in November last year; Chiayi and Tainan creative & cultural parks have not been formally opened. The parks do not attract large crowds and are used as regular parks in the holidays for recreation. A brief description of developments of Huashan creative & cultural park is as follows:

Huashan creative & cultural park was formerly the Taipei Winery of Taiwan Tobacco & Liquor Company, which was founded in 1915. In 1987, the winery was relocated due to Taipei’s urban planning and environmental protection policy, leaving the original winery abandoned. In 1997, art workers from different fields formed a “Huashan association for the promotion of culture and art,” and appealed to Taiwan Tobacco & Liquor Company for the right to use the abandoned winery. After negotiations, Taiwan Provincial Government Cultural Affairs Department in 1999 outsourced operation and management to the “Taiwan Culture Environment Reform Association” (formerly the Huashan association for the promotion of culture and art), and

renamed it “Huashan Art District.” The Council for Cultural Affairs hoped that Huashan would become a center for culture and creativity in Taiwan, and possess six functions: video, market, education, performance, entertainment and sales. Implementation of creative & cultural parks began in 2002, and the Council for Cultural Affairs formulated a guidance plan in May 2004 for future developments of Huashan, pointing out that “the park’s operations and management must not rely on government subsidies,” and that the park should serve as a medium for “culture & creativity and industrial economics” and “living arts and commercial consumption”; meaning that the park should be based on characteristics of cultural consumption, while possessing the function of incubating creativity. The park’s space adopts dual-axis development, expanding space for performing arts, visual art and digital art, and space for sales channels of cultural & creative industries.

Huashan creative & cultural park was developed in three stages in accordance with the “Act for Promotion of Private Participation in Infrastructure Projects,” including the “film museum OT¹⁴ case” (signed a contract with Taiwan Film & Culture Association in February 2007) for historic monuments, the “cultural & creative industries space ROT¹⁵ case” (contract signed in November 2007, the Strategic Alliance in Taiwan's Cultural Creative Industries acquired the right for reconstruction and operation for 15 years, and operation right would be extended for another 10 years if good operational performance was achieved) for historic buildings, and the “Taiwan Cultural & Creative Industries flagship Center BOT Case” (the Strategic Alliance in Taiwan's Cultural Creative Industries was selected in August 2009 and awarded with a 30 year contract for the center’s construction and operation; upon expiration of the initial contract, the alliance would be given priority for 10 year contract extensions, but limited to two extensions, after which the alliance would no longer have priority). At present, Huashan creative & cultural park is a recreational location favored by Taipei City residents for the holidays, temporary food stands are surrounded by people on the grass square as if it were a festival. However, if you go further into the exhibition halls, the crowd will suddenly diminish, and very few people pay a visit to the art park at the end; the park resembles a large amusement park. Products displayed in the creative art markets during the holidays are mainly industrial products, and are unable attract many people to stop and take a closer look. Exhibitions are discontinuous and the doors are often locked. The park is rarely visited during weekdays.

From the reutilization process of Huashan creative & cultural park after being abandoned for 20 years we can reach the following conclusions:

1. Teams had low investment willingness due to extremely limited time during early stages, and operations still relied on government subsidies. Now, the government’s ROT and BOT time limit gives consideration to the risk and return of investors, but there is still dispute over considerations of public interest, content positioning, decision transparency and calculation of time limit. If the government’s zero budget policy causes mass volume of building BOT project high rental and product prices, which is the result of investors

seeking financial balance, it will damage the government's original intentions of nurturing the cultural & creative industries as well as public interest.

2. The role definition of the Council for Cultural Affairs is unclear, is it the landlord (collects rent), or does it need to supervise the entire process of project implementation? Private operators are entirely responsible for park operation and management and the examination of firms that hope to enter and be stationed in the parks, easily resulting in high prices or commercialization of spaces to make up for losses, which is against public interest. The Council for Cultural Affairs should not be the only project supervisor, specialists and scholars (especially members of the Huashan association for the promotion of culture and art) should also be a part of the supervisory mechanism, strengthening a supervision and interaction model between the government, private organizations and scholars.
3. The Huashan operation team comprises 2 different firms; there is no way to learn their role definition and division of labor; the rights and obligations of the two firms and the Council for Cultural Affairs should be clarified. The effective integration of public and private efforts is the key and challenge to Huashan's sustainable operation, and to its role as a base for the cultural & creative industries. Government departments should be integrated, including tourism, marketing and education departments.
4. Among the rich cultural property values of Huashan creative & cultural park, there is relatively weak connection between scientific, social culture, economic and public interest values; its cultural property values have yet to be transformed into its core competitiveness. This is why the park does not have any distinguishing features, and visitors are mainly there for its recreational functions and to enjoy its open spaces, few understand the park's true cultural connotation. Commercialization, inclination to please the general public, and bureaucratic atmosphere have driven art spaces towards embracing the masses, but has suppressed the originality and autonomy of art.
5. Huashan creative & cultural park is mainly used to provide cultural services and promulgate policies, but has not been able to connect with peripheral industries and communities. The government's cultural policies emphasize on large activities, but cannot shape urban aesthetics, cultural consumption and industrial core. Lack of social connection, e.g. interaction with communities, participation of residents, and connection between other educational institutions with cultural consumption and product market, has turned the park into a product of specific operations.
6. Surroundings of Huashan creative & cultural park include the Guanhua electronic commercial district, which is a famous location in Taipei for selling electronics, and many colleges and research institutes, but we still have not seen Huashan integrate peripheral industries and research institutes, as well as provide creative & cultural

industries with a location for research, development and incubation. To focus on cultural consumption while overlooking the incubation of creativity is to concentrate on details but forget the main purpose; this will turn the park into a large commercial area while providing no help to the development of the cultural & creative industries.

7. Creative & cultural parks provide services to urban development, but if its operation cannot become a part of urban life, residents will not identify the parks, and the parks will become isolated islands or areas near abandonment.

5. The Core Value of Cultural Property as a Development Strategy for Creative & Cultural Park in Taiwan

In terms of policy, the regeneration and development plan for creative & cultural parks starts with the reutilization of old buildings owned by government agencies, redeveloping the urban environment and enhancing industrial development opportunities, while emphasizing on the mixed usage of “cultural industries parks” and the concept of urban clusters; the goal is to bring local economy revitalization effects, redevelop damaged environments, and quality improvement.

Therefore, besides the preservation and maintenance of physical space, we need to utilize instruments and methods of intangible aspects, such as technology and economy, to more accurately integrate goals of sustainable development. Future development strategies are proposed according to four aspects: social culture, economy, environment and public interest.

(1) Social Culture:

1. Emphasize on the consensus of a locality’s collective memory so that it fits in with the cultural space concept of community eco-museums. Combine spatial development with cultural concepts, introduce cultural property values with new functions, and blend them into daily life via education, aesthetics and marketing. Taiwan’s creative & cultural park redevelopment should not be limited to hardware preservation and performance and exhibition purposes; spatial reconstruction should give consideration to the possibility of introducing new functions, such as education, residences and work, and allow more people to use and experience cultural property, extending their memories of living together.
2. Emphasis on cultural development and encouraging creativity, distinctiveness, rareness and uniqueness of cultural industries can create a symbolic economy and local identification of spaces, as well as unique and unwavering symbolic value. Mere duplication will cause creative & cultural parks to lose their uniqueness. In order to gain regional economic and local identification benefits, the core value of cultural property should be reexamined, and local cultures should be combined with peripheral industries

to create new creative industries.

3. Continue to develop cultural traditions, and establish connections between art, local history and cultural heritage. Furthermore, value the connection between local cultures and global cultures, and sculpt regional cultural landscapes.

(2) Economy:

1. Emphasize on economic development, utilize core values of cultural property to enhance the connection between cultural industries and other industries, create employment opportunities, and integrate cultural recreation, cultural tourism and cultural marketing to maximize economic benefits. Taiwan's cultural policies should not overlook economic benefits, or it will be like caviar to the general and limit developments instead. Mass cultures should be industrialized to an appropriate extent and integrated with education, tourism, industrial, recreation, and marketing policies.
2. Take advantage of the charm and values of cultural property, e.g. educational values, cultural identification, social culture values, and aesthetic values, and propose operation, management and marketing strategies. The government should reutilize intangible values of cultural property, and not just redevelop the environment from a commercial point of view or to make a profit; the government should not stoop to duplicating or collage culture.
3. The government should help build an industrial cluster development model to stimulate the redevelopment of local industries and cultural activities. Outsourced operation of creative & cultural parks emphasizes on sales and overlooks industrial cultivation and clustering. Only the government's cultural & creative industries policy can gain industrial cluster benefits. Therefore, in terms of development strategy, creative & cultural parks can not entirely depend on outsourcing.
4. The Guanhua electronics Commercial District, which is close to Huashan creative & cultural park, has a strong foundation in the 3C consumer electronics industry and multimedia industry. Development of Huashan creative & cultural park should be integrated with the industrial chain of Guanhua Commercial District, utilizing advantages of the creative & cultural park to boost industrial upgrade in Guanhua Commercial District.

(3) Environment:

1. Treasure the uniqueness of cultural property values, and help surrounding communities maintain a sense of identification and belonging. Emphasize on regional image and identity, and construct local features and spatial styles. Preservation and reutilization of park areas must be coordinated with urban development, and connote the nature of urban

cultures, historical context, and the lives of urban residents.

2. Integrate regional development resources to support the operation of the cultural & creative industries network. Peripheral developments and connection should also be considered when establishing creative & cultural parks; Location selection and planning should be carried out from the perspective of integrated regional development.
3. Subject orientation of creative & cultural parks should first engage in analysis, coordination with peripheral industries, and finding local potential features, completing development plans before the parks are established. Creative & cultural parks are not just exhibition and performance space, but places that combine cultural consumption with cultural production, in which culture is the origin and consumption is the substance.

(4) Public Interest:

1. A mechanism that effectively integrates public and private efforts is the key and a challenge to creative & cultural parks for achieving sustainable operation, as well as fulfilling its role as a base for cultural & creative industries. At present, operations of creative & cultural parks in Taiwan are completely outsourced; cultural policies are not carried through and lack continuity. It is recommended that the public sector collaborate with a third party in the implementation of cultural exhibition and industrial incubation policies, providing space and equipment to nurture creative & cultural industries, while the private sector engages in commercial operations and marketing. This way both public interest and economic benefits are given consideration to.
2. Creative & cultural park developments should maintain the openness of spaces. Cultural properties are the people's common asset, and should be locations where all residents can take part in and share common memories. Entrance fees of creative & cultural parks should give consideration to openness, different time periods and accessibility by different classes to prevent privatization caused by high expenses.
3. Respect the public, expand public participation, and approve of diversified developments in coordination with daily life. Exhibition themes in creative & cultural parks should be original and for the general public, attract participation and identification of community residents via diverse methods, and avoid targeting small masses.

6. Conclusion

The sustainable preservation of cultural property must strengthen the reutilization of core values, creative & cultural parks should fully utilize the core value of cultural property, discover the diversity and artistic value of local art and cultures, form a creative atmosphere, induce creativity and industrial cluster demands of creative & cultural industries, promote integration of

the local economy with local cultures, and implement creative economic development. These measures will allow creative & cultural parks to possess unique styles and industrial competitiveness that can be further utilized for developing cultural tourism. Reutilizing industrial heritage as creative & cultural parks in creative cities will not only recreate the spatial modernity that results from technologies and cultures contained in industrial heritage, but also extend the context of urban development to mold a new cultural landscape.

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Western Influences on Planning Problems in Turkey

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WESTERN INFLUENCES ON PLANNING PROBLEMS IN TURKEY

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After the declaration of the republic, as Turkey has become one of the European Countries as a nation-state, the modernization Project simultaneously started to experience change in its qualifications. Following the end of the World War II, Turkey went into a transition period through which it aimed to take a respected place among other countries and to adapt itself to the newly established institutions of the world, both economically and politically. In this period, the modernization Project of Turkey has become sensitive to up to date tendencies, abandoning radical approaches. Again, with the changes related to domestic market, Turkey started a new orientation to the world markets and more attention was paid to modernization in agriculture. Taking the understanding of liberalization to the fore, private sector started to gain more significance, and the construction of public high ways was given more importance rather than the construction of railways. As the technological developments in agriculture increased and again as transportation facilities became more available thanks to the newly constructed roads, the opportunities for people to find a job got harder and harder in the cities, and as a consequence of the rapid increase in the population of the cities, they started to be densely populated. As a consequence of the rapid urbanization, it was not possible for the city administrators to come up with solutions so that they can catch up with these rapid changes using the already available facilities in their hands. As cities were not ready for this unexpectedly appearing transition, and as they did not have enough infrastructures, the people immigrating from countryside to big cities attempted to meet their accommodation needs primitively by themselves. As a consequence of that, the suburbs of the big cities were sieged by squatters which lacked of some of the most basic transportation services. All of the cities which lacked of basic infrastructure services, even metropolitan cities adapted a dual structure understanding as the naturally developing parts of these cities and those developing with an urbanization planning fell into a sharp separation.

Turkey faced many significant changes after the World War II as in every part of the world. Whereas the most significant change happened in the cities struggling with the problems appearing as a consequence of rapid urbanization, governments of countries tried to come up with various policies to meet the rapidly increasing needs for houses and urban planning. With the first development plan law passed in the parliament in 1956, it was aimed to adapt the country to the newly appeared urbanization understanding in the world. It is also possible to see the western influences on the other regulations related to urbanizations passed in that period. In that period, houses used to only be available for individuals. That used to be put into practice only if somebody who wanted to own a house apply a project prepared by a relevant technical expert on a land which had urbanization plan. As this process required a long time and also as it is very costly, it was not possible to meet the rapidly increasing housing needs. The people with limited and irregular income who immigrated to cities attempted to solve their housing needs constructing illegal squatters on the lands most of which were public land. Because of the reasons, such as the need of the industry for work force, and not able to meet the need for housing in legal platform, it became harder to struggle

with squatters, the number of which had been increasing dramatically. Consequently, the owners of these squatters used their right to vote as a means of gaining power to negotiate with the governments to preserve their illegally constructed buildings. As the increasing need for building land could not be met as a consequence of rapid urbanization led an increase in the prices of the building lands in all cities, which then made the possibility for the people with average income hard to own their houses at a single parcel. This then led people to construct western like multi-storeyed buildings with which they could have one flat after the legal regulations passed in the parliament. As a consequence of both the increase in the demand for multi-storeyed buildings and the legal regulations related to the construction of multi-storeyed buildings, the construction of buildings gained speed both with the help of builders and the housing cooperatives. Following the year 1950 when the construction of buildings gained speed, the experts brought from western countries performed field related studies and new institutions related to urbanization planning were established.



Traditional settlement

The new constitution coming into effect in 1961 included some regulations related to helping the people with low income to own their houses. The understanding which suggests that economical and social planning country-wide should be institutionalized and urbanization planning cannot be considered as separate from this planning. As Turkey went into a rationalist planning practice, this strict planning understanding which required long research was found not to be relevant to the rapid urbanization practice of that time. The fact that the urbanization planning replicated from western countries was not relevant to the realities of the country, and that a new urbanization planning which was quick and flexible in decision making made it compulsory for new understandings in urbanization.

Whereas the speed of urbanization decreased a little bit in that period as a consequence of the workforce transfer to western European countries from Turkey, it still kept going down. With the spread of the car manufacture in 1970s in Turkey, personal car ownership became common and the people with high income started to lead their lives in suburbs in western like isolated houses with large yards for personal use. At the same time, the production of automobiles led density in city traffic; consequently traffic related problems arose to be solved by city administrators. The ban for traffic on some regions where trade was very common and the conversion of these places into those just for pedestrians happened in that period.



Gecekondu

The cities in Turkey kept growing as an oil stain does till mid 1970s. The city centers lost most of their historically, culturally and naturally valuable assets during the period when old buildings were replaced with new and modern ones, and they experienced a continuous increase in population, which then led to insufficiency in social infrastructure of the cities. The growth and density of cities and the decrease in the quality of life in cities experienced a parallel development. As a solution to the housing problem resulted from rapid urbanization, none of the building areas succeeded in offering opportunities to city dwellers to increase their life standards. Neither the multi-storeyed buildings constructed by builders, the uniform buildings constructed by cooperatives nor the squatters around the cities could meet the expectations. The rapid continuous growth of the cities led to the decrease in the life quality of the dwellers.



Mass housing

Beginning from 1980s, Turkey underwent a new transformation period together with the world and the urbanization in that period reached a certain level. Three different effects are monitored in the transformation related to human settlement. One of these is the changes in their functions. Transition to a city based on industry from a city based on agriculture can be given here as an example. The second one is the changes in the presentation of the buildings and in the transportation organizations within the cities. The third one is the enlargement of the cities in size. The production functions of the city centers were replaced with banking and finance services. When the changes related to the distribution of the central business and

industrial fields were combined with those related to the enlargement of the cities in sizes and to transportation organizations within the cities, they also led many other changes around the buildings. With the rapid spread of personal car ownership, many new suburban settlements appeared for the people with average and high income as transportation had become easier for these people thanks to private cars. In the rest of the building areas, new buildings with lower standards were constructed and also new construction projects with high standards for the people with higher income were constructed on the building lands close to where rich people lived. The transformation that Turkey experienced with the Word in 1980s was not comprehended very quickly, it happened step by step in time.

It is possible to see causes of the physical deterioration in cities resulted from the rapid growth of the cities in the rapid change period in the technical, legal, social and administrative insufficiencies. As the causes of this above mentioned deterioration in cities, inappropriate urban planning policies, the abuse of the authority by regional and central administration organs, the fact that the self-interest of some groups in cities was kept fore rather than that of the state and economical insufficiencies can be given.

When we count the fact that cities grew out of control because of the dense migration and the city culture was kept under pressure by countryside culture as a consequence of that, we can easily observe that cities have experienced significant changes, physically, culturally, socially and economically.



Settlement of high income groups surrounded with walls

The rapid increase in the population in the country, the urbanization problems resulted from the dense migration from country side to cities have increased the gap among the regions more, and the problems experienced in urban planning have also snowballed. As the opportunities to find a job have increased in industrialized cities, they had to accept much immigration and they have become densely populated ones. It was not possible to overcome the problems related to the rapid increase in the demand for housing using the available facilities. As the available building land was not enough for constructing new settlements, and also as the replacements of two storeyed buildings in city center were rantabl, it encouraged both land owners and builders to construct and earn more. Whereas the city centers with insufficient infrastructure and dense population could not meet the needs related to transportation and other infrastructural services, cities went on growing out of control. In one side, the rapidly rising buildings in city centers for more rantabl purposes, in other side, the illegal squatters constructed by the immigrants with limited income around cities to meet their

housing needs have made it harder for city administrators to cope with these problems. This brought many issues to the agenda, such as establishing housing cooperatives led by local administrators following the making of new laws, state-led house construction. After a while, these mass of uniform buildings, most of which were constructed for those with limited income by housing cooperatives and with the loans taken from state banks had low standards with regards to construction quality, and thus they caused cities to lose their traditional texture.

As a consequence of the attempts to adapt to western like life styles and produce social housing lands, uniform social areas which are known that they are of low quality in life standards and construction have risen in many parts of the cities. It can be suggested here that the single storey and unplanned squatters built in large yards are luckier than those areas. Another type of housing construction built specifically for those with higher income is the detached houses built in the areas far from the city center and they have all kind of socialites required for higher life standards. Their infrastructural problems are solved within themselves. Most of those settlements provide social and cultural centers, shopping centers, sometimes preschools and primary schools. They are fewer storeyed and detached ones. These areas which are designed for a life within the site without having the residents leave the site for most of the needs tend to cause some social break-ups among people as it seems to be detached from the rest of the city.



Mass housing

The spread of the multi-storeyed modern buildings which are called as “residence” in western countries in the country has become common just recently. The spread of such housing types seem to hinder the traditional and social relationships among people in neighborhoods, but replaced that of western type. It did not take long for the urbanization understanding which neglects the traditional and cultural values gained after long years to show its negative effects.

Findings and suggestions for solutions:

- Whereas buildings consist of the indispensable part of traditional city life, they reflect an identity with uniformity and unique planning. The modern building of our age has uniform city texture and they do not reflect a unity.
- Whereas the deterioration which was caused by the rapid urbanization as well as modernization, accordingly, they have problems related to the changes in identity

- Whereas the decision makers aim to speed up to attracts the capital owners with their regional planning, they seem not to have paid enough attention to some most basic principles, such as plan discipline, consistency, determination and sustainability
- The inappropriate urbanization policies of the local and national policy owners, the abuse of the authorization, taking the self-interest of some capital owners to the fore rather than that of the state are some of the basic causes of deterioration in cities.

The western like housing style does not carry the characteristics that we see in traditional type of housing, physically and socially, and it also spoils the already existing texture.

Some positive features of traditional housing type, like the consciousness of being a city dweller, social relationships should be examined and they should be reflected on the new housing areas.

Rather than replicating the urbanization plans from western countries, a new understanding of urbanization should be adapted and it should take local and cultural assets to the fore. In addition to that, the local administrations should be manipulated to take the state interests to the fore rather than that of some other sides.

Industrial areas should be distributed equally within the region, thus immigration from countryside to the cities should be minimized.

The modernity Project which first appeared in Europe has caused many transformational acts in the world, has also led some transformations in the structure of the people in the Republic of Turkey as well as spatial organizations. The problems faced in last 50 years are consequences of this fact. However, it is appropriate here to suggest that Turkey has the potential to overcome these problems.

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Empowerment among farmers in Nepal: are we all talking about the same thing?

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Empowerment among farmers in Nepal: are we all talking about the same thing?

Empowerment is an often debated concept in the academic world. However in development practice it seems to be used without discussion, assuming that it is always a 'good' thing and having a positive impact on farmers. However, empowerment is a very personal concept, therefore I asked farmers in Nepal what they understood by empowerment. Initially I expected that farmers would be unfamiliar with the word, since it is a word mostly used by well educated Nepali. Also it sounds quite 'formal' in Sanskrit: sanrakshan, too sophisticated in my view for farmers. But how wrong my assumption, how prejudiced I proved to be.... 95% of the farmers interviewed were familiar with the word and had clear ideas about its meaning. Interestingly the view of agriculture extension workers on empowerment is not in line with the view of male and female farmers. Additionally there is a clear distinction between men and women concerning their view on empowerment in Nepal. This gender difference reflects the roles of men and women and the opportunities they face in the household and society. It also implies the difficulties men and women face in achieving real changes in their lives. All these differentiations have implications to be considered in development interventions that aim to achieve empowerment of farmers in Nepal.

Empowerment among farmers in Nepal: are we all talking about the same thing? **A.M.B. Westendorp**

The Farmer Field School (hereafter FFS) is an agricultural extension approach in Nepal in which farmers learn about agriculture, and gain skills to improve their farming. The programme started in 1998 and is still on-going. On a weekly basis a group of 25-30 farmers meet to discuss problems in their crop, and determine which agronomic practices to take to solve these problems. Discovery-learning in a participatory way is a key element of the FFS. The entire process is facilitated by agricultural technicians from the government or local NGOs. One of the objectives of this programme is farmer's empowerment. *Farmer field schools are being considered vehicles for empowerment of farmers* (a.o. Ooi, 1998; Pontius et al, 2002; Bartlett 2004; Hounkonnou et al., 2006). Empowerment is an often debated concept in the academic world. However in development practice it seems to be used without discussion, assuming that it is always a 'good' thing and having a positive impact on farmers.

In this paper I like to explore how FFS developers have defined empowerment, what farmers themselves and FFS facilitators actually understand by empowerment. First I will look at different definitions of the word empowerment, and then I will look at the different views of farmers and agricultural technicians. Because farmers are not a homogenous group and because women and men have different roles in agriculture in Nepal, I will look at the views on empowerment from a gender perspective.

Empowerment is a word one does not come across in a Basic English course at High School. It is a word that I only became familiar with when I started working in international development. It is a term that I feel a bit awkward about when I explain my PhD study to friends and relatives who are working in different sectors. Searching the internet, www.empowerment.com is not very helpful: this site shows a picture of someone serving a meat dish. The word empowerment seems pretentious, and has a connotation of 'knowing what is best for others'. Still empowerment is an interesting concept that is worth debating, and a concept that has for most a positive thought behind it: to gain strength, to get power, to become independent, and so on.

Bartlett (2004) compares empowerment with the taste of mango or the feeling of snow, suggesting that: Empowerment is something almost everybody will recognize, but almost nobody can describe. There is no universal agreement, the experience is contextual. The experience of empowerment is unique for each individual; it entails a very personal interpretation.

There is a growing literature on empowerment but no single definition has been widely accepted. This complexity and different interpretations has led to various conceptualisations of empowerment.

Empowerment is a concept, which was introduced in the development scene in the 1980s and became popular in the 1990s. It is possible to observe trends in the conceptualisation of empowerment together with wider approaches to development. The early explanations are associated with the basic needs approach to development and a shift from a top-down technocratic approach to a call for popular involvement.

The World Bank links empowerment to poverty reduction and better service delivery: Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives (World Bank 2002a). *Empowerment of the poor* became a popular slogan, replacing the earlier top-down and material well-being approach. Now the word is found documented in over 1800 WB aided projects (Alsop and Heinsohn, 2005).

In brief the concept of empowerment emphasises three issues: 1) increased access and control over resources 2) individual's agency and own potential to achieve change and 3) in a transformation of power relations. Some examples are given below:

IFAD relates empowerment to an increase in access and control over resources: Access to productive resources and the capacity to participate in decisions that affect the least privileged (IFAD, 1995).

Others consider control over resources combined with capabilities, individual agency as an important aspect of empowerment, such as Sen and Chambers:

“Empowerment is the process of gaining power, both control over external resources, and growth in inner self-confidence and capability” (Sen 1997).
“Empowerment means that people, especially poorer people, are enabled to take more control over their lives, and secure a better livelihood with ownership and control of productive assets as one key element” (Chambers 1993).

The individual strength or ability is stressed by several, sometimes linked to the right based approach, for instance DFID, Kabeer and others:

“Empowerment means individuals acquiring the power to think and act freely, exercise choice, and to fulfil their potential as full and equal members of society” (DFID 2000).
Empowerment should lead to the liberation of both men and women where each can become whole beings irrespective of gender and collectively use their potential to construct a more humane society for all (Akhtar 1992).
“Empowerment ... refers to the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them”. (Kabeer 2001).
True empowerment is not a condition which can be bestowed by one group on another but is, rather, an ongoing process by which the disempowered seek to fulfil their own needs and preserve their own rights (Swift and Levin 1987).

Some academics and development practitioners believe that empowerment is about gaining control or changing structures in the context individuals live. For instance:

“The development of the ability and capacity to cope constructively with the forces that undermine and hinder coping; the achievement of some reasonable control over one's destiny (Pinderhughes, 1983).

Empowerment is about the creation of political, legal, socio-cultural and economic environment that would facilitate, encourage and enable the powerless (i.e., the poor) to influence policies, decisions, actions on their behalf (Sharma, 2003).

“Empowerment expresses the idea that disadvantaged and poor people increase their ‘freedom of choice and bargaining power in relation to ... more powerful groups’” (Adnan et al, 1992, in Neefjes 2000, p.100).

Batliwala and others emphasise that real empowerment can only take place when there is a change in the structure, a transformation in unequal power relations:

Empowerment is the process of challenging existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the sources of power (Batliwala 1994).

Empowerment is the process of awareness and capacity-building leading to greater decision-making power and control, and to transformative action (Karl, 1995).

Empowerment is about freedom to choose and achieve different outcomes (Sen 1999).

“Empowerment is the process of awareness and capacity-building, which increases the participation and decision-making power of citizens and may potentially lead to transformative action which will change opportunity structures to an inclusive and equalising direction” (Andersen and Siim, 2004)

All these different definitions reflect different positions and objectives of individuals and organisations and they might change over time, following new insights. This is illustrated by UNDP's changed definition of empowerment. In 1998 the organisation defined empowerment as: “full participation of people in the decisions and processes that shape their lives”. It is viewed in the context of policies and programmes designed to strengthen people's capacity to respond to their needs and priorities and civil society organisations are seen as mediators for people's empowerment and focus on strengthening these mediating structures (UNDP 1998PAGE). Then in 2004 UNDP defines empowerment “as the process of transforming existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the sources of power.” This interpretation is also very similar with UNDP's approach to human development which is defined as ‘creating an environment where people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interest ... to be able to participate in the life of the community’ (UNDP 2004). In 1998 UNDP focuses on empowerment as a process facilitated by ‘outsiders’ related to capacity-building, enhancing participation in decision-making. In 2004 the organisation considers changes in power relations, thus transformation, and people's own role as a key to

empowerment.

From above, it is clear that there are a lot of definitions and that there is no agreement on the concept. Batliwala regards this vagueness of the word empowerment as an advantage “*so it gives us breathing space to work it out in action terms before we have to pin ourselves down to what it means*” (1993:48). But Rowland (1997, 2007, 1995:105) correctly suggests: “*The concept of ‘empowerment’, if it is used precisely and deliberately, can help to focus thought, planning, and action in development. However, when its use is careless, deliberately vague, or sloganising, it risks becoming degraded and valueless...*”

Given the difference of opinion it is important to clarify from the start how I will use the concept in this writing. Because I relate ‘empowerment’ to the farmer field school, I use here the definition of the persons who designed the FFS programme. John Pontius et al, (2002) wrote in an overview of the history and status of FFS activities in Asia, that “empowerment reflects the developmental process whereby farmers become able to identify factors that inhibit their control over their lives and the means to resolve those issues”. Experiential learning introduced in the FFS facilitates this process. FFS practitioners (a.o. Ooi, 1998; Pontius et al., 2002; Bartlett, 2004) assume that this process of discovery or experiential learning continues after FFS and that farmers practice this in other crops than the one practice in the FFS, and even take it further in their daily existence, and solve problems in their community or social life.

This made me curious: is empowerment in FFS project documents or the way project policy-makers define it actually in line with farmer’s views (and implicitly reflect their needs)? How do the junior technicians (JTs) or FFS trainers see empowerment? In the same way as farmers they work with? How do farmers themselves actually define empowerment? *And: is there is difference between men and women?*

As De Jager in his PhD thesis states: ‘ a comprehensive impact assessment still needs to be done on broader development impacts of FFS such as on empowerment (2007:147), however, he did not elaborate on empowerment, so I will. Because empowerment reflects very much a personal experience or feeling I asked farmers themselves to define empowerment. I talked with men and women who did not participate in FFS and men and women, who did participate, to see if participation in FFS had an impact on their view on empowerment. Then I compared this with the way it is defined by the farmer field school trainers, junior technicians or agricultural extension workers who facilitate FFS.

Why are gender issues important in looking at empowerment and farmer field schools?

In most farmer field school project documents farmers are depicted as a homogenous group. However, in practice men and women in Nepal have separate tasks and responsibilities in farming. Women and men have unequal access to resources and are affected by policies and measures in different ways (Joshi, 2000). These differences are well described in an early study by Bennett and Acharya (1981), and still confirmed by later authors such as Indra Majupuria (2007). Individuals face differences in access and control of resources such as land and capital, whereby men

traditionally dominate women. Joshi (2000: 250) found: “Nepal’s patriarchal culture restricts women so much that they have few decision-making roles inside or outside the household”. The low status of women, systems of patrilineal descent, patri-local residence and rules of inheritance interact to isolate and subordinate women throughout the country.

Gender issues are thus interwoven systematically into the basic social structure of Nepalese society, as are other traditional values. (UNDP HDR 2004 p31, 32). Not only gender but also caste and ethnicity are part of a complex, interlinked, deeply hierarchical social structure that forms the basis for social exclusion and poverty in Nepal (Bennett and Gajurel et al., 2006). Among the interviewees, only 5 were from dalit¹ caste. Dalits hardly participate in the FFS, due to several reasons (not being invited to the FFS training, no farm land, no education, no time, situated far from training site). However, considering all these issues was beyond the scope of this research. Because gender is at the basis of all forms of discrimination and a fundamental ordering principle I have considered gender in this study.

Methodology

In the summer of 2008 and 2009 I² have conducted semi-structured interviews (SSI) with 79 farmers (42 women, 37 men) who have not taken part in FFS (later referred to as non-FFS farmers). These farmers came from places where they did not have a farmer field school.

I used the same SSI key words in interviews with 74 (54 women, 20 men) farmers who had completed FFS training (later referred to as: FFS farmers). I compare these two groups to get an insight of the difference FFS participation makes in farmers’ view on empowerment. Additionally I conducted 5 focus group discussions with respectively (twice) district agricultural office staff, (three times) with junior technicians. I had two focus group discussions with NGO FFS trainers. They are all men, because the DADO³ and local NGO office is dominated by men and there was no female staff present. They all have been involved in FFS. Furthermore I have consulted FFS project documents.

Findings

Initially I expected that farmers would be unfamiliar with the word ‘empowerment’, since it is a word mostly used by well educated Nepali. Also it sounds quite ‘formal’ in Sanskrit: *sanrakshan*, too sophisticated in my view for farmers. But how wrong my assumption, how prejudiced I proved to be.... 95% of the farmers interviewed were familiar with the word and had clear ideas about its meaning.

1) Women with/without farmer field school: their definition of empowerment

In the table below (1) the data collected from women who had taken part in FFS and women who had never attended FFS are presented.

¹ Dalit means lower caste or untouchable in Nepalese society.

² With thanks to Master students: Ramesh Humagain, Nalini Lamichhane, Rabindra Sapkota

³ District Agriculture Development Office

Table 1 empowerment according women farmers with/without FFS

Empowerment is...	Non-FFS Women n=42	%	Empowerment is...	FFS women n=54	%
Awareness	17	46%	Awareness through education	4	7%
Self reliant, strong	7	19%	Self-confidence, ability	13	23%
Women development	5	14%	Speak	4	7%
All in household in good condition	4	11%	Take part in decision-making	2	4%
Express own feeling	3	8%	To involve in groups and development work	22	39%
Free, can move from home	1	3%	Give women strength, ability and freedom	2	4%
			enable those who are unable	2	4%
			Unite all	3	3%
			Do not know	5	9%
Total	42	100%		57	100%

For women who never took part in FFS, empowerment means mostly awareness or being self-reliant. With awareness they mean: becoming aware of gender inequalities. Some added: empowerment means women development and self-reliance. Ten out of 42 women specifically emphasised ‘women’: “women awareness, women development, give women freedom”. Generally speaking, women without FFS experience see empowerment as increasing individual strength, personal growing. Women who took part in FFS mainly consider self-confidence and involvement in work and group activities as empowerment.

“My husband encouraged me to participate in FFS, now I have no hesitation to attending training, tours and community meeting” (Neelam Shrestha 38 yr)

2) Men with/without farmer field school: their definition of empowerment

In interviews with men (37 without FFS, 22 with FFS experience) the answers were different than women’s responses. See in the table below a summary.

Table 2 ideas of men without and with FFS regarding empowerment

Empowerment is...	Non-FFS	%	Empowerment is...	FFS men n=20	%
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	Men n=37				
Group action for society, active in social work	20	54%	Group action for society, active in social work	8	40%
Self-development, Self-confidence and decision-making power	9	24%	Self development	3	15%
To use power and knowledge for positive change	4	11%	Realise people's needs; enable those who are unable	4	20%
Awareness of development	2	5%	Full awareness thru education	2	10%
Do not know	2	5%	Put balance between men and women	1	5%
			Unite all	1	5%
			Speak	1	5%
Total	42	100%		20	100%

Men who did not take part in FFS consider empowerment mainly as being active in social work or as one said: 'group action in society', or even stronger: 'to move the group with unity'. From the answers of men in rural areas it is clear that their idea of empowerment is much more focused on improvement for the society, on action outside the household. There is not much difference between men with or without FFS experience. The view of women on empowerment seems to shift after FFS participation in the direction of the view of men on empowerment. Their focus on group work and social activities for development has increased.

More than men, women look at personal development when they talk about empowerment: involve in decision-making, become self-sufficient and able, become self-confident, and take initiative.

3) How have non FFS men and women experienced empowerment in FFS?

When we asked, how women and men had experienced or achieved empowerment, their answers were almost unanimously: due to education. See table 3 below.

Table 3: how do non-FFS men and women achieve empowerment?

	Women	Men
Education	22	30
Training	3	
Experience	3	

Involvement in group	5	
Doing social work		5
Participate in VDC		2
Support of organisations such as NGOs		2

Both men and women acknowledge that education is important for empowerment. For the interviewees with education they mean: school attendance and being educated is more than just literate. Men have mentioned: doing social work has led to empowerment or participation in village development committee, or through support from organisations such as NGOs. None of the women have mentioned these possibilities. Seventy percent of the women said that family support is a pre-condition for their empowerment. Men obviously have more links with the world outside their home or village; their circle is bigger, their mobility is larger than women's.

But how does their view differ from men and women who took part in FFS?

3) How have non-FFS men and women experienced empowerment in FFS?

How do women and men experience empowerment as a result of participation in FFS? The responses to this question are given in table 4.

Table 4: How did men and women achieve empowerment through FFS?

	FFS Women n=54	FFS Men n=20
Involvement in group	6	4
Learn to present	9	1
Singing and speaking in front of others	18	5
Improved technology, seeds, information	6	4
Contact with important people and organisations	3	2
Income generation	3	-
Planning skills	3	1
Able to lead and teach others	4	-
Through learning	4	
Able to solve problems	1	-
Give opportunity to all	-	3

Women achieved empowerment through singing and speaking in front of others and learning to present. For men speaking and group involvement was also important, but less explicit than for women. One dalit man said: "FFS gives chance to unknown people", this implies that he has felt excluded before.

Empowerment has taken place as a result of FFS, probably contributing also to a change in relations among men and women. As some of the interviewees concluded: *In the time before FFS my father and mother in-law treated me as domestic helper these days that is changed and husband the relationship is good, he do not deny what I do.* (Devi, 28)

These days the relationship with father and mother in-law is improved. I equally treat my son and daughter in food, education and others (Yam, 32)

The relationship with all family members has changed these days, my husband help me in household work, I treat my son and daughter equally (Laxmi 36)

Relation has been changed with husband and father and mother in-law, get freedom, free to participate in group and social activities. (Srijana, 45).

Yes, previously the permission should be taken from husband to do something but these days I could do in my own. I equal treat son and daughter. I live in different family than my father and mother in-law. The relationship is good (Ritu, 42).

Yes, previously my husband was deciding everything in farm, these days he takes my idea to make a decision. I also got land right from my husband. (Sunita, 39)

Some women interviewees also said that nowadays they have more access to resources such as land: *I also got land rights from my husband and mother and father in law* (Juna, 38). It is hard to tell if this is a result from FFS participation only, but it is clear that FFS has contributed to women gaining access to important resources such as land.

A few women said that their husbands took advice from them. This was a new experience for them, and it meant that their newly acquired skills in FFS were valued. *"Yes, my husband always takes advice from me"* (Anju, 34).

Many FFS trainees stressed that these days (in contrast to the recent past!) they send both boy and girls to school. This is a break with tradition when mostly boys got preference to be allowed to attend school. *We equally treat son and daughter in education and health* (Yam, 42).

5) Empowerment according to farmer field school trainers and extension staff

Interviews with FFS facilitators showed a gap between them and farmers in respect to their view on empowerment. In focus group discussion with respectively 8 and 13 JTs (junior technicians) from the District Agricultural Development Office, they mainly talked about empowerment as an achievement or outcome when: "women dare to speak or raise their voice" or "when women are not afraid to say their name". They

also often express empowerment in terms of ‘doing what they have been told or taught’ or “when farmers follow what they have learnt from us”, “when they adapt the technology introduced to them”.

According to the FFS facilitators FFS leads to empowerment, through the field experiments, the trials. The FFS trainers and extension staff considers empowerment of something that they facilitate for others. They suppose that they enable farmers to improve their lives. Unlike farmers who mainly see it as a process that affects their own lives, or that occurs when they are involved in social work, or in groups interact with others. FFS trainers talk about empowerment in terms of a result of technology transfer or a change in behaviour that they have observed among farmers (they talk more e.g.). Among the farmers only a few women mentioned that improved access to seeds and technology has contributed to their empowerment.

All FFS facilitators have observed a change among farmers who participated in FFS, especially among women. This is illustrated with the following remark:

"When I meet women who have participated in FFS they approach me with a lot of questions related to farming, they are not shy to ask for advice or seeds or other information. This is not the case when I visit women farmers who have not been in FFS. They are more shy and do not talk about agriculture at all with me (district officer DADO, interview July 2008)

Discussion

If we compare the different views of empowerment of men and women with and without FFS experience we see that women without FFS are much focused on awareness, and self-confidence and FFS women on group activities as well as individual growing.

Among the men there is not much difference between FFS participants and non-FFS participants.

Men’s definition of empowerment is more related to involvement in improvement of the society, on action outside the household. These answers reflect the traditional role of men and women in Nepal, which is for women mainly centred around the household, but it is also a sign of traditional women empowerment or gender activities in Nepal that apparently concentrate on ‘awareness’ raising. (See also Acharya et al. 2005). Women's answers (after taking part in FFS) are similar to men. This seems logical: one first needs to become aware of inequity or own possibilities. After awareness one can gain confidence to address inequities and also to join a group or get involved in community activities. This is line with Mosedale who confirms that “ One needs first Power within: self-esteem and self confidence. In a sense all power starts from here, such assets are necessary before anything else can be achieved (Mosedale, 2005:250)

The women have experienced a change in their lives as a result of FFS. This change is empowerment according to the women, but not in the same way as written in the project documents on FFS, which emphasises discovering factors that inhibit the control over their lives and the means to address these problems.

Although the FFS participants all liked going to the field, observing problems in the crop, doing the trials on fertiliser management and crop varieties, nobody mentioned this as contributing to empowerment. In discussions with farmers, in particular with women, singing and games were mentioned as giving confidence to the women. Also learning to give a presentation contributes to empowerment according to the women. The trainers dismissed the songs and games, as contributing to empowerment. In fact, observing the different FFS over the last ten years, the songs and games are the first to disappear from the curriculum when trainers are facing time constraints, or simply when they have no interest in singing or playing games. Also it is frequently observed that presentations of field data are rushed and mostly undertaken by young educated leaders in the FFS groups, who leave the village after they got an opportunity to work or study elsewhere. Thereby the programme is missing an opportunity to empower the other (female, often older, illiterate) farmers who usually remain in charge of agriculture and stay in the village. The empowering effect of presentation is not acknowledged or emphasised and could be encouraged by presenting on a rotational basis by all FFS participants. This requires a change of focus on process rather than content in FFS.

Many FFS programme officers or experts see empowerment as a way to mobilise groups and establish a forum for collective action. As is illustrated with the statement from an international NGO programme officer below: *“We consider FFS as an important mean to empowerment, in the way that the FFS provides a solid and necessary basis (through the processes of discussion and the need to come to consensus) for the later group formation. We see that some groups have matured into actual community development groups that can take responsibility for actual community development activities e.g. infrastructure, education, health etc. However by far the most of the groups just continue with the income-generating activities.* (e-mail communication Oct 2009 with ADDA⁴, an international NGO)

His view that FFS can be a vehicle for empowerment with collective action was confirmed by some of the local NGOs view in Nepal. This is illustrated with the following quote:

To provide Skill, to uplift the lower community is empowerment . We do this with self mobilization of saving and conducting regular meeting by a dalit women group. (Oct 2009, RIMS⁵)

Conclusion

The farmer field school is developed around the concept of empowerment of farmers. There is the assumption that everybody has the same understanding of the concept of empowerment. Yet emerging evidence from the field shows that this is not the case. The academic or policymakers definitions of empowerment are not in line with women and men farmers view.

It is clear that, neither male and female farmers, nor FFS trainers see empowerment in terms of *strategic life choices, increased decision-making, in identifying and*

⁴ ADDA: Agricultural Development Denmark Asia, an international NGO

⁵ RIMS: Resource Identification Management Systems, a local NGO

addressing factors that restrain their lives as it is indicated in the FFS documents by the project designers. None of the FFS facilitators seemed aware of the wider objective of ‘discovery learning’, its link with addressing problems felt in the lives of male and female farmers in Nepal. None of the farmers talked about solving problems they face, perhaps *becoming self-reliant* comes closest to the definition that FFS policy makers defined. In short, empowerment defined by FFS project designers is not based on male and female farmers’ realities and perceptions in Nepal.

Still, farmers do experience empowerment as a result of FFS. In particular women have experienced empowerment. Women in Nepal are disempowered relative to men, and have gained confidence and access to resources such as knowledge and skills from FFS. Although not due to discovery learning as assumed by policy-makers, but due to group participation, singing and presenting, speaking in a group.

If we compare all the views with the definitions listed in the beginning of this article, we see that women's view on empowerment is mostly related to agency, self esteem and personal growth; after FFS they also consider collective action or group work, but self-confidence remains important. Also access to resources, in particular knowledge, is mentioned to be important for the empowerment of women. Whereby women all said that family support is a prerequisite for empowerment, men do not mention this at all. The men seem unaware of this fact, or take family support for granted. The men interviewed see empowerment more in terms of ‘doing something good for society’ in a group.

In order to be more effective and sustainable with development programmes such as FFS, the interests, needs, background and context of the clients or beneficiaries ought to be considered. And when FFS is serious about empowerment the wider structures that shape disempowerment of men and women and inequality between men and women need to get addressed.

In practice it means emphasising participation of all and not just a few selected educated, young confident men or women, not just the leaders of the group. It means consciously involving shy, older, uneducated, unconfident women. Plus this implies attention to the importance of singing, speaking in front of the group and presenting findings rather than just the technical content or crop trials that FFS trainers seem to focus on.

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**Emotional Intelligence of trainee teachers in relation to their
gender and method subject**

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Emotional Intelligence of trainee teachers in relation to their gender and method subject

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Abstract

The present study is aimed to study the emotional intelligence of pre-service trainee teachers in relation to their gender and method subjects. A sample of 215 pre-service trainee teachers was selected. The tool used for the study was Emotional Intelligence Test developed by Prof. N. K. Chadha and Dr. Dalip Singh. The data was analyzed statistically using one-way ANNOVA. It was concluded that gender and method subjects had no significant role in determining the emotional intelligence. It was recommended that emotional intelligence of trainee teachers should not be judged on the basis of gender or their Method subjects.

Introduction & Literature Review

It was believed that a person's general intelligence measured as intelligence quotient is the greatest predictor of success in any walks of life – academic, social, vocational or professional. However researches and experiments conducted in the 90's onwards have tried to challenge such over dominance of intelligence and its measure intelligence quotient (IQ) by replacing it with the concept of emotional intelligence and its measure emotional quotient. The term emotional intelligence was introduced in 1990 by two American University professors Dr. John Mayer and Dr. Peter Salovey. According to them, "Emotional intelligence is an ability to monitor one's own and others feeling and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and others." (1997). Today emotional intelligence is considered to be important for success in all walks of life. According to Hein (2000) : "Emotional intelligence is the mental ability underlying the emotional sensitivity, awareness and management skills which help us maximize our long term health, happiness and survival". Daniel Goleman (1996) of "The New York Times", adopted the term "emotional Intelligence" and introduced it in his best seller '*Emotional Intelligence-Why it can matter more than IQ*'. He gave the world a new meaning of emotional intelligence. According to Goleman, IQ accounts for only about 20% of a person's success in life. The balance can be attributed to "emotional intelligence" or EQ.

In 1997, Salovey and Mayer refined their definition as "the ability to process emotional information, more specifically, as ability to recognize the meanings of emotions and their relationships, as well as being able to reason and to solve problems on the basis of them. In particular, it involves one's capacity to perceive and assimilate emotional feelings, to understand the information of these emotions and lastly, the management of them." More recently, Mayer and Cobb further developed the definition of emotional intelligence, into the following four branches (2000): (i)Emotional Understanding, (ii)Emotional facilitation of thought, (iii)Emotional management, (iv)Emotional identification, perception and expression.

Teachers deal with young students who are the future leaders of current society. It is therefore very important for teachers to have a high level of emotional intelligence so that they can bring about desirable changes in the students. Emotionally intelligent teachers bring about desirable changes in their students easily. The researcher wanted to study the emotional intelligence of the trainee teachers in relationship with two important variables of the trainee teacher viz. gender and method subjects.

The researcher reviewed various researches in the field of emotional intelligence to gain an insight into the problem. K.V. Petrides and Adrian Furnham (2000) in their study titled, "Gender Differences in Measured and Self-Estimated Trait Emotional Intelligence", studied emotional intelligence (EI) wherein a regression analysis of the data indicated that gender was a significant predictor of self-estimated Emotional Intelligence. A.B. Patil (2006), in his study titled, "Emotional Intelligence among student teachers in relation to sex, faculty and academic achievement" used tools like Emotional Intelligence Test (E.I.T) based on Goleman's Emotional Competency Model, gave some interesting results about the relationship. The study indicated that though gender and faculty plays no significant role in determination of emotional intelligence, the academic achievement is significantly related to emotional intelligence. A study titled, "The Relation of LD and Gender with Emotional Intelligence in College Students" by Henry B. Reiff (2001) indicated that gender plays no significant role in determination of Emotional Intelligence.

The study by Uma Devi L and Mayuri K (2005) titled, "Relationship between Emotional Intelligence and Academic Achievement of Adolescents" suggested that some dimensions of the emotional intelligence were positively and significantly related to the academic achievement of adolescents. Paloma Gil-Olarte Márquez, Raquel Palomera Martín and Marc A. Brackett(2006) in their study, "Relating emotional intelligence to social competence and academic achievement in high school students" found that academic grades were significantly related to emotional intelligence.

Problem of the Study

Nowadays emotional intelligence is considered to be more important than general intelligence, for success in any field. Since teachers deal with students of all kinds, it is important for them to be patient and emotionally stable. They should have the ability to deal with emotions. They should not vent out their frustration and anger on the students. Teachers who are not able to control and regulate their own feelings and emotions will not be able to understand the student's feelings.

The teacher training colleges in India impart training to future teachers. Compared to the past, at present the number of teacher training colleges in India has increased, and every year huge number of student (both male and female) are enrolled in these colleges. These trainees are admitted to the training college after completion of graduation which is either in science subjects or humanities and is known as the method subject. Though the skill imparted to the trainee teachers during training are the same; however the practice sessions of teaching are method specific as the students are divided in their respective method groups during these sessions.

In the present study, the researcher wanted to study whether the female trainee teachers are more emotionally intelligent than their male counterparts and whether the choice of method subjects has any relation with the emotional intelligence of the trainee teachers. The researcher was curious to know whether the trainee teachers from science and humanities background have different emotional intelligence.

The study was designed to test the following hypothesis:

- Female trainee teachers have high emotional intelligence than male trainee teachers.
- Science method trainee teachers are more emotionally intelligent than humanities.

Methodology

The study is essentially a survey, and the instrument of data collection is the standardized Emotional Intelligence Test by Prof. N.K. Chadha and Dr. Dalip Singh. This test consists of 15 multiple choice questions which measures an individual's emotional reactions to different situations. The answer is to be given on the basis of how you feel and not what you think. This EQ scale has high reliability (0.89 - 0.91) and a high validity of 0.78. This test has been designed to measure the basic three dimensions of the emotional intelligence viz., emotional competency, emotional maturity and emotional sensitivity. This test was personally administered to the trainee teachers.

For this study, the researcher had selected the 215 trainee teachers from four colleges of education affiliated to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad using stratified random sampling technique.

The statistical analysis technique used in testing the hypotheses was one-way analysis of variance (ANNOVA). All the hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance.

Data Analysis and Results:

The data was tabulated and was analyzed using one-way ANNOVA. The testing of the hypothesis is presented one by one. All the analysis was done using well-known statistical software Minitab15.

Hypothesis one: Female trainee teachers have high emotional intelligence than male trainee teachers.

The data regarding the gender was collected though the preliminary information column of the answer sheet provided during administering the emotional intelligence test. The Emotional intelligence score was calculated by the response received from the trainee teachers against the multiple choice questionnaire given to them.

To test the hypothesis, one-way analysis of variance (ANNOVA) method is used, as one variable (gender of trainee teacher) is dichotomous. The result of one-way ANNOVA is shown in table below:

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Gender	1	572	572	0.72	0.395
Error	214	168969	790		
Total	215	169542			

Table 1: One way ANOVA- Gender wise

Notations: DF is for degree of freedom, SS is for Sum of square, and MS is for Mean of Square

The P- Value obtained in the above table is 0.395. This P-value is more than 0.05 which indicates that there is no significant relationship between independent and dependent variable. This implies that there is no significant relationship between gender and Emotional Intelligence.

Hence Hypothesis one is rejected.

Hypothesis two: Science method trainee teachers are more emotionally intelligent than humanities.

The respective method subjects opted by the trainee teachers were also collected though the preliminary information column of the answer sheet provided during administering the emotional intelligence test. This data was sorted and tabulated along with the emotional intelligence score of the trainee teachers.

To test this hypothesis, one-way analysis of variance (ANNOVA) is used. The result of one-way ANNOVA of Emotional Intelligence score and method subject is shown in table below:

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Method 2	1	8	8	0.01	0.92
Error	214	169534	792		
Total	215	169542			

Table 2: One way ANOVA: EQ score versus Method subject

Notations: DF is for degree of freedom, SS is for Sum of square, and MS is for Mean of Square

From the table no. 2, the P value associated with method subject is 0.92 which is more than 0.05. It implies that emotional intelligence of trainee teachers is not affected by method subject. In other words, there is no significant relationship between emotional intelligence of trainee teachers and method subjects.

Hence Hypothesis two is rejected.

Findings & Recommendations

The present study concludes that Emotional Intelligence is not significantly related to the gender of the trainee teachers. As there is no significant difference between the emotional intelligence of

trainee teachers with science or humanities as method subjects, it can be concluded that, the subject of basic graduation degree plays no significant role in determining the emotional intelligence. The study also recommended that gender and method subject should not be criteria for judging the level of Emotional intelligence of trainee teachers at the time of recruitment.

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Software used for Calculations

1. Microsoft Excel
2. Minitab

C.S. Lewis's *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* and Christian Postmodernism:
East and West, and Beyond

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C.S. Lewis's *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* and Christian Postmodernism:
East and West, and Beyond

The Irish author C.S. Lewis is popularly introduced as a writer of children's literature, although he does not write only for 'for juveniles,'¹ rather speaking to readers of all ages in our time. This paper will enable the reader to understand Lewis as a Christian author who employs Postmodernist strategy to reach contemporary minds² and to rehabilitate a longing for the other world beyond visible reality. The other world lies in neither in the East or in the West but Lewis suggests that it transcends the limits of human language. Lewis advocates understanding reality through both realism ("looking at," or the description of the activity) and supernatural experience ("looking along," or the actual object of the activity). He believes that the human construction of language is so limited that the two experiences can never happen at the same time.³ Christian Postmodernism,⁴ in this paper, is defined as a rhetorical strategy in which realism (Word as logical language) and supernatural perspective (Image as imaginative narrative) are synthesized in meaning.⁵

The discussion will begin by examining Lewis's multiple approaches to the Kingdom of God in his novel *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* (*VDT*) (1952): firstly exploring the intertwined illustrations of each of the main characters' own journeys in time and space; secondly considering the value of the Medieval period in *VDT* as a modern version of the immram⁶ (an old Irish voyage tale) literature of *The Navigation of Brendan* (circa

¹ Lewis says he writes to overcome the inhibitions not only 'in a child's mind' but also 'in a grown-up's mind' in his essay, "Sometimes Fairy Stories May Say Best What's to Be Said" in *On Stories*. 48

² (16) Lucy finds herself comfortable on the *Dawn Treader*, rather than worried about the motion of the ship. She did a lot of voyaging as a queen in Narnia. The voyage includes the days of rolling, pitching and swelling as well as the lulled wind.

³ In his essay *God in the Dock*, Lewis gives an account of the incompatibility of these completely different human experiences, describing hyper-realism as "looking at" and supernaturalism as "looking along."

⁴ Nowhere in his writings is the term "Postmodernism" mentioned. However, although Lewis expressed his uncomfortable stance toward the modern mind-set, he advocates understanding reality through both realism and supernatural experience. Lewis is aware that the human construction of language is so limited that the two experiences can never happen at the same time. The writer Lewis enters into his readers' cultural domain by using their discourse.

⁵ Crystal Downing mentions the conceptualization of the transcendent Other in her 2004 publication. In my interview with June Senaha (Feb., 2009), he refers to the term "Christian Postmodernism." Through reading Christian Postmodernism literature, reader undergoes the process of the re-conceptualization of the transcendent Other through the accepting of language as the limited human construction, and of multiple interpretations exchanged within the community, and ultimately the reaching of an understanding that transcends binary selections of the interpretations.

⁶ 'Immram' is spelt as 'Imram' in *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* on *Oxford Reference Online*. "Imram" is the conventional first word, usually translated as 'voyage', in the titles of a class of Old and Middle Irish narrative in which travelers reach an Otherworld supposedly in the islands of the Western ocean. *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*. James McKillop. Oxford University Press, 1998. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed at Hokkaido University on 18 January 2010 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t70_e2763>

A.D. 800); and finally, highlighting the attention that Lewis gives to immediacy in terms of the relationship between humans and nature.

Introduction

In *VDT*, the immediacy of God's Kingdom is reflected by the voyage of the *Dawn Treader*⁷ in three ways⁸: King Caspian's vision of the Narnians to be "sea-faring folk," his intention of looking for friends missing in the Eastern Seas, and his knight Reepicheep's dream to find Aslan's country at the very Eastern end of the world. The future of the Kingdom of God operating toward perfection is represented by the three latecomers from the reader's world.

The life of Brendan, a monk historically active around the 6th century, whose story is collectively known as *The Voyage of Saint Brendan (VSB)* (circa the 9th century)⁹ is renowned for his legendary journey to 'The Isle of the Blessed,' the text being one of the most influential of the Middle Ages in Europe. The narrative of Brendan's setting out in a coracle for seven years was passed down orally and later scribed by Irish monks around the 9th century. The story is formed out of both the Christian tradition and pre-Christian sea travel mythology.¹⁰

Walter Hooper speculates that Lewis had *The Voyage of Saint Brendan* in mind when he wrote a rough sketch of *VDT*.¹¹ David C. Downing elaborates on literary influences on *the Chronicles of Narnia* from Saint Brendan and the biblical book of Revelation in addition to other literary sources.¹² Salwa Khoddam likewise discovers the same motif as *VDT* in the story of Saint Brendan,¹³ while Charles Huttar finds a parallel between Tolkien and Lewis in the way of using inherited myths with *VSB* being one of them. All of these scholars suggest a possible link between *VDT* and *VSB*, but have not made a

⁷ Lewis does not italicize the definite article 'the' when it is used for the name of the ship, for example, "the *Dawn Treader* was the finest ship he had built yet" (30).

⁸ According to *A Dictionary of the Bible*, "The kingdom of God" is not to be equated with a human Utopia nor the rule of a political sovereignty, but the dominion of God's superiority over His creation in two dimensions. The Kingdom is actually present in Jesus Christ's own ministry (Luke 11:20), and the Kingdom is still future in the sense that the Rule of God is not yet fully operative in the world (Mark 4: 26-9). "kingdom of God" *A Dictionary of the Bible*, by W. R. F. Browning. Oxford University Press Inc. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed at Hokkaido University on 15 April 2010 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t94.e1069>>

⁹ 'Naomh Breandan (Navigator Brendan)' in Irish.

¹⁰ The journey metaphor of *VSB*, is likely modeled after what is classified as pre-Christian immrama¹⁰: *The Voyage of Bran* (possibly written in the 8th century) and *The Voyage of Mael Duin's Boat* (composed around the 8th century and written in Irish around the 10th century).

¹¹ Walter Hooper. *C.S. Lewis: A Companion and Guide*. 403.

¹² David C. Downing. *Into the Wardrobe: C. S. Lewis and the Narnia Chronicles* (Jossey-Bass, 2005) 48.

¹³ Salwa Khoddam. "The Enclosed Garden in Narnia" *The Bulletin of The New York C.S. Lewis Society*. January / February 2006 Vol. 37, No. 1 Whole No. 411. Kohoddam suggests seeing the unpublished paper by David C. read at Oxbridge 2005 on The Life of Saint Brendan as a source for *VDT*.

detailed analysis of literary elements connecting the two tales. Here, a comparison of *VDT* and *VSB* will demonstrate C.S. Lewis's Postmodernist approaches to the Kingdom of God and his wish to rehabilitate a longing for the other world beyond imperfect humanity.

I. The Immediacy and Future of 'The Kingdom of God'

In *VDT*, C.S. Lewis gives a full perspective on the trails of five characters travelling in multiple directions, as the reader is reminded of an intricate liaison which may stir a sense of awe and eternity leading to an understanding of the Kingdom of God. The track of each protagonist's movement is not visibly discernable, but the interlaced image of their different trails arouse a numinous sensation on the reader, as if the presence of a divinity were felt from the intricate patterns of Celtic spirals. The network of the characters' paths causes the reader an indescribable perception which Lucy feels at the World's End. The female protagonist of *VDT* is so filled with a mysterious sense that she can not explain it in words, but instead paraphrases it in an image, "the scent of lavender."

The five protagonists include the personified ship, the *Dawn Treader* that circles between the East and the West; the British children as a collective unit, Lucy, Eustace and Edmund who infiltrate into the other world; Reepicheep, who makes a bee-line advance to the Utter East; the two *VDT* story-tellers who unpredictably jump between fact and fiction; and lastly Aslan who makes an epiphanic manifestation in multiple media.

1) The *Dawn Treader* and Visions

In the old Brendan's immram, the ship sails for the paradise of Tir na n'Og,¹⁴ traditionally westwards, while the Narnian ship¹⁵ navigates in the Easterly direction where the country of Aslan, the Son of the Great Emperor, exists. The *Dawn Treader* shifts in a circle: heading for the East but turning just before the Utter East; returning westward; and finally sailing back to Narnia.

The Easterly direction in *VDT* is considered as one of Lewis's Postmodernist approaches to stir a longing for another world by navigating in a different direction from the traditional. As Medieval Literature scholar, C.S. Lewis must have adapted the

¹⁴ The land of youth in Irish

¹⁵ In the Kingdom of God, social hierarchies and class discriminations are irrelevant (Matt. 22: 9–10)

colliding-factors to make a desire for another world beyond reality. Thomas Cahill states that the Europeans of the Middle Ages had a desire for 'antipodes' through various cultural contacts with the Eastern World.¹⁶

Regarding the 'East' in *VDT* opposite of the West, Charles Huttar connects the imagery of sunrise in the East with the resurrection.¹⁷ The 'easterly' direction in *VDT* is biblically associated with Christ who is symbolically represented as 'the sun' of righteousness (Malachi 4:2)¹⁸ and the true light (John 1:9).¹⁹ The East also reminds the reader of the Magi (Matthew 2:1-12), the Wise Men from the East who are guided by the special Star to the infant Jesus in Bethlehem. *The Dawn Treader* likewise navigates with guidance from not one star but the multiple Stars including Coriakin, Ramandu and his daughter, -the multiplicity- suggestive of ambiguous values in pagan myths as well as in our contemporary times.

2) Three Latecomers from the Reader's World

Three latecomers, Edmund, Lucy and their cousin Eustace join the voyage from halfway beyond the modern world, but disembark the ship before the Utter East, returning to the reader's world. Their movement proceeds in a circular shape like the *Dawn Treader*, but in different way. From the rationalist' perspective, their sudden visit to the ship must appeared like a late embarkation and early disembarkation,²⁰ but from Aslan's point of view as Divine Being, the outsiders' arrival at the time of navigation should be considered neither too late or too early.²¹ In their individual encounter with Aslan, each of them undergoes spiritual metamorphosis. A product of Modernism Eustace is transformed from a monster into a boy,²² while the immature romanticist Lucy is able to release herself from her inferiority complex towards her sister and her classmates.²³ Her brother Edmund's trust in Aslan is strengthened after being tested by

¹⁶ Thomas Cahill. *Mysteries of the Middle Ages: the Rise of Feminism, Science, and Art from the Cults of Catholic Europe*. (New York: Nan, 2006, 2008) 264. Cahill evaluates Brendan's voyage as the literary fruition of Ireland in the Middle Ages, although the Vikings may have earlier arrived the Northern America. He exemplifies, as antipodes, the Islam (7-15 the century), the Tatar (the Mongol) (the 13th century), and *The Travels of Marco Polo* (the 14th century).

¹⁷ Charles Huttar. "Deep lies the sea-longing": inklings of home (1)" 2007 Mythopoeic Society

¹⁸ Malachi 4:2." But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves of the stall."

¹⁹ John calls Jesus Christ the true Light: "That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." (John 1:9)

Paul compares the dawn with immediacy of the Kingdom of God: "The hour has come for you to wake up from your slumber,Rather, clothe yourselves with the Lord Jesus Christ." (Roman 13:11-14)

²⁰ Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*. 160. Their sudden appearance reminds us of Melchizedek, who is mentioned as the King of Salem, and priest of God Most High, in the time of the biblical patriarch Abram, and who has "no beginning of days nor end of life." (Heb.7:3)

²¹ The three outsiders are involved in seemingly boundless visits to different islands, but cannot help disembarking the ship at the last minute.

²² *VDT*: Chapter 6-7

²³ *VDT*: Chapter 9-11: Lucy's journey of her self-discovery reveals the trauma of our modern time in which the opposites of male and female are disintegrated. The opposites, in Jung's terms, are called the anima (the female aspect present in the collective unconscious of men) and the animus (the male aspect present in the collective unconscious of women). Lucy undergoes a

the repetitive memory of his treachery.²⁴

3) Reepicheep: the True Dawn Treader

The valiant talking mouse, Reepicheep, disappears out of this world, moving not in the way as he expects that this visible world would fall at the end. He is seen paddling his coracle, and being lifted up the sides of the waves. Reepicheep advances in a rising line as he unhesitatingly devotes his whole life to finding Aslan's Country at the Utter East.²⁵ The mysterious end of Reepicheep whose final destiny is not described in the story, reminds us of Christ's Ascension²⁶ as well as the transferences of Elijah and Enoch in the Bible.²⁷ The *VDT* narrator makes the reader feel convinced of Reepicheep as 'the true dawn treader' in Narnia²⁸ by expressing his strong belief that the courageous knight must be alive at Aslan's Country.²⁹

4) Two Story-Tellers in the Story within the Story

The two story-tellers of *VDT* are not directly involved in each other as fact but their lives seem to be blessed with reciting the same story of the modern immram as truth. Their paradoxical roles reflect C.S. Lewis's understanding of the Gospel in which Myth tells the truth of the Incarnation. Lewis affirms that the myths of pagan gods, dead but risen, became historical fact when God was incarnated in the flesh of Jesus Christ.³⁰ One story-teller is the persona "I" who acts both as narrator and character.³¹ His ambiguous roles, travelling between fact and fiction, is the embodiment of Lewis's

metamorphosis of her self in her 'alchemical' process from the separation of opposites to the union of opposite principles and finally discovers her true self, which can be understood as the process of (what Jung terms) 'Individuation.'²³ In Jung's view, the alchemical attempt to transmute base metals into gold is actually a psychological process which is unconsciously projected onto the various material substances used in the process. The symbols (gold, the philosopher's stone, and the elixir) used by the alchemists are representative of the process of 'Individuation.' The path to Individuation is characterized by the constant conflict of opposites, which produces psychic energy.

²⁴ Contrary to the allegorical role of the characters, the male-oriented protagonists, and the negative image of mythological creatures in old immrama, the modern immram of *VTD* depicts the complex human nature in light of both humanity and mythological creature: the perplexity of the female protagonist who has an inferiority complex about her appearance and also the ambiguous values of the Monopod-dwarves who are dissatisfied with their appearance.

²⁵ Downing, David. *Into the Region of Awe*. Downing associates Reepicheep with "the Arthurian Legend for the Holy Grail" 137.

²⁶ Lewis associates the image of 'the waterfall' with 'the Cross in Chapter Six of *The Great Divorce* (1946).

²⁷ "After he said this, he was taken up before their very eyes, and a cloud hid him from their sight" (Act 1:9); "Elijah took his cloak, rolled it up and struck the water with it. The water divided to the right and to the left, and the two of them crossed over on dry ground" (II King 2:8); "Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him away" (Genesis 5:24). David C. Downing also associates Reepicheep with Elijah and Enoch "who are translated directly into God's presence without having to suffer death." (*Into the Region of Awe*, 137)

²⁸ Reepicheep are enchanted by a female voice of a dryad and propelled into a life-long voyage. For the hero of the pre-Christian immram, Bran, the woman's country 'Emain' is the last destination, whereas for Reepicheep, it is Aslan's Country. All his life, the talking mouse is guided by the prophetic lyric sung by a fairy lady and finally lifted up the waves, possibly to Aslan's Country: "Where sky and water meet/ Where the waves grow sweet,/ Doubt not, Reepicheep, / To find all you seek, / There is the utter East" (*VDT* 22).

²⁹ *VDT*, 266. "But my belief is that he came safe to Aslan's country and is alive there to his day."

³⁰ C.S. Lewis. "Myth Became Fact" in *God in the Dock*. 78

³¹ The narrator is involved as a character in the story on one occasion. The interaction between the three Children and the narrator is only once mentioned in the last chapter: "Edmund and Eustace would never talk about it (a breeze from the east) afterward. Lucy could only say, 'Why,' said I, 'was it so sad?' 'Sad!! No,' said Lucy" (265) (underlined by the author).

notion of the Gospel in which Myth is beyond reason and thought.³²

The other storyteller is the sailor Pittencream.³³ The minor character deserts the ship at the Lone Islands, goes to live in Calormen,³⁴ and tells the tales of the voyage until he believes them himself. The coward man should deserve criticism for his “inability to deal with reality,”³⁵ but he should be worthy of telling the truth of the voyage as the representation of ‘the Kingdom of God.’ With the exception of the fake story of his courageous role, he conveys the truth of the *Dawn Treader* which successfully fulfills the triple missions of living as the sea-faring folk, looking for missing souls and reaching the World’s End. His tales seems to be like mythology, which is orally passed down as a tool of the truth while its roots are unknown in our age.

II. Medieval Values in the *Voyage of Saint Brendan*: the Spiritual Rudder

In *VS*B, repetitive motion is a feature of Brendan’s journey³⁶: one characteristic of the monk’s voyage is his visiting of the same islands, encountering the same people at the same seasons and circling around the same islands. Brendan’s repeated movements remind us again of the Celtic triple spiral which, Philip Sheldrake asserts,³⁷ represents the link between reality and the other world: “the cyclical quality of Brendan’s ‘voyage’ reminds the reader that “the journey is an internal, spiritual one.”³⁸

The voyages, in both *VDT* and *VS*B, head for the Land of Promise, visiting mysteriously attractive islands but overcoming damage from severe sea weather. Unlike the monastic and ascetic life³⁹ valued in Medieval immrama, the quivering motion of the *Dawn Treader* suggests contradictory elements which are not only indicated by Lucy’s blissfulness of the sensations of sea life⁴⁰ but also by Eustace’s uncertain values as a product of Modernism. The quivering waves may be considered as Lewis’s Postmodern form of expression⁴¹ in which opposing factors combine to serve as a catalyst for

³² Lewis, 78

³³ Paul Ford. *Companion to Narnia*. 315. Ford associates ‘Pittencream’ with someone who is pitiful or a pittance and also introduces Thomas W. Craik’s parallels drawn between Pittencream and Pittenweem (a fishing village in Fife) and with Macbeth’s cream-fac’d loon (Act V, Scene 3) as Pittencream hangs back from volunteering for the adventure.

³⁴ Ford. 92. Calormen is the empire to the south of Archanland and Narnia. The term means men from a warm land: from the Latin ‘calor’, meaning heat and the English ‘men.’

³⁵ Ford. 315.

³⁶ Especially the repetition is emphasized in and after Chapter 15 “The Island of Sheep, Jasconius and the Paradise of Birds Again”

³⁷ Philip Sheldrake. *Living Between Worlds*. (London: Darton, 1995) 53.

³⁸ John Anderson regards the cyclical quality of the voyage as a spiritual one, “Brendan’s course is a circle. It is repetitive, inevitable, preordained, but nevertheless salvific. The ineluctable rise and fall of human existence is rendered salutary when Brendan achieves his goal and arrives at the Promised Land of the Saints.” “The Voyage of Brendan, an Irish Monastic expedition to Discover the wonders of God’s World”, from *American Benedictine Review*, 43:3 (September 1992) 273-274.

³⁹ Four saints appear in *VS*B: St. Enda, St. Ailbe, St. Paul the Hermit and St. Peter.

⁴⁰ *VDT*, 16. “Lucy found herself as much as at home as if she had been in Caspian’s cabin for weeks, and the motion of the ship did not worry her, for in the old days when she had been a queen in Narnia she had done a good deal of voyaging.”

⁴¹ Lewis confesses his two cultural roots, not only “the spokesman of the old Western culture” but also “a kind of people of the mist” “pagan, romantic and polytheistic in grain” in his foreword to Joy Davidman’s book *Smoke on the Mountain* (1953). Lewis

producing the possible harmony of pagan mythology and Christianity.⁴²

In *VDT*, the Old Star of Ramandu is down on the island to rejuvenate his spiritual and physical strength until the day when he returns for 'the Great Dance' in the cosmos.⁴³ This man, clad in long garments with a Druidic appearance is reminiscent of a celestial object incorporated in a mythological figure, such as Venus, in which the same entity is created both in astronomy and in mythology. On this island, Aslan's Knife⁴⁴ is on a table with a rich crimson table cloth, kept in honor of the great Lion Aslan's blood sacrifice of the earlier story *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950). The relic is considered as further evidence of incorporation of Myth with Fact in the Gospel. The Knife originally belonged to the White Witch who had used it to slay the Great Lion⁴⁵ who sacrificed Himself for Edmund. This historical object reminds the voyagers of the great Lion's redemption, but it is not described as the final goal for their navigation. The protection of the stone knife instead serves to encourage the former-betrayers but the Saved, like Edmund, in advancing their pilgrimage into the Kingdom of God.

None of the travelers can characterize in logical words the enchanting song sung by Ramandu and his daughter, but the song is described simply in images. It seems to Edmund to be like the most exciting moment in his life, and to Lucy like "a cold kind of song, an early morning kind of song" (222). This mysterious scene may be considered as another embodiment of Lewis's concept of the Myth incorporated with the Fact in the Gospel. When the Mythological Star and his daughter sing the song, they face east (the direction where Aslan lives) from which the sun's rays (suggestive of the Righteousness of God) shine on the Stone Knife (the Gospel).

At the end of *VS*, Brendan discovers precious gifts - visible but spiritual,- stone and fruit, which are individually associated with Jesus Christ as the stone of stumbling (Psalm 118:22 and Luke 20: 17-18)⁴⁶ and the fruit of the Holy Spirit as the qualities of

wrote "I suppose we Northerners pagan, romantic and polytheistic in grain, are a kind of people of the mist when seen from the dreadfully unambiguous standpoint of Israel."

⁴² Lewis accepted God when he understood that the Gospel, the greatest story of God's words, is the completion of pagan myths. Lewis recognizes "Christianity as the completion". ("Religion Without Dogma" 163). David Barratt states that Lewis saw "Christianity as the fulfillment of paganism." (41) Lewis' conversion had a profound effect on his work. His wartime radio broadcasts on the subject of Christianity brought him wide acclaim.

⁴³ In Chapter 13 and 14 of *VDT*,

⁴⁴ The Knife is a relic rather like 'the Spear of Longinus' mentioned in the Gospel of John (19:31-37), though the name is not given in the Bible.

⁴⁵ He is a talking lion, King of the Beasts, son of the Emperor-Over-the-Sea; a wise, compassionate, magical authority (both temporal and spiritual); mysterious and beloved guide to the human children who visit; guardian and savior of Narnia. The author, C. S. Lewis, described Aslan as an alternate version of Christ—that is, as the form that Christ might have appeared in a fantasy world.

⁴⁶ "The stone the builders rejected /has become the capstone." (Psalm 118:22) "Everyone who falls on that stone will be broken to pieces, but he on whom it falls will be crushed." (Luke 20: 18)

character God grows inside the believers in Christ (Galatians 5:22).⁴⁷ Caspian also receives gifts, both visible and spiritual, -a magic sea chart- from the Magician Coriakin, and two other gifts on Ramandu's island: one is the knowledge of the way to break the spells on the sleeping lords and the other is Caspian's promise of his reunion with the Star's daughter.⁴⁸ Just as a rudder serves as a pilot guide for the Early Middle Age voyagers to gather navigational information,⁴⁹ informing them of the nautical facts and inspiring them to fulfill their mission, so the magical chart functions as a both practical and spiritual 'rudder.' Contemporary theologian Alister McGrath uses a related picture of the spiritual rudder which checks our faith, renovates ourselves with visions, and enables us to head for the final goal.⁵⁰

III. The Natural World and Beyond the Human Construction of Language

Both *VSB* and *VDT* emphasize the sensitive associations of divinity within the natural world, like the monastic poets who sought and found "the natural world as the image of the creator-God."⁵¹ The famous Irish hymn, "St. Patrick's Breastplate" (circa 8th century)⁵² connects the power and presence of God to the world of creation.⁵³

As the closeness of God to nature is found in both *VSB* and *VDT*, the explorers are gifted by God with the benefaction of nature from the Promised Land. Saint Brendan and his brothers receive fruit, suggestive of fruit of the Holy Spirit (Galatians: 5:22) and precious stones, reminding of the glory of God (Revelation: 21:11).⁵⁴ In *VDT*, the spiritual world is visually guided by a bird as the divine messenger, and also indicated by the fog through which Brendan's boat has to travel between this world and the other world. To the contemporary readers, however, Lewis emphasizes the importance of spiritual wealth not by displaying material fortune but by demonstrating his inability to

⁴⁷ "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness" (Galatians 5:22)

⁴⁸ Just like the Land of Woman, full of fruit and water in the pre-Christain immram, Caspian X and his companions are welcomed by the Star's daughter and guided by a bird whose gender is indicated by female "she," and served with a feast by a flock of birds every evening. Unlike the traditional fairy tale where a sleeping lady in a fairy tale is awakened by the prince's kiss, in *VDT* neither the beautiful lady, the three missing lords who sleep, or Caspian will receive a kiss. Instead Caspian will not be kissed by her unless he breaks the magic on the three sleepers, and also he will have to sail to the World's End and come back, having left at least one of his company behind in order to break the enchantment. In *VDT*, the beautiful lady plays a more active role than the traditional immram by encouraging Caspian to complete his mission, and by guarding the three sleepers until the prince breaks the enchantment of sleeping curse on them.

⁴⁹ J.B.Hewson, *A History of The Practice of Navigation*. The word "rudder" is likely derived from the French word "routier," meaning "something that finds a way."

⁵⁰ Alister McGrath. *The Journey: A Pilgrim in the Lands of the Spirit* (1999, Hodder) 47.

⁵¹ Philip Sheldrake. 73.

⁵² "Saint Patrick's Breastplate." The Prayer Foundation. January 22, 2010.

http://www.prayerfoundation.org/st_patricks_breastplate_prayer.htm

⁵³ Patrick's Breastplate : "I gird myself today with the might of heaven: The rays of the sun, the beams of the moon, The glory of fire, The speed of wind, The depth of sea, The stability of earth, The hardness of rock."

⁵⁴ (Galatians 5:22) "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness," ; (Revelation 21:11) "It shone with the glory of God, and its brilliance was like that of a very precious jewel, like a jasper, clear as crystal."

describe the sublimity of the invisible gift from nature: the enchanting sound of Ramandu and his daughter's singing voices,⁵⁵ the mysterious taste of light integrated with water, and the indescribable blend of music and fragrance of the heavenly wind.⁵⁶

In *VDT*, God's revelation is indicated in the detail of nature, but to Heaven Lewis ultimately applies no metaphor from nature, though he previously attempts to compare it to 'the smell' and 'the musical sound' of "a breeze." The whiteness of the lilies of the Last Sea is described as shining like the brightness of the Arctic,⁵⁷ but Aslan's country is literally and figuratively indescribable beyond the human construction of language, just as all Lucy can say is 'it would break your heart.'⁵⁸

Conclusion

Analysis of each of the main voyagers' experiences in *VDT* leads the reader to an understanding of the double aspects of the Kingdom of God, immediacy and future orientation (eschatological): the voyagers undergo spiritual metamorphosis in their immediate encounter with Aslan in the process of the navigation, and the imaginary trails of all of the travelers stir the reader to a sense of awe into realizing the future of the Kingdom of God. The present experience of swaying motion on the ship is a means of evoking both the happiness in dancing for the future and the pain in regretting the past. Lewis applies such his Postmodern approach to invoke the communication between the reader's reaction and the author's intention by laboring to clearly speak to the reader, who embraces multiple values in our time.

Comparison of *VDT* and *VSB* shows Lewis as a Christian writer who adapts seemingly ambiguous expressions as his literary approaches to the Kingdom of God. Unlike the Medieval explorer Brendan who was aware of the purpose of his journey from the beginning, in the modern Immram *VDT*, the three latecomers from the modern world would not have known the ultimate purpose of their lives if they had not joined the uncharted pilgrimage. Through their adventure, the visitors come to realize the real quest of the voyage: the importance of their life as the 'dawn traders' is not in the direction of their voyage, but it is meeting Aslan. Their encounter with the Son of the

⁵⁵ *VDT*, 222. I wish I could write down the song, but no one who was present could remember it. Lucy said afterward that it was high, almost shrill, but very beautiful.

⁵⁶ *VDT*, 265. It lasted only a second or so but what it brought them in that second none of those three children will ever forget. It brought both a smell and a sound, a musical sound. Edmund and Eustice would never talk about it afterward. Lucy could only say, "It would break your heart." "Why," said I, "Was it so sad?" "Sad!! No," said Lucy.

⁵⁷ Colin Duriez remarks the final part of *VDT* as the embodiment of the quality of the numinous where its appeal is first to the imagination, and it belongs to the area of meaning that we cannot easily conceptualize. *The C.S. Lewis Encyclopedia*.149

⁵⁸ See footnote 52.

Great Emperor is not geographically limited to Narnia, but is possible through every dimension of any world.

While Brendan lives close to nature and sees the image of God in the natural world, Lewis further uses the mysticism of the natural world to incorporate the two paradoxical concepts of Mythology and Christianity. He demonstrates not only his belief in the Gospel as the Myth which becomes the Fact, but also his religious conclusion that Aslan's country is indescribable in human words. Beyond this, Lewis narrates the story of both the adventure of the *Dawn Treader* and the beauty of 'the smell' and 'the musical sound' of 'a breeze': the story of East, West and Beyond.

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East is East and West is West: A
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Namesake*

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**East is East and West is West: A reading of Jhumpa
Lahiri's *The Namesake***

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Jhumpa Lahiri's debut novel *The Namesake* (2003) is a story of a Bengali couple who leaves their native country and settles in America. Spanning over a period of thirty two years, the novel describes the diasporic experience of two generations of Indians who progress remarkably in terms of material value but lose many other values. The novel makes various sojourns from India to America and vice versa to unfold the various happenings that construct and deconstruct numerous faiths humans often carry as a part of their individual and societal needs and expectations. The various characters namely, Ashoke, Ashima, Gogol and Sonia come into contact with many other characters and incidents, which prompt them to explore new knowledge and create in them a global outlook. Most of the characters of the novel witness encounter and interfaces that enable them to understand that the assimilation of various cultures ensures in strengthening ties by helping them distinguish between good and evil. This provides individuals an upper hand over the obsolete notion that east is east and west is west and never the twain shall meet. The meeting of the east and the west is a global need that cannot simply be forbidden but respected.

Ashima, the wife of Ashoke and mother of Gogol and Sonia is every inch an Indian woman stuck in her native culture and tradition. She faces the cultural clash because of her rigidity or resistance to change. She feels alienated because she is unable to adjust herself to the changed environment. Even in a country where no one except her husband could understand her problems, she clings to the traditional customs which do not allow wives to call their husbands by their names. It appears quite paradoxical that the man she lives with and whose children she is going to beget, cannot be called by his name. Jhumpa Lahiri seems to be ironical too when she says: "When she calls out to Ashoke, she does not say his name. Ashima never thinks of her husband's name when she thinks of her husband, even though she knows perfectly well what it is. She has adopted his surname but refuses, for propriety's sake, to utter his first. It's not the type of things Bengali wives do."¹

Customary though yet it appears quite ironical that despite the rise of Hindi movies, Ashima is unable to imitate the fanciful trait of couples treating each other as friend and darling. Ashima gets piquant to hear the word 'sweetheart' called by a man to his wife in the hospital. What embarrasses her is the cotton gown that reaches her knees. She finds everything around her too humiliating. One has to adjust oneself to the changed situation but for Ashima, these are offending. The novelist with an implicit hint at Indian parents' protective nature and children's parasitic habit writes: "It is the first time in her life she has slept alone, surrounded by strangers; all her life she has slept either in a room with her parents, or with Ashoke at his side. She wishes the curtains were open so that she could talk to American women." (P-3)

Ashima's urge to talk with other women is also devoid of American's idea of their privacy. Lahiri very subtly takes a dig at the reserved nature of Americans and sympathizes with Ashima's ignorance. Lahiri adds: "But she has gathered that Americans in spite of public declarations of affection, in spite of their miniskirts and bikinis, in spite of their hand holding on the street and lying on top of each other on the Cambridge Common, prefer their privacy." (P-3)

Ashima develops a sort of hatred for all that is hostile to her Indian anchorage. She is reminded of Indian women going home to their parents 'to give birth away from husbands and in-laws and household cares, retreating briefly to childhood when the baby arrives'. The hospital in Cambridge, despite all modern amenities, seems to her a confinement and even the prospect of motherhood does not gladden her. She is aggrieved so much that her labour pain seems somehow lesser than motherhood in a foreign land.' Lahiri writes: "That it was happening so far from home, unmonitored and unobserved by those she loved, had made it more miraculous still. But she is terrified to raise a child in a country where she is related to no one, where she knows so little, where life seems so tentative and spare." (6)

Ashima feels empty and banal most of the time. Even after the childbirth, she considers even Indian acquaintances as substitutes of her own people. She rather faces the cultural shock and feels deprived and dejected. Lahiri mentions Ashima's alienation in the following lines: "Without a single grandparent or parent

or uncle or Aunt at her side, the baby's birth like most everything else in America, feels somehow haphazard, only half true. As she strokes and suckles and studies her son, she can't help but pity him. She has never known of a person entering the world so alone so deprived." (24-25)

Ashima sticks to her faith and waits for her grandmother's letter that would bring the new child's name. She doesn't want to dispense with the proud practice of pet names that remind her of old time intimacies. A good name, according to the set belief was nothing but identification in the outside world. She grows furious with the clerk who emphasizes on the child's name to be mentioned on hospital's birth certificate. The way she attaches importance to the name being decided after the arrival of the letter reveals her blindness to her confined native as well as community culture. Ashoke understands the gravity of the situation and listens patiently to Wilcox's suggestion disapprovingly. Ashima approves of Ashoke's suggestion of naming the child as Gogol till the grandma's letter came. But as they start living in their apartment, Ashima returns to her own cocoon. Biased as she is, she does not appreciate the simplicity and graciousness of Montgomerys, the landlord. The landlady Judy, too, behaves cordially with Gangulys. She grudges their decision to seek the help of medical establishment for delivery. Ashima's problem is her inability to be cohesive, to be reticent and to cavil at everything that is unfamiliar. The novelist depicts Ashima's alienation saying:

She has kept her disappointment to herself, not wanting to offend Ashoke, or worry her parents. Instead she writes in her letters home, of her powerful cooking gas that flares up at any time of day or night from four burners on the stove, and the hot tap water fierce enough to scald her skin, and the cold water safe enough to drink. (30)

Ashima is so much obsessed with the native influence that even a little discomfort makes her cry. She seems to lack the fighting spirit which Ashoke has, but the exigency of the situation prompts her to move out for rice. She feels proud to discover a routine for herself. She is flanked by Americans' smile on showing their appreciation for the child in the pram. Though Ashima doesn't return their candid gestures yet she realizes for the first time that it's not the foreign country but her own isolation and closed nature that troubles her. Ashima's alienation thins as Gogol grows in months and years. She finds little relieved on Gogol's annaprasan ceremony in the ambience of Bengali couples discussing issues having a native flavour. But all these still are less compared to her family members' reminiscences. Lahiri makes a close observation of Ashima's helplessness saying; "She cannot help wishing her own brother were here to feed him, her own parents to bless him with their hands on his head. And then the grand finale, the moment they have all been waiting for." (40)

Ashima lacks in the qualities of adjustment. Ashoke, on the contrary is a forward looking character attracted towards foreignness. He is not the typical Indian stuck to traditional beliefs rather he loves making adventures. We are reminded how he was reading the Russian author

Nikolai Gogol's story 'The Overcoat' even on that fateful night in the train when a major accident took place. He had found much substance in the co-passenger Ghosh's advice to see and experience the outside world. Ghosh's instruction may be considered as a link to connect the east and the west. Ghosh advises Ashoke in the following lines: "Do yourself a favor. Before it's too late, without thinking too much about it first, pack a pillow and a blanket and see much of the world as you can. You will not regret it. One day it will be too late." (16)

Admirably, Ashoke, despite facing lots of hardships after the train accident, had applied for his engineering studies abroad even without fellowship initially. He is a post-modern, a post-colonial person who understands that the boundaries that exist in our thoughts hamper our growth and authentic existence. He braves all emotional chords that pull him homewards and packs up for his studies. The novelist records the incident lucidly: 'His siblings had pleaded and wept. His mother, speechless, had refused food for three days. In spite of all that, he had gone.' (20)

Ashoke knows well that knowledge and exposure of the outside world adds lustre to one's personality. Readers realize Ashoke's precocious nature when in annaprasan ceremony he wants his son to hold the pen and not money. When someone points out that an American boy must be rich, Ashoke retorts immediately. He is above the petty considerations of narrow ethnicity. He rather believes in world citizenship which can be realized not through money but by pen. Ashoke's gesture symbolizes his concern for education that alone can encourage

worldly ties and bonds. Ashoke has a global outlook and he feels proud to be appointed an assistant professor (of electrical engineering) who teaches American students. His birth and parentage in the east had filled in him a desire to prove his mettle in the west and he achieves that by being a professor in Boston. The novelist describes Ashoke's satisfaction in the following lines:

What a thrill, he thinks, to stand lecturing before a roomful of American students. What a sense of accomplishment it gives him to see his name printed under "faculty" in the university directory. What joy each time Mrs. Jones says to him, "Prof. Ganguly, your wife is on the phone." (49)

Ashoke believes more in reasoning than in emotional outpourings. He keeps himself updated by reading international news and tries to associate himself with the happenings around. As Ashoke grows in stature, Ashima's anguish also increases. Ashoke is open to new challenges which Ashima often dodges and invites unnecessary worries. The feeling of being in a foreign land is so deep in her psyche that she considers it a 'lifelong pregnancy.'

Ashima's prejudiced opinion towards America melts when she finds her lost bags recovered. She had left her bags while boarding a subway train after shopping. The thought of going to her hometown had gripped her mind so much that she left all the bags before boarding the train. She regretted her mistake but Ashoke called the MBTA lost and found and all the lost bags were returned. This not only melted Ashima's frozen evaluation of America but also bred in her an admiration for the country she detested too much. Ashima was under the

impression that things once lost are never recovered. But this small incident opens her eyes and she undertakes a journey towards knowing the merits of other countries and cultures. The novelist observes this change in Ashima: 'Somehow, this small miracle causes Ashima to feel connected to Cambridge in a way she has not previously thought possible, affiliated with its exceptions as well as its rules.'(43)

Ashima's real problem is her loneliness and she feels upset at Ashoke's shifting to university –subsidized apartment. She grows more finicky over Ashoke's refusal to a position at the North-eastern, which could have enabled them to stay in the city. Ashima's retreat to past often intimidates her present. She loves to accompany Gogol to school but as he grows, Ashima again clings to the loss of his past time habit of holding on to her. Ashima always wants to recline to something, to live a life protected and permeated with the core of belonging. Though good at English, she prefers reading Bengali books or writing letters to her mother than reading English books and journals in public library. She also emphasizes on Gogol's memorizing children's poems by Tagore and names of deities adoring goddess Durga. This amply hints at her closed and nostalgic nature.

Ashima loves both her children very much but she reacts when she feels her own cultural beliefs hurt. She disapproves of Gogol's visit to cemeteries and rubbings brought by him. She grows superstitious and considers it a bad omen. The novelist records Ashima's helplessness in the following lines: "Never before has she rejected a

piece of her son's art. The guilt she feels in Gogol's deflated expression is leavened by common sense. How can she be expected to cook dinner for her family with the names of dead people on the walls?" (71)

Ashoke is indubitably a practical person and though he is not averse to his Indian roots and connections, he tries his best to adjust himself with changing times and place. Though Ashima feels uneasy at times, she yields to Ashoke's insistence. The novelist shows the couple's admiration for celebrating the birth of Christ as their children Gogol and Sonia love to do so. It is the result of Ashoke's persuasion that Ashima sometimes makes American dinner and also cooks for Gogol sandwiches with bologna or roast beef, Ashoke knows well that their children might be the victims of not only their rigidity but also the problems of those children who oscillate between the rigours of two cultures and stifle because of their identities at stake. Ashoke tries his best to counterbalance these conflicts of children, keeping himself on the margin to allow the progeny more space. The novelist writes:

Though he is now a tenured full professor, he stops wearing jackets and ties to the university. Given that there is a clock everywhere he turns, at the side of his bed, over the stove where he prepares tea, in the car he drives to work, on the wall opposite his desk, he stops wearing a wrist watch, resigning his Favre Leuba to the depths of his sock drawer. In the super market they let Gogol fill the cart with items that he and Sonia, but not they consume: individually wrapped slices of cheese, mayonnaise, tuna fish, hot dogs. For Gogol's lunches they stand at the Deli to buy cold cuts, and in

The Namesake delineates the east-west theme as enriching and recreating. The novel named after Gogol shows the chief protagonist as a blend of two cultures that at times creates fissures in his identity. Unaware of the trauma that his name hid behind, he often cursed the moment he was born and also hated the inconsistencies and impediments of his namesake, Nikolai Gogol, the Russian writer's life comprised. His name becomes a butt of laughter and a mystery for everyone. As he grows up, he develops distaste for his own name. When his English teacher throws more light on the Russian writer's life, Gogol's hatred for his name worsens. He feels himself devoid of his identity when his father presented a book on his fourteenth birthday. It is now that he realizes that he has been named after the last name of an author. An impenetrable sorrow strikes him and Lahiri says rightly: "Not only does Gogol Ganguly have a pet name turned good name, but a last name turned first name. And so it occurs to him that no one he knows in the world, in Russia or India or America or anywhere, shares his name. Not even the source of his namesake." (78)

Gogol feels himself insignificant because he does not date any girl like his American friends do. His Indian atmosphere at home doesn't encourage such moves and he feels his identity at stake. At times he's pooh-poohed by his friends and suffers from an inferiority complex. He often wishes if he could change his name and he does that too. The change of his name from Gogol to Nikhil invites again a sea of troubles for him. His new name brings him some new acquaintances but relegates his identity to the margin. This new identity prompts him to

a thorny path where Gogol feels embittered, undecided and threatened. He is caught in a new dilemma and the shadows of the Russian writer's predicaments often cast their imprint on his life. He feels divided within and Lahiri embalms his wounds dexterously in the following lines:

Part of the problem is that the people who now know him as Nikhil have no idea that he used to be Gogol. They know him only in the present, not at all in the past. But after eighteen years of Gogol, two months of Nikhil feel scant, inconsequential. At times he feels as if he's cast himself in a play, acting the part of twins, indistinguishable to the naked eye yet fundamentally different. (105)

Gogol alias Nikhil starts realizing the cultural differences once he befriends Ruth, an American girl whom he felt to be in love with. Blinded by initial romantic heat and dust, he marks cultural gaps in the thought processes of his parents and Ruth's. He makes romantic forays with Ruth but always with a lurking fear of his parents' disapproval if they ever came to know. Ruth's fearless advances towards him and then their rendezvous at times make him skeptical about the future of their bond. He knows for certain that it would be indigestible for his parents to accept Ruth. Lahiri observes: "Ruth tells him she doesn't mind his parents' disapproval that she finds it romantic. But Gogol knows it is not right. He wishes his parents could simply accept her, as her family accepts him, without pressure of any kind." (117)

Gogol feels himself quite low to find Maxine's, (his next girlfriend) parents not minding her boyfriend coming to her home. Gogol's thought processes undergo a cataclysm to discover the mystery of his name. It is during Ashima and Sonia's India tour that Ashoke lives alone on Pemberton road. It is during those days that Ashoke unravels the train trauma giving him a limp. Gogol's name was another limp though it had saved Ashoke's life. Gogol is suddenly filled with remorse of how his father suffered all these years alone with this secret. The mere imagination of all that Ashoke suffered 28 years ago drenches his heart and Gogol laments miserably. Lahiri too sympathizes with Gogol:

He imagines his father in his twenties as Gogol is now, sitting on a train as Gogol had just been reading a story, and then suddenly nearly killed. He struggles to picture the West Bengal countryside he has seen on only a few occasions, his father's mangled body, among hundreds of dead ones being carried on a stretcher, past a twisted length of maroon compartments. Against instinct he tries to imagine life without his father, a world in which his father does not exist. (123)

Encounter and interface despite unfolding certain differences between two cultures, make people observe various things minutely. In this respect Gogol gets to know and learn many new things as compared to his parents. We are reminded of how after his break up with Ruth, Gogol falls in love with Maxine. Here too he finds the least interference of parents in children's affairs. He finds to his great surprise, Maxine's parents warm and affectionate towards him. Gogol learns some new mannerisms and develops interest in their food habits. He

finds too much difference in his home atmosphere where no stranger can get the privilege of being 'effortlessly incorporated' (136) as he has been into Maxine and her parents' lives. During the days he spends in their house, he has been able to make a comparative analysis of two cultures. The new culture allows more room to children's wishes and parents-children relationship moves on amity and is not tightened by stringent rules. Lahiri too throws much light on this cultural difference: 'She has the gift of accepting her life; as he comes to know her, he realizes that she has never wished she were anyone other than herself, raised in any other place, in any other way.' (138)

Gogol is also surprised how despite heated and repeated arguments at dinner table, Maxine lives a happy life. Maxine is flabbergasted to know that Gogol's parents cannot display their love before their children. As Gogol gets more and more familiar with Maxine's parents and their home, he feels startled also at times. Understanding the difference, he tries to be rational and feels betraying himself too. He often feels guilty and remorseful: "He cannot imagine his parents sitting at Lydia and Gerald's table, enjoying Lydia's cooking, appreciating Gerald's selection of wine. He cannot imagine them contributing to one of their dinner party conversations. And yet here he is, night after night a welcome addition to the Ratliffs universe, doing just that."(141)

Gogol comes to meet his parents and to keep her mother's request. Ashima has prepared all Indian dishes on Gogol's birthday. While the mother does everything

very carefully, Ashoke, who has known much about American life by now, doesn't show any protest. Ashima, too, doesn't show any reaction when Maxine addresses her by her name. Ashima's Indian upbringing and her cultural orientation could never have tolerated such an effrontery yet her exposure to a new culture prepares her for such occasions. Moreover, she maintains her Indian ethos of calling Ashoke as 'Nikhil's father' while telling Maxine. Not revealing her intent at that hour yet Ashima had resolved never to think of Maxine as her daughter-in-law. Maxine is also querulous about Ashoke's use of 'Baba' for Gogol. Gogol understands the exigency of the situation and assures her of explaining these things later.

East and West not only meet in Gogol rather it also creates a sort of conflict in him. After he adopts a new name 'Nikhil', he seems to have a passport to his freedom and his fulfilment of his desires, which his friends often did. But at times, he feels that this new identity has given him a placement, which on occasions, prompt him to feel guilty. The idea of celebrating his 27th birthday with Ruth and her parents of course entices him but he grows dispassionate soon. He hears an inner voice that makes him realize his lapses. Jhumpa Lahiri rightly records:

It is in the midst of the laughter of these drunken adults, and the cries of their children running barefoot, chasing fireflies on the lawn, that he remembers that his father left for Cleaveland a week ago, that by now he is there, in the new apartment, alone. That his mother is alone on Pemberton road. He knows he should call to make sure his father has arrived safely, and to find out how his

mother is faring on her own. But such concerns make no sense here among Maxine and her family. (158)

Gogol transforms after his father's sudden demise in a hospital. The news shatters him and generates in him a sense of responsibility. He moves to Cleveland to see the mortal remains of his father. He takes stock of his father's apartment at Cleveland and settles the accessories Ashoke had taken on lease. He sympathizes with his mother and is grieved to see her bare wrists. He seems more responsible and decides to go to Calcutta to scatter his father's ashes in the Ganges. His wilful exclusion of Maxine to Calcutta trip reflects his maturity and dawning of reality though this leads to his stepping out of his beloved's life. Gogol seems to have wakened from a dream which was romantic not yet real. He soon gets to discover that Maxine got engaged to another man. This new knowledge makes him wonder how relations matter less to girls like Maxine.

Gogol was only half aware of his cultural roots as long as his father was alive. But his father's death not only devastated him but also made him more responsible. He bids adieu to his life of sensations in America and agrees to marry Moushumi just to keep his mother's wish. He attaches less importance to Moushumi's zig-zag relations with others and in stead marries her in the most traditional ways. Gogol perhaps has forgotten that Moushumi has only a Bengali name and Bengali parents. She was rather more influenced by the glitters of Western ways of life. She was a new woman who cared for her space more than anything else. The notion of adopting Ganguly surname appeared like an appendage which Gogol understood yet he didn't reveal. He had sacrificed

himself on the altar of tradition his parents were so proud of. His east-west blend had made him absorb everything but his silences were not meaningless. The novelist draws Gogol's condition very minutely.

From the beginning he feels useless Moushumi makes all the decisions, does all the talking he is mute in the brasseries where they eat their lunches, mute in the shops where he gazes at beautiful belts, ties, paper,, pens; mute on the rainy afternoon they spend together at the d'Orsay. He is particularly mute when he and Moushumi together get together for dinners with groups of her French friends, drinking Pernods and feasting on couscous or choucroute, smoking and arguing around paper-covered tables. (231)

Gogol has to pay heavily for his allegiance to his parents' wish. He blindly submits to her mother's wish and marries Moushumi , who valued her personal wish more than anything else. Gogol's liberal attitude allows her more room for Moushumi's choices, which at times, prompt her husband to doubt his own capabilities. The novelist seems to be on Gogol's side when she says: 'They didn't argue, they still had sex, and yet he wondered. Did he still make her happy? She accused him of nothing, but more and more he sensed her distance, her dissatisfaction, her distraction.' (271)

Gogol ultimately becomes a scapegoat who bears all blows. Since he assimilates both the East the West in him, he doesn't behave rudely with Moushumi who has been infidel to him. Gogol rather allows Moushumi to go

her way but he suffers humiliations and defeat. He appears to grow more fatalistic and realistic at the same time. His fatalism reflects the way he remains witness to the topsy-turvy life he has shown. As regards his realism, he doesn't find fault in Moushumi who has seen more life than him, more in the sense that she was born to Indian parents, brought up in America and had brandished herself in a new language i.e. French. Gogol seems to derive some satisfaction from the fact that his mother will divide her time between India and America. He is relieved to see Sonia getting united with Ben, a boy of her choice. As regards his own, he would consolidate himself in solitude that he had longed for all these years. The novelist also records:

Gogol knows now that his parents had lived their lives in America in spite of what was missing, with a stamina he fears he does not possess himself. He had spent years maintaining distance from his origins; his parents, in bridging that distance as best they could. And yet, for all his aloofness towards his family in the past, his years at college and then in New York, he has always hovered close to this quiet, ordinary town that had remained, for his mother and father, stubbornly exotic. (281)

Jhumpa Lahiri, thus through her novel, has been able to establish the fact that east-west encounter is a reality. It seems only a misnomer to say that they cannot meet. One has to look forward to fresher possibilities and accept the differences. In fact, we need to negotiate with the differences. Lahiri's characters strive "to reconcile themselves to their shifting and evolving identities that are a result of their migratory experience." The

Gangulys, though skeptic at times, try to merge in the new world albeit the pull of their native culture often appears heavy. The much critical Ashima seems to develop love for the new country, which gave her husband, hearth and happiness. She loses her husband yet her decision to stay both in India and America shows her acceptability of two homes. We, as readers, find Ashima celebrating Christmas and 'Thanksgiving' besides reminiscing Durga Puja with other Bengali couples. Ashima's approval of Sonia's marriage with Ben again is her acceptance of multicultural characteristic of postcolonial, third world reality. Gogol runs to the tune of his adopted culture but gets disillusioned soon and decides to live a solitary life in order to reclaim his native as well as of his parents' culture. He determines to suffer a penance for his deviations of the past and does not stop Moushumi to suffer the tedium of traditional ties. The east-west interface is a cementing force that solidifies Lahiri's characters, who transcend space and time. In fact, humans are migrant by nature since new knowledge cannot emanate without migration. The observation of Antonia Navarzo Tejero about Jhumpa Lahiri in this regard is very perspicuous:

Lahiri writes with sensibility about her family's ethnic heritage and the lives of South American immigrants in the United States. She is an interpreter of conflict between humans, sometimes between immigrants and natives, some other times among natives, or immigrants only. So from my point of view, Lahiri transcends narrow nationalism and evokes universality.

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MERGER CONTROL FOR CONSUMER WELFARE TOWARDS ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY

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*Abstract:

Merger is usually associated with strengthening of the firm's financial position, efficiency through reduction of production and distribution costs resulting in economic efficiencies. However, on the other hand, some mergers may cause harm to the consumers and give adverse effects to economy society. Thus, the study starts with the concept of consumer welfare by taking into account various jurisdictions' experiences on practicing merger control with Competition Law elements which highly recognise consumer welfare and it further discusses how the consumer welfare brings impact to economic sustainability. By limiting its scope to Malaysia, this study examines its merger control and whether it provides protection to the consumer welfare. The paper ends up with several recommendations that may be adopted by Malaysia to improve its merger control for consumer welfare towards economic sustainability.

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1. Introduction

Observing from the advanced corporate behaviour in major industries, the financial market has become more vigorous in accelerating economic growth. In economic context, sustainable development means the ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future to meet their own’¹ thus constitutes a normative judgment for the future welfare rather than for present time. The concept of sustainability will not only look into the economic efficiency per se but also the ‘ethical commitment to the welfare of future generations’ giving importance to the ‘access to resources and the distribution of costs and benefits’². It has been accepted that economic sustainability means the ‘maintenance of capital, or keeping capital intact’³. This correlates with the definition of income being the amount individual can consume for a period and yet still be well off at the end of it⁴.

Significantly, mergers and acquisitions ‘form [of] inter-firm cooperation and coping mechanism utilized by firms in the face of the new competition’⁵. This may ironically increase in the near future despite the global financial crises since many corporations aim to

¹ Emery N. Castle, Robert P. Berrens and Stephen Polasky, “The Economics of Sustainability”, 1996 36 Nat. Resources J. 475

² Emery N. Castle Et All (n1), The Economics of Sustainability, 36 NAT. RESOURCES J. 475 (1996); Douglas A. Kysar, Sustainability, Distribution, and the Macroeconomic Analysis of Law, 43 B.C.L. REV. 1 (2001); Susan L. Smith, Ecologically Sustainable Development: Integrating Economics, Ecology, and Law, 31 WILLAMETTE L. REV. 261, 277 (1995).

³ Robert Goodland, Sustainability: Human, Social, Economic and Environmental, Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change, 2002; See also Part IV Promoting Economic Sustainability, Rodrigues Regional Assembly, Final SIDPR, July 2009. <http://www.gov.mu/portal/sites/rra_portal/chieffcomm/download/sipdr/finalsipdr/11sipdr.pdf> <accessed 27th February 2010>

⁴ Daly, H E (1992) Allocation, Distribution and Scale: Towards an Economics which is Efficient, Just and Sustainable, *Ecol. Econ.*, 6(3), 185–193.

⁵ UNCTAD, “The Relationship between Competition, Competitiveness and Development”, TD/B/COM.2/CLP/30, 23 May 2002 <<http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/c2clp30.en.pdf>> [Accessed on 08.03.2007]

be the ‘survival of the fittest’⁶ either due to the desire to increase market power or market for corporate control⁷.

Even though mergers are usually associated with strengthening of the firm’s financial position by economic efficiencies through reduction of production and distribution costs, however, it may bring harm to the consumers and give adverse effects to economic society. Thus, it is appropriate to consider whether merger control imposed has considered consumer welfare in determining the best possible ways towards attaining economic sustainability.

Amongst the ultimate aim when assessing the competitive effects of any mergers is to ensure that the said mergers will maximise consumer welfare⁸. In general, the idea behind competition policy is to not only protect producers and consumers from anti-competitive practices⁹, but it also promotes transparency and attracts foreign investors which in turn, will reinforce and maximize the benefits of such investment¹⁰.

In merger control particularly, the concern is whether it will give a negative impact or the possibility of the market being less competitive¹¹. To have the balance between concentration¹² and competition is pertinent to ensure any cooperation will not lead to anticompetitive behaviour. Thus, it demands;

‘...increased vigilance and sophistication on the part of competition policy enforcement authorities¹³ ...care being taken at the same time not to stifle innovation and, in so doing, competition and competitiveness’¹⁴.

Due to the notion that competition forbids abuse of market power and at the same time promotes new market entry, its policy has been used as a means to reward efficient firms and sanction inefficient firms. A theory suggested by a UNCTAD¹⁵ secretariat is that in any merger situation, ideally, firms are usually quick to adapt to the changing markets and to the unyielding entry of new entities. Factors such as flexibility, fast-paced and ability to adjust would indicate its effectiveness, thus creating some form of competitiveness¹⁶ wherein

⁶ UNCTAD (n 5): wherein the author also noted that ‘it can therefore be said that competition kills competition’

⁷ Richard Whish, *Competition Law*, (6th Ed, Oxford University Press 2009)

⁸ Ibid

⁹ such as raising costs and prices and reducing production

¹⁰ Richard Whish (n 7)

¹¹ UNCTAD (n 5)

¹² The EC Merger Regulation (ECMR) has sometimes referred to mergers in EC system as ‘concentration’.

¹³ UNCTAD (n 5): In this respect, UNCTAD as a competition agent should be also mentioned among the institutions that devote resources to the promotion of uniformity in international antitrust. The approach of this organization tends to follow the view that developing countries should have an articulated competition policy with merger control in place, which ultimately promotes creation of new competition agencies.

¹⁴ UNCTAD (n 5)

¹⁵ UNCTAD (n 5)

¹⁶ UNCTAD (n 5)

competition may become a fierce struggle for any monopolist to be¹⁷. It has been recognised that the most affected by market failures is the developing markets¹⁸. As such failure may not only dilute competition but more significantly, may impede the competitive force on the whole, thus, a framework on competition policy is necessary¹⁹.

2. Consumer Welfare under Merger Control

The term *consumer welfare* has created major debates among scholars especially when used as complementary to competition law and policy. Generally, consumer welfare means the welfare of individuals 'who are confronted by actual or threatened exercises of seller market power in the output market'²⁰. In other words, it refers to whose benefits derived from the consumption of goods and services²¹. In anticipation of competition law and policy, *consumer welfare* serves as an operational principle where it refers to the direct and explicit economic benefits received by the consumers of a particular product as measured by its price and quality²². Precisely, the economist termed it as *consumer surplus* which also uses the notion to measure consumer welfare as the welfare of consumers as a whole that can only be maximized when the total surplus is maximized²³.

According to the economist, consumer surplus is maximized when marginal utility is made equal with price (MU=P) i.e. the marginal benefit from consumption is equal to the marginal cost of consumption²⁴. The fact that no economy is static as conditions of demand and supply is constantly changing, including fashions and technologies, the patterns of consumption and production will cease *Pareto optimality*²⁵. Hence, without the government intervention²⁶ and only relying on the *invisible hand*²⁷; *Pareto optimality* could be restored. In order to have an effective active flow of *invisible hand* the law plays an important role by

¹⁷ UNCTAD (n 5)

¹⁸ Sometimes be referred as 'emerging markets'.

¹⁹ UNCTAD (n 5)

²⁰ J. Thomas Rosch, "Monopsony and the Meaning of 'Consumer Welfare' A Closer Look at *Weyerhaeuser*", 7th Dec 2006 Milton Handler Annual Antitrust Review <
<http://www.ftc.gov/speeches/rosch/061207miltonhandlerremarks.pdf>>

²¹ OECD, "Glossary of Industrial Organisation Economics and Competition Law" <
<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/8/61/2376087.pdf>>

²² Gregory J. Werden, "Essay on Consumer Welfare and Competition Policy", March 2, 2009 U.S. Department of Justice - Antitrust Division <
<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1352032>>

²³ Charles F. (Rick) Rule, "Consumer Welfare, Efficiencies, and Mergers", 17th Nov 2005 Statement for the Hearing of the Antitrust Modernization Commission "Treatment of Efficiencies in Merger Enforcement" <
http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/amc/commission_hearings/pdf/Statement-Rule.pdf>

²⁴ John Sloman, *Economics*, (4th edn, Prentice Hall 2000)

²⁵ Ibid: Pareto optimality achieved where all possible improvements have been made and as a results it is impossible to make anyone better off without making someone else worse off i.e. social optimality.

²⁶ J. Sloman (n24): Government intervention under the economics refers to the forms of intervention that can change the way the markets operate.

²⁷ J. Sloman (n24): Invisible hand refers to individual actions of producers, consumers and factor owners all seeking their own self interest.

encouraging the parties involved in the *invisible hand* especially producers and factor owners;

*‘...to achieve success in ways that benefit consumers, such as by adding new features or entirely new products, lowering the prices they charge for their products, expanding the markets for those products, and identifying and implementing better or more efficient ways of making those products or distributing them to consumers’*²⁸.

By guiding the *invisible hand* through antitrust laws, it could partly help the economic to be sustainable.

It is generally accepted that *consumer welfare* plays its role in the application of competition law and policy especially as the ‘*criterion for judging legality*’²⁹. What matters under competition law and policy is to decide whether the undertakings’ conducts are pro-competitive or anti-competitive. *Consumer welfare* acts as a yard-stick where one would ask whether such conducts maximizing or reducing the consumer welfare.

Additionally, the goal of merger control is understood to promote social welfare³⁰. Thus, the same yard-stick applies and since this is the case, it is also fundamentally important to specify which consumers that the law cares about. Werden agreed that ‘buyers are *consumers* because they are people in the standard textbook treatment,’³¹ while Rosch opined that *consumer* whose welfare the Merger Control are concerned about are consumers in the output market³². Specifying the sorts of *consumer* that the merger control cares about is important for the application of welfare standard taken from economics point of view. This welfare standard³³ measures the performance of an industry by defining how the welfare of different groups³⁴ in the economy is taken into account³⁵.

²⁸ David L. Meyer, “Section 2 Standards and Consumer Welfare: Some Lessons from the World of Merger Enforcement”, 2007 Colum. Bus. L. Rev. 371

²⁹ Gregory J. Werden (n22)

³⁰ Gregory J. Werden (n22); An Renckens, “Welfare Standards, Substantive Tests, and Efficiency Considerations in Merger Policy: Defining the Efficiency Defense”, June 2007 3 J. Competition L. & Econ. 149: Social welfare is used because ‘merger will affect the welfare of different groups in society--possibly in opposite directions (positive for merging parties, but negative for consumers)--so that these welfare effects should be balanced against each other to make a decision about the appropriateness of the merger. In general the welfare standard consists of a balancing of consumer and producer surplus and no other social objectives (such as the effect of the merger on employment) are considered’.

³¹ Gregory J. Werden (n22)

³² J. Thomas Rosch (n20)

³³ An Renckens (n30): The welfare standard can be in many forms and the generally accepted by most scholars are price standard, consumer surplus standard, Hillsdown standard, weighted surplus standard, and total surplus standard.

³⁴ An Renckens (n30): Groups here restricted to producer and consumer. Therefore, if a merger control holds to maximize consumer welfare goal, it is significantly important to define who are those consumers’ welfare being cared.

³⁵ An Renckens (n30)

As mergers will more often than not be open to competition issues, ICN³⁶ have raised a question; ‘should the focus of merger policy be on preserving competition, protecting consumers or preserving economic efficiency?’³⁷ Whatever roles does the consumer welfare plays in merger control, different merger control law may suggest a different meaning for consumer welfare³⁸. From the above discussions, it is pertinent to look into several other jurisdictions and their experiences in their merger control practice having the element of competition law with high regards to consumer welfare. The characteristic of effective merger control within a jurisdiction is a result not only from its interaction of competition within the economy but also its advocacy thereof. This culture, combined with consumer welfare element will increase greater observance of competition principles and consecutively encourage self-discipline³⁹.

2.1 U.S’ Merger Control

The primary competition law governing mergers and acquisitions in the US would be the Sherman Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act. Pursuant to section 7 of the Clayton Act of 1914, ‘...No corporation...shall acquire ... the whole or any part of the stock or other share capital ... [or] ... the whole or any part of the assets of another corporation [having] ... the effect of such acquisition may be substantially to lessen competition, or to tend to create a monopoly’⁴⁰. This shows recognition on the role of efficiencies in merger control.⁴¹

Additionally, the Horizontal Merger Guidelines⁴² provides its analytical framework. Section 4, dealing with efficiencies state that consideration will only be made to merger-specific efficiencies.⁴³ No challenge can be made if ‘*cognizable efficiencies is not likely to be anticompetitive in any relevant market*’⁴⁴, that may cause potential harm to the consumer.⁴⁵

³⁶ The International Competition Network

³⁷ ICN Merger Working Group: Analytical Framework Sub-group, The Analytical Framework For Merger Control, Final Paper for ICN annual conference, Office of Fair Trading, London
<www.internationalcompetitionnetwork.org/uploads/library/doc333.pdf> <accessed 25th February 2010>

³⁸ Gregory J. Werden (n22)

³⁹ UNCTAD (n5)

⁴⁰ Refer to Section 7 of the Clayton Antitrust Act 1914; 64 Stat. 1125 (1950), 15 U.S.C. §18 (1958), amending 38 Stat. 731 (1914)

⁴¹ Refer to Kolasky, William (2008), ‘The Justice Department’s Section 2 Report: A Mixed Review’, *Antitrust Source*, 8(1), 1–4., pp. 23135 and *Federal Trade Commission v. H.J. Heinz Co.*, 246 F.3d 708 (D.C. Cir. 2001), p. 720 cited in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁴² Refer to the revised section 4 Horizontal Merger Guidelines issued by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission in April 8, 1997. (Ref: U.S. Department of Justice and Federal Trade Commission, HORIZONTAL MERGER GUIDELINES (1992, revised 1997).

⁴³ Merger specific efficiencies is when the efficiencies are likely to be accomplished with the proposed merger and unlikely to be accomplished in the absence of either the proposed merger or another means having comparable anticompetitive effects.

⁴⁴ <http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/guidelines/horiz_book/hmg1.html> <accessed 24th February 2010>

⁴⁵ Gregory J. Werden (n22)

This analytical approach of *evaluating the likely net effect of a transaction on price and output to mergers*⁴⁶ indicate that US has taken the consumer welfare approach by recognising consumer benefits via the market forces⁴⁷.

It has been observed that the Guidelines are leaning towards the price or consumer surplus test⁴⁸. Baker⁴⁹ referred to the Guidelines to resolve the standard of welfare and Kolasky and Dick on the other hand have both viewed the Guideline as having a *'hybrid consumer welfare or total welfare model'*⁵⁰. US has also note that *'over the last half century, [US] merger analysis has become increasingly well-grounded in economics and 'has become more clearly focused solely on protection of consumer welfare'*⁵¹, thus refuting views that it seeks to protect competitors rather than competition. It reiterates that, *'[t]oday, [US] merger analysis is focused squarely on 'whether the merger is likely to create or enhance market power or to facilitate its exercise.'*⁵²

2.2 EC Merger Regulations

For European Union, the EC Merger Regulations 2004, wherein Article 2(3) provides the substantive test for merger control in determining whether a merger would significantly impede effective competition taking into account the interest of the consumers (intermediate and ultimate), the progress of which must be for the advantage of the consumers⁵³. By using substantive test, the Commission take note *'any substantiated and likely efficiencies'*⁵⁴ that translated as consumer welfare and not producer welfare⁵⁵ as the Commissions in both its Regulation⁵⁶ and guidelines⁵⁷ indicates that, the test made must ensure the customers will not be *worse off as a result of the merger*.

⁴⁶ <[http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/guidelines/horiz book/hmg1.html](http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/guidelines/horiz%20book/hmg1.html)> <accessed 24th February 2010>

⁴⁷ International Competition Network, Mergers Working Group, Analytical Framework Sub-Group, Annex for Issue Paper for 2002 Naples Conference, Description of Analytical Framework under United States Merger Law, page 4, Guidelines 0.1

⁴⁸ Gregory J. Werden (n22), p. 14

⁴⁹ Baker (2006, p. 521) cited in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁵⁰ Kolasky and Dick (n41) cited in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁵¹ International Competition Network, Mergers Working Group, Analytical Framework Sub-Group, Annex for Issue Paper for 2002 Naples Conference, Description of Analytical Framework under United States Merger Law, page 21, Guidelines 0.2

⁵² International Competition Network, Mergers Working Group, Analytical Framework Sub-Group, Annex for Issue Paper for 2002 Naples Conference, Description of Analytical Framework under United States Merger Law, page 21, Guidelines 0.2

⁵³ Article 2(1) of the 2004 EC Merger Regulations

⁵⁴ Recital 29 of the 2004 EC Merger Regulations

⁵⁵ de la Mano, Miguel (2002), *For the customer's sake: The competitive effects of efficiencies in European merger control*, Brussels: Enterprise Directorate-General, European Commission, p. 26 cited in Gregory J. Werden (n19)

⁵⁶ Recital 29

⁵⁷ (2004a, paras 7778) in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

Further, the Commission's flexibility in applying the test shows that it place high importance on consumer benefits. The Commission have considers 'alternatives that are reasonably practical in the business situation faced by the merging parties'. Price test was used if all customer benefits derived from merger efficiencies would come from short-term price effects whilst to 'benefit from new or improved products or services, for instance resulting from efficiency gains in the sphere of R&D and innovation'⁵⁸, price test was not used. Efficiency effect will be considered in cases that 'benefit consumers in those relevant markets where it is otherwise likely that competition concerns would occur.'⁵⁹

2.3 UK – Enterprise Act 2002

In the United Kingdom, the use of substantive test⁶⁰ is not absolute, this test is used in determining whether any merger would result in a substantial lessening of competition but regards can also be made to mergers that produces 'relevant customer benefit' even if it fails the test. But, the benefit must be 'low[er] prices [with] higher quality or greater choice of goods or services' or 'greater innovation in relation to such goods or services' and that the *relevant customers* includes those incumbent competitors in relevant market, in a chain of customers and also future customers⁶¹.

The Competition Commission and Office of Fair Trading issued Guidelines (2009, ss. 4.201, 4.223) with the first consideration on whether merger generate efficiencies would prevent the merger from *driving up prices* and *decreasing output, innovation, productivity or product quality*. Then, thereafter it will be decided whether, even if not, merger-generated efficiencies *outweigh* any anti-competitive effects in terms of effects on customers⁶².

Thus, the U.K Guidelines only make considerations on merger specific efficiencies⁶³ and consecutively emphasis on 'efficiencies that arise in other markets provided that they benefit consumers'⁶⁴. It should be noted, that when a merger harm the customers, it 'will be presumed to lead to detriment to final consumers as well and that they do not consider it necessary to trace the path of adverse effects down the supply chain'⁶⁵. Hence, one can see that UK put high regards on consumer welfare as when it comes to mergers leading to the buyer's market power; it is the 'harms to customers and consumers at the end of the distribution chain' that matters⁶⁶.

⁵⁸ (2004a, para 81) in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁵⁹ (2004a, para. 79) in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁶⁰ Section 35 of Enterprise Act of 2002

⁶¹ Section 30 of Enterprise Act of 2002

⁶² Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁶³ See S. 4.204, Merger specific efficiency has been defined as being 'a direct consequence of the merger, judged relative to what would have happened without it' in section 4, 204.

⁶⁴ (s. 4.204 n. 101) in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁶⁵ (s. 4.6) in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

⁶⁶ (ss. 4.11012) in Gregory J. Werden (n22)

2.4 Japan - Domestic Concentration for International Competition

Recently, it has been suggested that, 'international competitiveness can be achieved in the presence of domestic market concentration'⁶⁷ particularly in the newly industrialised Asian economies especially when the entry of foreign direct investment bring with it restraint of trade and also abuses of market power. Thus, regard should not only be made to its policies but also relevant legislations to govern it.⁶⁸ Japan in its government's procurement policies has made an investment barrier to protect its domestic industries from foreign direct investment. Other than setting rigorous standards and testing procedures limit the foreign investment and manufactured imports from flooding its market, one of the measures used by Japan is by imposing cross-holdings for foreign investors to gain entry in the domestic market which may impede hostile takeovers by foreign investors and consequently restricts foreign control.

This can be seen in their foreign direct investment as at January 2008 which represented just three percent of gross domestic product compared to US which represented fourteen percent. The effect of which not only it will allow profits but also the transfer of technological secrets to foreign owners. In US, many of the key jobs (in research and development, for instance) go to foreign workers, while the profits go to foreign holding companies that boost the tax revenues of foreign governments⁶⁹. Looking at this phenomenon, question arose as to whether by not actively participating in global arena and by putting restrictions on foreign investment under the then FIC Guidelines locally⁷⁰, does that entails that Malaysia is in fact considering the consumer welfare in its domestic region?

3. Malaysia's 'Merger Control'

Looking at the essence of competition policy, the capital control practised by Malaysia back in 1997 may be viewed as a method to protect the domestic market competition. Though there is no statutory competition law, but Malaysia has been practising the competition policy via its government's policies and indirect supervisions of financial markets. Other than that, the imposition of controls, have helped towards a financial market and by the implementation of corporate governance, it helps restructuring and strengthening the financial markets⁷¹. This can be seen in the commentary made by the High-Level Finance Committee on the newly reformed Corporate Governance Code wherein it was noted that,

'...the need for a code also results from economic forces and to re-invent the corporate enterprise, so as to efficiently meet emerging global competition... in market-oriented

⁶⁷ UNCTAD (n5)

⁶⁸ UNCTAD (n5)

⁶⁹ Dustin Ensinger, April 30, 2009 – 10.25am, America is Unilaterally Disarming Itself, Economy In Crisis – America Economic report daily, <http://www.economyincrisis.org/content/america-unilaterally-disarming-itself> (Accessed 10 Februari 2010); The writer further note that, 'This is certainly not a recipe for success. America should follow the lead of the Chinese and Japanese and begin taking steps to protect its vital industries, companies and assets from hostile takeover. China and Japan operate their economies as one big business fighting an economic war, it is time the U.S. joined the fight'.

⁷⁰ Note the recent changes made by the Prime Minister in respect of foreign equity ownership in Malaysia.

⁷¹ Shalendra D. Sharma, *The Malaysian Capital Control Regime of 1998*, p. 101-102

*economies, companies are less protected by traditional and prescriptive legal rules and regulations*⁷².

As aptly put by Wan Liza Md Amin, Malaysia need to enact its competition law, only then would uniformity and transparency can be implemented. However, the essence of competition in Malaysia's distributive implementation on issuing license, permit and approval in the Communication and Multimedia Act 1998 and also the Energy Commission Act 2001 indicates observance of competition policy at some level. But, like the corporate governance system, it will be pertinent in catering the needs and demands of the international level '...to cope with the advent of globalization and liberalization of trade'⁷³.

In this respect, one may find that, in enacting the regulatory framework on merger control, corporate and the competition laws should go hand in hand. As highlighted by Erlina Carletti, Philipp Hartmann and Steven Ongena, only when the regulation is competition-friendly then, it will give a positive impact on the economy efficiency⁷⁴. This is because; competition's merger control aim to prevent 'excessive market concentration'⁷⁵ whereas the corporate law aim to regulate the merger transactions and to protect the rights of the parties involved. The main problem of occurrences of mergers is the fear of excessive concentration which may lead to either substantial lessening of competition or strengthening of a dominant position in which case will create further problems, such as, increase of prices or reduction of consumer welfare⁷⁶.

The requirement to give prior notification to the merger transaction is designed for the ex ante control of the level of the concentration on the relevant market preventing the elimination of competition that might follow⁷⁷. As merger control under the competition law is usually made based on future prediction of the market structure and behaviour when (or, if) the merger takes place by using substantive test, this may require the burden of proof from the merging parties to prove that there will not be any negative effects on competition⁷⁸. This is different from the ex post competition control.

In Malaysia, the only reference made to 'merger control' is the laws governing mergers and acquisitions in Part IV Division 2 of the Securities Commission Act 1993 (hereinafter referred to as "the Act") and the Malaysian Code on Take-overs and Mergers 1998 (hereinafter referred to as "the Code"). The objective behind the Code is amongst others to ensure that minority shareholders have a fair opportunity to consider the merits and demerits of a takeover offer. It also imposes criminal liability for any false or misleading information

⁷² < www.secp.gov.pk/rc/CorpGovIntTrends/malaysia.pdf > assessed on 6.2.2010

⁷³ Wan Liza Md Amin, "Malaysia and competition Law : EC As Comparator"

⁷⁴ Elena Carletti, Philipp Hartmann, Steven Ongena, "The Economic Impact of Merger Control Legislation", Feb 2008
< <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1095684> > (accessed 6 February 2010)

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Elena Carletti, et. al. (n74)

⁷⁷ Alexandr Svetlicinii, "Competitiveness and Competition: International Merger Control from the Business Prospective" < <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1311069> > (accessed 6 February 2010)

⁷⁸ Ibid

made⁷⁹. Another form of so-called ‘merger control’ measure includes the Guidelines for Regulation for Acquisition of Assets, Mergers and Takeovers issued by the Foreign Investment Committee (FIC)⁸⁰ which now have been repealed by the recent deregulation announcement made by the Prime Minister YAB Dato’ Seri Mohd Najib Tun Abdul Razak on 30th June 2009.⁸¹

Section 12 of the Code, provide amongst others, the announcement requirement under the pre-merger steps at the inception of any intended or proposed takeover offer.⁸² The provision also requires the offeror to notify the board of directors, its advisers, the relevant stock exchange and the Securities Commission certain necessary information and made application to the Securities Commission being the regulator. Additional protection includes, 35 days offer documents requirement, opinion by the board of directors to shareholders and independent advice circular.⁸³

These procedural requirements indicate that the Act and the Code are primarily enacted to protect the interest of the investors in general, particularly shareholders privy to the transaction. There is no indication whatsoever on the impact of the mergers on competition. Thus, from the above discussion it can be observed that, the ‘*merger control*’ in Malaysia does not make any reference to the *merger control* that is advocated by the Competition lawyers.

4. Conclusion

As highlighted above, any merger no matter how large and/or small the acquiring and/or acquired company will give an impact on the economy as a whole. Thus, mergers that are left unregulated may give an adverse effect on the economic sustainability because, in essence, an effective merger control is one that is able to balance between concentration and competition.

This is the reason why it is important to not only ensure the procedural law as a mode of control but also its substantive law to protect the investors (as accorded under corporate law) and also the consumer welfare (provided under competition law). Only then would mergers and acquisitions be beneficial to the economy as a whole.

⁷⁹ < www.secp.gov.pk/rc/CorpGovIntTrends/malaysia.pdf > assessed on 6.2.2010

⁸⁰ FIC is a committee within the Economic Planning Unit of the Prime Minister’s Office which implements government policies on the acquisition of assets or interests, and mergers or takeovers of companies and businesses, as well as on foreign investment in Malaysia. However, take note the recent announcement made by the Prime Minister Najib Razak on 30th June 2009.

⁸¹ Refer to the announcement made in the < <http://www.epu.gov.my/236> >

⁸² Section 12 of the Code requires that any intention or proposal of takeover offer must be formally announced vide a press notice to be given to at least three daily newspapers circulating throughout Malaysia, one of which shall be in the national language, and one in English. The Board of Directors of the target company must also make a press announcement within 24 hours of receiving the offer.

⁸³ Pre-Merger Notification, Lex Mundi Publication, Lex Mundi Ltd Aug 2006; The paper also provides that Securities Commission and the FIC, being the national regulatory agency may pursuant to Section 33E(3) of the SCA 1993 prescribes a fine not exceeding RM3 million or imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years, or both – the sanctions for not filing or filing an incorrect/incomplete notification. But, the Code does not provide for the procedures if the agency wants to challenge the transaction. Further, should there be an implementation of a merger before clearance or of a prohibited merger, the same as penalties for non-compliance will apply.

In analysing possible reason for this, we have argued that, it is consumer welfare that will bring impact on the economic sustainability. We have shown this, via stance taken by different jurisdictions which all in all place consumers as important stakeholders. As all nature of commercial and/or business transactions, mergers too will give an impact on the consumers, thus, anything that may harm the consumers may harm the economy as a whole.

However, we do observe that, merger control may also be regulated via soft laws (Code) and policies as applied in Malaysia. But, it has been suggested that, for an effective competition law and policy for any developing markets such as Malaysia, any policy adopted requires constant checks; periodic amendments and improvements⁸⁴.

To achieve a systemic competitiveness in a globalizing world economy⁸⁵, particularly in liberalisation of the economy, the approach undertaken by any jurisdiction should be comprehensive. Thus, to warrant a healthy competition and to take the benefits out of liberalisation, any new government policy must come with a corresponding competition policy⁸⁶.

Therefore, a stronger focus on competition law in merger control and how it will give impact on economic sustainability will definitely serve the market growth in Malaysia. More importantly, it will ensure the welfare of the consumers and even more broadly, it will keep Malaysia in control despite its rapid development.

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Clayton Antitrust Act 1914; 64 Stat. 1125 (1950), 15 U.S.C. §18 (1958), amending 38 Stat. 731 (1914).

⁸⁴ UNCTAD (n 5): Examples given by the writer are the Indian, Kenyan, Tanzanian and Thai competition laws that went under review in the light of market developments and demands related to interpretation and enforcement concerns.

⁸⁵ UNCTAD (n 5)

⁸⁶ UNCTAD (n 5), p. 6

Daly, H E (1992) Allocation, Distribution and Scale: Towards an Economics which is Efficient, Just and Sustainable, *Ecol. Econ.*, 6(3), 185–193.

Department of Justice, United State (undated) Official Website <http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/guidelines/horiz_book/hmg1.html> (accessed 24th February 2010).

EC Merger Regulations 2004

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The Precautionary Principle and the Controversy of GM Crops and Foods in Taiwan

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Abstract

In a condition of scientific uncertainty, the precautionary principle has become an increasingly important theme in technological and environmental controversies about GM crops and foods. This paper examines some ways in which the Taiwanese public perceives the uncertainty of genetically modified (GM) crops and foods, and how precaution has played out in Taiwan. The research uses critical discourse analysis to examine a citizen report and expert opinions from the consensus conference on GM foods held in June 2008. It utilizes data gathered from in-depth interviews of environmental and consumer groups. The paper highlights the multiple knowledge claims of citizens and stakeholders, strong and weak interpretations of precaution, and the implications for GM crops and foods governance. It argues for the need to integrate the precautionary principle and democratic deliberation into the decision-making processes in Taiwan and elsewhere.

Keywords: The precautionary principle; scientific uncertainty; public participation; risk governance; GM crops and foods

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Introduction

In a condition of scientific uncertainty, the precautionary principle has become an increasingly important theme in technological and environmental controversies about GM crops and foods. It has become an important guide to protect human health and the environment. The precautionary principle was originally proposed in the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development during the Earth Summit in 1992. Principle 15 of the Rio Declaration states: “in order to protect the environment, the precautionary approach shall be widely applied by States according to their capabilities. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation (UNCEC, 1992).” The 1998 Wingspring Statements also emphasized that: “When an activity raises threats of harm to human health or the environment, precautionary measures should be taken even if some cause and effect relationships are not fully established scientifically.” The precautionary principle has flourished. It is now found in many international statements of policy and in the texts of international conventions and protocols, such as the application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary of WTO in 1995 and the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety in 2000 (Myers, 2006 a: 11-14). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2005) published a report on the precautionary principle; it regards the principle as important for moral responsibility and legal norms.

The precautionary principle has been regarded as a deliberative principle in policy areas. It fosters moral deliberation of controversial public issues. It puts emphasis on an open, informed and democratic process. Affected parties are enjoined to deliberate and examine the full range of alternatives. The precautionary principle enables interactions and linkages between the scientific community and

the society (Schomberg, 2006).

However, there are many definitions of the precautionary principle. The interpretation of the precautionary principle can vary between weak and stronger versions; they range from calls for more research, asking for moratoriums, and embracing of ideas of justice, human rights, and even the inherent values of the environment (Throne-Holst and St ϕ , 2008: 101). The weakest formulations tend to be relatively protective of the status quo. In the words of O’Riordan and Jordan, (1995: 197), they “advocate a role for biased cost-benefit analysis, incorporate some concern for technical feasibility and economic efficiency arguments and tend to emphasise the importance of basing judgments on ‘sound science’.” The stronger formulations have more in common with the deep green worldview and ecologism. The lack of an unambiguous and fixed definition shows the need for a contextual interpretation (Throne-Holst and St ϕ , 2008: 101).

The issue of GM foods has become one of the most popular topics for deliberative exercises that involve the participation of ordinary citizens (Dryzek, et al., 2009). The rapid expansion of agricultural biotechnology reflects confidence on the part of some growers, the agriculture industry, and governments that the benefits of GM technology would outweigh negative effects. However, restrictions on GM commercialization and planting in the European Union, resistance from environmental groups, an increasing body of research, and the “no GMO” (genetically modified organism) of several major food producers show that GM crops and foods remain highly contested (Barrett, 2006: 242-243). Since the 1980s, the Executive Yuan of Taiwan has regarded GMOs research and development as an important to economic development (Chou, 2000). Since the regulatory institutions lag behind the development of GM technologies, the Science and Technology Advisory Group of the Executive Yuan has set up an inter-departmental Committee

on Gene Technology in 2006. The committee consists of representatives from several government departments, including the National Science Council, the Council of Agriculture, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Department of Health, and the Environmental Protection Administration. The committee is responsible for developing policies and integrative regulatory frameworks and establishing mechanisms for coordination.

The future development of GM technology and products will be influenced by how they are perceived by members of society (Napier et al., 2004: 70). This paper aims to examine how the Taiwanese public perceives the uncertainty of GM crops and foods, and how the concept of precaution has played out in the particular context of Taiwan. It employs critical discourse analysis to examine a citizen report and expert opinions from the consensus conference on GM foods held in June 2008. It utilizes data gathered from in-depth interviews of environmental and consumer groups. The paper highlights the multiple knowledge claims of citizens and stakeholders, strong and weak interpretations of precaution, and the implications for GM crops and foods governance. It argues for the need to integrate the precautionary principle and democratic deliberation into the decision-making processes in Taiwan and elsewhere.

The controversy of GM crops and foods in the Taiwanese context

The environmental and health risks of GM crops and foods have been discussed in recent scientific research. Topics include gene flow from GM crops to non-GM crops or related wild plants, the development of antibiotic-resistance, long-term impacts on biodiversity or ecosystems, and allergenic effects. The Starklink incident, in which corn approved only for animal rations ended up in human foodstuffs, shows that scientific uncertainties are inextricable from broader social and political

factors that shape the way technologies are developed, interpreted, and used (Barrett, 2006: 245-246). Wynne (1992) argues that it is useful to see the risks posed by a particular technology as a combination of the properties of that technology and the way it is used by people in a particular context and to place scientific knowledge within social, cultural, and moral perspectives.

The importation ratio of GM products from the USA to Taiwan is high, particularly GM soybeans and corn. At least 50% of soybeans in the Taiwanese market are GM soybeans (Chou, 2007: 153). The government's national biotechnology strategy is dominated by experts and technocracies; it defines the role of biotechnology for economic development in Taiwan, and it takes advantage of the new opportunities to promote Taiwan's scientific and industrial capacity (Chou, 2000). For Chou (2007), Taiwanese society seems less aware of global technological GMO risks. It continues to ensure GMO safety, and it has established related GMO labeling policies in 2002. The current decision-making process reflects the dominant technical and economic frame, the pursuit of a strongly expert-ruled policy, and the neglect of potential socio-economic impacts and public concerns.

In September 2003, the government confirmed that GM papaya had been illegally grown in Taiwan and sold on the market. The Agriculture Council has engaged in research into the development of papaya resistant to the papaya ring spot virus since 1998. While the papaya ringspot virus coat protein is seen as a potential allergen, the papaya seeds are being field tested (UDN News, 2003). This incident highlights the problem of risk governance and the potential negative impacts of GM foods on human health, the environment, and the agricultural export industry. It raises important questions of the problem of risk governance and who should take responsibility (Fan, 2009).

The National Science and Technology Development Fund sponsored the Science and Technology Law Centre of Institute of Information Industry to foster the development of GMO regulatory policy and the establishment of communication mechanisms. In response to a perceived need for greater public involvement in decision-making on the part of policymakers, academics, and the public, the Institute of Information Industry sponsored the Department of Sociology of National Taiwan University to conduct a citizen conference on GM foods to facilitate wider social discussions and to reflect a broader range of values of lay views on GM foods.

Citizens were selected on the basis of socio-demographic criteria. Volunteers were recruited through advertisements (e.g. newspaper and the internet), and they made applications by e-mail or post. With consideration given to age, gender, education, profession, and geography, there were 20 citizens randomly selected from 82 ordinary citizens who self-enrolled after public recruitment. The steering committee ensured that the readings on GM were clear and balanced. A two-day pre-conference was held on June 14, 15 2008 to inform the citizens about the GM controversies. The citizens listened to the presentations and had opportunities to query experts. The organizers made every effort to ensure that balanced views would be heard. The experts were consulted on four primary issues: (1) the impacts on public health; (2) the development of the industry and economy; (3) the impacts on the environment; (4) the regulatory framework and rights of consumers. The citizens took three days (2008 June 28, 29 and July 5) to study the problems, discuss issues, converse with experts, debate alternatives, and reach a conclusion. The first part of the consensus conference was devoted to a dialogue with experts. Experts from different disciplines offered short talks, and the citizens had an opportunity to ask individual experts for elaboration and clarification of their

presentations and to discuss further the issues. A total of 15 experts who hold various positions participated in the conference. During the second part, a citizen report was written that revealed that the citizens could not reach a consensus. The report was sent to the relevant governmental agencies (e.g. Science and Technology Advisory Group of Executive Yuan, Department of Health, Council of Agriculture).

Discourses on scientific uncertainty and active measures

The greatest concern of the citizen panel was whether GM foods have any negative impacts on human health and safety. The potential health risks of GM foods thus far discovered include the development of antibiotic-resistance, allergenic effects, the possibility of toxic effects, and the safety of transgenes. In the dialogue between the citizen panel and experts, one agricultural biotechnology expert emphasized that “no scientific proofs has proven that GM foods harm human health.” He held that GM foods are “not less safe than existing foodstuffs” and that “existing foodstuffs are not safe either.” The expert from the government and its research institutions adopted the standards of the WHO and the USA, which emphasize scientific proofs and that GM foods are taken to be substantially equivalent in regard to consumer safety if they are compositionally equivalent to existing foodstuffs (Yearley, 2008: 932). These experts did not highlight the differences between GM and ordinary foods, scientific uncertainty and unknowns; they did not represent the precautionary worldviews. Instead, experts from environmental NGOs put emphasis on the uncertainty of GM technology, and they indicated that there were experiments and research to show that GM feedings have had negative impact on rats.

According to the citizen panel, GM foods sold on the market have passed safety testing, and scientific research does not show any negative impacts on human health.

However, GM foods have been regarded as “novel products,” and they might cause and unknown negative effects in the future. Long-term experiments, research, and monitoring were judged as necessary for the health of future generations. They pointed out that the Council of Agriculture Council and Department of Health are the institutions in charge of the regulation and management of GM crops and foods, and they asked these agencies to cooperate and take responsibility. The citizen report contained some precautionary caveats that correspond to the elements of pro-action. They suggested:

The government should spend more money on the improvement of testing and technology and promote strict legislation for complete safety assessment. (The Conference Report, 2008)

The second topic concerns whether Taiwan should invest in the development of GM technology. The citizens were divided. In the dialogue between the citizen panel and the experts, one expert from an environmental NGO emphasized that GM technology cannot increase yields and reduce the use of pesticide. One interviewee from another environmental NGO adopted a precautionary position and indicated: “Now the risks of GM technology are still very controversial. Taiwanese did not totally understand them, but they accept them. It is unnecessary to let the public bear the unneeded risks (interview E1).” One agronomy expert said that it is not easy to develop GM technology in Taiwan because of the shortage of arable land, the small-scale of the farm system, and the wide variety of crops. He emphasized that the “traditional farm is even more advanced, not falling behind. What the public can do is to insist on supporting local agriculture.” The expert in commerce put emphasis on the benefits of GM crops. The agricultural biotechnology expert

indicated that GM technology will be continually enhanced and GM crops can be grown in harmony with the environment. Most citizens on the panel argued for the need to develop GM technology and that it is global trend, which Taiwan must follow:

The advance of technology is irresistible, so Taiwan cannot be absent from the trend of new technology in a new era. We cannot give up making renovations for fear of a little trouble... If we do not develop this technology, Taiwan will become an importer country of the technology, and will lose autonomy of relevant technology, even though do not have the capacity of GM crops and foods testing. Therefore, we need to develop this technology on order to protect our rights. (The citizen report, 2008)

However, a few citizens expressed their worry about the long-term potential risks of GM technology development and the high costs of research and development. Finally, the citizen panel made a compromise and agreed on “the development of testing and GM technology in the field medicine rather than foods.” The citizen panel also expressed their concerns about traditional agriculture, and they emphasized that the government could help farmers to develop agricultural products with particularity and added value.

The discourse of the citizen panel tended to emphasize the benefits that the advanced technology will bring. Technology was seen as a tool that can strengthen economic development. Their report reflects anthropocentric thought and an utilitarian view. It seemed to adhere to technological optimism. By this view, human beings only need to change their choice of technology rather than changing their ways of life (Throne-Holst and St ϕ , 2008: 105). To consider whether Taiwan

should invest in the development of GM technology and the economy necessarily involves consideration of values and the imagination of Taiwan. Although some citizens mentioned the potential impacts on the environment, the citizen panel did not have further debate on values, ethical positions, and their arguments and reasoning. They tended to seek the acceptable and pragmatic program in the practice. The characteristics of a consensus conference that asks the citizen panel to seek common ground might engender this position.

The third topic concerned the potential impacts on the environment, which mainly involves the risks of hybridization, impacts on the non-targeted species, and harm to eco-system and biodiversity. In the dialogue between the citizen panel and experts, one agricultural expert adopted a very positive position on GM technology. She emphasized that GM technology has positive functions, including an increase yields, the reduction in the use of pesticides, and an improve in environmental pollution. She indicated that “the technology of deletion of maker genes (gene-deletor) can solve the problem of gene flow completely”. The talk of the expert had some influence on the citizen. One citizen adopted the position that advanced technology can solve environmental problems and proposed to develop this technique. However, another citizen expressed his doubt about this proposal: “Even if we invest in the research and the development of this technique, GM crops could still have impact on the ecology. This technique alone cannot move us toward environmental sustainability.” Considering the GM papaya incident, they argued for the need to enforce testing and monitoring in the final report. They expressed their concerns of ecological impacts and sustainability, and they suggested “the needs for transnational cooperation of long-term monitoring, quarantine, and native species conservation, and efforts to ease the negative impacts.” Also, the citizen panel put emphasis on the transparency of GM crops and foods management. They

asked the government to consider the problems of smuggling GM seeds and plants into Taiwan, of providing farmers and the public complete relevant information, and of encouraging the consumers to purchase non-GM products.

The citizen panel did not discuss much the environmental and social issues. One possible reason might be that the experts on this topic tended to communicate the positive message of GM crops and to provide limited information. On the other hand, it might not be easy for the citizens to grasp the more complex, indistinct and invisible risks. because Taiwan has not allowed the commercial cultivation of t GM corps, and the information of the impacts on the environment comes from abroad, not from domestic experiences. According to Wynne (1980: 186), people cannot in any significant sense assess the ‘factual’ impacts of technology, and need to ‘assess the institutions which appear to control technology.’ Grove-White et al. (2000: 27) argue that any previous experience of the information provider (e.g. government regulator, manufacturer, and company, the non-governmental organizations) are crucial to people’s judgments on multiple sources of information. Such experiences can be treated as a basic feature of the information itself. The citizen panel had a short discussion on the impacts on the environment, and they shifted their focus to regulatory institutions. Whether or not the government can take responsibility crucially affect perceptions of the impacts on the environment.

The rights of consumers and regulation controversies

In discussion of consumer rights and regulatory frameworks, both experts and citizens put emphasis on the importance of transparent information, the “right to know,” and “right to choose.” Several agricultural biotechnology academics and one expert from the consumer association indicated that “it is necessary to inform the public and to let them choose when there is insufficient scientific proof that GM

foods harm human health.” One expert from the official research institution pointed out that “The public should have an opportunity to choose as long as they are safe foods. There is no need to become involved in arguments about religion and values.” However, the above expert seems to divide the scientific controversies from the social and ethical dimensions, which reflects the position of market-oriented model of supply and demand. These views might have influenced the citizen panel. They also emphasized the right to know of consumers. For them, only when the consumers are fully informed of the benefits and risks of GM foods could consumers make appropriate choices.

The citizen panel suggested that “the government should provide complete information for the public, and it is important to raise public awareness about the GM issues.” Also, they pointed out the need to let Buddhists and other vegetarians access to more information because vegetarian foods are made from GM soybeans. Moreover, the government needs to hold several public meetings and let the public have the opportunity to have a say in a civic society with the power to affect decision-making. The following quote from the environmental groups and consumer association points out that the public cannot acquire asymmetric information:

The government seems to play a role of lobbyist; as a lobbyist it tells them that GM foods are not that awful and greatly contribute to yields.... The media does not inform the public, and it is hard for the lay public to grasp those technical terms. There seems to be a circle of light around the things of professionalism. They might believe what the professionals have said.
(Interviewee E3)

The citizen panel also was also concerned with how to strengthen regulations and institutional power. Although some manufacturers and suppliers tend to use GM ingredients for lower costs, one expert from a manufacturer expressed concern about the uncertainty of GM crops. He pointed out that he does not use GM soya beans on the basis of “business ideals and corporate responsibility.”

Different from the general existing foodstuffs, the development process of GM foods is too short, and it might have negative impacts on health that might only be confirmed in several generations and hundreds of years. The public could not know which genes have been changed among the tens of thousands genes. The government does not do their best to let the inform farmers. I would rather not use GM stuffs.

The citizen panel also put emphasis on the social responsibility of corporations to improve public access to information. The GMO labeling policies were established in 2002. Labeling is required when products contain more than 5 % GM ingredients. The citizen panel emphasized that those foods on the market should obey the rules of compulsory labeling. For the majority of the citizen panel, the current labeling regulations are acceptable. A few citizens thought that it would be better to tighten the rules. One citizen concluded that the regulatory standards might be results of compromises among various interest groups and that labeling of very low percentages might involve the problem of technical feasibility. They all suggested that the government should resume a tractability system.

The citizen panel’s emphasis on the right to choose put the risks on the individual; this reflects the idea that the individual consumer needs to be precautionary. Only one citizen mentioned the need to enhance the responsibility of

professional researchers. He mentioned: “There should be a comprehensive planning about the management of innovation and experimental design in the early stages of GM development. There might have less opportunity to cause harm after complete and appropriate planning.” This claim tends to correspond to Rip’s (2006) idea of “responsible innovation.” Those who engage in the research and development of GM technology and their governmental regulators need to consider the social and ethical issues in the early stages of research and development and take action in advance. This highlights the problem of GM technology management. And it begs the question: “ Who should be precautionary?”

The EU countries adopted the precautionary idea, which suggests that the burden of proof should shift onto those who advocate GM technology. The corporations need to prove the safety of GM foods instead of regulatory institutions or the third parties which are enjoined to prove harm (Schomber, 2006: 26). However, in the discussion of the question “how to protect the rights of consumers and to compensate for losses,” the citizen panel tend to think that it would be hard to show the relation of cause and effect in GM foods and that the existing food regulations are sufficient. In the report, they emphasize “the need to let consumers have free choice and self-protection.” The report does not reflect the notion of “shifting the onus of proof” to the producers. The majority of the citizens adopt the position of status quo of the current food regulations, which does not highlight the priority of their welfare.

One important elements of the precautionary principle is the “paying for ecological debt” (O’Riordan & Jordan, 1995). The citizen panel raised the question: “how to compensate the possible loss of the consumers in order to protect the rights of the consumers?” The expert from the consumer association expressed similar viewpoints and considered a burden-sharing responsibility for the industry. He

suggested that building an insurance system has the function of risk diversification and that consumers could get compensation once unexpected hazard happened. The citizen panel also suggested: “GM corporations could have joint insurance, and the consumers will have more indemnification. A foundation and insurance system could be established while not disobeying international regulations.” Although the citizens suggested more measures to protect consumer rights, they were aware that the priority of consumer rights faces the challenge of international trade and business interests.

The government’s capability will affect the potential impacts caused by the development of GM technology. The citizen panel raised the question: “whether it is needed to establish responsible authority solely in charge of GM foods management, evaluation and monitoring?” One expert who used to work in the Agricultural Department pointed out the problem of incomplete regulation: “the Food Sanitation Agency is only a small unit of the Department of Public Health. The Agency and its research institutions did not have capability to undertake safety testing of GM foods sufficiently. The Food Sanitation Control Act was amended to include the regulations of GM foods, but it is not complete.”

The citizens have diverse views on setting up responsible authority. Those who support setting up responsible authorities tend to think that this could prevent the problem of shirking responsibility, and they suggest the responsible authorities be upgraded to the level of cabinet rather than the level of department. Others citizens thought that “the current regulations frameworks are sufficient. We can see GM foods as normal foods and the Department of Public Health could be in charge of regulations.” Moreover, considering the financial difficulties, they do not think it is necessary to increase budgets. Finally, the citizen panel reached the consensus that the government needs to “ensure accountability and offer one-stop services” in

order to solve the GM controversy efficiently. The different views on the necessity of setting up responsible authority show the various perceptions of GM foods and precautionary measures.

Conclusion

Risk governance and regulations need to take account of public deliberation and moral discussions; the risks and morality or values cannot be divided (Levidow and Carr, 1997). The citizen panel and the experts from the NGOs, industry, academia and the government have different views on the potential impacts of GM technology and its development. The citizen panel was aware that the controversy of GM crops and foods involves scientific uncertainty. Considering the potential impacts on health and the ecology, they argue for long-term evaluations of GM technology. However, the majority of the citizens tend to hold optimism toward GM technology and regard the development of GM technology as a global trend. Those experts who support the innovation and development of GM technology might influence citizen viewpoints. On the other hand, political culture and technology policy dominated by the government and experts might have a close relationship to the technology. As Cheng (2002) puts it:

The government's technology policy tends to regard the "upgrade of the level of technological development, industry infrastructure, and international competitiveness" as primary goals. In the face of global and transnational risks, the strategy the government has adopted tends to invest more in the research and development of technology rather than giving up the development of relevant industries to avoid dangers. This cannot reduce risk effectively. (Cheng, 2002)

The expert and the citizen panels put emphasis on the ' "right to know" and the "right to choose". Several experts tend to be market-oriented, which argues for the need to let the consumers get relevant information and to make choice individually. However, the need to empower citizens to participate in the front-end and decision-making (e.g. whether to develop GM technology and the possible direction, field trial and the approval of GM foods on the market) has been under represented. The citizen not only has right to know but also the right to participate in decision of technology development. The controversy of GM technology involves plural viewpoints of what kinds of society we want. The precautionary principle allows us to reflect on further questions, such as how precautionary should it be? How much scientific uncertainty is acceptable? According to whose values? We should move toward reflective governance, which considers the uncertainty and unknowns of new technology, the assumptions of the problems and accountability, and in the benefits of democratic deliberation. Institutional change is needed to integrate the precautionary principle and democratic deliberation into the decision-making processes. The participatory assessment of technology should be adopted in the early stages of technological development. More public dialogue needs to be conducted. It could help to respond to various perceptions and knowledge claims of GM technology and the particularities of social and cultural context.

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Conserving Biodiversity on Private Lands:

Collaborative Environmental Governance in the Case of Twin Lake, Taiwan

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Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a growing emphasis on developing a creative combination of mechanisms to conserve endangered species and wildlife biodiversity. Since conservation usually involves restrictions on land use, the tenure regimes and property rights rules are deemed the major task to be managed. Natural systems rarely conform to arbitrary human boundaries, nor do the targeted species care about the ownership of the land they harbor. When the suitable refuges of these species locate on the private lands and thus conservation would in odd with the interests of landowners, there will be a need to reconcile the conflicts. Take the US for example, conservation on private land matters a lot given the fact that more than half of the listed endangered species have at least 80 percent of their habitat on private land (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1997; Innes, Polasky and Tschirhart, 1998: 35). This fact has created a strong need to develop a feasible way to manage the rampant conflicts between public interests of conservation and dispositional rights of private land owners.

While either voluntary or regulatory approach might work on overcoming the obstacles, each has respective limits. A corollary is that combining tools in both approaches could be the ideal strategy. Increasing pieces of legislation in different countries actually vindicates such a trend of “mosaic” approach. Conservation policies in different countries no longer clearly separate conservation (mainly public) from production (mainly private) lands and values. Instead, the importance of better integrating these two value sets within the same landscape is widely recognized (Norton, 2000). Collaboration between government, non-profit organizations, and even local residents has in recent years emphasized. Observing in the context of the US, Endicott (1993: 3) argues that it is almost the exception if significant land acquisition is accomplished without partnership between private and public sectors.

Much has been written on the potential of collaboration. Not enough attention, however, has been paid to the fact that different policy tools or efforts from different sectors might actually conflict with each other. This paper aims at filling this blank by the case in Taiwan. Although the contingency of institutions and socio-political conditions might vary, the case is in many ways

a microcosm of what has happened in acquisition of lands for conservation in past decades. Some preliminary generalizations might be proposed for further scholarly examination.

Prospects and Challenges of the Mosaic Approach

According to the economic principles, if the real estate market has failed to manage the positive externality of environmental values associated with the private land uses, governmental intervention seems legitimate. Public acquisition as a compulsory strategy, however, has encountered both theoretical and practical challenges. First, from a broader perspective, regulatory takings of private lands for public use confront a constant tension with property rights security. Since the security has been the cornerstone of market system, infringement of it for whatever reasons is to harm the public interest in maintaining the institutional credibility of prevailing transaction system, and the overall efficiency would be at stake (Epstein, 1985). In addition to the principle of efficiency, fairness is also a concern for regulatory takings. In a democratic regime, compulsory takings might involve majoritarian exploitation of property owners. The will of the majority or of the winning policy coalition might be exercised through state mechanisms without sound consideration on the conditions of the minority land owners (Fischel, 1995). There is always a concern of justice in compulsory acquisition.

Second, public acquisition in real-life practices involve political obstacles hard to be overcome. On the one hand, compensation for acquisition usually demands for huge government budget and thus would inevitably crowd out other public services and goods. It is usually asymmetric structure of public choice that involves deprivation of vested interests for the sake of an ideology in a high abstract level. Public support and engagement in such a post-modern value would be less possible until some socio-economic conditions are met. On the other hand, compulsory acquisition encounters an imbalanced mobilization structure that tends to result in political gridlocks. Locally well connected property holders would use up all means to boycott the policy. Once forcefully deployed, the conservation policy would be hard to survive the sabotage of victimized stakeholders who usually have superior local knowledge to fight a guerrilla battle.

Alternatively, conservation can be done by a voluntary approach, in which the spatial need of conservation is solved by a market deal with the landowner, to acquire either full or partial property rights on the land, i.e., an easement deal. The buyers can be governmental agencies, or more often non-profit organizations, or both in some rare occasions. The major problem of voluntary transaction is that the sellers' priorities are often more controlling, as suggested by Fairfax et al. (2005: 10). Although more favorable incentive structure (such as tax reduction) might be constructed to promote the transaction (Gustanski, 2000), the profit-oriented principle underpinned this approach render great uncertainty to the conservation goal. Regarding the easement, its success requires a tandem task of persuading the society (including existing property holders and the judges making effective rulings) to accept this new property right regime

(Freyfogle, 1996; Wiebe and Meinzen-Dick, 1998).

Since neither voluntary nor regulatory approach alone sufficient in managing overcoming the obstacles of conservation on private lands, a creative of them combination of them seems more workable. As Norton (2000: 1222) has convincingly stressed, the best approach for biodiversity conservation on private land should involve a mix of mechanisms targeted to the local situation, including motivational, voluntary, property-based, price-based, and regulatory instruments (also Gunningham and Young 1997). The problem is, however, how to create a synergic effect in combining these instruments with different incentive bases. If the underpinning incentives of different instruments conflict with each, efforts of different policy partners would be offset rather than mutually enforced.

Some earlier researches have pointed out the crowding-out effect of different incentives. In a comparative research on blood donation, Thimus (1974) indicates that intrinsic incentive such as the altruism or moral appeals might be weakened or even replaced by external, materialistic rewards. In the wildlife conservation scenario, compulsory acquisition usually appeals to public interests in a moral tone, but to the regulated party, it usually implies external intervention that will ruin intrinsic moral sentiment. When the landowners rely on the land for their living, it is actually a life-and-death struggle for them and thus highly abstract moral principle usually has lower priority, according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs. For those who can afford losing the land, regulatory takings will antagonize and victimize the landowners, and thus deprive their altruism or willing to give, if any. Since compulsory acquisition turns the incentive structure to a mere calculation of interests, it works when the landowners feel the tremendous costs of fighting against the state mechanisms with legitimacy in using force.

In contrast, the voluntary approach renders a role for both intrinsic incentives and external rewards. If the landowners share the environmental values, they can donate the parcels of land to satisfy their moral needs in the meantime get materialistic rewards from tax reduction. For those who do not appreciate the value of wildlife, they still may reach a deal if the compensation is satisfactory. Nevertheless, when the landowners rely on the land for a living, the compensation tends to be too high for the buyers to reach. It is more possible to have an easement deal if trust base for transaction remains.

It is logically convincible to predict a disastrous result if both voluntary and compulsory instruments are apply in a wrong sequence. When the compulsory acquisition is deployed, the moral appeals will crowded out, the political struggles will ensue, and trust base for transaction with the conservation camp will be ruined. Once it fails and the policy turn to a voluntary approach, the deal would be very hard to reach. Oppositely, if such voluntary instruments as trust funds and easement are implement first to take care the landowners with intrinsic incentives, compulsory means might work as a credible threat in the negotiation with landowners pursuing material rewards.

The Case

Locating in the mountain area of northeastern Taiwan, Twin-Lake has long been famous for its distinctive ecological value. It is a small source lake sounded by mountains. Serving as a relay station for migrating birds, the lake area received all kinds of seeds of exotic species carried by the birds. Many of these exotic plants adapted to indigenous ecological conditions to evolve into a unique ecosystem. More than 70 kinds of aquatic plants (about one third of total species that can be found in Taiwan), including many rare species, makes this place a treasury for botanists. The once-extinct species, Medaka (Japanese Rice Fish), and several conservation-deserved animals also amazed the zoologists. The most distinguishing ecological feature, however, is the floating island on the lake. Many aquatic plants flock together by grasping humus materials in the water, while ferns interweave them into vegetal mats that can float on the lake once the water level rises. The mats further serve as nourishing bases for a wide variety of creatures, constituting a very unique wetland ecosystem. All these have made the lake a shining gem in the eyes of scholars and conservationists.

Failure of Regulatory Approach in Conservation

This precious ecosystem, however, landed on private property. Immigrants encouraged by Japanese colonial governor settled in this area about a century ago and gradually acquired arable land by draining part of the lake. Although the lake had shrunk substantially, the ecosystem was able to sustain as long as the lake still served as a major source of water supply. The threats of human settlement loomed large in 1990s when this place became famous after several movies took shooting there and travel programs introduced it. Adapting a green development strategy, the local government (Yiland County) intended to develop this place into a recreational resort with both conservational and educational functions. Ironically, this intention, once revealed, attracted investors to acquire the lands to seek possible policy rents and created difficulty for the pursuance of conservation goals in the following decades.

Several urban investors eventually gained the ownership of large parcels of land in this area. Among the new owners, the most hostile one was an engineer of the Power Company who once amazed by the scene on his duty of field work. He purchased 17 hectares of lake area, including the waterbody and surrounded lakeshore wetland. After several years of idleness until his retirement, the new owner started to engage in some economic activities that could be detrimental to the ecology. As an “investor”, the new owner kept having new ideas to gain profits from this property that challenged the conservation policy in the following years. As urban new rich and well-educated professional, he had a great ability in defending his rights by legal, administrative, and political means and thus forced the conservationist camp to change policy schemes to meet the challenges.

The first challenging event was the intention of the lake owner to turn it into a fish farm in

early 1990s. To extend its capacity in nourishing fish, the owner hired an excavator to remove the silt of the lake and had some consolidating works on the bank. Since this lake and surround area had been specified as a catchment zone and thus under the protection of germane laws, the local government imposed a fine on him for changing the natural conditions without official permission in advance. Such public intervention, however, irritated the owner who asserted an unfringeable disposal right on his property. In the following administrative petitions he successfully forced the government to recant the sanction. This victory reinforced his confidence in fighting against governmental regulations. This confidence also encouraged him to initiate a series of environmentally unfriendly projects in the following years.

The lake owner noticed that the main obstacle for his development plans was that the land-use specification of this property was for water conservation and thus subject to restrictions against any construction. Therefore he vigorously sought to change the status of land category to aquaculture land, but in vein. Partly to impose credible threat in the course of negotiation with the regulating agencies, and partly to plumb the boundary of his disposable rights, the owner bluntly drained the lake water in 1993. This outright challenge to public authority upset the county magistrate who accused the owner for violating the Water Act. Nevertheless, the public prosecutor dropped the case and endorsed the owners' arguments that draining water was the discretion left to the property owner, while irrigation water for nearby farms could be accessed by alternative sources.

Such unfavorable ruling, together with others in the consecutive lawsuits indicated the limit of command-and-control approach in a property regime with a less benign judicial branch to the conservation ideas. Although germane laws were largely enacted and administrators were willing to comply with the intension of the legislation, the relatively conservative judicial branch seemed to drag the progress. Taking advantage of this feature, the lake owner also launched several counteracting legal actions against in-charge officers personally and successfully intimidated the public servants from taking any aggressive actions in this matter. As the strategy of litigation paralyzed the administrative efforts in conservation, actors in the no-profit sector succeeded to initiate some efforts in a soft, voluntary manner in the beginning of new century.

Failure of Voluntary Approach by Non-profit Organizations

The lake owner continued to deploy other development projects once he felt the substantiated support from the courts. Starting on 2001 he built up a floating dock on which the excavator could operate to eradicate the vegetal mats and aquatic plants on the lake. He also used herbicide to clean the "weeds" on the wetland around the lake shore. Such mass destructing was witnessed by a botanist who had long engaged in local wetland conservation. Trying to stop this catastrophe-inducing behavior, the botanist tried to persuade the lake owner to change mind but was bluntly rejected. He then turned to implore the operator of the excavator to do his job in a more delicate manner—i.e., digging out the plants from deep roots so that they

could be saved and transplanted in other places. Many local environmentalists were convoked for the rescue mission. They stood in the chilly water to sort out the plants, packed each carefully, and sent these them to several shelters for restoration.

The rescue action attracted further public attention. Conservationists, led by the Society of Wildness headquartered in Taipei, quickly launched a fundraising campaign, called “one dollar for an aquatic plant”, for the lake. Following the mode of Environmental Trust prevailing in western countries, they intended to solicit petty donation from students and the public either to buy out the property or to reach an easement deal with the owner. Nevertheless, this was merely a wishful thinking at best. Several mutually enforced conditions thwarted ahead to prevent this campaign from be successful. First, the owner did not share the environmental values and meanings of conservation. In his book delineating his struggles with the governmental agencies and environmental organizations, he vehemently criticized the craziness of the concept to turn arable land to wildness (Wenge, 2004). Such lack of sympathy on environmental concerns drove the lake owner to make decision or judgment purely on the base of materialistic interests.

Second, since the environmentalists were dealing with an “investor” with economic thinking, they faced a simple truth that the Environmental Trust campaign just created the demand on the targeted property and lifted its market value. Before this campaign, nobody was sure about the exact “price” of the property. When the uniqueness of the property as the habitat for valuable creatures was identified, the value of property raise accordingly. It was surely a seller’s market in which the lake owner had incentive to wait for best price if he did not reject the idea of selling the property. In other words, the more successful the fundraising campaign became, the greater ability the Society of Wildness could pay, and the greater profit the lake owner could make. To the lake owner’s disappointment, the campaign was not very successful in terms of offering a satisfactory bid in this deal. Nevertheless, it was ok because there was another potential buyer, the government. As long as there is a public demand for conservation, the government will face political pressure to reach a deal with the owner.

Third, ironically, governmental policy to develop this place into a recreational resort had offered a lucrative prospect and thus lifted the expectation as well as the opportunity cost for the lake owner to reach a deal with the conservationists. The most profitable businesses after the deployment of recreational resort policy would be home-states and restaurants, both require intensive construction work which was prohibited under present land-use specification. It was therefore the lake owner’s best interests that the government could have conducted an eminent domain policy that allowed the lake owner to trade a larger parcel of wetland (including the lake) for a smaller dry land with wider range of use. Such agenda had prevented the lake owner from reaching a deal with the conservationists.

The lake owner did not hide the agenda. Instead, he openly urged the government to accept his proposal. The government refused because such arrangement would further attract

developmental demand and violate principle of low-density development. To pursue his best interests, the lake owner had incentive to put pressure on the government by threatening to destroy the ecosystem, which seemed to be a credible threat after a series of favorable judicial rulings. Nevertheless, the lake owner should have no intention to ruin the ecosystem to a degree that would reduce the value of this property to mere a normal fish pond. The rare species in the lake were just like the hostages in a kidnap. Once the hostages are known to be killed, the ransom is gone too. This explains why the destructive project stopped automatically even though the deal was not reached, and resumed every once in a while.

Collaborative Governance and Community Politics

Ever since the futile efforts of the voluntary sector in reaching either a transaction or an easement deal with the lake owner, the environmentalists turn to government to intervene aggressively by establishing a Wildlife Refuge. It was believed that once the Wildlife Refuge could be established any development projects would be banned in one shot, and thus the ecosystem would be safe. The problem was, however, that this area had long been settled by farmers and the ownership of the properties was in private hands. The requisition process inevitably involves huge budgets, strong resistance, and intensive political confrontation.

The policy turning from a recreation resort to a Wildlife Refuge was fermented after these confrontational events though which environmental value of the lake was widely recognized by the public and political supports quickly accumulated. A new policy was formally initiated when the county government eventually worked out a seemingly more feasible alternative under the title of “protection area”. Rather than rezoning a whole chunk of land to wildlife refuge, the new policy divided the habitat into a core and a buffer zone with a hybrid property rights arrangement. Since the public budget was very tight, only the core area, the lake together with the surrounding wetland, would be compulsorily acquired from the private owner. A huge area adjacent to the core, including both the public-owned forest and private-owned farms, would be the buffer zone without public acquisition, but the activities harmful to the wildlife would be listed and prohibited. It was a concept of “compulsory easement”: without changing the ownership status, the goal of conservation could be served by limiting a part of bundled-rights of the property.

It is more politically sophisticated in terms of managing the interest conflicts of the policy. The conservation efforts had confronted with opposition from two kinds of property owners with different interests, urban investors and local farm owners. Local farmers were more concerning with maintaining original farming life although they might be interested in lifting the land-use constraints on their properties. The urban investors, however, were overwhelmingly interested in the value of their property. Earlier policy trying to acquire lands from both kinds of landowners to establish a recreation resort antagonized both and forced them to ally together to fight against the government. Since the lake owner had experiences in beating the public officers

in judicial actions, he naturally assumed the leadership in the anti-conservation movement. With local supports, the lake owner in return gained greater odd of winning in litigation cases and more confidence in fighting back every governmental action.

The new policy that divided the habitat into the core and the periphery was supposed to be able to divide the leader from its followers in opposition camp. Since the lake area was the only target for acquisition, the government stopped negotiating with the lake owner but just exercised its condemnation power to acquire the lake. As to the farmers, the government assured them that no acquisition would be made. While some restrictions would be imposed on the farming activities, they were expected be acceptable because property right in Taiwan has never been in full scale. Landlords in the prevailing tenure regime have been used to all kinds of restrictions associated with zoning and other regulations. While the agricultural landlords were all used to such major restrictions as conducting construction projects, such other restrictions as the use of pesticide herbicide and killing of invading wildlife were only minor issues that would not hurt the property values. In return, the government would help the farmers to develop eco-farms in which organic produces could be grown and incomes of the farmers improved.

To save the quickly vanishing ecology by soliciting supports and cooperation from the community, the government had the second policy turn and conceded by excluding the private lands from the protection area in 2004. In other words, the core would be surrounded by a non-protected zone consisting of private farms, about 115 hectars, and this interim cycle would further be surrounded by public-owned forest as the periphery, about 617 hectars. It was considered by some environmentalists a substantial loophole. Some others, however, was not so pessimistic and believed that the vacuum left by the public sector could be made up by their vigorous engagement. The lack of formal regulations on local farming activities might be corrected if voluntary cooperation from local farmers could be gained. The most effective way to gain such cooperation seemed to help the farmers developing lucrative yet environmental friendly agricultural activities.

In previous experiences of rescuing the aqua-plants destroyed by the lake owner, one conservationist from local charter of SOW learned how to nourish one of special species, *Brasenia*, that had high economic value. It was considered a delicacy in Japanese restaurants, and had been growing well in this area. It occurred to the conservationist that if local farmer could make a living by growing this plant, then they would have a strong incentive to maintain an environment suitable for it, and thus would be supposedly suitable for other rare species. As the *Brasenia* was restored in the back yard of one of farmer in the community, and his restaurant was making lucrative profits by severing special dishes of this plant, the antagonism of local residents toward environmentalists and conservation ideas gradually reduced. As more community members were able to run businesses to gain benefits from increasing tourists, they realized that conserving the special ecology feature of floating island and many rare species of aqua-plants

meets their best interest.

Discussion

The case illustrates the predicament of wildlife conservation on private lands and the potential of public-private collaboration in solving it. Fast accumulated studies have explored the strength and limits of different public policy tools in solving the predicament. It is widely recognized that a combination of different policy measures and collaboration of public and private (including non-profit) sectors would be ideal to cope with complicate contingency. This study, however, points out some a caveat on such joint efforts. Although there could be synergic effect in a joint effort by public and private actors, it is also very possible that contributions of policy partners might be offset owing to the lack coordination.

As demonstrated in the case, earlier efforts of the government and the non-profit organizations were offering contradicting incentives for the private land owners. When local government tried to exercise its condemnation power to acquire private land for a recreation resort, every landlord was upset. A closer scrutiny, however, indicates different concerns and thus different responding agenda might be identified. On the one side, the farmers overwhelmingly worried about the deprivation of their production means and the threats to their living. They therefore tended to be diehard opponents to the policy. On the other side, the urban investors were mostly considering the possibility of maximizing their property values. It was less a life-and-dead struggle and was more negotiable.

Since the government failed to distinguish such important difference in offering compensational arrangements, it encountered strong and united confrontation from the regulated and thus reduced the political feasibility of this policy. A series of adversary rulings from the courts put the public administrators in quandary and triggered the anxiety of the environmentalists. Being pessimistic about governmental action, they launched a land trust campaign when the government seemed idle in rescuing the endangered aqua-plants. The campaign was successful in terms of promoting public awareness of the valuable ecosystem. It was destructive, however, in terms of getting cooperation from the landlords. To the farmers, the campaign enforced their sense of crisis and antagonism toward the policy. To the urban investors (especially the lake owner), the campaign bitted up the market price of the wetland and up-lifted the expectation on the compensation deal. When the fundraising result turned out to be less satisfactory, neither voluntary nor compulsory means were workable.

In contrast to this offsetting effect in the earlier stage of conservation policy, a synergy actually happened later on. When a policy turn took place that exempted private farms from compulsory requisition, the lake owner lost his alliance and the exercise of condemnation power became more politically feasible. While public acquisition was an effective policy tool in managing non-cooperative opportunism at the costs of ecological value and public will, it left the

problems on the part of private farms intact. The voluntary sector filled in the vacuum by offering profitable alternatives of farming activities that in the meantime could pursue environmental goals. Without antagonistic policy that threatened their familiar ways of earning a living, the farmers gradually changed their defensive attitude toward conservation values and would like to keep an eye on the possibility of a win-win situation.

Conclusion

In conserving a refuge for wildlife, it is inevitable to deal with landowners of different type. Among the most troublesome are those rely on the land for their living. It is true that, as argued by Innes et al. (1998: 37), the simplest way is to find a creative way to align private land-use incentives with social economic interests, as have been done in our case. It is important for policy maker to ask if the structure of property rights allow the reserves to organize themselves in such a way that they can develop viable revenue streams whilst fulfilling their broader conservation remit (Goeschl and Iglori, 2006) ? Nevertheless, this case study indicates possible conflicts among different policy tools to fill the blank of popular theory of mosaics in conservation. By analyzing the incentives of landowners, this research suggests that instruments of voluntary approach should precede that of compulsory one to avoid possible incentive crowding-out effects among these tools.

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The Gaze Construction of Nordic Cross-cultural Consumption:
From the “Nordic Trend” to IKEA in Taiwan
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The Gaze Construction of Nordic Cross-cultural Consumption:

From the “Nordic Trend” to IKEA in Taiwan¹

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Prelude

In 1994, IKEA entered Taiwan, successfully establishing massive markets and consumption groups. After the rise of The “Nordic Trend”, IKEA’s catalog has become an important medium to gaze the Nordic lifestyle. It’s no longer a cheap, disposable advertisement; instead, it has turned into a collectable, which some people would use as a notebook to write down ideas concerning their ideal homes. Therefore, in my perspectives, the concept of Gaze Construction plays not only an indispensable role in IKEA and the Nordic consumption culture, but an important subjective activity to ferment “wandering imagination”. IKEA’s substantive shop evokes people’s imagination towards the Nordic life and real visiting/wanderings.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate not on its successful multinational business cases, but on the representation and interaction of consumption culture between IKEA and Taiwan society. I think the consumption and representation of the Nordic lifestyle has created pulls and co-construction with the historical context of the consuming society of Taiwan. Apart from being famous because of its affordable Nordic furniture, IKEA becomes the medium for Taiwan to gaze and aspire for the Nordic/ Scandinavian Europe.

American and Japanese Consumerism in Taiwan

Because of Cold War history and Japanese colonization, Taiwan’s emergence of modernity is “inserted” by American and Japan. Mainly, by using the Western (actually American) modernity as models, along with the design of consuming spaces of shopping malls, Taiwan considerably duplicates the Western/American consuming spaces when designing its own citted space construction to respond to the national developing goal as the Asian Regional Center.

Chiu Y. T. (2005: 26-29) expounded that what really constructs Taipei’s consuming space is imagination, which forms into real construction, like Taipei 101 as the tallest building, “Miramar Ferris Wheel” as the second biggest one in Asia, and Core Pacific City as the biggest ball construction in Asia. These buildings, all regarding the imagination and construction of globalization, increase the visibility of Taipei all over the world, making Taiwan connect to any kind of Western fancies. She viewed it as the hybrid and montage style under the process of postcoloniality of Taiwan Society; I regard it as the imagination of “the West” and gaze of we’ve been used to in Taiwan Society. All of those spaces refer to an unknown west. Moreover, the

¹ This is only the draft paper for ACSS conference. If you need to cite, please contact first.

home images from those shopping spaces are mostly the picture that belongs to rich, upper class level in society (Chiu, 32).

Under globalization, the anxiety resulting from the worries and anticipation of gearing to the world makes Taiwan keep gazing and desiring possible modern model. As a result, Taiwan places a great number of focuses on the opening of IKEA and the Nordic lifestyle intermediated by the cross-cultural mediascape as Arjun Appadurai (1996) defines. Appadurai emphasizes that “imagination” is the new power to re-arrange the global world. Through the imagination of movies, TV, media and cross-cultural texts, people have the ability to think about different lives. He treats this as a positive power of “multiple modernities”.

Contemporary cities are in the intermingled state of culture, every kind of heterogeneous culture flees and constitutes new citted visual experiences. Under the context of transformation of consuming society, Taiwan eagerly seeks for the position between Asian and Chinese culture; on the other hand, facing the influence of globalization, Taiwan always possesses higher, more delicate “upper class” imagination for the West. Chen K. X. (2002: 243-248) pointed out that,

“Aside from Austronesian aborigine, the composition of subjectivity of the culture of Taiwan has accumulatively mixed pre-modern Chinese culture, Japanese modernization and its westernized imagination in the period of colonization, the Right-wing Nationalism brought by KMT regime after WWII, and thinking coordinates based on America. These all reflect/locate on consuming contents and forms among different groups in daily lives.”

Moreover, according to Huang S.C. (2007), the establisher of famous Nordic furniture shop in Taiwan, he claims that Japan became the most prevalent place of the Nordic Trend, having much higher acceptance of the Nordic Style. After 2006, Many Taiwan publishing companies start to translate many Japanese books about Scandinavia. According to the calculation, there are only 3 translate books (from Japanese) about Scandinavia, however from 1992 to 2005,² there are only 3 books in the market, however, from 2006 to 2009, there are 14 translate books from Japan. It shows that Taiwan also gazes at Japanese modernity as Lee T.D. and Ho H.W. claims (2003). Lee and Ho claim (2003: 24) that no matter the American products in 1970s or Japanese products in 1990s, they are all the emotion of desiring modernity. Hence, from this point, Japan also mediates the imagination of Nordic modern life to Taiwan Society.

Based on the tangled history and identification combined with the support of America and the colony of Japan, and synergistic desires of modernity, Taiwan nowadays is in the situation of consuming-society scenery mixed with a great deal of the American and Japanese consuming culture. Under the inner regional integration of Asian cultures and the anxiety of globalization,

² 1992 is the earliest record that I could search on the biggest online bookstore, “Boooks” in Taiwan. I use “Scandinavia”, “Nordic”, the country names of Scandinavian area (Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Denmark and Finland) and the capital name of those countries. (<http://www.books.com.tw/>)

despite the fact that the combination of Japan consuming culture and American Capitalism characterize daily lives of Taiwanese people, hybrid identity consumption, which co-constructed with Japan and American culture, arise to contend with Hollywood and fast-food consumption.

What the space of consumption represents among cities all over Taiwan is consuming spaces capably, necessarily connecting to the world. These spaces are referred to an unidentified Western imagination, as most theorists discuss that placeless caused by Glocalization. Mike Crang (1998) discusses that American-style shopping malls destroy the sense of place by duplicating anonymous, universal mode, and that create sense of elsewhere by fragment images from different places and producing simulacrum of spaces. Such as LA Street in the Breeze Center, the Hollywood images at the Warner Vie Show Cinemas area, and any American lifestyle imagination carries by Starbucks, these cultural merchandise not only expand with the Imperialist attitude to erode original local culture, but attribute to the Homogeneity all over the globe. However, I think under the context of cross-cultural consumption, those cross-cultural products also bring the different imagination of the West. Therefore, the “Nordic Trend” introduces a different cultural imagination. It is not homogeneity, a dominant influence from the global to the local, but also an influence between the global to the global that provides the “differences” for the local.

IKEA as a Cross-Cultural Mediascape

IKEA is the most important “mediascape” of Nordic cultural imagination in cities of Taiwan with the appearance of a free museum/leisure center/huge demo center, which becomes a heterogeneous space with its prominent and special look. What’s more, this heterogeneous space not only provides media resources to experience the Nordic lifestyle which would be visited by people stably at anytime over a long period of time, but also enables the public to practice every detail of the Nordic family life realistically and penetrates into every corner of the home imagination in Taiwan with a gazing way—“to imagine here, to practice there”. As Lee M.T. (2005) pointed in his article, “Imagine Here, Practice there: The Reception and Representation of Japanese Television Dramas in Taiwan”, that what makes Japanese culture so powerful is the Japanese cultural products, such as TV drama, depicts every detail of Japanese lifestyle to Taiwan society. This is also why IKEA matters in the Nordic cultural imagination. IKEA provides a special place and text of Scandinavian cultural imagination.

However, other cross-cultural products in Taiwan cannot make the public have desires and imagination broadly as the Nordic life. Those elite and fashionable items from France and Italy are far away and expensive life fancies belonging to few rich people. And cultural goods from the U.K. are mainly sub-cultural music ones of the demassified markets; whereas what America brings to the public in Taiwan is too standardized, spreading far and wide, inexpensive and lack of creativity. And Japanese consumption is not only the reproduction of American capitalism but also the entanglement with the colonial and post-colonial historic context of Taiwan, showing a

sensitively contradictory desire of modernity.

IKEA, a multinational chain enterprise as well, expands to everywhere in the world with the type of American capitalism like methods of shopping malls; nevertheless, it's no longer a hodgepodge of each luxury brand. In IKEA, there are the Nordic living room, kitchen, bedroom, kid's room, personal working area, key diagram in Swedish greeting, restaurant and supermarket selling the Nordic food, not to mention those photos portraying the Nordic life and nature hung on the dining area; it's just like a modern museum presenting the Nordic lives, spirits, and details.

When we drive to Sin-Jhuang, which is located in Taipei County, it's hard to ignore a huge building in blue and yellow, hanging Swedish flag at the entrance. Whenever a new branch is open, it's unavoidable to have people streaming in and traffic paralyzed. This obviously shows that after operating in Taiwan for over decade, IKEA has pervaded household space and consumption in Taiwan. Despite the flag erected as a part of the city view, IKEA used another way, which differed from post-colonial American Empire selling style and Japanese identification consumption to represent on Taiwan's media.

A Mystery, the Nordic Europe is like for Taiwan. Because of the geographical and historical distance, what Taiwan society is concerned with is not only traveling and local lives but describing it as Utopia under the context of globalization by China Times. From the report, it says that "Scandinavia" is not on the same way with America and UK. It is a new Utopia for the world. Taiwan should learn from them.

As Max (2009) pointed out in his book that the democratic design of Sweden is not for the upper classes, but for everyone in the society. These Nordic imaginations reveal that distinct from fantasies of modernity of the West and Japan, the Nordic one is a wholly new, different, another option for modernity. I would like to take a broader view to reflect on the Nordic Trend behind IKEA, the relationship between the Nordic consumption and Taiwan society, and to bring up the possibility of "IKEA-ization" in the context of everyday aesthetics instead of discussing the meanings of symbols used by IKEA and the consumer's identification. Having strong character as Japanese consumption, the Nordic consuming type provides Taiwan a distinguishing image differing from the Western imagination. IKEA is a mixture of architecture, a museum and a leisure center, and its cultural imagination expressed by painting the building with the eye-catching color of its flag is much more obvious than any other cross-cultural brands.

IKEA's catalog is not only a business one but a Bible—a Bible regarding lifestyles. It's a medium representation of Swedish household to offer us inspirations for people to do our own design and decorations in all kinds of Nordic, Swedish, wonderful imaginations. In short, apart from a business catalog to seduce consumers to go shopping, this Bible itself is a historic material deeply connected to the history of Sweden and the national image of the Nordic countries, and that shapes IKEA into a brand full of highly cultural nationality. It seems that IKEA struggles between traditional dualism—design equates high price, and low price means lack of design, and tries to establish a new consuming feature: design=low price=good life. Meanwhile, IKEA keeps

constructing non-elite, non-high-price dreams, which can be imagined here and carried out here.

The Modernity of Home

IKEA's catalog is used the paintings of Carl and Karin Larsson, the Swedish painters, as the model to shape the style of Swedish household decorations. The best way to sketch styles of Swedish furniture is from nature, full of lights, fresh air, and simplicity. And in the late 18 centuries, Carl and Karin Larsson combined Warm Swedish Folk Style and this became a well-known the prototype of Swedish Household Design. Carl and Karin Larsson's Swedish living ideology integrated with Modernism in 1950's, along with the establishment and development of equal society under Swedish Socialism. This becomes distinguished with IKEA's multinational development and cross-culture consumption, making Taiwan society casts a great deal of gaze at it. It is different from what Chiu Y.T. points that Taiwan's consuming spaces create the rich pictures of people's home and room.

As a museum to demonstrate in different places, IKEA prints out the catalog on a large scale to construct the Nordic Swedish living imaginations and national identification, which is what Benedit Anderson talked about the possibility of the shaping of national identification. As he mentioned in his book, one of the main reasons is the rise of printing, the cognitive process of media communication and constructing imagination. Besides, novels and newspaper, languages along with the rise of capitalism make people share the common time and space, and form an imaginative community. The Nordic gaze and imagination of Taiwan society is an interesting combination and proof that IKEA is a living space to represent details of the Swedish life.



Picture 1(Left): Carl Larsson's [Mother's and Little Girls Room](1899)



Picture 2(Right): IKEA 2010 Catalog, Taiwan. P.34-35

Therefore, the Nordic consuming construction and gaze in Taiwan, a formation of “design” and “life style” not only have a close connection to the Nordic and Swedish regions but present the modern meanings of consumption, containing its own cultural and social meaning. The Nordic consuming type creates a frame, in which symbols are full of the imaginations towards the Nordic modernity and democratic design, transmitting in the social gaze and consumption and

contributing to the possibility of social reorder and construct through these symbolic imaginations and gaze consumption.

From the comparison of Picture I and II, we could sense the obvious cultural imagination behind the catalog. IKEA uses Carl Larsson's painting as the medium to express the ideal home. Carl Larsson is famous Swedish painter who produces many images of home and life in his series works, "Ett Hem" around 1900s. Later, in 1930~40 as Claes Britton (2006) demonstrates in, *Sweden and Swedes*, that after 1930, Swedish government starts to build up the ideology of "People's home" (Folkhem). The center idea is to create a country with the class difference and make the blue-collar level in society to entitle the happiness with all the middle-class level. Later, established in 1953, IKEA employs Carl Larsson's idea of home and popularizes the affordable design to every family in Nordic countries. This could show how the ideology of government influences the discourse of home.

In Taiwan's case, in 1950~80s, Taiwan's family discourse is basically conducted by the national party's policies,³ such as "Wife Works" (妻工), "Building a Strong Nation through Virtuous Wives and Good Mothers Movement" (賢妻良母運動) and "Happy Family Plan" (幸福家庭計劃) and these represent that the government controls how the family, home image should be like. It also reflects that at that time, Taiwan government tries to absorb wife for laboring (Yang, 2008:66-69). I think this builds up the "Home as Factory" ideology and those female laboring actually the basement for helping small enterprise to create the world-known "Taiwan Economic Miracle" (Ho, 1994). Here I think in this time government sharpens the home discourse and this makes the ideology of "home as labor". However, 2001, Taiwan starts to learn from the western countries by employing "two days off per week" policy. The image and discourse of home starts to transfer from "Home as labor" to "Home as leisure". Since here, the government's influence of the discourse of home gradually vanishes and is replaced by the consumerism. I think it also reflects that the Taiwan society gradually transforms from working society to consuming society as Paul Ransome (2005) illustrates. Later, IKEA comes to Taiwan and basically gives the new idea of what the home and family life should be by combining with consumerism context.

Carl and Karin Larsson used visual elements, including simple, bright lines and colors as axes, log furniture, and children-centered ideology not only to represent the concept of freshness of the Nordic Europe, and getting along with nature, but also to integrate modernist design elements. These all create a tight and close relation between IKEA and the Nordic design, becoming a wonderful, modern life imagination only from the Nordic regions. Traditionally, when it comes to the western cultural merchandise, we tend to place focus on western hegemony, or the cultural imperialism; however, what we could sense behind IKEA is far different from the capitalist pursuit of wealth and showoff. Instead, IKEA takes a plain and low-price image to

³ Here, the national party means KMT. During that time, KMT actually also governs Taiwan. It is the only party at that time.

penetrate into our lives. Identity Politics behind this consumption places emphasis on the connotation of democratic design, and reflects the consuming cultures among generations—nowadays a generation's ways of life are decided by lifestyles and aesthetic consumption.

Therefore, national culture hiding in the Nordic consumption spreads to everywhere all over the world with the real expenditure in IKEA, creating a social change in the new age. As Max (2009) claims that the idea of the Swedish democratic design is the Home of People, and in 1960s the Swedish and Scandinavian design has become the pronoun for high quality, advancement and modern style.

In the consuming society, Jean Baudrillard (1968/ Tans Lin, 1997: 13) says that home not merely serves as the harbor and offers basic daily lives, meanwhile but also reflects the society's expectation and construction of home. Household consumption becomes the domain of fashion shows and competition, and a practice for the public to shape individual styles and demonstrate wonderful living imagination. As Baudrillard said that the images and gazes of household consumption reflect the values of a consuming society and the change with times.

Strictly speaking, IKEA's consuming type is a constructive representation of consuming aesthetics in different ages. In other words, IKEA makes the public have access to design symbols. This expansion can be found in IKEA's catalog, which uses a great deal of Swedish Folk style and Modernity to present its democratic furniture ideology. Folk culture hiding in the catalog integrates into middle-class culture, and responds to what Mike Featherstone said: "the aestheticization of everyday life", which means the aesthetic taste has released into the public lives, no longer belonging to elites in the society, in which cultural economics is a crucial constructive factor producing aesthetic-quality products and service through continuous design.

DIY as a Cultural and an New Frame

IKEA places the production part on its advertisement, not just informing the consumption. That is, we consumers are responsible for the accomplishment of each product, paying not just money but labor to finish the production line. As what IKEA's catalog says: create low-price, we make these efforts---welcome you to join us, the spirit of DIY(Do It Yourself) widely penetrates into our lives. In other words, consumers have to spend their own private time with a view to fulfilling consuming behavior containing design, aesthetic, and the Nordic culture in their own personal areas. The pictures above shows that IKEA has made DIY culturalize and become the new age's consuming aesthetic. Because of IKEA's accessibility, IKEA with its Nordic blood, high identification, taste of bourgeois design, and the characteristic of DIY broadly penetrates into Taiwan, and successfully becomes the major medium to demonstrate the Swedish life and the Nordic imagination, and to perform the modern cultural consumption of the Swedish democracy.



Picture 3: DIY Process I (Catalog 2010, p.154-155)



Picture 4: DIY Process II (Catalog 2010, p.363)

Through IKEA's catalog and the clear process (ex. picture 3 &4) of DIY, I think it is not only "acculturated" but also "standardized". DIY in IKEA represents the new mode of modernity between Fordism and post-Fordism. It shows a different imagination of modernity as McDonald brings in 1980s in Taiwan. IKEA creates the new imagination of consuming-based modernity. This is comparatively more fluid with McDonald's working-based modernity.

Combination of I and We; Producer and Consumer

The display of Room Setting makes consumers enjoy the possibilities to buy everything at a time. What IKEA sells is not only furniture and appliances, but the whole set of imagination and concept of the IKEA/Nordic home. Examples as follow:

24 square meter. Welcome to my home. I live by myself, and it's enjoyable to have work, entertainment and leisure together.

50 square meter. Welcome to our home. We like our friends and family to see the home accomplished by ourselves.

IKEA uses “I” and “WE” in the slogans to arouse emotions of different subjects’ space imagination. In the exhibition area, we can find out that there are all kinds of novels and design books in the book shelves or fashion magazines like Elle on the table in the living room, making the virtual household place more realistic, have some connection with the outside society, and provide consumers to practice in this show room to make themselves become the ones who live inside. Hiding behind these slogans, IKEA tells its own story with a position of consumers to get close the visiting consumers. Also, under the cross-culture consuming context, it seems the distance between the Nordic Sweden and Taiwan has diminished, and the Nordic lifestyle is so real that can be carried out right here in Taiwan.

Moreover, producers and consumers share the imagination and gaze of wonderful lives. This share makes me consider the waning and waxing when both of the producers and consumers decide on consumption may differ from traditional culture industry. In other words, the slogans make producers invisible or even transform into consumers to carry out the spirit of enterprise that place consumers on the priority . Producers and consumers co-construct the imagination and desire for the beautiful lives, but they don’t have to buy in IKEA.

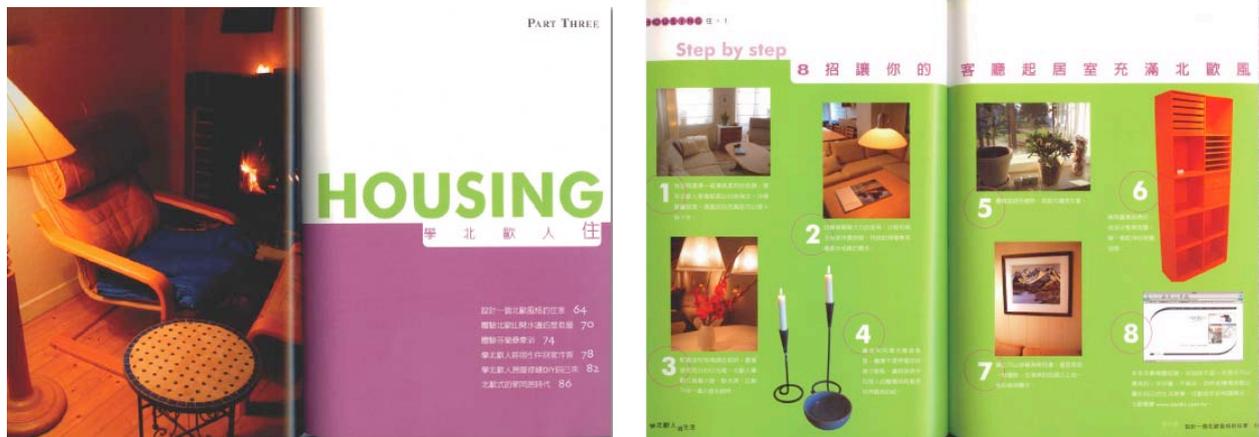
Consumers can wander around and touch without limitations in IKEA to experience all exhibitions there. Furthermore, if they like, they can stay there whole day long without any disturbance. Acting as a tourist wandering and gazing in IKEA, consumers turn the life imagination into real aesthetic experiences and bring them home. I can’t help but ask: for those consumers who don’t buy anything and go back home, do they really gain nothing? Of course, the space of IKEA unconsciously teaches and educates the consumers in this space by its show rooms and catalogs.

This is not a department store, nor any fast food restaurant. It’s a representation of the Nordic life. If you like, you can regard it as home temporarily. The faraway Nordic life now infiltrates into our desks, cups, coasters, carpets, living rooms, aprons, lighting device or bookshelves in fathers’ study in various representative ways through cross-cultural consuming space and multinational enterprises. Due to this penetrating gaze construction, IKEA establishes a gaze that I come here because I don’t have money. Inside this place, the exhibition area like a kaleidoscope co-construct a massive image of consuming culture production with the visiting consumers (or tourists).

There’s a special phenomenon in IKEA that most of the consumers have a mindset of “sense of price satisfaction”. When being asked concerning the quality of IKEA, most people have “post-purchase IKEA rationale” like Elen Lewis stated. Lewis pointed out that it’s a feeling of incredibility; that is, IKEA means it costs 800 US dollars for you to finish your interior decoration, in spite of the fact that the quality is different, it still looks the same as the one costs 20 thousand US dollars. In this free Swedish life place, IKEA offers the gaze process that “I don’t have money but I don consume”, and welcomes people to this amusement park/ life museum to experience, to learn how to decorate their own homes, to bring IKEA’s inspirations back home

without spending any penny.

Traveling Texts with IKEA-ization



Picture 5: 學北歐人住 (Learning How Scandinavian Live) p. 62-62.

Picture 6: Process of how to live like Nordic people in Learning How Scandinavian Lives p.68-69.

John Urry, the famous tourism sociologist illustrates in his book, *The Tourist Gaze* that “we gaze at what we encounter And this gaze is socially organized and systematized as is the gaze of the medic⁴” (Urry, 1990:1) John Urry defines that “Tourist Gaze” is “an anticipation...Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-touist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos, which constructs and reinfore that gaze” (Urry, 1990:3). Tourist gaze doesn’t naturally happen. It should involve authorities /power undergoing when the tourists are doing the sightseeing. It is the expectation that society constructs.

The traveling guidebooks about Scandinavia are not as many as the other traditional traveling countries such as France, Italy, England, Japan. Scandinavia is a new area for Taiwan people to desire and imagine. However, there are many books about sojourning, and depicting the daily life in Scandinavian countries in Taiwan, and those books are placed in the “Traveling guide” area in many of the bookstores. Those texts become the new traveling guidebook for people to imagine and desire “Scandinavian Europe.” Those books always show how different the life is in Nordic area, and how it could be the best modern place for human beings, differing from American way of living.

Liu C.W. (2008) illustrates in her studies that Scandinavian texts focus on their beautiful natural sceneries and happy city life (105). However, those are still the early construction on the Scandinavian imagines. She uses the earlier texts. I find that in recent years that the Scandinavian books are more about “daily life design” or their home-centered life.

⁴ As to the medical gaze, please see the books of Michel Foucault.

In 2007, *Common Wealth* increasingly reports a series topic about North Europe many times in a year such as ‘Small But Smart Countries Achieve Excellence II: Sweden with Original Creativity’ (Common Wealth Vol. 386, 2007), ‘Green North Europe: Future City, Malmo’ (Common Wealth Vol.387, 2007) and ‘Multiple North Europe: The North Europe City With Talents, Oresund Living Area ’ (Common Wealth Vol.387, 2007). Those articles are mainly about how North European live in the smart and happy way, how they create their own competitive ability in their unique social democratic way.

Not only on the magazine, there are several books contributes to constructs what that Taiwanese have to gaze at. *Finland, Amazing Experience* (2005) was considered as the turning point that makes North Europe a “hit” in Taiwan. Later on, *Learning How Scandinavian Live* (2006) depicts North European countries life in details. *Design Perspective from Stockholm* (2008) treats Stockholm is where God of design lives in. Moreover, in 2007, Common Wealth Magazine Co. hold a series seminar discussing about North Europe’s competitive power and even set up the website named “Smart Country, the Secrets of North Europe with Happiness⁵.”

For example, in “*Learning How Scandinavian Live*”, the Picture 5 & 6 show how those texts could be treated as an IKEA catalog with the design items and the beautiful “home pictures”. This means the gaze construction of Scandinavia/ Nordic Europe is a kind of transforming, form traditional natural sceneries and magnificent buildings as John Urry (1990) claims to the images of normal life. Later, most importantly, these images of “normal” life become “unusual” spectacle in gaze construction of Scandinavia.

Conclusion:

In Taiwan, the gaze construction of Scandinavia relies on the traveling texts and IKEA space as a cross-cultural mediascape. IKEA’s cultural imagination in its space and catalog also influences how Taiwan society focus, gaze at Scandinavia. Moreover, this mediascape, combining with texts and IKEA space provides “textual travel” (Howes, 1996) and the process of “pre-travel” (Urry, 1990) imagination. After 2005, Taiwan has a lot of Scandinavian books and reports. The common point in those texts is that they all construct “Scandinavia” as a new cultural imagination of modernity. However, I think this cultural imagination might cause the project of multiple-modernities as Lee M.T. (2005) defines through consumerism. However, the Nordic trend eventually is a “mediated” cultural imagination. It is highly possible to only become one option of the many shopping symbols.

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⁵ <http://ad.cw.com.tw/cw/europe/>

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF AUCKLAND'S DESIGN CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

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CONFERENCE THEME: SOCIOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

THE GEOGRAPHY OF AUCKLAND'S DESIGN CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this creativity age, abundant with relentless branding campaigns, bombastic slogans, breathtaking landmarks, inspiring cultural icons and heart-touching identity crises, the global competition for recognition is taken to new heights. Auckland has a magnificent natural setting between two large harbours – the Waitemata Harbour and the Manukau Harbour, a setting that can be rivalled only by few cities in the world. Some of the distinct characteristics that Auckland has are: remote geographical location in the South Pacific, unique identity reflecting the diverse nature of the New Zealand's society, strong presence of landscape features, such as the city's harbour, genuine Kiwi love of the outdoors and rich cultural heritage and tradition. Considering this diverse range of factors, the ultimate challenge would be to create prosperous and memorable urban places as a vital component of the city's vision and growth.

The aim of this paper is to examine the intersection between the concept of creative industries and urban design and planning focusing, in particular, on the relationship between the design sector of the creative industries and their impact on urban life in Auckland.

This paper focuses on Auckland-based creative professionals employed in small, medium and large-sized architecture firms, representing the largest creative sub-sector. Mapping techniques are employed to plot the exact locations of these design sub-sector firms in Auckland's CBD (Central Business District) and CBD fringe areas in order to identify possible patterns and trends. The resulting 2009 snapshot maps illustrate well defined areas of creative clusters in the fabric of the city. Further to the mapping techniques, a temporal study of the evolution of the architectural creative clusters in Auckland over a period of 15 years illustrates location choices and preferences. The generated charts are then compared with current economic trends in an attempt to establish relationships.

2. NEW ZEALAND'S CREATIVE INDUSTRIES: DEFINITION, CLASSIFICATION MODEL AND MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

The New Zealand Government "has identified the creative industries as a business sector that is capable of generating a transformational change in New Zealand's economic performance as part of the Growth and Innovation Framework" (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.4). The report acknowledges the economic potential of the creative industries admitting that this concept is relatively new and has not been fully explored in the context of the knowledge economy. The *Snapshot: Auckland's creative industries* document (Auckland City Council, 2005) defines the creative industries as "those industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the

generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (p.5). This definition is largely based on the one produced by the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport in their *Creative Industries Mapping Document* from 2001. The New Zealand creative industries fall into six sub-sectors:

- **Design** (architecture, graphic design and advertising). It is the largest source of employment in the creative industries with 5 400 jobs in Auckland City.
- **Screen Production and Radio** (film, television, video and radio). This is the second largest sub-sector with 3 480 jobs in Auckland City.
- **Publishing** (newspaper, book and periodical publishing). It is the smallest of the three sub-sectors with 2 785 jobs in Auckland City.
- **Visual Arts, Crafts and Photography** – 893 jobs in Auckland City.
- **Performing Arts** – 806 jobs in Auckland City.
- **Music** – 252 jobs in Auckland City.

The creative sector employment is concentrated in the first three sub-sectors and the total creative sector employment is 13 616 (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.18). This classification is based on industry groupings from the *Australia and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification* (ANZSIC) system. Design makes up 40 per cent of employment in the creative sector in Auckland city. The breakdown within the design sub-sector shows that out of a total of 5 400 employees in Auckland City the largest number of employees is in advertising services – 2 510, followed by architectural services – 1 590 and graphic design – 1 300 (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.25).

The majority of the creative industries in New Zealand are concentrated in the Auckland region with 18 730 full-time employees out of the estimated 36 540 creative sector full-time employees in New Zealand (Auckland City Council, 2005). Auckland is undoubtedly the centre of television and radio, music, performing and visual arts, publishing, advertising and architecture industries. The main attraction to Auckland is due to a number of related factors, such as great business opportunities, enjoyable lifestyle, cosmopolitan environment, cultural diversity, local networks and the size of the city’s market as well as proximity to key industries and clients. As Auckland is the largest city in New Zealand with a population of 1.4 million, it has a large talent pool that is professionally and culturally diverse. In terms of a location, most of the creative industries in the Auckland region are concentrated in Auckland City (there are 6 other Councils in the Auckland region), which provides 73 per cent of the region’s jobs and 37 per cent of the nation’s jobs in the creative industries (Auckland City Council, 2005).

In terms of location choices, the highest concentration of the creative industries is in Auckland’s CBD (31 per cent) and CBD fringe areas (36 per cent), which represent approximately two-thirds of Auckland City’s creative sector employment. The CBD fringe areas include: Ponsonby, Newton, Grafton, Newmarket and Parnell. The design sub-sector is located primarily in the following areas: Northern part of Parnell, CBD (Upper Queen Street, west and waterfront, particularly Albert Street and High Street areas), Newton (mainly architectural services) and Ponsonby (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.34). The share of design employment per area, equivalent to 5 400 employees in Auckland City, is as follows:

- CBD – 27.8 per cent
- Grafton/Eden Terrace – 16.9 per cent
- Ponsonby – 11.3 per cent

- Parnell/Newmarket – 17.8 per cent
- The rest of Auckland City – 13.8 per cent

The share of design employment is 39.6 per cent of total creative employment, representing the largest sub-sector of the creative industries in Auckland City (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.38). As CBD problems seem to deepen at an alarming rate in terms of high and unaffordable rents, lack of spaces suitable for creative businesses at the expense of traditional office buildings, and traffic congestion contributing to poor access for clients and customers, the CBD fringe areas seem to grow in popularity (Auckland City Council, 2005). A mix of factors contribute to the appeal of these areas, such as the availability of relatively affordable spaces, suitable for creative businesses, less intense traffic offering parking possibilities and easier access for clients, and a variety of local cafes and restaurants that can be used for business meetings in a less formal environment. Often establishing such creative businesses in the CBD fringe areas involves the conversion of light commercial buildings and warehouses into artistic spaces and reviving the surrounding areas.

Auckland City has the highest number of creative industries employees in New Zealand or approximately 14 000 (18 730 in the Auckland region), which equates to 5.1 per cent of the city's total employment. Wellington has 4 540 creative sector employees and Christchurch – 3 003. In comparison, on a national level, the creative sector employment stands at 2.4 per cent of total national employment. Auckland City is also the fastest growing centre of the creative industries in New Zealand. Creative industries employment in Auckland City increased by 16.5 per cent for a period of six years, between 1997 and 2003, outperforming any other city in New Zealand and creating 1 933 jobs. The sub-sectors of the creative industries that are well established and have a strong presence in the city are: advertising, screen production, design, music and fashion.

3. CREATIVITY AND THE CITY

The pure existence of flourishing creative industries in a city contributes to its vibrancy and attractiveness, which can lead to increasing numbers of creative professionals immigrating from overseas. The creative sector becomes an integral part of the creative city, which offers a great lifestyle and exciting business opportunities within a rich cultural and social setting. The *Snapshot: Auckland's creative industries* document (Auckland City Council, 2005) emphasizes the importance of a quality urban environment, which creates a “buzzy, magnet city” (Handy, 1999, November 24). “A vibrant urban environment is seen to attract creative thinkers, innovators and knowledge-economy entrepreneurs across the whole of the economy, catering to their lifestyles and providing them with stimulation and enrichment” (Auckland City Council, 2005, p.7). Furthermore such exciting environments create the premise for the formation and development of the creative class, which in turn transforms everyday life and contributes to regional economic growth through the attraction of new investment (Florida, 2002).

In New Zealand traditionally the tourism industry has been at the forefront of the marketing campaign attracting visitors to the country and capitalizing on cultural assets as part of the strategy. The associated branding has always been in the same context targeting the tourist sector of the market: “100 % Pure New Zealand”. In recent times a shift in thinking places the creative industries in a more central position with the realization of their potential to attract overseas talent. So far Auckland's current city brand “City of Sails” has failed to

reflect the emerging power of the creative industries, which can be encapsulated in catchphrases constructed around exciting business opportunities and an attractive lifestyle. Another major shift in thinking links the creative industries with economic growth, which is a different approach to the common perceptions of the predominant cultural and social values. This economic aspect of the creative industries manifests itself in increased export activities, significant expansions and growing investments.

Starkwhite's report for the Auckland City Council (2002) emphasizes the important role of creativity and innovation in the global knowledge economy. "Industries of the mind" (Starkwhite, 2002, p.4) whose main commodity are ideas are the ones having a central place and leading the way in a thriving economy. The report recognizes the value of the arts whose nature is anchored in the concepts of creativity and innovation and realizes the contribution they can potentially make to create a culturally vibrant environment in Auckland. The potential impact of art and culture and the associated creative industries on the economy is discussed in the context of creative Auckland: "governments are seeing the social, cultural and economic value of the creative industries" (Starkwhite, 2002, p.9).

Starkwhite's report (2002) identifies the key ingredients of a creative city and argues that Auckland has a substantial portfolio of arts and cultural assets: a big concentration of artists, a variety of performing and visual arts, a number of literary organizations, an evolving sense of identity and a range of cultural practices. The analysis of these main factors from the viewpoint of creativity and innovation is seen as crucial in shaping Auckland as a creative city. Although the main focus of the report is on "Rethinking Auckland as a creative city" the context that is considered is of the knowledge economy, where knowledge and technology become the main drivers for economic growth substituting capital and labour. The report introduces a third component, ideas, that are becoming increasingly important while knowledge and technology continue to play a key role in the economy.

4. AUCKLAND'S URBAN CHARACTERISTICS

Auckland has a strong sense of place, perhaps as a result of the city's dramatic physical setting located between two large harbours – Waitemata Harbour and Manukau Harbour and featuring the iconic One Tree Hill Domain - the largest and most intact volcanic cone in the southern hemisphere. The 182 meter volcanic peak, which is centrally located on the Tamaki isthmus, provides breathtaking views across the Auckland area and the two harbours. Taken together these powerful natural features give Auckland much of its distinctiveness and contribute strongly to its physical identity.

The city's designed or built environment that consists of the network of streets, formal places and buildings, collectively representing the essence of urban life, is also an important contributor to defining the sense of place. There are some notable urban characteristics that contribute to Auckland's unique sense of place. Auckland's physical setting, surrounded by water, has resulted in a significant portion of the city's public realm being located along the waterfront. In the past ten-fifteen years light industrial buildings and car parks have given way to modern urban developments, which are waterfront-related, such as the Britomart precinct and especially the Viaduct Basin, improving significantly public access and maintaining the relationship of city and sea.

The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design was set up in early 2005 to improve the quality of urban design and to identify “all possible impediments to good urban design in Auckland” (The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design, 2005, p.i). The report concludes that many of the recommendations require a “mindset change” and a “cultural change” (p.i) first and foremost, setting the ambitious goal of turning Auckland not just into “a world-class city but also a world-leading city in bold and imaginative urban design” (The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design, 2005, p.i). The report acknowledges the mismatch between aspirations and reality, substantiating its arguments with inadequate planning and Building Act controls. “Auckland’s role as the nation’s economic engine cannot be compromised by urban development that does not function well, nor inspire creativity and well-being in its people and businesses” (The Mayoral Taskforce on Urban Design, 2005, p.4).

5. AUCKLAND’S ARCHITECTURAL FIRMS: A SNAPSHOT OF 2009

The study of the architectural creative industries in New Zealand as a whole and in Auckland in particular, is based on data gathered through the Directories of NZIA (New Zealand Institute of Architects) Practices. These Directories are published annually in the March/April issue (No2) of Architecture New Zealand.

The practices are listed alphabetically according to geographic regions: ten in the North Island - Northland & Rodney, Auckland, Waikato/Bay of Plenty, Gisborne, Hawkes Bay, Taranaki, Wanganui & Rangitikei, Manawatu, Wairarapa and Wellington; and five in the South Island - Marlborough, West Coast, Canterbury, Otago and Southland. The list of practices includes architectural firms whose principals or partners are registered architects and architect members of NZIA. The Directories provide not only the practice names, but also their addresses and contact details. Most of them have also a brief description of their core areas of specialization. This information proved valuable for producing location maps through plotting the firms on Auckland’s CBD and CBD fringe maps.

The Directories do not provide any numerical data, such as a total number of firms in New Zealand, a breakdown of the North and South Islands, and the number of firms in the three main cities – Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. The only way I could generate such data was through counting individual firms and categorizing them. The overall number of architectural firms in New Zealand in 2009 was 634. Based on the ten geographic regions in the North Island and the five regions in the South Island, I arrived at a figure of 500 architectural firms in the North Island or 78.9 percent and 134 in the South Island or 21.1percent.

The three main centres in New Zealand - Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, feature separately in the Directories with their own lists of firms. Out of the three, Auckland proves to be the leader with 264 firms, or 41.6% of all architectural firms in New Zealand, followed by Wellington with 123 firms, or 19.4% and Christchurch with 69 firms or 10.8% of all NZ architectural firms.

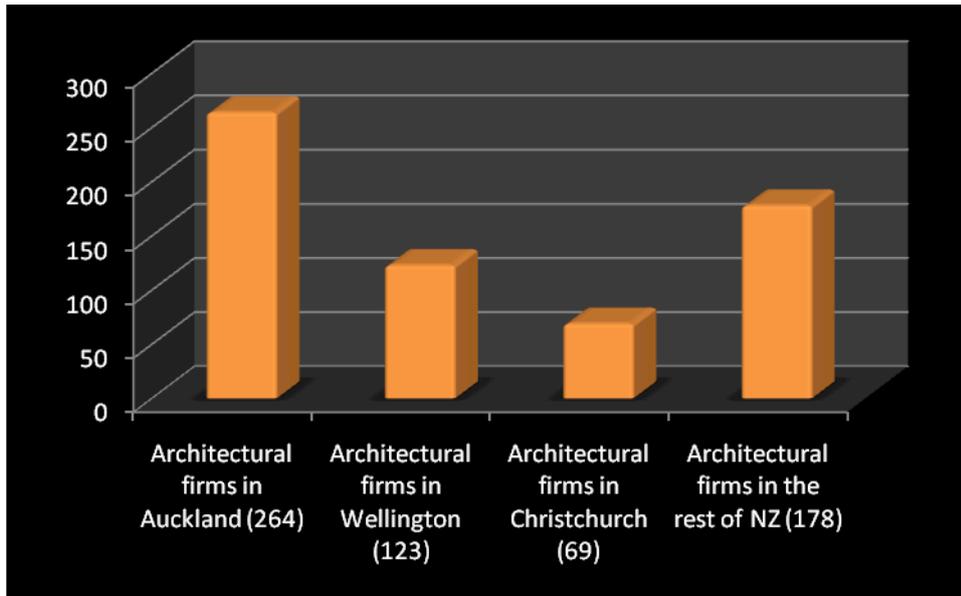


Figure 1: Architectural firms in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (Kiroff, L., 2010)

The physical addresses provided in the Directories of NZIA Practices helped in the accurate plotting of the firms on Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe maps (Fig 2 & 3). The aim of these architectural location maps is to establish whether there are any concentrations and clusters of practices within the fabric of the city and mostly in the central parts of Auckland. To be able to successfully categorize 264 firms in Auckland, I introduced a coding system depending on their physical addresses. The first broad filter that I applied to all the 264 Auckland firms was to exclude the firms that were outside the CBD and CBD fringe areas - 122. For the remaining 142 firms located in the CBD and CBD fringe areas, I applied the following nine location codes in alphabetical order:

- CBD – Central Business District
- ET – Eden Terrace
- FB&SMB – Freemans Bay & St Mary's Bay
- GR – Grafton
- GL – Grey Lynn
- N – Newmarket
- NTON – Newton
- PAR – Parnell
- PO – Ponsonby

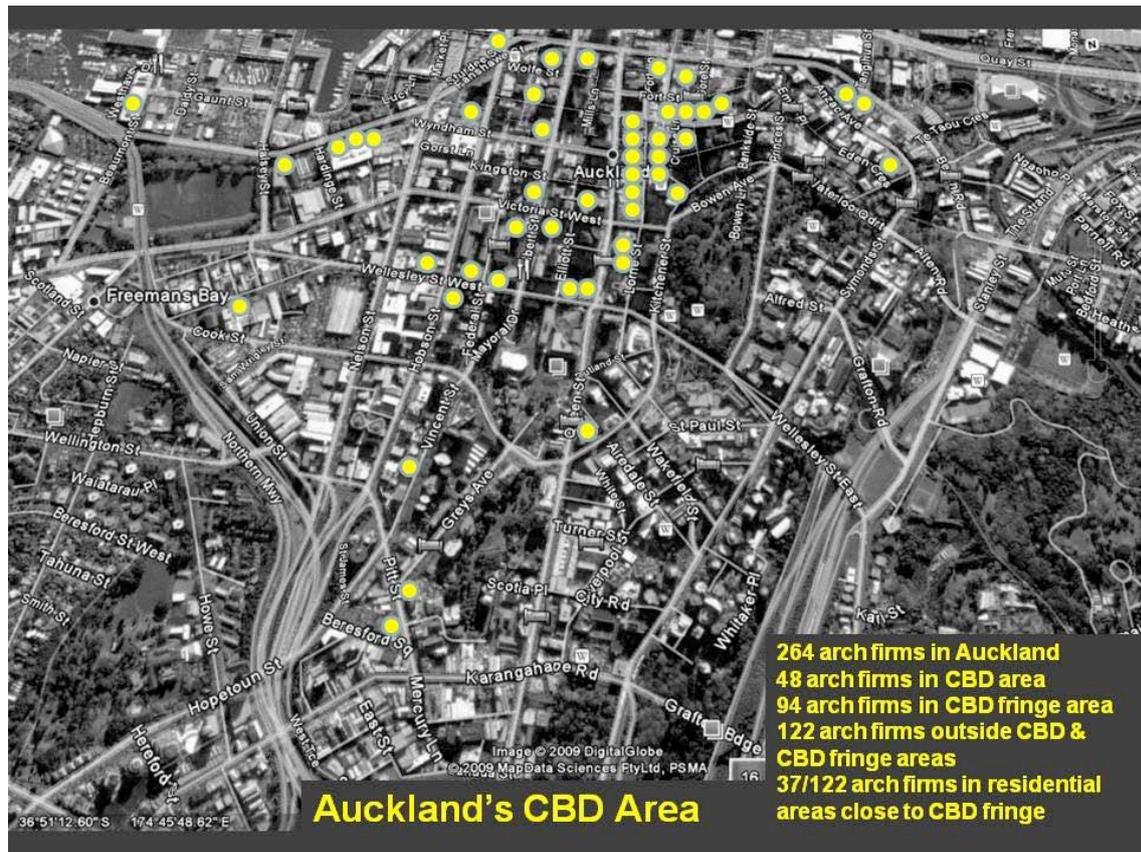


Figure 2: Distribution of architectural firms in Auckland's CBD area (Kiroff, L., 2010)

After assigning a location code to each one of the 142 centrally located firms, I got the following breakdown:

- CBD – Central Business District – 48 firms
- ET – Eden Terrace – 7 firms
- FB&SMB – Freemans Bay & St Mary's Bay – 10 firms
- GR – Grafton – 10 firms
- GL – Grey Lynn – 17 firms
- N – Newmarket – 16 firms
- NTON – Newton – 5 firms
- PAR – Parnell – 20 firms
- PO – Ponsonby – 9 firms

Based on the eight identified CBD fringe areas, the total number of firms located in these areas is 94 and the number of firms in the CBD - 48. I then plotted these firms on the two Auckland maps using the exact street addresses (Fig 2 & 3). As the figures above show, there are two distinct architectural clusters in the CBD fringe, one in Parnell with 20 firms and the other one in Grey Lynn with 17 firms (Fig 3).

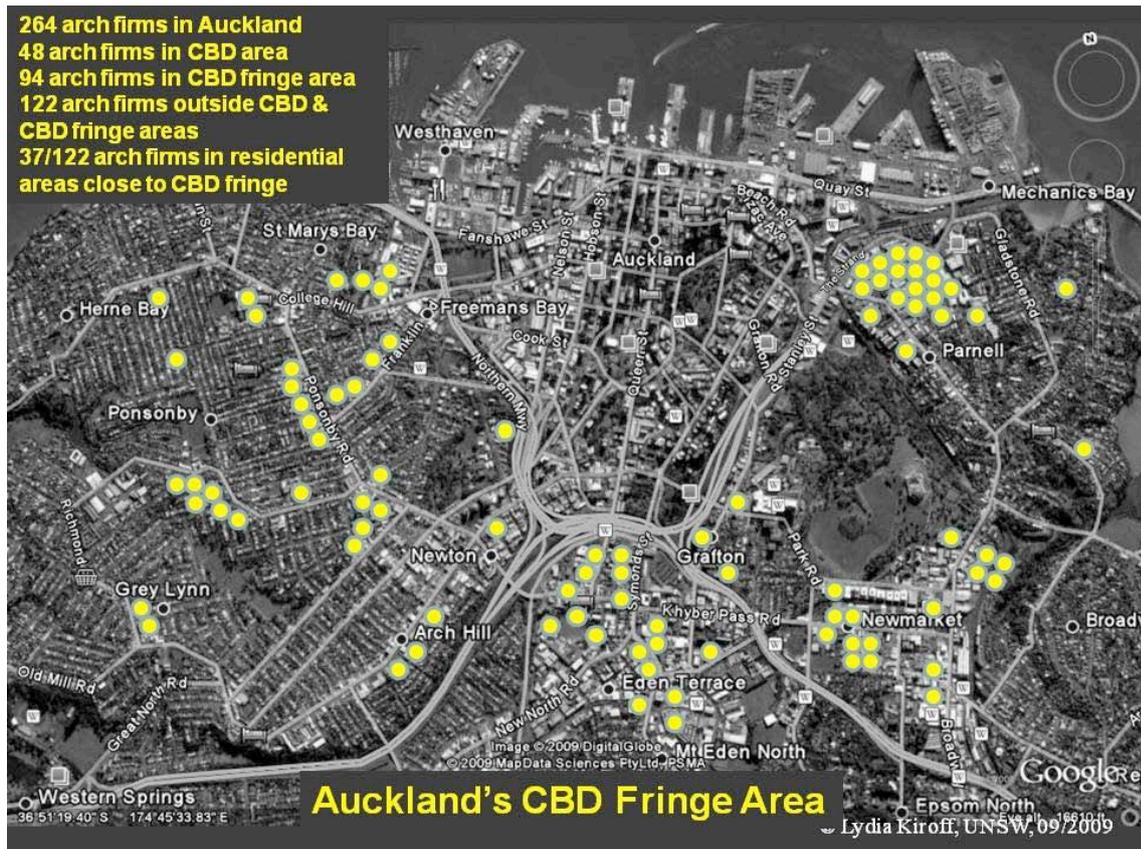


Figure 3: Distribution of architectural firms in Auckland's CBD fringe area (Kiroff, L., 2010)

Parnell is considered as one of Auckland's creative quarters located on the CBD fringe between the harbour and Auckland Domain. It is one of Auckland's oldest suburbs rich with history that dates back to 1841 when blocks of 3-5 acres were sold and quickly subdivided into thirty-six allotments thus establishing the suburb of Parnell. The profile of the early settlers living in Parnell at the time, mechanics and tradesmen, is quite different from the profile of the professionals inhabiting today's modern Parnell. These early settlers established themselves primarily in Mechanics Bay, where the first European suburban and industrial development took place. From the 1870s large industrial, railway and port developments took place in Mechanics Bay and St Georges Bay.

Tamaki Drive, which has direct contact with the open harbour, was formed in 1919 as a result of cutting off land from Parnell. The once thriving suburb lost some of its attractiveness and charm due to the lost connection to the harbour. New office and industrial developments as well as temporary housing stock took place until a local property developer Les Harvey started revitalising many of the old buildings along Parnell Road. The new iconic Parnell Village that was created was considered as the catalyst for regeneration of Parnell, a process that turned it into a desirable business location and also a prime residential area. Nowadays around 1000 businesses in retailing, jewellery, law, accountancy, finance, health, engineering, architecture and design, ranging in size from small to large, have chosen Parnell as a preferred location for their business activities. Parnell has unique ambience due to the successful blend of old traditions from the early settlement years with the commercial realities of modern life.

I considered the use of the official Directories of NZIA Practices as the most reliable source of data upon which I based my study of the architectural creative industries in New Zealand. This choice limits the sample to registered architectural practices only and excludes, for example, architectural designers, holding a Diploma in Architectural Technology or a Certificate in Architectural Drafting. Most of them belong to a professional organization, ADNZ, Architectural Designers New Zealand. The majority of professionals in this group either work for themselves from home as sole practitioners or employ between 1 and 3 draftsmen in their offices.

In comparison, the Auckland Yellow Pages from 2009 provide four different sections, all concerned with architectural design in its broad definition: Architects, Architectural Designers, Building Plans & Specifications and Draughting Services. These four broad sections include professionals at a Degree, Diploma and Certificate level. There are significant discrepancies between the data provided through the official Directories of NZIA Practices and the data contained in the Yellow Pages. While the 2009 Directory of NZIA Practices lists 264 firms in Auckland, the 2009 Yellow Pages list 309 in the “Architects” category only. A large number of these 309 firms do not have NZIA endorsement and do not fall under the registered practices category. This is due to the fact that the Yellow Pages are less concerned with the stringent registration requirements that govern the architectural profession. In summary, the data provided by the 2009 Yellow Pages per category are:

Architects – 309; Architectural Designers – 210; Draughting Services – 63; Building Plans & Specifications – 2; Grand Total - 584

This grand total of 584 is more than twice the number of architectural firms listed in the 2009 Directory of NZIA Practices, which are 264. Another problem with the listings in the Yellow Pages, which jeopardizes the reliability of data obtained from them, is the numerous duplications of entries. For example, Predefine Ltd appears in three out of the four categories: Architects, Draughting Services and Building Plans & Specifications. Similarly, Visual Designs and Concepts Ltd appear also in three out of the four categories: Architectural Designers, Draughting Services and Building Plans & Specifications. The multiple entries of some firms in more than one category make the figure of 584 highly unrealistic and unsuitable for a research to be based upon. As a consequence the potential sample derived from such a figure has the potential to be skewed and unrepresentative of the current market situation.

6. TEMPORAL STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

The temporal study of the architectural firms in the North and South Islands of New Zealand, as well as in the three major urban centres - Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, covers a period of fifteen years, from 1996 when the first Directory of NZIA Practices was published, to 2010. I gathered the data for these five categories for each year through counting the individual practices listed and assigning them to the relevant category. I then produced the charts showing evolution trends over a period of fifteen years.

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
NZ	608	393	403	486	470	488	544	556	596

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
NZ	604	622	604	645	634

Table 1: New Zealand temporal study of architectural firms (1996-2009) (Kiroff, L., 2010)

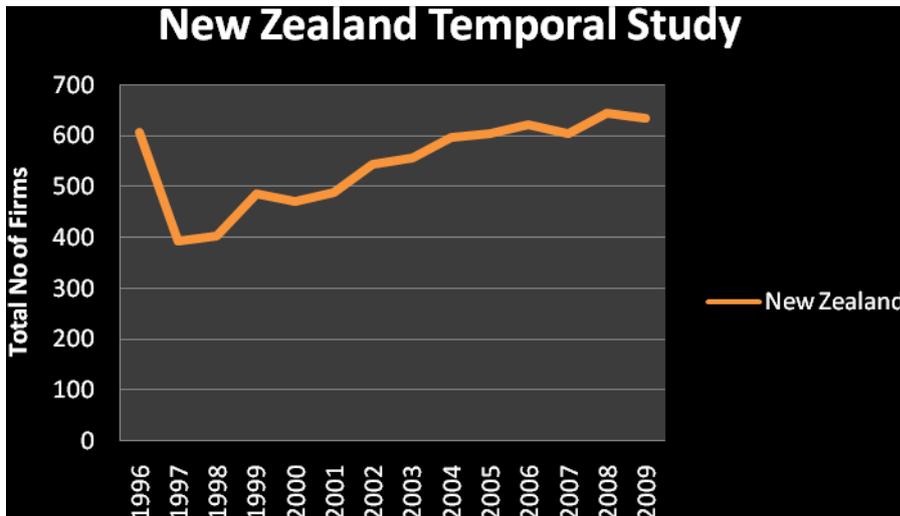


Figure 4: New Zealand temporal study of architectural firms (1996-2009) (Kiroff, L., 2010)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
North	483	311	320	384	373	395	428	438	475
South	125	82	83	102	97	93	116	118	121

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
North	481	495	482	508	500
South	123	127	122	137	134

Table 2: North & South Island temporal study of architectural firms (1996-2009) (Kiroff, L., 2010)

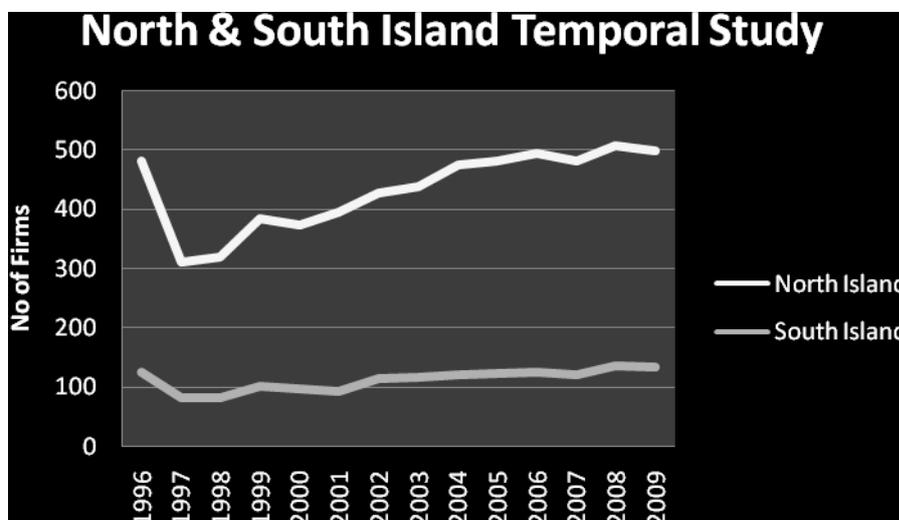


Figure 5: North & South Island temporal study of architectural firms (1996-2009) (Kiroff, L., 2010)

Once I produced the New Zealand overall chart and the North & South Island charts, I noticed a striking similarity between the overall New Zealand trend and the North Island one for the set period of fifteen years. The data series for New Zealand and the one for the North Island are virtually identical with the only difference being the greater number of firms in the New Zealand series as opposed to the North Island one. The South Island data series remains almost flat throughout the fifteen year period only with a slight fall in 1997 and a slight rise in 2008 and 2009 but has virtually no impact on the overall New Zealand trend. Based on this chart it can be speculated that the North Island plays a determining role in the country's architectural market.

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Auck	237	152	167	207	208	208	228	234	259
Wngtn	138	81	76	87	85	94	100	108	114
Chch	64	43	47	52	54	57	64	63	64

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Auck	262	273	262	280	264
Wngtn	115	119	120	116	123
Chch	64	64	64	67	69

Table 3: Auckland, Wellington & Christchurch temporal study of architectural firms (1996-2009) (Kiroff, L., 2010)

I used the data above to generate the fifteen-year trends for the three major cities in New Zealand – Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Being the largest city in the country, Auckland's number of architectural practices exceeds significantly the numbers in the other two cities, positioning the Auckland data series at a much higher place in the chart. The lows and the highs in the same series are also much more pronounced than the other two data series for Wellington and Christchurch.

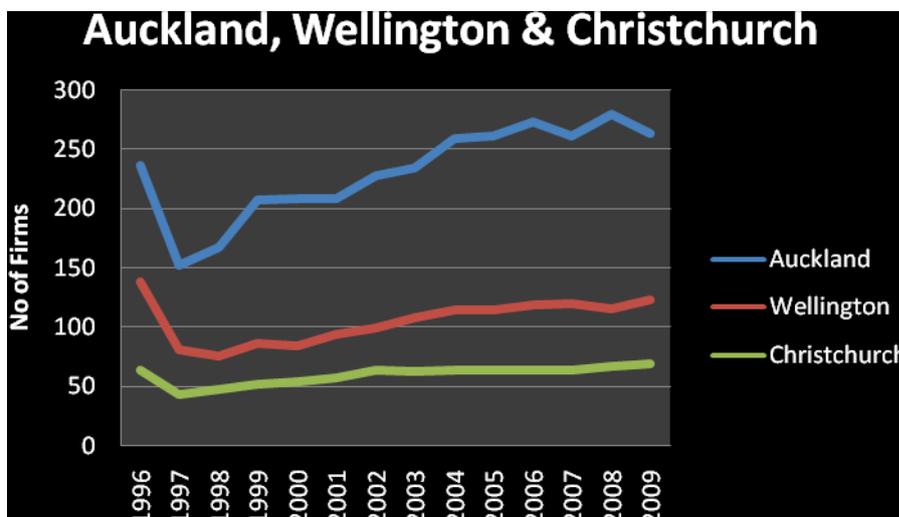


Figure 6: Auckland, Wellington & Christchurch temporal study of architectural firms (1996-2009) (Kiroff, L., 2010)

As the three data series in the chart above (Fig. 6) appear distinctly different and do not suggest similarity of trends, I compared the Auckland data series with the ones for New

Zealand and the North & South Islands. This comparison illustrates similarities in temporal trends between Auckland and the North Island & New Zealand as a whole. In addition, this comparison demonstrates Auckland's dominance on the architectural market far exceeding the whole of the South Island in terms of a number of architectural firms throughout the whole period of 15 years.

7. AUCKLAND'S ARCHITECTURAL FIRMS AND NEW ZEALAND'S FIFTEEN-YEAR ECONOMIC BACKDROP

An attempt has been made to compare the architectural firms' trend in New Zealand and the state of the economy as a whole, measured through the Real Gross Domestic Product for a period of 15 years, from 1996 to 2009. I was trying to establish whether the fluctuations in the number of firms throughout the country could be related in any way to the overall performance of the economy with all its ups and downs. The two line charts behave very similarly in 1996 starting high and going through a marked fall in 1998, which is then followed by a steep segment to reach a peak around 2000. After this year the similarities are less obvious as the GDP falls in 2001, which is not present in the architectural firms' trend as it remains relatively steady. After 2001 the GDP line chart fluctuates greatly with a well pronounced fall in 2009, while the architectural firms' one exhibits a slow but steady rise with occasional minor falls in 2007 and 2009.

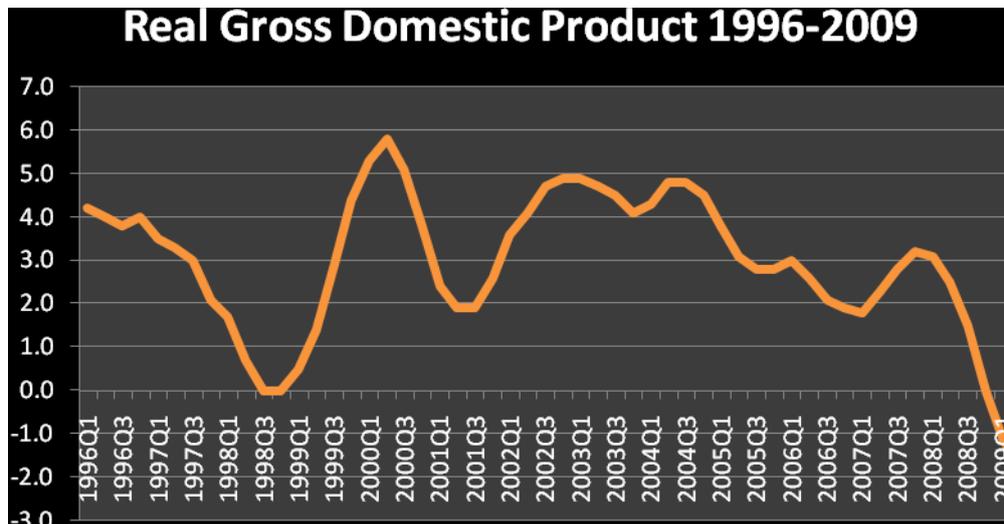


Figure 7: Real Gross Domestic Product in New Zealand (1996-2009) (Kiroff, L., 2010)

The comparison between the Real Gross Domestic Product chart and the New Zealand Temporal Study one shows in general that fluctuations in the national economic performance represented through the GDP do not necessarily get reflected in the number of architectural firms in the country over the same period of time. In reality, in tough economic times architectural firms tend to downsize rather than disestablish themselves. This trend is common in the architectural market, which is highly volatile, depending on the amount of work at any given time. The size of the firms fluctuates greatly even in the space of a single year as the office workflow fluctuates. The Directories of NZIA Practices used to publish information on their size in the period 1996 – 2006 inclusive. Since 2007 NZIA ceased to

supply this information in the published directories of the architectural practices. A meeting that I had with the current President of the New Zealand Institute of Architects on 15 September 2009 confirmed that publishing the size of architectural firms in New Zealand has ceased due to the unreliability of such data. For the first eleven years of the fifteen year period there were four sizes of architectural firms:

- 1-4 persons
- 5-9 persons
- 10-19 persons
- 20 plus persons

As the construction market in New Zealand is relatively small, the majority of the architectural firms are in the small to medium range with just a few large practices, located predominantly in Auckland City.

8. CONCLUSION

As a result of the plotting of the architectural firms on Auckland's CBD and CBD fringe area maps, it became apparent that certain areas around the CBD have well defined creative industries clusters. Parnell had the highest number of architectural firms, 20 in comparison with the other seven CBD fringe areas. Parnell's urban renewal that was started in the 70s by the local property developer Les Harvey is continuing at present turning Auckland's oldest suburb into a desirable business location and a prime residential area. The potential impact of such regeneration is on a micro level – transforming live-work-leisure spaces and on a macro level – transforming the urban environment and ultimately changing the city's image.

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SUPERFLAT WORLDS: CROSS-CULTURAL STRATEGIES IN ART

Dr Kristen Sharp, RMIT University

Abstract

This paper maps Takashi Murakami's *Theory of Superflat Art* in conjunction with his associated artistic practices and works in the context of globalizing culture, particularly within the historical, social, and cultural contexts of their production-consumption in Japan, the United States and Europe. As an important contemporary artist, Murakami's Superflat work actively participates in and expresses the tensions between local, national and global cultural identity associated with contemporary globalization processes. While the term Superflat implies a world in which cultural difference is increasingly flattened and thus eliminated, Superflat art is anything but homogenous. This paper demonstrates that Murakami strategically presents Superflat art as an expression of Japanese identity, which paradoxically also expresses the fluid imaginings of cultural identity and value available through historic and contemporary global exchanges. This deliberate demarcation and multiplicity does not resolve the contentions of globalization but rather amplifies them as such exposing the key debates on the formation of cultural identity as an oppositional expression and as a commodity in global markets. Murakami's self-conscious activation of these global processes is the overriding framework in which to understand Superflat. *Superflat Worlds* contributes a valuable case study to the understanding of cultural production as a strategic negotiation and expression of the flows of capital and culture in globalization.

KEYWORDS: Takashi Murakami, Superflat, globalization, Japanese identity, art, popular culture.

Bio

Dr Kristen Sharp is a researcher working in the area of cultural studies and art history, with a specific focus on globalization and cultural identity. Her PhD, *Superflat Worlds: a topography of Takashi Murakami and the cultures of Superflat art*, examined the contemporary Japanese artist Takashi Murakami as an example of a contemporary art practice that is strategically located within the processes of contemporary globalization. Forthcoming publications include a co-edited publication on transnational public art projects with McCulloch and McCulloch publishing, Melbourne and a chapter 'Global Fissures: intercultural dialogues in contemporary art' in *Cultures and/of Globalization*, Cambridge Scholars Press. Kristen is currently lecturing in Art History and Theory in the School of Art at RMIT University and conducting research on art and the urban experience in association with the RMIT Global Cities Research Institute. Contact: kristen.sharp@rmit.edu.au

SUPERFLAT WORLDS: CROSS-CULTURAL STRATEGIES IN ART

Dr Kristen Sharp, RMIT University

Global flows

Artists, such as contemporary Japanese artist Takashi Murakami, actively participate in many of the core debates and issues that have accompanied processes of globalization. Artworks and practices act as both expressive ideas and commodities in these globalised spaces. As a cultural text, art production-consumption, is intricately enmeshed in three key political issues regarding cultural identity and globalization. Firstly, the problem of how to retain the concept of local/national cultural particularity *and* to concurrently recognise the convergences and overlaps between cultures in a global context (Robertson, 1995); secondly, how to recognise the value in cultural difference as a tool of critical (oppositional) agency (Fisher, 2003) and acknowledge that difference can also become a commodity in the global market place (Hall, 1991); and thirdly, to acknowledge the dominance of Western cultural, political and economic imperatives in global processes (Hardt and Negri, 2000), while also recognising that it should not be reduced to this condition (Held et al., 1999). Murakami's concept of Superflat art and his art practice demonstrate how cultural identities facilitated by global processes are open to re-articulation by both global and local forces, which allow new strategic identities to emerge. These identities, while proffering resistance through the assertion of difference, are also formed as part of the processes of globalization rather than in strict opposition to it.

The spaces created by global interaction are dynamic and filled with tension. In response to what is felt as the increasing fragmentation of national and cultural identities (Morley and Robins, 1995), impulses arise to reclaim local and national identities in a form of resistance (Hall, 1995). A resistance that is complicated because it is formed in relation to the transnational imaginings of cultural identity stimulated by the constant circulation of people and mediated images through globalization (Appadurai, 1996). Geo-cultural mobility of people, ideas and objects draws attention to the unfixing of categories and values and their constant reformation. This not only includes cultural ideas of national identity, but also how the values behind separating and defining particular objects as "art" and as "commercial design" are constantly shifting in these spaces shaped by mobility, interaction and change.

Andreas Huyssen (2002) argues for critical research into the cultural spaces of globalization. He highlights the need to investigate and re-evaluate the cultural debates categorising high and low culture, which were such a dominant feature of (post)modernist debates in the 1980s and 1990s. Huyssen argues that many of the discourses around high/low culture at this time focussed largely on examples from Western culture.¹ The study of non-Western geo-cultural sites can establish ways to move beyond such a binary categorisation, and to reveal the multiple and horizontal relations between objects and values evident in contemporary culture and how these are realised in the spaces of globalization. In the following analysis of Murakami's practices and concepts, it becomes evident that distinctions between art and popular

¹ "Western" is used here to denote a discursive construct, rather than an actual geo-political territory.

culture have not disappeared. Rather, these categories have entered into new sets of relations strategically mobilised *in* and *between* local, national and global levels.

Superflat art

Superflat is a concept and theory of contemporary Japanese art developed by Takashi Murakami. Superflat was launched in 2000, in an exhibition of the same name, in Tokyo, which subsequently traveled to Los Angeles. By taking the exhibition to Los Angeles and producing a bi-bilingual catalogue with his manifesto of Superflat art (Murakami, 2000), Murakami strategically brought his concept into a globalised milieu of critical thought. The exhibition, curated by Murakami, featured the work of a range of established and emerging artists drawn from art and commercial practices in Japan. In the manifesto Murakami affirmed that the Superflat exhibitions were created to provide a cultural-historical context for the new form of art that he was proposing, and which was specifically exported for Western audiences. This new form of art emerges from the creative expressions in Japanese contemporary art, *anime* (Japanese animation), *manga* (graphic novels), video games, fashion and graphic design.

The underpinning ideology of Superflat is a flattening of hierarchical distinctions between fine art and commercial art forms such as graphic design, animation and fashion. Murakami extends this dialogue between the value and meaning of the concepts of “art” and “commodity” into his own practice by simultaneously exhibiting his paintings and sculptures within conventional art world institutions (galleries and auction houses) and distributing them as part of popular media culture (from creating a series of snack-toy figurines in *Superflat Museum* (2003) to being commissioned to design a range of accessories by Marc Jacobs for Louis Vuitton (2003).

The type of citation and crossover between contemporary art and the commercial world that is evident in Murakami’s practice and *Kaikai Kiki* is not new; what makes Murakami’s actions innovative are the playful interaction between these values, across geo-cultural territories. His intention was to establish his art work in international art markets, with the aim to utilise this profile in order to “revolutionise” Japanese art by connecting it to popular culture. The establishment of an epistemological context for Superflat was an explicit part of this process.

Murakami is self-consciously constructing relatively discrete identities for his practice in Japan and in the West. In the West he is associated with conventional artworld discourses and institutions. In Japan his agenda is different. Superflat is presented as a circumnavigation of the institutions and practices of modern fine art (*kindai bijutsu*), which Murakami contentiously and simplistically argues are an incomplete import of Western concepts adopted during the Meiji period (1868–1912) as a part of Japan’s process of modernisation and Westernisation.²

Murakami’s additional contention is that Western distinctions between art as “high” culture and mass-produced commercial forms as “low” or “popular culture” do not operate according to the same value structures in Japan (Clammer, 2000, 2001). It was

² Murakami is specifically referring to the practices of *yōga* (Western-style painting) and *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting).

not until after the importation of the concept of *bijutsu* in the Meiji period that the aesthetic value of art and the everyday use and commodity value of craft (*kōgei*) were categorically distinguished (Moeran, 1997; Yanagi, 1958; Guth, 1996). Nevertheless, there were ideological divisions between high/low cultures, such as art/craft. However, the objects and practices afforded the distinction of high/low were not the same as those in modern Western discourse. Prior to this, the development of technical skill and the concept of copying were not hierarchically devalued in Japan, nor was there the same historical ideology of art being privileged as an expression of originality, and many artists created both art and craft objects. Even then, however, the emphasis in Western modernism on autonomy was not applied in the same way in post-Meiji Japanese art.

Murakami extends his position further by contentiously arguing that while fine art (*bijutsu*) may occupy a privileged position within Japan in relation to established cultural institutions and state support it lacks conceptual and aesthetic relevance for young consumers (2000).³ He argues that in contrast, popular commercial media forms such as *manga* and *anime* demonstrate the qualities of originality and creativity that young consumers desire. For Murakami, these forms also express his idea of “creativity” that is tied to his desire for a peculiar Japanese form of expression and that are rooted in the importation issues of *bijutsu*.

According to Murakami, a new generation of “Superflat” artists source their ideas from these post-war commercial media forms (ibid). Murakami’s particular focus has not simply involved appropriating the imagery of *anime* and *manga* but with engaging the practices and aesthetic value of *otaku* (avid fans and artists of *manga* and *anime*). connoisseurship. Murakami is not alone in considering the politics of this dynamic. He is part of a particular group of artists who have been particularly concerned with the international circulation of their work and the formation and articulation of a post-war national identity for Japan based around *otaku* culture. Sawaragi Noi (2000) identified this new generation of artists in the 1990s as “Neo-Pop,” because they engaged with the popular imagery and products of *anime*, *manga* and game culture.

Murakami acknowledges that this Japanese sensibility emerges from the transformations arising from the influences of Euro-American culture; he simultaneously reaffirms the originality of Superflat as uniquely Japanese.⁴ This demarcation proposes Superflat as a specifically Japanese post-Pop Art aesthetic that is distinct from Western art and from imported ideas of art in Japan (Murakami, 2005, p. 152–3). The essential Japanese identity of Superflat constructed by Murakami is reinforced by the ways in which it connects (visually and ideologically) the *kawaii* (cute) forms of *anime* and *manga* with the playful aesthetic of Edo period artists and the two-dimensional formal properties of Japanese screen painting.⁷ This aesthetic lineage concept draws significantly on Japanese art historian Tsuji Nobuo’s *Kisō no Keifu* (Lineage of Eccentrics) (1970). To Murakami, the innovation and originality of

³ The status of contemporary art (*gendai bijutsu*) in Japan is particularly ambiguous because its existence is largely independent of established *kindai bijutsu* institutions. *Gendai bijutsu* is used here and by Murakami to refer to art that would be considered relevant to international contemporary art practice and emerged after World War II in direct opposition to the art establishment (*kindai bijutsu*).

⁴ There are precedents for *anime* and *manga* in earlier Japanese illustrative forms (Schodt, 1986), and while there are identifiable influences from Western comic forms these have been assimilated and transformed (Kinsella, 2000, p. 45–51).

post-1945 forms of commercial culture represent a continuation of the innovations of the Edo (1600–1867) visual culture. This foundation is then used to propose Superflat as an alternate lineage of Japanese visual culture, one that breaks away from the canon of *kindai bijutsu* and Western art history.

The reference to Edo functions in Superflat as the determinant of its cultural authenticity – that is, as the DNA of Superflat (Murakami 2000, p. 25). Edo is presented as the site of Japan’s cultural tradition and subsequently as a symbol of its Japaneseness. This echoes modern Japanese discourses in which Edo becomes the repository of nostalgic yearnings for a pre-modern, “traditional” Japan (Ivy 1995). In the late 1980s and early 1990s Edo was a common trope in debating Japan’s (post)modernity (Kojève, 1980). Contemporary Japanese culture, particularly popular culture, was considered to be a revival of Edo concepts and practices and thus particularly “indigenous” to Japan and distinct from a Western defined (post)modernism (Karatani, 1997). This was then used to propose Japan as the unique leader in a (post)modern future. However, as Gluck (1998) points out, the definition of authentic and traditional Japanese expression in relation to a fixed point of origin in Edo culture has been heavily challenged. Therefore, Murakami’s use of Edo to mark the culturally unique and authentic transmission of the Superflat aesthetic transcending Japanese and Western modernism, which is supposedly demonstrating the future of art, should be treated with caution.

Murakami has also been criticised for synthesising Edo with contemporary popular culture and emphasising Edo as the critical point of origin for Superflat. At least initially, Azuma Hiroki (2001) emphasises more than Murakami the important influence of American popular culture after the war on *anime* and *manga*. Azuma argues that critics in the 1980s (such as Kojève and Karatani) who sought to identify links between contemporary Japan and Edo culture betray a “historical amnesia” towards the trauma of defeat experienced by Japan at the end of the Second World War and the influence Western forms on Japanese popular culture. He rejects the construction of “authentic” Japanese art and culture outside of the post-1945 influences of Western culture, and theorises *otaku* culture as an expression of postmodernity, ruptured from Japan’s modernity.

Azuma’s argument is that *otaku* culture expresses the hybrid process of Japanising, or localising, imported commodity forms, like 7-11’s, comics and McDonalds. These expressions are not without tensions. For Azuma, this new identity is asserted to transcend Japan’s post-war feelings of inferiority, supported by the successful export of *anime* and *manga* to the West. However, Azuma potentially over-states the importance of the post-war influence of the United States, thereby replacing the centrality of Edo (in Karatani and Murakami’s discourses) with the United States. Furthermore, Azuma’s emphasis on hybridity is contradicted by his demarcation of this *otaku* identity as an expression of a contemporary national identity, albeit in a new form. Even in the subtitle of his essay, *Otaku Nationalism*, Azuma betrays his tendency to identify *otaku* as Japanese and distinct from other fan cultures. Therefore, Azuma still ends up reterritorialising *otaku* identity as form of Japanese expression (Lamarre 2004).⁵

⁵ Lamarre argues that Azuma’s emphasis on *otaku* as a rupture with the Enlightenment concept of subjectivity and as a new form of non-hierarchical subjectivity, results in the substitution of the individual and whole subject with a

Self-Orientalism

The affirmation of a national-cultural aesthetic in Murakami's theory of Superflat can be considered as a form of self-Orientalism: an identity formation that is constructed in relation to the Western Oriental gaze (Said, 1995). While self-Orientalism has been considered as an empowered strategy of re-appropriation, there is always the danger that it can become collusive to Orientalism. Particularly in relation to Japan self-Orientalist discourses can be considered a continuation of the Japan/West binary construction, which obscures the connections and power relations underpinning this structure (Iwabuchi, 1994).

Superflat does tend to follow the self-Orientalist path by echoing discursive constructions of a Japan/West binary. It also tends to follow aspects of the assertive discourses of Japanese identity, *nihonjinron*, in the post-1970s (Befu, 2001). Both of these tend to emphasise Japan's national identity as unique and different from the West and the East. Secondly, as previously stated, while Murakami acknowledges the Western influences on the Superflat aesthetic, his simultaneous transposing of this hybrid identity into a reinforcement of a Japanese identity, characterised by cultural assimilation and hybridisation, reinforces a unified national-cultural identity. One of the common criticisms of Murakami is that he is offering a futuristic Orientalist spectacle for Western audiences (Shimada, 2002: 188–189). This is not dissimilar to the creation of Japanese “export” art for foreign markets in the late nineteenth century at the height of the fashion for *japonisme*.

In some ways, the self-Orientalism of Superflat can be understood as a post-colonial defensive reaction. Superflat is presented by Murakami as a localised expression of cultural uniqueness resisting the global hegemony of Western art and transcending the imported colonialist history of *bijutsu* by presenting “icons of excessive otherness” (Matsui, 2001: 48).¹¹ Yet it is also evident that Superflat and Murakami do not erode but rather tend to reinforce the dominant art markets of the United States and Europe and that the Japanese identity of Superflat is used as a commodity, even though Murakami continues to emphasise Superflat as a “post-Japonisme” gesture (Kelmachter, 2002: 103–104).

However, to reduce Superflat to a collusive Orientalism, or to see it as *just* a commodification of identity in a pejorative sense, misinterprets the dynamics in play. Murakami is both proffering resistance as well as marketing his work strategically. Firstly, Murakami articulates his identity through the exhibition structures of the West as well as through conventional signifiers of Japanese aesthetics in order to establish his profile and to sell his work. Yet he also acknowledges the ambivalences of his own position and the playfulness of this global positioning of identity:

In the worldview that holds delicate flavouring as the only concept of ‘beauty’ with any value, heavy flavouring is taboo, and too much stimulation is definitely problematic ... In order to create something that is understandable both to the West and Japan, what is needed is an ambivalent flavor and presentation (Kaikaikiki Co. Ltd & Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo, 2001: 131)

new form of unified (postmodern) subjectivity (pp. 177-8).

Furthermore, research into the popular consumption of *anime* and *manga* outside Japan argue that these forms express plural cultural identities and, as Allison (2000) shows, are detached from specific representations of space and place. They are instead marked by a particularly form of flexibility which can express both highly localised coding and fluid signifiers (Yoda 2000). This suggests that the consumption of Superflat, like that of *anime* and *manga*, is not simply based on a desire for reflected images of Japaneseness as a cultural Other; rather, it offers audiences a flexibility of alternate identities, free from specific geo-cultural connections (Sharp, 2007). Furthermore, the increasing familiarity of *anime* and *manga* suggests that Superflat is not consumed as an exotic Other but rather as part of an existing aesthetic identity for Western consumers.

Konbini Art: Superflat Museum

Murakami's engagement with *anime*, manga and otaku culture is most readily apparent in the series of figures made in collaboration with Okada Toshio, Kaiyōdō (a commercial company involved with figurine production), and Bome, a revered figurine modeller in the *otaku* community. Together they have created a series of figure sculptures, including, *Second Mission Project KO²* (S.M.PK02) (1999), *Miss KO²* (1997), *Hiropon* (1997), *My Lonesome Cowboy* (1998), and more recently, *Inochi* (2004). The almost life-size scale of the figures was an unusual departure from the typical *bishojo* (beautiful girl) scale-model figurines, called garage-kits, collected by fans.

The association with Kaiyōdō continued with the release of *Superflat Museum*, a series of limited edition (30,000) miniature figurines or *shokugan* (snack toys), based on the figure sculptures and other characters in Murakami's oeuvre sold through *konbini* (convenience stores) in Japan. *Shokugan* are ubiquitous snack toys that are highly detailed, intricately crafted, hand painted and mass-produced objects. They are usually based on popular *anime* and *manga* series characters, though they are not strictly limited to these sources.

Murakami's intention with *Superflat Museum* was to experiment with the meanings of art and commodity in response to the high-profile auction sale of *KO²* at Christie's New York auction. He states:

... in principle [with *Shokugan*] you are paying for the snacks and the figures enclosed in the packages are essentially free. ... One of my works, a life-size sculpture 'Miss KO²,' fetched over a half million dollars at a Christie's auction in New York City in 2003. ... The same figure, 'Miss KO²,' is also included in 'Takashi Murakami's SUPERFLAT MUSEUM.' To generate a great confusion of values by juxtaposing a half million dollars and 'free,' that is the purpose of creating the artistic *shokugan* figures. What is art in the first place? Is it about quality? Concept? Or monetary value? The standards vacillate throughout history. My definition of art is the moment that an artist or a work appears with the power to instigate the overturn of values. Therefore the crucial point for the presentation of 'free' artwork in the current artistic *shokugan* project is the moment it can provide the opportunity for people to rethink the sense of values itself (Murakami and Kaikai Kiki Co. 2003, n.p.).

Superflat Museum is a self-conscious engagement, on a mass-produced scale, with commercial commodity forms. The serialised production of the figurines replicates and references the “sculptures,” which have been exhibited in both art and *otaku* contexts. While the figurines reference the art world profile of Murakami they simultaneously exist as commodities to be sold and exchanged within the world of collectable figurines. It is the similarities, rather than differences, of connoisseurship between art and commercial commodities that Murakami is drawing attention to. There are interesting juxtapositions between the two items that support Murakami’s claims. The *shokugan* version uses similar manufacturing techniques, both the figurine and the full-scale figure are based on scale models created by Bome, and, just like the life-size version, each *shokugan* is individually hand-painted and coming with its own certificate of authenticity and an edition number.

Murakami argues that the figurines in *Superflat Museum* are valueless because the commodity transaction is based on the snack and the toy is free, which is the common value transaction of *shokugan*. However, the gestures of signing and editioning each figurine reinforce the author-ity (the branding) of the work as a “Murakami”. *Superflat Museum* is also distinguished from other types of *shokugan* because it was released in a limited edition that sold out immediately, the figurines were miniature versions of his artworks, the packaging clearly reinforced Murakami’s identification as an artist, and it received press coverage as a special edition promoting the “artist” Murakami. Each figurine also comes with its own historical background in relation to Murakami’s oeuvre. Murakami’s identity as an artist is thus centralised and *Superflat Museum* is given an existence within the social institution of art. It is arguable, however, that while it may question the meanings underpinning the value of the art market object and the mass-produced object, *Superflat Museum* does not erode the distinction and market value of works such as *Miss KO2*². What he ends up doing is simultaneously reinforcing and eroding the cultural distinctions constructed around the concepts of art and popular culture by strategically utilising the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993) of “art” and “popular culture.” For example, within Murakami’s pluralistic production range, aesthetic value does not operate solely in relation to the art works but is also attached to his design commodities.

Murakami uses the platform of *Superflat Museum* to cultivate and educate what he refers to as “art fans” (Nakamura, 2001, p. 24). Again, it can be argued that while Murakami may be engaging new consumers for his work outside of conventional gallery structures, this is not so much challenging the value of art as reinforcing the cultural capital of the identification of himself as an artist and his own artistic reputation within the art institution by producing commercial goods based on his artworks – similar to other art gallery store merchandise. The intertextual references between Murakami’s works support is the identity of *Superflat Museum* as a form of commercial consumption in Japan related to Murakami’s profile as an artist internationally, through the sale of *Miss KO2* at a Christie’s auction.

Murakami is not just representing the specialist fan culture of *otaku* but rather the mass consumption practices of *anime* and *manga* in Japan and presenting these for a Western audience, while also carving out a space for Superflat art in Japan amongst these consumers. Sawaragi Noi (2000, p. 166) reinforces the concept that *manga* and *anime* are not oppositional cultural expressions in Japan, but are highly valued by the wider public and are consumed with the same degree of discrimination and aesthetic

judgement that has been ascribed to art connoisseurship in the West. When *manga* and *anime* are exhibited in a gallery, Sawaragi argues, they are not presented as a challenge to high/low cultural distinctions but instead demonstrate their already wide popularity and esteemed value. If, as Murakami argues, art in Japan is consumed in a manner similar to other commercial products (such as music and fashion), and if Japanese consumers do not necessarily privilege contemporary art above these products, then Murakami is not so much challenging the distinctions between art and commercial culture, but rather reinforcing the status quo.

It can be argued that *Superflat Museum* is also part of a long history of art/commercial culture relationship in Japan, particularly in relationship to the “high” cultural values associated with *depāto* (department stores). Since the Meiji period *depāto* have been a key avenue for introducing and educating the Japanese public about Western consumer goods and art (Creighton, 1992) and in the early days of Superflat many of the large department stores had high-profile contemporary art galleries, including the Parco gallery where *Superflat* was originally presented.

Murakami’s conflation of art with the forms and practices of commercial culture can also be conceived as an expression of late capital cultural conditions (Jameson 1991) and a challenge to the hierarchical dichotomy of high art and popular culture which was a key part of modernist discourses (Foster, 1998; Huyssen, 1986).⁶ However, the pointed emphasis on the identity of Murakami as an artist suggests that these distinctions have not entirely disappeared in the way that Jameson and Baudrillard (1983) propose. Murakami is not necessarily subverting the commodity form or the status of art according to the terms of those discourses. In his own discussion regarding his practice, Murakami reinforces his identification as an “artist” (although this category has its own contentions) and distinguishing his “design work” productions such as *Superflat Museum* from the “pure art” of his paintings and sculptures (Frederick, 2003). Yet, the intertextual references between his figurine sculptures and *Superflat Museum* makes any distinction difficult to sustain.

Murakami’s status within conventional art discourses also appears to be reliant on his identity as an artist who blurs the distinction between art and commercial culture. Murakami has established himself as a brand – with a range of outputs and activities not limited to the conventional forms of painting or sculpture – under the banners of “Takashi Murakami” and “Superflat.” Murakami thus utilises the economic and cultural environment of late capitalism in which aesthetic value becomes part of the commodity value of mass-produced goods (Harvey, 1990). Murakami’s explicit emphasis on art production as a business (see Wakasa, 2000) renders a value distinction based on the meaning of art as an autonomous aesthetic expression, and commodity production as standardised and repetitive, equally problematic and permeable.

Superflat Museum also demonstrates the affirmation of the aesthetic value of commercial products by consumers. The seriality of Murakami’s work directly borrows from the processes of fragmentation, assembly and transformation which

⁶ While there is not the scope in this paper to fully enter into the intricacies of the modernism/postmodernism debates and particularly the definition of high/low culture within modernism, the paper follows Huyssen’s (1984) position that the distinction between high/low culture was insisted upon in dominant modernist discourse even while in practice many modernists violated this distinction.

characterise *otaku* communities and their relationships to *anime* and *manga* characters (Steinberg, 2004). In particular, the productive role of consumption, such as the expression of desire or attachment towards characters in *otaku* culture, which is facilitated by the processes of reproduction and deconstruction, provides a valuable framework through which to consider how aesthetic value operates at all levels of production. Murakami's serialised work and production practices, where he draws from a computer database of created characters and which his assistants continually re-deploy into paintings or sculptures, asserts the value of the copy and of seriality which is a key form in commercial character production. Yet the singular value of the work produced, even though its content or form may be reproduced, it still strongly reinforced: the techniques of signature, numbering and hand-painting are used to signify authenticity and to produce variation. Murakami has strict methods of quality control and the production of work is still highly manualised, with an emphasis on technique (Kaikai Kiki, 2001). Therefore, despite Murakami's claims, *Superflat Museum* is not so much a post-Duchampian challenge to the values of the art object; rather, it reinforces the sustained importance of singularity and brand signature even in its serialised production.

Murakami often gets criticised for his post-Warholian merger of art and business (see Searle, 2002; Saltz, 1999). Arguably, Murakami can demonstrate his own lack of regard for the criticisms aimed at his merging of art and business from within the art world, because he had potentially generated sufficient cultural capital in North American and European art markets and institutions by this time to establish his reputation as a "serious" artist. This establishes a platform from where he can safely engage with commercial forms. Furthermore, his supposed disregard of (Japanese) art critics is perhaps a safe position given that the majority of Murakami's art sales occur within Western art markets – a success he is keen to stress.⁷ Yet, Murakami must maintain a balance between establishing an art context, namely, his reputation as an artist for collectors and investors, while at the same time establishing his accessibility for the wider public.

Another important point to note is that Murakami's activities are not completely exclusive or always in conflict. The pieces in *Superflat Museum* are neither art nor entirely commercial products – their ontological status is not absolute. They demonstrate the mutability of art/commodity relations, while at the same time retaining the concept and institution of art and the brand identity of the artist. They celebrate the potential of penetrating different markets, rather than offering a critical position against commodification. This is not to say that there are no dominant values present in Murakami's work; all his activities still reinforce the institution of art and centralise his identity as an artist. Murakami is creating niche and customised products that build on his own signature brand of Murakami the artist. This "artist" identity is a key component of his work and strategy that can be projected onto his various activities. Therefore, at the same time that Murakami blurs the distinctions between his art and commercial works, there are still identifiable points of differentiation between them. In some sense, Murakami is merely capitalising on the merchandising potential of his artwork. However, the ways in which he utilises the cultural site of the *konbini* demonstrate potential for generating new audiences and

⁷ Approximately 70 percent of Murakami's paintings and sculptures are sold in these markets (Koyama, 2001, p. 119).

consumptive patterns for his work, beyond art world institutions.

What Murakami really offers is an understanding of how the cultural capital of *otaku* culture and art can be used to strategically position a practice in an international context. What becomes evident in this entire process is the way that Murakami strategically plays with the meaning dependent on geo-cultural context: the more commercialised access the public has to his work in Japan in contrast to the Western art gallery context. Murakami's "revolution" is thus a clever exploitation of the status of art and commercial culture in Japan and his status in Western art worlds.

Murakami's promotion and appropriation of *otaku* culture is not always positively received by *otaku*; they maintain a certain distance from him, arguing that his appropriated *otaku* forms are of interest to the art world and not to *otaku* themselves. They argue that they do not recognise a cultural dominance of art, that he has not captured the essence of *otaku* connoisseurship and they remain sceptical of his parody of their character culture (Asano, 2001). It is therefore difficult not to understand this as a one-way utilisation of *otaku* culture for Western audiences. Yet Murakami also contends that he provides an alternative platform for *otaku* creators through the Superflat exhibitions.

Murakami's presentation of Superflat offers an alternative identity to Western art history by expressing and articulating the particularities of Japanese contemporary art and visual culture, while simultaneously constructing that identity in the familiar terms of Western art discourse. However, Murakami's position is also more complex than simply presenting *otaku* beauty as an opposition to Western art. Superflat is still embedded in the debates of Japanese identity in which Superflat is defined, particularly in relation to the West as the Other, even though the intention of Superflat is to assert a new identity for Japanese creative expression. In this way, the self-Orientalist impulses of Superflat do not resist or oppose the West or modern Japanese identity *directly*, but use existing discursive constructions in order to re-work the meaning of contemporary Japanese identity by exploiting global processes, in which in-between and hybrid identities are an ordinary state (Papastergiadis 2003).

To understand Superflat as just a commodity, or constructed only for Western art audiences, is too limiting. Superflat operates on multiple levels. The limited interpretation of Superflat as Orientalist spectacle is problematic because it assumes that the Western audience desires and exoticises the differences of Japan and constructs it as a cultural Other. In contrast, research on the consumption of *anime* and *manga* in the West suggests that these products are not just consumed because of a perceived Japaneseness, but also because of their "culturally odourless" translatability (Iwabuchi, 2002) and, I would argue, an increasingly familiar aesthetic. Therefore, if Murakami is strategically deploying a self-Orientalist image in order to sell his work in Western art markets, like the consumption of *anime* and *manga*, this does not have to determine its consumption as Orientalist spectacle. Furthermore, if the self-Orientalist lens is the only one used to consider Murakami's work it does ignore the impact of his work in Japan, amongst the consumers of *anime* and *manga* and in establishing the international careers of younger artists such as Aya Takano and Chiho Aoshima. He also promotes the work of "amateur" artists through large-scale art events like *Geisai*. This is an open entry art fair competition for artists who

have not been trained in conventional art institutions, which was established by Murakami in 2002.

This paper has analysed the relations involved in constructing, maintaining and deconstructing distinctions between the sets of values associated with art and commercial products. One of the characteristics of the production-consumption of Murakami's works, including *Superflat Museum*, is its engagement with the distinctions (and blurring) between "art" and "commodity," which is a strategic deployment of both his expression *and* the commercial success of his work. Murakami inscribes his work in the conventions of art while also engaging with popular culture form and practices. Superflat is not an attempt to reconcile these concepts, but rather mobilises their distinctions and reveals their complexities *across* and *in* different cultural contexts. The ontological status of these objects is not absolute and what is demonstrated is the mutability of art/commodity relations in geo-cultural territories. The cultural meaning of Murakami's works and practices can thus be located in Western *and* Japanese discourses, and the sites in which they overlap.

Murakami is thus simultaneously constructing an international dialogue with Superflat: referencing a history of cross-fertilisation of visual culture between Japan and the West and articulating Superflat as a response to a particular national experience in Japan, which also focuses on the values of art and popular culture in Japan. In producing Superflat as a negotiation between Western art markets, Japanese art worlds and Japanese popular culture, Superflat becomes part of the politics of commodification and expression of cultural difference generated in global consumption.

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Title

Indian Folk Culture Vs Global Culture: Challenges and Opportunities

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With scientific advancements and revolution in the field of communication technology, Globalisation has finally come to stay. This necessitated the emergence of dramatic and dynamic contrasts in the world. On one hand societies are becoming more and more plural, multicultural and global, adopting global patterns and norms, while on the other hand there are societies still struggling with the problem of identity crises. These crises are taking shape in the form of ethnic revolts, communal riots, naxalite movements, terror attacks and so on. Undoubtedly, all these expressions are the outcome of identity crises in one or the other form. For the past two decades the situation has become even shoddier.

The period following gulf war, the global culture and the mass media have got a symbiotic relationship. Former is transmitted by mass media such as films, television, satellite channels, large public gatherings and is usually not location-specific. But in the name of globalization, what has happened and still happening with the local ancient folk culture in particular is very disheartening. Folk culture is a form of popular culture, whose impact and significance is immense on the local people, but unfortunately it has become a victim in today's mass communication age. The overwhelming reach and impact of media has adversely influenced the traditional folk culture.

In view of these seemingly contrast cultures, the central question is how could these two extremes be avoided and brought together and integrated in such a way that both could enrich each other. That let people connect and exchange their knowledge. Folk culture is that precious art, where humanity exists in its original form. The present paper aims to explore all those opportunities, which could save and preserve these humanistic values.

Globalization and Cultural effects

Globalization has had an impact on different cultures around the world. Culture is defined as patterns of human activity and the symbols that give these activities significance. Culture is what people eat, how they dress, beliefs they hold, and activities they practice. Globalization has joined different cultures and made it into something different. When cultures receive outside influences, they ignore some and adopt others, and then almost immediately start to transform them.

Folk Culture

The word "Folk" comes from the German word "Volk" which means "people". Folk- people of the past, the people who are like the pioneers, the locals, the traditional people, the common people, the ones who emphasize the transmission of cultural heritage through oral transmission. The folk are the carriers of customs, beliefs, arts and thus culture.

Folk culture is traditional, relatively inflexible, resistant to change, local in orientation and non-commercial. Folklore, is largely comprised of oral tradition, including folktales, folksongs, folkdance, folklore, folk beliefs, superstitions, and customs. Folk culture is usually transmitted interpersonally within the relatively small, cohesive, homogeneous community. Folk culture is basically rural, conservative, and largely self-sufficient. There is often a strong

family or clan. Tradition is paramount. Change comes infrequently and slowly. Individualism is subordinate to traditional community standards and values. The identity of members of a folk society is usually fixed and inflexible, with clearly-defined role expectations.

Folk culture has continually expressed concern over popular cultures negative effects on issues that concern the morality and behaviours in society. These concerns have only heightened with the growth of the media, and popular entertainment.

Global or Popular Culture

In contrast the global culture is urban, individualistic, flexible as to identity, constantly-changing, broadly-spread, commercial in nature, and wide-ranging in both scope and appeal. Besides, Popular Culture is very complex as it is continuously evolving through different changes and influences like economic, political and social ones i.e. modernity, capitalism, globalization...

Folk Vs Global Culture: Challenges and Opportunities

Folk cultures have been worried for the future, especially with the rise and power that global culture has gained. Later is replacing traditional; food, dress, housing, ideas, and values. These are many good reasons for folk culture to be scared of their descending influence on cultures. Global culture is always changing, every year there are new fads in which people conform to, there is no individuality. The western world has become an almost monotonous society, where everyone dresses the same, eats the same, lives in the same manner.

If we decide to visit developing nations around the world we begin to see how their culture is changing and becoming more Americanized. People wear more popular culture clothing, such as jeans and t-shirts, and not so much their traditional clothing. They eat from fast food restaurants, like McDonald's, Burger King, and Pizza Hut. Popular cultures in these societies are glamorized as step forwards into the future, of dreams of becoming more like the western world.

Folk culture and Global culture, both are intensely connected to common people. Without people, their existence is not possible. But both are related with people in different manner. Folk culture originates among common people, where as Global culture dominates the people

on its conditions. Folk culture develops in a simple process and grows with the continuously changing life styles and circumstances of the masses. It reflects an uncomplicated world of daily experiences and day-to-day routine chores of the society. On the other hand, Global culture focuses on the business, profit, and market and intrigues the masses in its figment of the imagination. It disturbs and interferes with the continual flow of Folk culture and daily life of common people. Global culture is very much ruthless and business centric. And that is the main reason that, Global culture in its autocratic achievements has done a great loss to the Folk culture. It is an immediate need to understand and explain the false claims of Global culture, which is recurrently harming the basic rights of the masses.

After 1990, Global culture has enormously attacked the normal life of the people through emergence of various satellite channels. These channels have increased the speed of daily life to a great extent. Cities, towns and villages, all are traumatised by these TV channels. Globalisation, Liberalisation, Disinvestment, Privatisation and Market forces are optimising the minds of common peoples as per their strategies. Cut throat competitions are destroying human relations and emotions. Pepsi, Coke, Fast-food, Pizza, Noodles, Mc Donald etc are dominating Indian market and influencing people. These commodities are commonly manipulating the original commodities, which were used and consumed from many hundred years. Media also helps increasing the process of Global culture, as most of the media is owned by the Global Multinationals, which preset the strategies to increase their market and business.

Current status of Folk Culture in India

We have wealth of Folk reserves still available in India. Though these differ in terms of Language, style, method etc but they are connected and deep rooted in the hearts of the people of India. To understand the Global threats to the Folk culture, we have to first understand the present condition of Indian Culture. We have to understand in detail how much efforts are been on place for the preservation and conservation of Folk culture. Though, this is true that the entire gamut of Folk culture in its original form is neither acceptable nor necessary. Instead of continuing with the obsolete and irrelevant facets of Folk, what is needed indeed is to focus on the preservation and conservation of only those facets of folk culture which are relevant and in tune with the contemporary society. Imminent question before us is how to begin the program of preservation and conservation; and also to see if

there can be any role of Media in it? These are the questions which require the urgent attention. Otherwise it will be too late to get anything.

Media and Folk Culture

Media constitutes the fourth pillar of Democracy but the relation between Media and Folk Culture seems to be very undemocratic. If Media is to remain relevant to the democratisation of communications at local level, it must be open to local-specific ways of understanding and culture-specific ways of dealing with communication problems as well as their solutions. This concerns needs to be situated within a most substantive understanding of intra national communication realities, problems and their solutions. But in reality, what we are witnessing is the emergence of private media monopolies capable of competing with established Western trans-national media interests with little consequence to the democratisation of communications. They believe in quick profits, exploitation of markets of least resistance.

Communication Alternatives

Fortunately, at present, there are serious efforts in place for using media for alternative purposes. Which can play a positive role and at the same time preventing, accommodating, calming feelings of rootless ness and binding fishers in the community. There are for example the instances of the emergence of popular culture movement's networks and the variety of groups involved in using media for alternative purposes all across the world. Like popular theatre initiative, wemens video collectives, women's newsletter groups, critical approaches to media education for local communities, media documentation centres around the world and networking initiative are some of the different alternative approaches in existence today. This range of roles is the strength of traditional media and it is lack of it that has affected the sustainability of popular cultural struggles.

Ours is a complex era with complex histories, demand a sophisticated and relevant theoretical framework- one that is in tune with lived reality. Today's challenge include how can we use different media techniques to incorporate and understand the Global in the Local and Local in the Global. This understanding must flow from the recognition that there are communications root-metaphors other than those from a western origin and must create the space for the local-specific solutions to local-specific communication problems. In order to reconnect people, it is necessary that institutionalised alternatives, in theory and practice, be exercised and that

attempts are made to evolve new alternatives based on recognition of the plurality of local cultural identities, discourses, practices, and situations.

To sum up, today the challenges before the folk community are multidimensional that range from danger of extinction of their cultural resources, disappearance of traditional art and knowledge to feeling of insecurity and their survival. Global and folk cultures constitute the two extremes, true, but when two contrasts are brought together, they produce enormous energy- (here) opportunity. Opportunity that let people connect and exchange their knowledge. Folk culture is that precious art, where humanity exists in its original form. Therefore, every effort should be made to recognize, preserve and document these knowledge resources and explore all those opportunities to save and preserve these humanistic values.

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East Meets West: Studying Abroad for the Sake of Music
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Introduction

On February 18th 2010, a music student from Japan made his debut performance at a local coffeehouse. It was an unusually sunny Saturday towards the end of a cold winter season. The aroma of freshly brewed Columbian beans from a nearby coffee shop engulfed the afternoon air of a cozy alleyway. It was a perfect day to enjoy the shop's open-air pavilion. Most days, patrons sipped their drinks on chairs turned to focus on a laptop, their circle of friends or a business partner. But along with the weather, this afternoon was different. Instead of typical conversing with the distant sound of elevator jazz faintly playing from the shop's speakers, all chairs were turned towards this particular alley now showcasing the Japanese jazz guitar student. The guitarist's music cascaded a trace on the captivated audience. Jazz ballad arrangements of fan favorites like "Time After Time" and "Human Nature" were among his set list. After the performance, audience members approached the student to praise his guitar skills and asked questions about his arrangements. One year ago, this student would not have been able to provide answers for his American audience. As I observed his cohort's musical pursuits at a small music college over the past four months, it became clear that music played a powerful role in motivating and encouraging the ability to communicate in English.

The world's recent economic deficit demonstrates once again how interconnected the world is. Despite this statistic, less than 1% of all American college students are studying abroad in an academic year (Goodman, 2009). Due to ubiquitous global issues across the map, the need for global exchange of knowledge is necessary to reach solutions. Studying abroad opportunities prepare students to "reach conclusions in different ways." Existing research focuses on the study abroad student who assimilates into an academic setting, where the student's purpose is to study at a university, college, or similar institution in post-secondary (tertiary) education. He or she is most always working towards an advanced degree. Most profound amongst these studies is that study abroad programs expand and transform student worldviews by increases cultural awareness. Can the same be said about the student who studies abroad vocationally for music?

Bakagiannis and Tarrant (2005) suggest that music is used to encourage the development of positive intergroup attitudes. In addition, Anthony Storr (1992) "stresses that in all societies, a primary function of music is collective and communal, to bring and bind people together." Since this is the case, study abroad experiences in vocational institutes with an emphasis in music should also be investigated as an additional outlet towards the promotion of global awareness.

Purpose and Justification

The purpose of this research is to ethnographically observe an international cohort of

students at a music college with hopes to gain an understanding of how music facilitates Intercultural Communication Competence (ICC). Although current literature expresses the impacts and benefits of students who study abroad in an academic setting, there is a limited amount of research that explores the study abroad experiences of students pursuing music. Music breaks language barriers and creates interconnectivity. To start, have you ever listened to a song in another language? Although you may not understand the lyrics, the melody could still transcend you to an emotional state similar to what the musician is conveying. Thus, the language barrier provided by the lyrics is broken due to an emotional connection to the music. In confluence, music and study abroad programs expand and transform student worldviews. Ethnography of cross-cultural communication can provide rich and critical sites for an understanding of “people's understandings” of each other (Toyosaki, 2004). Due to this notion, the research question posed, *how does music facilitate intercultural communication competence in a pedagogical environment*, will be answered through ethnographic analysis at a small Western music college.

Literature Review

The recent approval of study abroad opportunities promoted by congress and previous research of intercultural studies both encourage ICC through studying abroad. Separate from studying abroad, music is also looked upon as a motivating factor that can potentially break language barriers to also encourages high ICC levels. The following is a literature review that addresses both concepts. First I will explain studies that uncover the benefits of studying abroad. Next, I will provide an overview of the Intercultural Communication Competence theory and lastly, a case study that explores how music influences communication competence.

The Benefits of Studying Abroad

Being exposed to international environments is important. Lewis & Niesenbaum (2005) argue that students who study abroad will naturally become more aware of their host country's culture and improve their language skills amongst personal, career and academic settings. More profoundly, study abroad programs expand and transform student worldviews. The willingness to travel and share travelogues with others spark differences in cross-cultural communication studies (Toyosaki, 2004). Acquiring such willingness provides “globally situated humanity, challenging the socially, historically, economically, and culturally constructed hierarchy of racism and nationalism (Toyosaki, 2004). Due to this reason, studying abroad is now supported by congress.

The state department has enabled foreign students to work while in the US to make it more attractive. Senator Paul Simon's Study Abroad Foundation Act was recently approved by the House, which enables one million American college students to attend universities abroad (McMurtrie & Bollag, 2007). Because of programs like these, 2 million students attend colleges outside of their country (Bollag, 2005) and it's increasing.

The Theory of Intercultural Communication Competence (ICC)

To achieve high levels of intercultural communication competence, one could study abroad. Kim (2005) describes three dimensions of communication competence: cognitive (understanding the host culture), affective (able to experience and appreciate the culture), and operational or behavioral competence, in which newcomers gain a kind of fluency with the host culture and can express themselves as a native can. Further, ICC (Inter-Cultural Communication) defined as: “ICC competence involves the knowledge, motivation, and skills to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures (Wiseman, 2002).” Kim compares the enculturation process into a culture of origin with adaptation to a new host country: “In many ways, entering a new culture is like starting an enculturation process all over again. Only this time, strangers are faced with situations that deviate from the familiar and internalized original cultural script”. Being forced into another enculturation process allows those who study abroad to view the world as a place where ideas need to be shared through other forms of communication. Music promotes higher ICC levels by being a motivational influence to start the enculturation process.

Music Influences ICC

Globalization emphasizes “difference, promotes pluralism, and increases diversity through the accelerating circulation of a multiplicity of cultural practices” (Irving, 2009). Globalization defined here is when cultures share their common artistic practices with another culture. This is one of the paradoxes of globalization, and it “seems that no one art form encapsulates it more singularly than music (Irving, 2009).” This research aims to explore the relationship between music and its effects in a contemporary music institute that amalgamates students from all over the world into various bands and artistic developments. To emphasize music and ICC’s interconnectivity, almost every form of art music or popular music cultivated or studied today relates in some way to the patterns of intercultural reciprocity (Irving, 2009). For example, of the content being shared and discussed by web users from all over the world, music videos are a specific genre popular worldwide (Schackman, 2008).

The American pop culture and English language have been dominant in music around the world (Schackman, 2008). Moreover, the US recording industry has a niche for “world music”—local popular music from outside the US. However, the hegemonic influence of American culture through pop continues in the international music recording business, so any notion of universality must take into account American cultural dominance (Schackman, 2008). Due to this notion, conducting an ethnographic study of music students in America is an appropriate location for this research.

Research Context

California College of Music

California College of Music mentors musicians and audio engineers careers in the commercial recording and music industry. The college is located in Pasadena, California near major music industry labels in Burbank and Hollywood. CCM

provides an intimate and nurturing environment, with courses taught by faculty of music industry professionals. At CCM, students have the opportunity to develop tangible skills, technical knowledge, and a well-rounded professional attitude of confidence and discipline that will give them the ability to succeed in the industry at large. Classes range from technical courses like music and theory, rhythm training and sight singing to more practicum courses like applied rhythm training, contemporary ensembles and vocal performance.

CCM offers custom designed certificate programs in music and audio engineering and music production. There is also a comprehensive artist development program, similar to artist development departments at major record labels that serve to develop and perfect the talents of artists who wish to begin their careers in the music business.

Besides the customary classes, CCM offers courses on a variety of subjects, such as, DJ and Turntable Technology, the History of American Commercial and Pop Music, and Educator Workshop. Also, students of all ages may take music lessons in the community outreach program. The Grammy Award winning faculty was spearheaded by Wayne Henderson, world-renowned music producer and trombonist, founder of the Jazz Crusaders in 2007-08, and has passed to the current music department chair - Uros Raskovski. The Engineering and Music Production department is led by the legendary recording engineer Reggie Dozier.

Demographics at this institute consist of 45% international students in a music, artist development or audio engineering program. Its environment is small and intimate (study body of 28) with courses taught by faculty of music industry professionals. Ages range between 17 and 45. Instrumentals range from vocals to drums to keyboard to bass and guitar. The institute is a self-proclaimed contemporary music academy that focuses on genres like jazz, pop, classic rock, funk, hip-hop and R&B. Students observed come from Japan, Italy, Tanzania, China, Indonesia, the Netherlands, South Korea, Morocco and the US. At the time of the study, there was no requirement for the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) to attend CCM. CCM is also a Student and Exchange Visitor Information (SEVIS) approved college.

Method

Ethnography allows the understanding of processes and results of learning from individuals' perspectives and how they are situated in group contexts. It gives voice to individuals' viewpoints that may otherwise not be heard and reveal processes in which their subjectivities are negotiated and contested (Doerr and Lee, 2009). Ethnography of cross-cultural communication can also provide rich and critical sites for an understanding of "people's understandings" of each other (Toyosaki, 2004).

Having relations at CCM allowed the creation of a trusted identity at the music institution. I held an administrative position and participated in an a cappella ensemble prior to the start of the fieldwork. These positions are suspected to have gained the trust

of the participating students, faculty and staff, which made it easier to gain permission to conduct research than those not affiliated with the college. Throughout the study, I played an influential role with the students of CCM as their Job Placement Coordinator. It was my job to connect them with community leaders and music industry professionals in hopes to obtain internships and performance opportunities. Although this formed trust and access to this research, it is assumed that these positions also created some constraints on the research.

The data discussed in this paper was collected between January and April 2010, the first four months of a year long study. It is conducted entirely in association with California College of Music through ethnographic observation and interviews. The collected data is comprised of field notes from six 45-minute participant observations and the transcriptions from three in-depth interviews. The field-observations are conducted during contemporary ensemble rehearsals, one concert open to the public, one student forum meeting, one international student orientation and conversations examined during break time. Written consent was obtained from the interviewees and observations with confidentiality being part of the agreement. There were a total of 3 interviews that were conducted. The first is of a 20-year-old female Indonesian vocalist studying in the Artist Development program and is a vocalist in the contemporary ensemble. The second is of a 26-year-old Japanese guitarist studying in the music program and a participant in the contemporary ensemble. The final interview is of a 22-year-old female admissions representative who conducts the international student orientation and open forum student meeting. The number of the participants in each observation will vary from one to twelve, depending on the class size and/or nature of the event.

The interviews lasted for 30 minutes on average. Interviews were conducted in a conversational and extemporaneous format. Questions addressed included (extracted directly from transcriptions):

- (1) How your life was before you came to America, your perception of music and any language difficulties or cultural differences you had and if music played any part in, breaking them.
- (2) What was your English level before you came to America?
- (3) How does music play a role in your life now and in the past?
- (4) What do, what do you think connected all of you (in contemporary ensemble) despite your language differences? How did you communicate?
- (5) Do you think learning music breaks language barriers? If so, explain how?
- (6) Do you feel more connected to your classmates when you play (perform/practice) music together compared to when you socialize together?
- (7) What types of topics do you discuss outside of class? Does it have to do with music or different worldviews? How do you communicate this to each other?

A discussion of the observations and transcribed interviews follows to answer the research question, how does music facilitate ICC in a pedagogical music environment?

Perceptions of how music influences ICC

In order to depict the ways in which music motivates ICC levels amongst an international

cohort of students at CCM, I will first provide a discussion of my observations in a specific context followed by examples supporting the discussion extracted from the three in-depth interviews.

Assumptions of America

As previously mentioned in the literature review, America's hegemonic influence in music continues in the international music recording business. Popular American artists like Michael Jackson, Elvis Presley, Frank Sinatra and the up and coming Lady Gaga are infiltrating the radios outside of American borders and continue to impact the direction of music all over the world. During an international orientation hosted at the beginning of the quarter at CCM, students were individually asked about their perceptions of America. Some students answered that America was an aggressive-in-nature country, but the majority of the students expressed that America was a country of opportunity—especially in music. One student from Japan mentioned that he studied music at a college in Japan but wanted to continue in America to bring its “higher level curriculum” back to Japan and teach it at the institute he was originally a student at. The admissions representative conducting the orientation expressed how enthusiastic the students appeared when they spoke of their dreams of pursuing music in America in the orientation. It was the same type of enthusiasm expressed in her e-mail correspondence with the same students during the admissions process.

Interviewees were asked of their perceptions of the US upon arrival to CCM. Responses focused on the influence of American music such as, “music (has a) great history. Musicians should learn here because of its deep roots (in music)” and “You know, it's really a good place to embrace a whole new set of opportunities, be it music, be it business, be it fashion, be it lifestyle. This a place where creativity is blended together.”

January 2010: Communication Apprehension in a Foreign Language

CCM is a small knit community where everyone seems to know each other. However, integrating into this community occurs over time. When a new cohort of student arrives, it becomes very apparent. My desk at work has a clear view of the lobby students congregate and socialize in. I've seen fresh incoming classes from all over the world sit on the lobby's leather couches, twiddle their thumbs and stare blankly at the white washed walls. In January, two new students from Japan joined the quarter. Although the students sit in groups, language barriers prevent on-going communication. The three engaged in nervous conversation on a leather sofa in the lobby—speaking only Japanese. One of the former English students from Indonesia attempted to approach the small group:

Julie: Hello! When did you arrive?

Hisami: Hai. Mm? Sorie, I don't undastand.

Yumi: Come yestaday.

It was apparent that communicating in English would be difficult for them. Since CCM

requires no TOEFL score, students may enter the institute with no ability to communicate in English. This is the case for nearly a fourth of CCM's students. Kazuto, one the interviewees was asked, "Could you speak English upon your arrival to the US?" and replied with a quaint, "Actually nothing."

Referring back to the two new Japanese students, it became even more evident that communicating in English was a language barrier for them in the student open forum meeting held later that week. An English-speaking native conducted the student open forum. This meeting occurred in the second week of instruction. Open-ended questions about how students felt about the institute were raised. Three students, two mentioned above, from Japan remained grouped in a corner disengaged to the conversation. Due to their limited English-speaking abilities, communication apprehension combined with the difficulty to understand, most likely played a factor in their inability to communicate. There appeared to be no desire to find a mode of translation. Students from the other countries who were able to speak a conversational form of English spoke only when directly addressed. Mainly students from the US voiced their opinions openly.

First ensemble rehearsal, first broken language barrier

The ensemble room is outfitted with soundproof paneling and is large enough to hold a capacity of thirty students. A drum set is located on a platform against the wall. Positioned in front of the drum set is a Yamaha keyboard and stool. Adjacent to the keyboards right are three microphones set up for the vocalists and on the left are a set of Fender amplifiers for the guitar and bass students to plug in. Speakers and mixers decorate the room's floor and walls. The equipment is positioned to form a lopsided circle, which creates on-going communication between the players. The instructor conducts class in the middle.

The first day of ensemble rehearsal occurred approximately one week after the open forum meeting. Student participants included three Americans, three Japanese, one Norwegian and one Moroccan. An English-speaking native conducted the contemporary ensemble. All students involved had an active role ranging from vocalist to drummer to keyboardist to guitarist. After the syllabus is read, sheet music is passed around. Students then sight-read, as conducted by the instructor. The song being rehearsed is in the classic rock genre. Students who were unable to communicate in the student forum meeting were actively listening to the English-speaking instructor. At one point, one of the same Japanese students from the student forum meeting took initiative to look up a word she couldn't understand in an electronic dictionary. Non-verbal gestures used to cue music were mutually understood. Eye contact was consistently on going and a sense of mutual respect for each other was sensed through active listening, participation and feedback amongst the group. Having students positioned in circle increased these traits.

As days go on and ensemble rehearsals echo through the hallway, the lobby becomes a chatterbox of thick Japanese, Norwegian, Italian, Chinese, Moroccan and Tanzanian accents mixed with perfect English from domestic students.

Midterm Progress Report: Higher levels of ICC in contemporary ensemble rehearsal

On March 9th, I conducted my second observation of the contemporary ensemble's rehearsal. I arrived at 4:10 p.m. when the ensemble began at 3:00. I stood outside of the doorway, hesitant to interrupt—although I could hear shouts of jubilee during the climax of a rock song. When the music stopped, I entered. It was the same mix of students from the first observation: three Americans, three Japanese, and one Norwegian. However, no instructor was present. At 4:25, the instructor walks in with the student from Morocco. I later learn that the song, "Anger Management" is being rehearsed.

"Do it now!" the instructor demands to his students. Immediately, students respond by either getting their instruments in ready or positions or by standing close to their microphones. "It sounds angry. That's how it's suppose to sound." The instructor cues the students to begin. The heads of the guitarists start to rock to the beat. The drummer keeps eye contact with the instructor at all times. The vocalists begin to tap their feet and one of them begins to start swaying to the beat. The keyboardist closes his eyes with what seems like an intention to listen to the other instruments to catch his cue on beat. As the song plays, I notice consistent eye contact. Twice, the vocalist would smile in my direction and I would smile back. The same type of non-verbal exchange occurred between the group consistently. Finally, the instructor cued the band to stop playing by positioning his guitar in a largely visible up then down motion. All students responded by ending on time.

"How do we want to end?" the instructor addresses to all members. A Japanese vocalist takes out her translation dictionary and begins to type in it. "Like a chill ending?" he suggests. "What about ending it how we started it?" suggests a US guitar player. The Japanese and Norwegian student nod in agreement.

In relation to the contemporary ensemble rehearsals, interviewees were asked how they felt about the experience.

Julie: You know, uh, we all inspire each other to become better performers and individuals. That's really what matters the most-

Author: : -I love how you're talking about individuality. It's, so, when you see people in the room, you don't really see them for their language and instead, you see their music and personality.

Julie: Yeah, it's sorta like that. We get to learn from each other.

Another example:

Kazuto: Lecture class was difficult. But in playing class, I didn't feel language barrier so much because we could communicate to each other through playing music.

The Finale: Performance Night

The students of the contemporary ensemble had their final performance at a local music/lounge venue a few blocks from CCM. The concert started approximately at 8:30 but I managed to observe the show as the ensemble was setting up their equipment. The crowd had a low turn out rate of about 30-40 people but that didn't stop the ensemble from remaining in high spirits. After months of attending regular classes, the two Japanese students who could not understand English were now able to form choppy sentences with their classmates and instructors and could follow directions. For example, I heard the instructor ask one of them to "grab the mic" and she replied, "Sure", then grabbed a microphone from the stage and handed it over.

Once the performance began and audience members congregated around the stage, it was evident through smiles and dance movements that all members enjoyed performing on stage. Similar behaviors from contemporary ensemble rehearsals were repeated that night. Thus, similar communication patterns and increased motivations to communicate well now that an audience was watching them.

Although I did not attend CCM's informal after celebration, I must note here that a need and/or desire to celebrate together after a performance demonstrates high levels of ICC due to having a motivation to communicate with others from different cultures—now extracted from a controlled pedagogic setting to a more free and social setting where attendance is optional.

End of the quarter celebration

In late March, the quarter came to a close. CCM usually organizes an in-house celebration to acknowledge the students who are graduating. Approximately 30 faculty, staff and students showed up for this party. The diverse setting of attendees included all of the students and instructor from the contemporary ensemble.

With refreshments present, students and staff socialized in pairs or groups. I overheard talk of how much fun the performance of the ensemble was. On the same leather couch mentioned earlier, students from Norway, Japan, and the US were exchanging thoughts on nerves felt during the performance. Occasional laughter could be heard. Twenty minutes into the party, I called for attention. Due to my administration position, I gave a short speech that addressed the accomplishments of the graduating students. I mentioned how much they improved as musicians throughout the quarter. I also emphasized on their passion and happiness expressed on stage and how it reflected back to the audience. This brought tears to a few students.

Overall, the cohort of students came a long way from staring silently at blank walls in the beginning of the quarter. Since their first contemporary ensemble, they learned to express their feelings and engage in laughter with each other. Bonds were created and e-mail addresses and Facebook accounts were exchanged with the intent of keeping in

touch with one another.

Discussion

Ethnographically analyzing the students of CCM over a four-month period answers the question, “does music facilitate intercultural communication competence in a vocational institution?” with a straightforward “yes”. ICC levels are cognitive, affective and operational and the actions of the student who studied abroad at CCM fall into each category. In this final discussion, I will reflect on how music motivated ICC levels amongst the students in each attribute. First, cognitive ICC levels demonstrate an understanding of the host culture. Having an initial exposure to American music prior to studying abroad sparked a general interest in learning more about the American culture. Through listening to the music and creating an emotional liking to it, I hypothesize that these students conducted further research to understand American music culture. When defining “conducted”, this could mean looking up background information on a favorite American artist or exploring the cities that’s considered to be America’s Mecca for music. Understanding the American culture from afar, even if it is in a specific area like music, takes the student to the next attribute. Being affective, or rather experiencing and appreciating the culture involves the student to physically be in the country. The students in the international orientation and from the interviews expressed that it was their desire to study music in America where they considered it to have “ a higher level curriculum” in music or that it consisted of a plethora of opportunity for musicians. The enthusiasm of the students expressed by the admissions representative indicates an appreciation for the American music culture and by studying abroad, students will obviously experience American culture firsthand. Interacting and breaking language barriers in contemporary ensemble was observed to be where higher levels of ICC first took place due to the messages being sent, received and interpreted while sight reading through music. Finally, obtaining operational or behavioral competence was demonstrated further in the second contemporary ensemble rehearsal where students were holding a discussion on how to end a piece. Another example was during the concert when a student who originally did not know how to speak English at the beginning of the quarter was asked by an instructor to hand over a microphone. She responded quickly and followed through with the instructor’s request. Music sparked a general interest in pursuing study abroad in America and continued to motivate and encourage affective and operational competence throughout the duration of their stay. After observing the positive relationships formed at the end of quarter party, I will note here that music facilitates higher levels of intercultural communication competence by breaking language barriers upon first emotionally connected listen. I hope this study can advance and be used as a case study of how music can play a powerful role in promoting higher ICC levels through study abroad.

Conclusion

ICC increases diversity through the accelerating circulation of a multiplicity of cultural practices (Irving, 2009). Most cultures share common artistic practices and it “seems that no one art form encapsulates it more singularly than music. This study continues to look

towards music as another form of promoting studying abroad to further intercultural competence. It explores the relationship between music and ICC levels in a contemporary music institute that amalgamates students from all over the world into various artistic and communicative developments.

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MEETING OF LATE OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE WITH THE WEST

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Ottoman culture was used to be a part of Eastern world throughout history. It was the “other” and an important symbol of the “Orient” for the “West” for centuries. On the other hand, it was an ideal for Turks moving westwards for over a thousand years. When the nomads of Central Asian steppes migrated towards the West, to Anatolia in the 11th Century as Seljuk Turks, it wasn’t difficult for them to create a new cultural synthesis because of their being mobile, spreading on large areas and interacting with various cultures throughout history. The new synthesis was the combination of nomadic and semi-nomadic, Persian, Islamic and Anatolian cultures. This synthesis had spread to all areas of culture including architecture. The process of reaching an architectural synthesis took few centuries and the “classical Ottoman architecture” was formed in the 15th Century.

The First Meeting with the West in 18th Century

As the Ottoman Empire integrated with various cultures on its own land, it was not affected by Western culture until 18th Century. European influences would be seen on Ottoman social life, clothing and architecture as a result of increasing diplomatic and commercial relations with Europe. In fact, it was an interactive influence concurrent with the Turquerie trend in Europe. The meeting of Ottoman culture with Western lifestyle was first occurred during “Tulip Period” of the Ottoman Empire between the years of 1718 and 1730. It was a period of peace, entertainment, art and renovations imitated from the western civilization. The Ottoman envoys were sent to Western European capital cities by Sultan Ahmet III and his grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha to see the Western civilization and life style that was gradually getting strong. Yirmisekiz Mehmet Celebi who was sent to Paris was the one who had great effects on Sultan and the grand vizier. He was back with the plans of French palaces, mansions and gardens. In addition to this, two ships full of French furniture, clocks, weapons and industrial products were sent to the Sultan as a gift by the French King Louis XV. All these reasons aroused the will of dominating European life style on Ottoman Empire by Sultan Ahmet III and his grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha. The movement of renovation and reorganization in the state administrations were begun. The army was rearranged and the fire-brigade was organized, in Istanbul. The first Turkish printing-house was opened. A cellulose factory was established, in Yalova. Textile industry and porcelain manufacturing had increased. Arts and science had developed and, the artists and the scientists were protected by the sultan. Beginning with this period, the upper class and the elite people of Istanbul started to practice Western life style while others in Istanbul and people outside Istanbul were still going on their traditional life styles. Within this situation, the traditional, introverted manner of the society began to change and people started to use the open and public areas frequently in Istanbul. New palaces,

kiosks and tulip gardens had been built. The pleasures and prodigality of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, their favoritism and the imposition of new taxes ruined the social life of the empire. People from the religious class incited a janissary named Patrona Halil to revolt against the sultanate and a widespread mutiny called “the revolt of Patrona Halil” was begun. The rebels dethroned Sultan Ahmed and they ended the Tulip Period. The tulip gardens and most of the buildings built at that period had been destroyed, but Tulip Period became a model for attitudes of westernization.

An urban revival and renovation began in Istanbul during Tulip Period. Western style buildings and gardens had been built in the content of broad building activity. Instead of monumental and classical works, villas, pavilions, mansions and fountains were built in Istanbul with Baroque and Rococo styles which were popular in Europe at that time. These styles had been slowly adapted to the existent classical Ottoman architecture which is called “Ottoman Baroque”. This style became popular firstly in Istanbul and than in Balkan provinces of the Empire. This was the first time that Western influences had come into Ottoman architecture. Baroque style architecture continued until the influence of the latter European styles. Its practices were limited with some buildings and gardens. An urban planning with radial schema had never been applied. Ahmet III Fountain, Nuruosmaniye Mosque and Laleli Mosque are the main examples of Ottoman Baroque in Istanbul.



Fig.1. Ahmet III Fountain

Westernization in 19th Century

The Ottoman Empire was out of Enlightenment Period and Industrial Revolution but it had the effects of French Revolution in 18th and 19th Centuries during Modernity process of Europe. Europe was a model of progress and success and the institutions and forms of it should be imported. As Western lifestyle used to be practiced since 18th Century among upper class families, official beginning of westernization in Ottoman Empire was in 19th Century with Tanzimat period (1839–76) which included a series of reforms centered on the concept of justice and equality for all Ottoman citizens. They constituted the first far-reaching and coherent program of adopting European institutions as models. The Tanzimat reforms included founding of secondary professional schools with European curricula and culminated in the constitution of parliament of 1876. 19th Century Istanbul was both the capital city of an empire to collapse and the dominant city of it by the centralization of the government, high

income of transit trade and its increasing population. The high bureaucracy, Levantines, non-Muslim minority groups and the elite Turkish families had the financial and social conditions of the European capital cities while the traditional layers of the society had weakened. The life style and the gusto of the non-Muslim and Levantine inhabitants of Istanbul, were slowly recognized and adapted by the others. This life style arose as the new cultural symbol and preference of the elite group as well. Although the effects of Westernization were seen as a cultural movement primarily exclusive to the administrative / elite group, it slowly involved other groups, the general public, the urban population and the family.

Institutional Changes and Effects on Urban Structure

The institutions parallel to their European models founded in Istanbul had great effects on urban structure. The most important institutional changes were the formation of the institution of aldermanship in the traditional organization of town quarters (1826), the founding of the Directorate of the Enbiye-i Hassa (buildings belonging to the Sultan) (1838), the Committee for the Intizam-i Sehir (the order of the town), and the municipal organization (Sehremaneti) (1855); the first appearance of municipal activity in Beyoglu; the preparation of the first city plans and maps during the century; the formation of groups and institutions to deal with construction, development, roads, water supplies, fires; the application of the regulations and other principles of dispositions put forward thereof; applications related to the widening of roads and the arrangement of facades; the modernization and the institutionalization of inter-urban transport; and abandoning of the traditional system concerning construction services and the initiation of a new institutionalized educated staff. Thus, especially the self-created religious and ethnic community type of organization in the city quarters and the semi-autonomous structures built on the traditional structures were beginning to disintegrate and a central arrangement and control was being established in every aspect of urban life. The social topography of the city started to take shape according to characteristics pertaining to social class instead of traditional ethnic / religious community system. The completion of this structure towards the end of the century prepared the basis for the realization of new housing patterns.

The commission set up after fires in Istanbul also determined the construction properties of residence areas and the new fabric of some quarters. The determining characteristic of the new fabric of this settlement area was the orthogonal and regular road system, norms establishing the width of roads as well as the square and rectangular housing plots and blocks created in this road fabric. The use of brick and stone in construction was encouraged in addition to all this.

By the end of the century, Istanbul had become a city with maps and plans. Central areas had increased in density and spread out towards the newly developing and urbanized areas. The city had started to use Western products in housing materials and technology as well as in its commercial structure and especially in urban equipment. Urban mobility increased and the city tended to become a social organism developing towards broader capitalistic principles and norms as compared to those of the traditional, closed communal / local structure. The density and the population increased immensely.

Western Effects on Architecture

Westernization had also great effects on architecture education parallel to this situation. The traditionally educated Ottoman architects at the Imperial Guild of Ottoman Architects (Hassa

Mimarlar Ocagi) did not satisfy the demand to the Western architectural forms and lifestyle and ended its architecture education in 1831. Thus the 19th Century witnessed the gradual decline of the traditional Turkish architect and a break in the evolution of traditional architecture. European, Levantine architects and non-Muslim minority architects who had been educated in Europe became dominant on the architectural arena. The Academy of Fine Arts, known firstly as "Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi" opened in 1883. The majority of the teaching staff of this new school, which was modeled after the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts of Paris, consisted of foreign instructors, from France in particular. Thus, during the last quarter of the 19th century, the new School of Fine Arts in Istanbul had become a center for disseminating French taste and ideas in arts and architecture. On the other hand, the School of Civil Engineering (Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi) which had been opened in 1884 came under German influence since many of the instructors were from Germany and Austria.



Fig.2. Dolmabahçe Palace

19th century architects brought the eclecticist and revivalist forms of Europe together with Orientalism and Art Nouveau. Balyan family, Raimondo d'Aronco and Alexandre Vallaury were the most famous court architects during this period. New types of buildings had come into scene in the 19th century architecture. Public buildings such as military buildings, university buildings, train and boat stations, hotels, post office, bank and office buildings with passages; and new types of housing such as row houses, apartment blocks and summer houses came into scene at this period. The new western-style seaside palaces, mansions and the imperial pavilions had an important pioneering role on internalizing Westernization by general public.

New Types of Housing

Cultural change that went beyond spatial relationships encompassed a series of components that made up and influenced daily life. Therefore, housing space and forms had their share of the new gusto, style and value system. The rise in the break-up of large families and the necessity for smaller scale in housing design led to new household profiles. The patterns of customs and laws concerning the family and community life, and especially the status of women also broke away from their traditional cages; such characteristics as privacy, spatial secrecy and introversion began to gradually dissolve on all scales.

Typological and stylistic changes in urban housing architecture started to take place in the mid-18th Century, and kept expanding throughout the 19th Century. These new types of housing were never witnessed before in the urban space of Istanbul. Although the housing

forms and typologies evolving in time and started to replace the old, traditional models, older forms and traditional types continued their existence besides the new types of housing. Some secondary differences were added to the original forms within this continuity. The new social developments and the cultural-stylistic alternatives of the time began to exert on the traditional fabric and typology. Ground floors came into use, and were arranged according to plan schemes which were the same as the upper floors. In the urban examples, some entrances began to face the street and windows became larger. Alongside the basic typology and the traditional Ottoman formal characteristics, the facades began to be equipped with Neo-Classical and Neo-Baroque profiles, decorations and elements as well. However, specific housing types that marked the century and became an integral part of its social / institutional development were the new and original housing types.

The basic formal categories of the new types of housing can be classified under the following headings:

1. The transformed types which can be witnessed in the traditional wooden houses of different neighbourhoods: The medium and small-scale houses which were located in adjacent rows on the new road fabric offer the first example of the new typological change. Although they maintained the traditional characteristics such as wooden construction system, bay windows, certain facade proportions and window arrangements, they were influenced by changes in the urban structure and organization as well as social differences. Adjacency, location on small, narrow lots, continuity in the facade-road line, anti-fire walls in the adjacent parts, generally elevated main doors directly facing the street, use of the ground floors, equal accessibility to the street and the garden and the addition of Western style elements to the formal structure.
2. Row houses: They were located in the quarters inhabited by moderate income groups on the narrow plots and built of different materials. They had stylistic properties such as Neo-Classical, Neo-Baroque, Art Nouveau and eclectic ones. They were in close similarity with the Aegean shore row-houses. Their plan schema and facades were different than the traditional houses with their specialized rooms for each function, small bay windows and balconies.



Fig.3. Akaretler Row Houses

3. Apartment blocks: Apartment houses began to be built in some parts of the city where real estate had gained excessive value. Different sized flats were shortly followed by larger and spectacular examples with tennis courts in their gardens, shared laundries and personnel rooms in their attics, elevators and courtyards. There were also examples with shops and offices on the ground floors and workshops and residences higher up. Moreover, they could be built side by side and on the same urban scale with the other new construction types built in the same urban environment. They exhibited all kinds of stylistic variations. The apartment house took its place in the city's growing process as the basic housing model of the next century.



Fig.4. Botter Apartment



Fig.5. Yali House at Bosphorus

4. Summer houses, mansions, etc.: They were a new trend manifested itself along the shores of the town and the Bosphorus, parallel to the railroad and on the Princess Islands during the late 19th and early 20th Century. These houses located inside gardens were two or three-storey wooden houses. While they exhibited some formal and spatial characteristics of traditional Ottoman housing schemes architectural elements, they also carried characteristics of Western vacation houses and mansions. It is possible to see stylistic variety and new architectural elements such as towers, tower terraces, decorated and exaggerated balconies supported by columned entrance porticoes, wide windows, shelters, picturesque supplements and greenhouses in these buildings and in garden pavilions beside them.

Westernization of Interior Spaces

Socio-cultural changes could also be witnessed in the use of housing during Westernization process of Ottoman people. Western style furniture, kitchen equipment, heating, lighting and communication systems started to come into use from the middle of the century on, first in the Western residences of the town, then slowly in all the others in Istanbul. It resulted in changes in the organization of housing space, the interior and exterior design of the dwelling. Signs of Modernization and Westernization of Muslim and non-Muslim groups in metropolis began at about the same time. On the other hand, the rate of change among non-Muslim groups was higher. For the Ottoman Turk, Modernity was defined in terms of western artefact. For the

highest Ottoman social group, as the artefacts of European Wohnkultur was mere contributions to their emerging exotic tastes at the beginning, it turned out to a cultural message and a symbol of status later on. Western artefacts played an important role in the domestic scene and were of value as signs for public presentation or exhibition. As one moved into the more private domain, the inner sanctum of the Ottoman life, they ceased to exist. The member of the upper crust would mostly exhibit an artefact as a sign of his changed cultural preferences and as a status symbol in accordance with the dictates of the system of traditional social relationships. The years from 1870's through the first few decades of the Republic, witness a new phase in the process of Westernization of the Wohnkultur. For the higher social groups, the process seems to have been completed. For the others, the change encompasses a broader area and the tempo is the faster.

Nationalism versus Westernization

The creation of new states on Ottoman lands with the influence of French Revolution and loss of lands with wars had prompted formation of nationalist ideologies. Pan-Ottomanism, pan-Islamism and nationalism were proposed. Turkish nationalism, which evolved out of pan-Ottomanism, had been reinforced by pan-Turkism, which stressed cultural and linguistic unity. The nationalism ideology started to arrive on the scene at the end of the 19th Century and became dominant at the beginning of the 20th Century. The Western-educated Ottoman middle classes supported the nationalist program formulated after 1908 which became the blueprint for the Turkish Republic established in 1923. A parliamentary government was instituted by the Young Turk Revolution (1908–9), generating a fervent sense of Turkish nationalism. The emergence of a new political, social, and cultural identity also led to the development of new trends in art and architecture.



Fig.6. 4th Vakif Han

Nationalist ideology rejected Western forms in architecture. On the other hand, Orientalism, which was the imitation of the East by the West, had been accepted as the symbol of cultural identity. It can be defined as the imitation of the imitation, because many forms of Orientalism fantasized as Ottoman by the West were not real. “First Nationalist Architecture” period current between the years of 1910-1930, was inspired from Orientalism. The main

characteristic of the First Nationalist Architecture period was based on the monumental and religious forms of Seljuk, Ottoman and Islamic architecture. The plan schemas of this period were parallel to the European Neoclassicism with the proportions and compositions of mass and dimensions of spaces. They had symmetrical and axial plan and mass ordering. Although the buildings of this style had the main characteristics from Western architecture, Nationalist character was represented only on the facades. The architectural elements of the past were used different than their original functions. These elements were portals, pointed arches, wide eaves and angle braces, stone ornamentation and traditional tiles on parts of the wall surfaces. There were also bulbous domes at some examples which had never been a characteristic of Ottoman architecture but derived from Orientalism. It can be defined as a superficial approach without questioning its meaning. The pioneering architects were Kemalettin Bey and Vedad Bey. The First Nationalist Architecture praxis continued also after the collapse of the empire in 1922, during the early years of the new Republic of Turkey established in 1923, with the strong nationalist and introverted feelings of ten years long war period. On the other hand, it was an ideology inherited from the empire and it was a contradiction that the architectural forms of the modern and young republic took its references from the past that was rejected ideologically.

Conclusion

Meeting of Ottoman Empire with the West from Tulip Period until its collapse in 1918 was a 200 years of experience of change in culture and lifestyle. Westernization of Ottoman Empire affected it in terms of changes in institutions, social organizations, urban structure, life style, world view, family structure, new building and housing types, architects and architectural styles. It caused different degrees of Westernization at various layers of society. The initialization of Western culture depended on political, economical, administrative conditions, situation of social layers and time. It had been initialized by some layers as others hadn't. The distance between opposite points of these layers grew away from each other by time and turned out discussions of identity between being Eastern or Western. Reflection of Westernization on architecture was both functional and stylistic. As the functional side of Western effects had never been discussed, Western style architecture had always been the main subject of identity discussions. When these discussions had been made in terms of formal context, the counterview to the arguments had also been produced in formal way. Discussions of identity between being Eastern or Western would continue also during the Republic period. Modern architecture became the representation of Western culture. Counterviews were not completely against the Modern architecture and Westernization, but in the way of adopting traditional architecture to the Modern.

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Title: Transgressing the boundaries to install within marginality.

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Transgressing the boundaries to install within marginality. Zhai Yongming's lyrical voice¹

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Many Chinese literary critics see women's poetry (女性诗歌) of the 1980s as the departure point for further development of the so-called "women's writing" (女性写作) in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Despite the fact that poetry was always considered a suitable genre for women in the classical tradition, women poets occupied a peripheral position in the literary canon.² In the *Introduction* to their comprehensive anthology of women's poetry and criticism *Women Writers of Traditional China*, the editors Kang-i Sun Chang and Haun Saussy claim however that 'Chinese literature can boast of an exceptional number of women writers before the twentieth century, and that, of course, deserves bringing to notice; it is also interesting and important that these women were read, discussed, and ranked by intelligent people of both sexes. Women writers are very much part of Chinese literature. Though their place has been contested, though they have encountered the usual sorts of peremptory dismissal and trivialization, and though the benefits of a literary reputation typically eluded them, they did participate in the vast conversation.'³ This statement has yet remained controversial. Prevailing opinion on women poet's writing in the Chinese literary canon might rather sound alike: 'These few recognized pre-modern women poets [Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君, Ban Jieyu 班婕妤, Cai Yan 蔡琰, Xie Daoyun 谢道蕴, Zhu Shuzhen 朱淑真, and Li Qingzhao 李清照] were traditionally portrayed as positing sentimental verses while confined to their boudoirs. Women's subject position was inconspicuous or non-existent.'⁴ Michelle Yeh analogically speaks of contemporary women poets' voices as a 'marginal discourse', positioning them on the margins of the margins.⁵

Chinese and western literary critics preoccupied with contemporary Chinese women's poetry place this heterogeneous category at the intersection of influences of western feminism, indigenous tradition and the output of social and political changes, which took place in the Post – Mao Period. They led to an ongoing deconstruction of various sets of images of "modern women" which had emerged in the Republic of China and in Maoist iconography. Female subjectivity and agency have been reconceptualised by female authors in a process of self-questioning. Tang Xiaodu's (唐晓渡) article *Women's poetry: from the dark night into daytime* from the year 1987 is probably the very first attempt to define this literary phenomenon. Written as a reaction to Zhai Yongming's (翟永明) literary debut *Women*

² See e.g.: A. D. Dooling, K. M. Torgeson (ed.), *Writing Women in Modern China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, pp. 1–39.

³ Kang-i Sun Chang and Haun Saussy (ed.), *Women Writers of Traditional China. An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 3.

⁴ J. Hong Zhang, *The Invention of a Discourse: Women's poetry from Contemporary China*. Leiden: Leiden University, 2004, pp. 29-30.

⁵ M. Yeh (ed. and trans.), *Introduction: from the margin*, IN: *Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*, New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1992, pp. xxiii-li.

[女人]⁶, it describes the essence of ‘true’ women’s poetry as ‘not only in bringing into light the other world hidden from view by male prejudices, but even more the possibility of the reinterpretation and creation of a completely new world order on different terms.’⁷ Chinese authors usually consider the distinctiveness of women’s writing as writing produced by women frequently caught up in a form of biological determinism and essentialism. As Maghiel van Cravel points out: ‘The theoretical possibility of a definition of women’s poetry that allows for inclusion of male-authored texts has not been seriously explored.’⁸

Zhai Yongming has personally been publishing self-reflective comments and essays since the 1980s. In 1989, she was one of the poetesses who participated in a discussion on women’s poetry published in the poetry journal *Shikan*. Although a significant shift in her view on women’s creativity and feminism can be observed, almost twenty years later she repeated some of her previous statements: ‘I hope one day women will enter the literary canon not only relaying on their sex, however, due to the fact of them being women, they should not be stripped of even the possibility of taking an equal place next to the poets in the first row.’⁹ She is writing against attempts to position women’s poetry only within political or sociological spaces, depriving it of a literary room of its own: ‘But now critics look at women’s poetry from the sociological point of view or from the perspective of the women’s movement. Or from the psychological standpoint, focusing on the feminine introspection and other points. Reviewers rarely undertake a close reading of the lyrical text written by a woman discussing it as pure poetry, analyzing it as a piece of art. For these reasons, there are no standards in the so-called women’s poetry and the whole idea remains a rather confusing one.’¹⁰ Being somewhat pessimistic in her opinions about the imaginative landscapes of women’s poetry in the late 1980s, she currently praises the younger generations’ poetical achievements, giving the examples of authors born in the 1970s and 1980s: Yin Lichuan (尹丽川), Zhou Zan (周瓚), Tang Danhong (唐丹鸿), Lü Yue (吕约), Lan Lan (蓝蓝), etc.

Zhai Yongming’s early nocturnal lyrical creations were read as a sinophonic answer to the concept of *écriture féminine*¹¹, which had reached China with the translation (1992) of Hélène

⁶ *Women* was written in 1984 and poems in the series appeared in Sichuan’s unofficial poetry journals and others outside the province in 1985. The series was officially published in book form (with other poems) in 1989.

⁷ Tang Xiaodu, “Nüxing shige: cong heiyeye dao baizhou”, *Shikan*, 2, 1987, pp. 58–59. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the original Chinese are mine.

⁸ M. van Cravel, *The Horror of Being Ignored and the Pleasure of Being Left Alone: Notes on the Chinese Poetry Scene* (Published by the MCLC Resource Center, 2002), <http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/vancrevel.html> (accessed 29.12.2009).

⁹ Zhai Yongming, „Nüxing shige” yu shige zhong de nüxing yishi”, *Shikan*, 6, 1989, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹ ‘If normative language can be seen as in some way male-oriented, the question arises of whether there might be a form of language which is free from this bias, or even in some way oriented towards a female. French theorists, therefore, have posited the existence of an *écriture féminine*, (the term is that of the French theorist

Cixous's *The Laugh of the Medusa*. In her lyrical passionate style, Cixous encouraged women to 'write her self'¹² and this is what Zhai Yongming and many other female authors did in the 1980s, launching a discussion about the possibility of Chinese *body writing* (身体写作). They opened the Pandora's box containing the mysteries of women's sensuality (in Anais Nins words) to invent the language of sex, so very different from the male counterpart. Rebelling against the hegemonic power of the somatophobic Chinese highbrow culture, they explored the tabooed realms of women's bodies and women's sexuality.

Here I would like to problematize the parallel reading of Cixous's *The Laugh of the Medusa* and Zhai Yongming's *écriture* using the example of the preface to her 20-poem cycles *Women*. This short essay titled *Nocturnal Consciousness* [黑夜的意识] was written in 1984 and officially published in 1993.

The alternative translation of the essay's title might be *Black Night Consciousness*. In Chinese tradition, the colour black, which overshadows the initial phase of Zhai Yongming's writing, evokes various associations. However, unlike in the West, till the late 19th century there is no equivalence of black with the evil. Only later, it will be ideologized through incorporation into the body of political or religious vocabulary. After 1949, "old, feudal" China has been linked with darkness which has transformed into brightness with the new political establishment.

Traditionally the colour black, which is so prominent in Zhai's poetry, has been associated with water, the North and a salty taste. In terms of cosmology, darkness has been linked with the Yin pattern: '[...] Yin and Yang, whose earliest identifiable meanings appear to be 'the dark (northern) side of a hill' and 'the sunny (southern) side of a hill.'¹³ It is of great importance that in cosmological thinking, the dominant patterns were clearly of correlative type and that nothing is Yin or Yang in itself and outside the context of a relationship: without Yin there is no Yang and vice versa.¹⁴ Finally, the colour black also stands for darkness, death and honour.

The two feminine manifests, Cixous's *Laugh of the Medusa* and Zhai's *Nocturnal Consciousness*, if read parallel, seem to operate with equivalent terminology. However,

Hélène Cixous, from her essay *The Laugh of the Medusa*, associated with the feminine, and facilitating the free play of meanings within the framework of loosened grammatical structures.' (Barry, 2002).

¹² H. Cixous, *The Laugh of the Medusa*, IN: E. Marks and I. de Courtivron (ed.), *New French Feminism: An Anthology*, New York: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980, pp. 245–263.

¹³ Ch. Cullen, *Cosmology*, IN: F. Pregadio (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008, Vol. I, p. 51.

¹⁴ The notions of Yin and Yang were applied to various complementary entities and phenomena, building a relative categorization, as, for instance, a minister was in Yin relation to his ruler, but Yang in relation to his subordinates. Moreover, Yin and Yang are not absolute, since each contains the seed of the other.

culturally different philosophical backgrounds make the visible likeness questionable. In Cixous's text, the following binary oppositions appear: 1. symbolic order/ imaginative melting, 2. Law of the Father/ voice of the Mother, 3. masculine hegemony/ feminine plurality, 4. masculine libido/ *jouissance*, 5. rationality/ poetical expression. In Zhai's early poems, binary oppositions can be found as well: 1. birth/ death, 2. night/ day, 3. body/soul and 4. darkness/ light. Not only in *The Laugh of the Medusa*, but also in *Sorties*, Cixous challenges the patriarchal system that sets up aforementioned binary oppositions, privileging the first term and tending to associate the female with the negative second term. Nevertheless, Zhai refers to the complementary or correlative principles of Yin and Yang.

Cixous' main point is that feminine writing or writing by women (since the French word feminine designates both "female" and "feminine") is linked to the body. She claims for a language emerging from the female body, for writing with the *white ink* of the mother's milk. The almost ecstatic act of writing as emanation of feminine lust in Cixous words, is seen as a painful torture by another authors. In Zhai's *Nocturnal Consciousness*, the poetess is damned to dwell from birth to death, torn between the will to live and self-destruction. Her life might be seen as a persistent experience of an in-betweenness: 'In a women's body an inborn inner fear and destructive premonition are hidden. It is this presentiment that eventually let us being absorbed by a predestination. In a reality that bears all possibilities there is no redemption. For this reason, the poetess expands her own mythical world, linked to the moment of delivering as well as connected to the netherworld kingdom. On this increasingly blurred boundary it is the keeping to the truth of the inner darkness that allows you after being painfully enlightened to discover the nocturnal consciousness. Only this is the destruction of your personal anxiety.'¹⁵

Awaking into the nocturnal consciousness grants access to a specific feminine insight: 'The nocturnal consciousness allowed me to free myself to a state of pure knowledge and experience of my Self, society and the human kind.'¹⁶ In medieval Europe, the term for describing the mysterious feminine knowledge connected with pregnancy and childbirth, was – *occulta corporis, secretis mulierum* – similar to that one hidden in the black night. The nocturnal consciousness brings the poetess across the border of a women's world with its own time and mythology. She rediscover herself as a prodigy of a feminine genealogy founded by Nüwa, the Creatrix.

Zhai Yongmings illusive poetical language reminds one of two another women; Helene Cixous's and Julia Kristeva's remarks, whose psycholinguistic theories provide a way of approaching women's writing and the poetical language. Zhai writes: 'Being born into this world we are immediately bond to the black night in a mysterious way. A hidden invisible language-speech matures with-in us, embracing soul and body, being there like a cloud in the sky, being in and out of awareness.'¹⁷ The connection of a mythical preverbal musical energy,

¹⁵ Zhai Yongming, *Heiye de yishi*, IN:Zhang Qinghua (ed.), *Zhongguo xin shiqi nüxing yanjiu ziliao*. Jinan: Shandong Wenyi Chubanshe, p. 70.

¹⁶ Ibid, p.70.

¹⁷ Zhai Yongming, *Heiye de yishi...*, p. 70.

pulsation and rhythm reminds of Julia Kristeva's notion of a 'semiotic chora' and of the mythical Nüwa's link to music. The earliest references to Nüwa are sparse and enigmatic¹⁸, nevertheless in *The Book of Rites* [礼记], she is mentioned as the inventor of the musical instrument – the "Nüwa organ."¹⁹ Following Kristeva's terminology, Zhai Yongming's invisible language that originates from the nocturnal experience builds the *genotext* of women's poetry. It includes 'drives, their disposition, and their division of the body, plus the ecological and social system surrounding the body, such as objects and pre-Oedipal relations with parents.'²⁰

Since the beginning of the 20th century the dark, cold black night gradually turned into a recognisable metaphor of the misery of the Chinese society. Adequate examples of this rhetorical shift can be found in Lu Xun's (鲁迅), Mao Dun's (茅盾) and Ba Jin's (巴金) works. Qiu Jin (秋瑾), who launched her own journal *Chinese Women's Journal* at the end of 1906, wrote in foreword to the premiere issue: 'The Darkness. Darkness is when there is no truth, no knowledge, nor any proper human thought or action. In the chilling context of the darkness, there are a million unthinkable dangers. But the truest danger is the oblivion to danger; oblivion is the great danger.'²¹ As Any D. Dooling notice: 'For the great majority of late Qing feminist writers including Qiu Jin, the "darkness" carried a dual significance: it referred both to the specific gendered experiences of women, and to their immediate plight as members of what was increasingly perceived to be a nation encumbered by decaying culture, official corruption and, above all, mounting foreign colonial aggression.'²²

In the year 1985, Zhai Yongming finished the essayistic *Nocturnal Consciousness* in which she imagines the feminine consciousness as nocturnal consciousness. It was a gesture of great significance if a women voluntary writes herself back into the realm of darkness in a social world yearning for secular enlightenment. Not to forget, it is the same society which heliotropic desires have been fulfilled by only one Sun-Man for many years.

Here I would like to propose a reading of this dense hermeneutic essay and *Women* poem cycles as an attempt to create a fantastic womenscape, which can be seen as both - a

¹⁸ See e.g.: A. Birrell, *Chinese Mythology. An Introduction*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, pp. 163-165; E. H. Schafer, *The Divine Woman: Dragon Ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973, p. 29. It is significant that according to Schafer's interpretation the goddess Nüwa might be seen as the first victim of the increasing domination of masculinity in the elite social doctrine.

¹⁹ *Li Chi. Book of Rites*, translated by J. Legge. New York: University Books, 1967, Vol. II, p. 37.

²⁰ J. Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, p. 86.

²¹ A. D. Dooling, *Women's Literary Feminism in Twentieth Century China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 35.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

continuation and transgression of early feminist fantasies, which emerged at the turn of the century.

In Rosemary Jackson's words, the literature of fantasy features 'the basics upon which cultural order rests, for it opens up, for a brief moment, on to disorder, on to illegality, on to that which lies outside the law, that which is outside dominant value system.'²³ Chinese feminist writers who implemented the fantasy mode in their artistic production stressed following the target of generating desire for social change. Zhai Yongmin's dark feminine utopia seems to provide the outlet for subversive social desire that means desires for a woman's space on their own where she can be and live her body, her *jouissance* in a way not colonized by the national group's discourse. As she writes in the *Nocturnal Consciousness*: 'As on half of the human race, starting at birth, the female sex is faced with an entirely different world. [...] The initial night, upon its rise, leads us to a unique world belonging only to the female sex, with a brand-new, specially laid-out angle.'²⁴ Unlikely their predecessors whose aim was to escape from the darkness, Zhai Yongming creates her own dark world to subvert the former one, which is not hers. For her nocturnal consciousness is synonymous to the awakening of the gender consciousness.

Women and the Nocturnal Consciousness are representative for Zhai Yongming's early writing, which has been characterized as influenced by Sylvia Plath's confessional poetry and French *écriture féminine*.²⁵ Later on, she gradually abandoned the confessional tone transgressing the borders of her own dark female-centred world to re-enter the reality of the external world. She got increasingly interested in the real-life scene and objects on the one hand and in the past world of historical figures. The linguistic transition in her writing follows the boarder-crossing experience of two years in New York (1990-92).

That time, being the Other of man in the Chinese society, Zhai Yongming experienced the feeling of being the Other of the West. In her essayistic creations, she reflects on it as a period of almost aphasic silence. Only later did *The café song* [咖啡馆之歌] become the poetic expression of a subaltern spectators encounter with the foreign city and its citizens. Furthermore, this poem marked a stylistic shift in her writing towards a less confessional and more dialogic, heteroglossic lyrical voice. From that time on, travelling became part of her life and writing, which can be read as a post-colonial subjects travelogue.

The café song is divided into three section differentiated by three time elements: "in the afternoon," "in the evening," and "at dawn". It is about the narrator's relatively obscure encounter with a city and its inhabitants in a typical metropolitan setting – a "no name" café.

²³ R. Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*. London and New York: Methuen, 1981, pp. 3-4.

²⁴ J. Hong Zhang, *The Invention of a Discourse...*, p. 126.

²⁵ See e.g. Zhou Zan, *Jianping Zhai Yongming shige xiezuo de sange jieduan*, "Xing xing shikan", 2002 (7), pp. 17-19; J. Hong Zhang, *The Invention of a Discourse...*, p. 69.

Sipping the bald barista's coffee on Fifth Avenue, (s)he enjoys the outsider's position and listens to the sound of the city. The poem is a patchwork of popular songs, casual talk and narration. Nevertheless, traces of the sensory-embodied approach to the world linked to Zhai Yongming's early *écriture féminine* still can be found. However, these are no longer the vibration and pulsation of her inner world or the mother earth, which the poetess perceives. They have been replaced by the outer world popcultural cacophony. The Café-scene reminds Hollywood filmic productions and it ends with a familiar sounding filmic dialogue: 'Rain. You ask me in a lowered voice:/ "Shall we go to my place?/ Or to your place?" The car crossed Manhattan.'²⁶

The *The café song* and other collection of essays titled *Constructions on paper* [纸上建筑] build the core of what may be called Zhai Yongming's micro-history of Chinese diasporic experience. Probably unintentionally, she documented the shift in her own position and that of her bohemian counterparts.²⁷ Chinese artists and intellectuals who left the People's Republic in the beginning of the 1990's entered the New York's landscape as marginalized outlaws, trying to make their living by portraying "the Whites" in Central Park or chasing underpaid jobs in order to "succeed". Only a few years later in 2006, they occupied an entirely unlike position: 'Four men two women discussing/ international matters traverse East and West/ Artist, Critic/ Architect, Art gallery's boss/ Museum's director/ These probably are the trendy jobs [...].'²⁸ Making allusions to the rocketing prices of Chinese artifacts on Sotheby's auctions Zhai Yongming registers the shift in the place occupied by the diasporic and once marginal cultural production on the global market.

After the millennium, she repeatedly questioned the presence of China and the "Third World" in the "First world", reflecting the fever over contemporary Chinese art and continuous commoditization of artistic production. Another example is the Berliner poem²⁹ *Chinese bald heads* [中国光头], in which she refers to the omnipresence of the art motive that opened the door of international galleries' to the Chinese artist in the early 1990s.

A visible intertextual connection make itself noticeable while reading *The Café Song* and *New York 2006*. The latter poem is similarly divided into three section: 'Downtown', 'Midtown' and 'Uptown'. The ordering principle is not diachronic but a spatial one. This can be seen as a reflection of the poetess's shifting interests and her intensifying preoccupation with space and architecture. First of all, the palimpsestic relation between this two poems reveals itself by the repetition of some phrases from *The Café Song* in *New York 2006*. This act of iteration is accompanied by a partial erasure and rewriting of the former text's elements. As post-colonial discourse has shown place (as the objective word) is not separated from the viewing subject, but it is much more a complex interaction of language, history and

²⁶ Zhai Yongming, *Zhongguo guangtou*, IN: *Zhongyu shi wo zhouzhuan buling*. Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, p. 140.

²⁷ In *Zhishang Jianzhu* she mentions Bei Ling 贝岭, He Duoling 何多苓, Ai Weiwei 艾未未, Yang Lian 杨炼.

²⁸ Zhai Yongming, *Niu Yue 2006*, IN: *Zui weiwan de ci*, Beijing: Dongfang Chubanshe, 2006, pp. 84-90.

²⁹ Zhai Yongming received in 2000 a scholarship from the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst). The title of the poem is probably an allusion to Yue Mingjun's (岳敏君) famous "bare head" paintings.

environment: ‘The theory of places [...] rather indicates that in some sense place is language, something in constant flux, a discourse in process.’³⁰ The melancholic narrator of the former poem posited her or himself in the past, as this is the dimension her or his lost country belongs to. The time of 2006 is ‘today’. It is still the visual-auditory approach of a distant, rather cynical, than dejected narrator that remains the same. The café of the past was a private space and stage for a melodrama, while the contemporary city acts as a setting for the political vocalization of the ‘protestant ethnic’. Global market and politics replaced the idle chat. Before it was the native speaker who was envied: ‘And you still talking about the garden of Eden of your neighbourhood/ Your son/ Noble vocation/ And your pure local accent’³¹, now the subaltern can speak: ‘And here the CHINA TOWN/ some say it is a disdainful name/ “The proper name shall be CHINESE TOWN”/ Only yesterday I heard about it.’³² New York in the year 2006 is a place where people live on the ‘borderline of history and language, on the limits of race and gender.’³³ The city itself reveals its new palimpsestic features, as architects imply palimpsest as a ghost – an image of what ones was. The narrator passed by the place where the proud World Trade Center was. The souvenir of the Twin Tower’s unchangeable shape has its place on his desk. What remained is a simulacrum of hegemonic power, questionable after the city has been effeminized by the oriental Other’s striking back. This “lack of” is a sign of vulnerability. Whenever spaces are shuffled, rebuilt or remoulded, shadows remain. A spectre is haunting the US – a spectre of ethnical terrorism.

Since early 1990s, nomadic lifestyle belongs to Zhai Yongming’s public image. In a picture published in her newest poetry collection *The most tactful words*, she stands alone looking the reader straight in the eye, with a professional camera in her hand. Nevertheless, 1997 she eventually fulfilled the dream of her own space, establishing a bar called “White Nights” in the city of Chengdu. What had been dreamt of and inspired by Alice Walker’s “Colour of Purple” and Yi (彝) minorities women’s dyed folk costumes³⁴ as a purple feminine margin, was finally designed in utterly minimalistic white. Moreover, it is not a space of her own, but an meeting point for intellectuals, avant-garde artists, belonging to the alternative cultural scene of the city. Just as it is said in one of her poems: ‘the whiteness installs us.’³⁵

Viewed from this angle, Zhai Yongmin’s creativity as a writer, art curator and owner of an artistic open space, may be described as *intellectual dissidence* in Julia Kristeva’s words. As an experimental writer she has been undermining the law of symbolic language. Moreover, as

³⁰ B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, H. Tiffin (ed.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 345.

³¹ Zhai Yongming, *Kafeiguan zhi ge*, IN: *Heiye li de suge. Zhai Yongming shixuan*. Beijing: Gaige Chubanshe, 1997, pp. 56-57.

³² Zhai Yongming, *Zui Weiwan de ci...*, p. 85.

³³ H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 170.

³⁴ Zhai Yongming, *Yi ge fang'an de langman gouxiang he zuizhong shishi*, IN: “Zuojia zazhi”, 2, 2000, p. 21.

³⁵ Zhai Yongming, *Baise zhuangzhi women*, IN: ”Zuojia Zazhi”, 2, 2000, p. 23.

the French theoretician questions: ‘And sexual difference, women: isn’t that another form of dissidence?’³⁶

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³⁶J. Kristeva, *A New Type of Intellectual: The Dissident*, IN: T. Moi (ed.), *The Kristeva Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997, p. 296.

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When Mandarin Color Vocabulary Meets Lakoff's Gender Differences

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Introduction

Background and Motivation

“Oh, look at that peach sweater! It’s so cute. Do you think it will look good on me?”
“Uhm? Which one? Oh, you mean the pink one?” The conversation was overheard from a couple who were trying on a new shirt in a shopping mall. Guess, who said the first sentence? Yes, the woman did. The difference between *peach* and *pink* in this conversation does not lie in color description only but illustrates interestingly the gender difference. Men and women are different in many ways; language is one of the aspects.

Men and women use language differently. A large number of evidences show that the language of women is not always same as the language of men. According to Robin Lakoff’s (1975) provocative book, *Language and Woman’s Place*, she argued the six characteristics of women’s language in her times: special lexical choice, question intonation in statements, hedges, emphatic modifiers and intonational emphasis, hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation, and superpolite forms. Among these characteristics, one of the interesting features in the special lexical choice is the color terms. As for the women’s color vocabulary, Lakoff asserted that

“Women make far more precise discrimination in naming colors than do men; words like *beige*, *ecru*, *aquamarine*, *lavender*, and so on are unremarkable in a woman’s active vocabulary, but absent from that of most men.” (pp. 8-9)

Although Lakoff’s claims about women’s language are challenging, the data contributing to her conclusions of women talk are intuitive based on her introspection of her own speech and observation of media but not on any empirical findings. In other words, her hypotheses of women’s language are not backed up with any statistical numbers so that people nowadays still have different opinions toward Lakoff’s claims. Thus, her claim that women have larger size of color vocabulary than do men deserves further scientific experiments to verify. In addition, Lakoff’s claims are resulted from the analysis of English in American society. Few studies have been done to examine whether Lakoff’s hypothesis can be generalized to all societies in the world. Therefore, further studies done in different cultural backgrounds are needed to test her hypotheses.

In view of the problem mentioned above, the researcher decided to justify Lakoff’s hypothetical claims about peculiarity of women’s language by conducting a scientific

experiment to examine men and women's performance in color naming. Additionally, in order to test the generalizability of Lakoff's hypotheses from the West, the researcher carried out this experiment in the East to check whether women have larger size of Mandarin color vocabulary than do men in northern Taiwan. What is more, to avoid the bias that women seem to be more sensitive to color than do men because women are interested in fashion in nature, in this study both male and female recruited subjects majored in art-related departments. With the same interest in art, the subjects' gender difference in color-naming performance can be clearly illustrated.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study are to investigate the differences in the use of Mandarin color vocabulary between male and female university students in art-related departments in northern Taiwan, and to discuss what specific gender differences are in Mandarin color-naming performance. By conducting a scientific experiment, the researcher tried to test the validity and generalizability of Lakoff's hypothesis that women had larger color vocabulary than did men.

Research Questions

This study was carried out to explore the differences between men and women's Mandarin color vocabulary in northern Taiwan. Specifically, two research questions in this study were addressed, as follows:

1. Is there any significant difference of Mandarin color-naming performance between the male and female art-major university students?
2. What are the specific gender differences of Mandarin color vocabulary among the art-major university students?

Limitations of the Study

The scope of the present study is limited in the following respects. First, restricted to the feasibility of this study, the number of the subjects is confined. There were about 80 subjects in this study that may not be large enough to be generalized to the performance of art-major male and female university students in Mandarin color naming in northern Taiwan. In addition, the other limitation is that the subjects were university students whose high level of education may affect the results of the study. That is, the subjects might possess the ability to describe color terms with greater specificity than lower educational groups. Thus, the results may not be generalized to the lower educational groups. Moreover, the research method chosen in this study may produce a bias because the subjects' awareness of color naming could be raised during the process of the experiment. However, such a situation is necessary to elicit the

subjects' responses to color naming. It is difficult to conduct an experiment in which people are asked to name color implicitly. Nevertheless, this bias was constant across all groups of subjects in the experiment and should not affect the relative scores of groups.

Literature Review

Research into language and gender has not been really taken into serious considerations until the early 1970s (Wolfson, 1989). However, it does not mean that this field was not touched upon before. Early in the 1920s, Jespersen (1922) devoted an entire chapter to "The Woman" in his book, *Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin*. Jespersen studied the differences between men's and women's speech in both exotic non-western societies and western European societies, particularly English-speaking countries. He indicated that women did use some special linguistic forms more often than men did, such as euphemistic words, emotionally loaded adverbs and adjectives, and rapidity of reading and thinking.

In the light of the differences between men' and women's language, more and more sociolinguists have been motivated to investigate the reasons behind. In general, the gender differences in speech are found to be resulted from age, socialization practices, education and social status (Holmes, 1992; Wardhaugh, 2002). Men and women's age, growing processes, educational levels, and status in a society will more or less affect their uses of a particular language. To be specific, Lakoff (1975) claimed that women's speech was affected by their social status. She proposed her argument by giving examples of women's language from her introspection and observation of American society. She found women had special lexicon, such as color terms, varied their intonation in statements, used hedges to be polite, and paid attention to their grammar and pronunciation. According to Lakoff, women were using the language to strengthen their subordinate status in the society. That is, cultural assumptions are implied in language, so language reflects and even reinforces the order of societies. Differing from Lakoff's viewpoints, Labov (2001), in his discussion of language change in Philadelphia, indicated that women intended to use the standard speech form to elevate their social status. The fierce debate that women's speech is different from that of men's will continue as long as the two genders exist.

In terms of gender differences in color naming, a great deal of previous research has been conducted on color perception and its representation in language. For example, the female advantage at speeded color naming was first reported by Woodworth and Wells (1911). Their research unveiled the fact that the females completed the

Woodworth-Wells color naming test faster than the males. Ligon (1932) expanded on the result by administering the same test and another experimental task to a larger sample of 638 students. He obtained a similar result to Woodworth and Wells that females performed better on the speeded color naming task than males, but no sex difference for the special factor of color naming. Similarly, Saucier, Elias, and Nylen (2002) also proved that women named colors faster than men did. In addition, Chapanis (1965) reported that females were able to assign names more consistently to a wide range of colors than males. Moreover, Conley and Cooper (1981), in testing for preferences in ordering conjoined color terms (e.g., black and white), concluded that females showed stronger ordering tendencies than males.

Aside from the studies mentioned above, a few of scholars have conducted empirical research to examine the gender difference in the size of color vocabulary. The findings of their studies support Lakoff's claims regarding women's precision in naming colors. For example, Nowaczyk (1982) found that women had more elaborate descriptions of color than men. In addition, both Rich (1977) and Machen (2002) studied the gender and age differences in color naming. Yet, their results were contradictory to each other. Rich found that younger men had larger color vocabulary than older men, while Machen found that women aged over 16 years-old showed a more elaborate color vocabulary than men. Among the 14 to 16 years-old subjects, there was no significant difference in color naming. Similar to Machen's findings, Simpson and Tarrant (1991) indicated that the older subjects of both genders had more elaborate color description than the younger subjects. They claimed that color vocabulary continued to increase with age. Moreover, they believed that men's color vocabulary could be enhanced by color-related hobbies, but not for women. It is believed that this field deserves further studies.

In short, the differences between men and women are not restricted to physical appearances but are reflected in their language use. From the above studies, women's special lexicon of color terms and the related experiments are reviewed. It is hoped that the discussion provides the theoretical basis for this study.

Methodology

Subjects

In order to explore the gender differences of using Mandarin color vocabulary, the researcher conducted a color-naming experiment to have valid evidences. About 80 participants were involved in this experiment; they were university students, aged 19 to 22, randomly selected from National Taiwan University of Arts (NTUA). The reason

of targeting NTUA to select the subjects for this research was to ensure that all subjects of both genders were interested in art-related fields. In other words, to avoid the bias that women are better at color terms because they are more interested in fashion and arts than are men, in this study, the subjects of both genders were all recruited with majors in art-related departments, such as Department of Visual Communication Design, Sculpture Department, Fine Arts Department, and Department of Painting and Calligraphy Arts. Among the subjects, they were half male and half female. Moreover, the subjects were all native speakers of Mandarin who were not color blind.

Instrument

The instrument applied in this experiment followed the one used in Rich's (1977) study. A set of 25 cards was constructed by coloring a two-inch square in the center of each of 25 3x5 cards. The 25 colors were random selected from Pantone color chart. No color was repeated.

Along with the 25 color cards, a questionnaire (Appendix) was designed for the subjects to write down the name of the colors. In the *Questionnaire of Color-naming Performance*, in order to help subjects name the colors, the researcher told them to imagine themselves in the following situation:

You bought a shirt yesterday, and now you are going to buy a pair of pants to match the shirt. You enter a shop but forget to bring the shirt with you. Then, you tell the clerk, "I have already bought a _____ shirt. Could you show me a pair of pants to match it?"

Before answering the questionnaire in the experiment, subjects were well informed not to check answers with others and could give the same answers to different color cards.

Later on, the subjects' responses to the 25 color cards collected by the questionnaires in the experiment would be categorized on the basis of the criteria modified from Rich's (1977) four color descriptor categories:

- A. Basic: one of the following basic Mandarin color words: 紅 'hong' (red), 橘 'ju' (orange)¹, 黃 'huang' (yellow), 綠 'lu' (green), 藍 'lan' (blue), 紫 'zi' (purple), 白 'bai' (white), 黑 'hei' (black), 咖啡 'ka fei' (brown)², 灰 'hui' (grey), 銀 'yin' (silver), 金 'jin' (gold).
- B. Qualified: a basic word qualified by words such as 粉 'fen' or 淡 'dan' (light) and 深 'shen' or 暗 'an' (dark), such as 粉紅 'fen hong' (pink), 淡藍 'dan lan' (light blue), 深紫 'shen zi' (dark purple), 暗灰 'an hui' (dark grey), or by another basic word, such as 黃綠 'haung lu' (yellowish green).

- C. Qualified Fancy: a basic word qualified by special words, such as 天空藍 ‘tian kong lan’ (sky blue), 檸檬黃 ‘ning meng huang’ (lemon yellow), etc.
- D. Fancy: color words not in the basic category but by adopting real-world objects, such as 皮膚 ‘pi fu’ (skin), 米 ‘mi’ (rice), or professional color terms such as 朱紅 ‘zhu hong’ (vermeil), 普魯士藍 ‘pu lu shi lan’ (Prussian blue), etc.

The subjects’ responses which were categorized based on the criteria above were given different points to each category to calculate the total score. One point was given for use the basic words in category one, two points for qualified words in category two, three points for qualified fancy words in category three, and four points for fancy words in category four. Because 25 cards were displayed in the experiment, the possible scores for the subjects were ranged from 25 to 100.

Study Procedures

The researcher of this study conducted an experiment to elicit the randomly-selected subjects’ responses to color naming. The study was conducted in three stages. In the first stage, the preparation stage, the instrument for the experiment was developed, including the questionnaire and structure of the experiment.

Then, in the second stage of this study, the subjects were randomly selected on campus of NTUA and the experiments were conducted for them. The experiments were held in a quiet and bright classroom to make sure that the subjects felt at ease. At the beginning of the experiment, the instructions of what the color-naming experiment was and how to complete the questionnaire were given to the subjects. After the researcher made sure that every subject understood what they should do in the following experiment, the experiment began. The 25 color cards were shown to the subjects one at a time in sequence to let them name the color. The subjects had to write down the word or phrase they would use to name the 25 colors on the provided questionnaire. The duration of the experiment was about 20 to 30 minutes. It was assumed that the subjects responded with the best of their ability.

Finally, in the last stage of the study, the subjects’ responses were collected. The data were transformed to scores based on the designed criteria and analyzed quantitatively.

Data Analysis

Statistical analysis was applied to analyze the subjects’ scores in this study. Specifically, the collected data in this study were computed and analyzed by Reliability Statistics in Scale of SPSS 15.0. In order to illustrate the gender difference of Mandarin

color naming performance in responding to total 25 colored cards, an independent samples t-test analysis was employed. A significant level .05 ($p = .05$) was established. The data helped to explain the gender differences of Mandarin color lexicon.

Results and Discussion

The collected data of this study were analyzed by statistics to investigate the existence and extent of relationships among selected variables: gender and performance of color naming. Although there were about 80 subjects in the study, half male and half female, not every subject's responses could contribute to the conclusion of this study because some of them left one or two items unanswered or others misunderstood the experiment by writing down the items associated with the colors. Take one subject for example, when the red color card was presented to him, he wrote "my high school" as the response. Therefore, only 38 female responses and 35 male responses to the questionnaire were valid to the study analysis.

Gender Differences of Color-Naming Performance

The male and female subjects' responses to *Questionnaire of Color-naming Performance* (Appendix) were analyzed by an independent samples t-test. The results provide answers and explanations for the first research question regarding the gender differences of Mandarin color-naming performance. The results of the independent sample t-test are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Independent Samples t-test Results of the Male and Female Subjects' Color-naming Performance

Gender	N	Mean	SD	t	p
Male	35	61.97	8.995	-2.176	.033*
Female	38	66.11	7.195		

Note. N= Number; SD= Standard Deviation; * $p < .05$

As shown in Table 1, there is a significant difference of Mandarin color-naming performance between the male and female art-major university students ($t = -2.176$; $p = .033 < .05$). The mean score of the female subjects is higher than that of the male subjects ($66.11 > 61.97$), which suggests that the female subjects significantly outperformed the male subjects in Mandarin color naming. This result was in accordance to Lakoff's (1975) hypothesis that men's and women's languages were different in color vocabulary. Women tend to have larger size of color vocabulary than

do the men. Thus, Lakoff’s hypothesis is scientifically proved by this study and is generalized to the use of Mandarin rather than being restricted to English.

Specific Gender Differences of Mandarin Color Vocabulary

In addition to the finding that the male and female art-major university students whose performance of color naming in Mandarin was significantly different, their uses of Mandarin color vocabulary in the four categories defined above were examined for answering the second research question. For each category of Mandarin color vocabulary, the male and female subjects’ responses were compared and analyzed by employing an independent samples t-test. The results of each independent samples t-test for the male and female subjects’ use of Mandarin color vocabulary in the four categories are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Independent Samples t-test Results of the Male and Female Subjects’ Use of Mandarin Color Vocabulary in the Four Categories

Category	Gender	N	Mean	SD	t	p
1: Basic	Male	35	5.09	3.230	3.751	.000***
	Female	38	2.63	2.318		
2: Qualified	Male	35	8.06	3.019	-.675	.500
	Female	38	8.58	3.508		
3: Qualified Fancy	Male	35	6.66	4.311	-2.037	.045*
	Female	38	8.74	4.409		
4: Fancy	Male	35	5.20	2.553	.289	.774
	Female	38	5.03	2.584		

Note. N= Number; SD= Standard Deviation; * $p < .05$

Table 2 presents several specific differences of the use of color terms between two genders. To begin with, based on the descriptive statistical analyses, it is found that the male and female subjects had different preferences for using Mandarin color vocabulary. The highest mean score of the female subjects is in the third category (8.74) and their lowest mean score is in the first category (2.63). These results suggest that the female subjects tended to use the qualified fancy color words most and the basic color words least. On the other hand, the highest and lowest mean scores of the male subjects are in the second (8.06) and first category (5.09) respectively. These results show that the male subjects used the qualified color words most and the basic color words least. That is to say, the female subjects were good at describing color by using a basic color word modified by a special term, while the male subjects excelled in using basic color words in combination with particular modifier or with the other basic color words.

Despite the fact that both female and male subjects seldom used basic color vocabulary in Mandarin, from the perspective of inferential statistical analysis, there is a significant difference for both genders in using this category of color words ($t = 3.751$; $p = .000 < .05$). Specifically, the mean score of the male subjects is higher than that of the female subjects ($5.09 > 2.63$). The result suggests that the male subjects used far more basic color terms than do the female subjects. In other words, men may incline to use basic Mandarin color vocabulary.

Additionally, according to Table 2, not only the first category of color words but also the third category is found to show a significant difference between the male and female subjects. In other words, there is a significant difference for the subjects of both genders in using the qualified fancy color vocabulary of category three ($t = -2.037$; $p = .045 < .05$). Specifically, compared with the female subjects, the male subjects' mean score is lower ($6.66 < 8.74$), which suggests that the male subjects used much less qualified fancy color vocabulary than did the female. That is, women indeed like to use fancier words in naming color more than men did.

Furthermore, as for the other two categories of color vocabulary, there are no significant differences between the two genders of subject groups. Both genders of subjects demonstrated similar use in the second and fourth categories. However, what deserves to be noticed is the male subjects' performance in the fourth category. The mean score of the male subjects in the fourth category, fancy color vocabulary, is higher than that of the female subjects ($5.20 > 5.03$). Contrary to Lakoff's argument that women are good at using professional words to describe color, the male subjects in this study used more specific fancy color vocabulary in Mandarin than did the female subjects.

In sum, the results of the two significant differences of using Mandarin color lexicon between the subjects of two genders show that the male subjects tended to use basic color vocabulary, which were single words with complete meaning, while the female subjects were prone to use qualified fancy color vocabulary, which were compound words in naming color. In fact, these results reflected the nature of men and women. As Lakoff argued, men's language was direct and women's language was nonassertive. Men tend to be direct with their language; therefore, when they are asked to name color, they use more basic color vocabulary which is simple and direct in meaning than the qualified fancy words. On the other hand, women incline to be indirect with their language; they prefer using modified words, such as qualified fancy color vocabulary, to direct basic color vocabulary.

Yet, the similar use of color vocabulary in the fourth category should not be neglected. In spite of the fact that the male subjects used less qualified fancy color vocabulary than the female subjects, both male and female subjects performed equivalent ability in using fancy color vocabulary. Although the male subjects were with fewer tendencies to use modified color vocabulary, they were still capable of using professional fancy color vocabulary, which were single words to show their directness.

5. Conclusion

This study aims to examine the gender differences of color vocabulary in Mandarin. The subjects in this study were randomly selected from the art-related departments at NTUA in northern Taiwan in order to avoid the bias that men are weaker at color terms because they are not interested in arts. All subjects were involved in the experiment to name the color of 25 presented color cards. Based on the results of the experiment, the male and female subjects did have significantly differences of color-naming performance. The female subjects tended to have larger size of Mandarin color vocabulary than did men, as hypothesized by Lakoff (1975). In addition, this study also investigated the detailed gender differences of Mandarin color vocabulary in the designed four categories. The results indicate that there are significant differences of using Mandarin color vocabulary in the first and third categories. The male subjects tended to use direct basic color vocabulary to describe colors but the female subjects inclined to adopt qualified fancy color vocabulary to name colors in a less assertive way.

However, this study is limited by the small sample size of the subjects. Further studies that collect data from a larger size of subjects are strongly recommended. Additionally, the subjects in this study were selected from NTUA in northern Taiwan. Future studies should include subjects from different backgrounds and in different areas to make the results be generalized as much as possible.

In conclusion, this experiment conducted in the East confirms the western Lakoff's hypothesis and finds that women have more extensive Mandarin color vocabulary than do men. It also indicates that the nature of men and women affects their performance on Mandarin color naming. That is, gender differences of using color vocabulary exist across cultural differences.

Notes

- 1 It is observed that 橘 'ju' is used much more commonly and often among people in Taiwan to describe color orange than is 橙 'cheng.' So, here in this study 橘 'ju' is classified as the basic category of color vocabulary instead of 橙 'cheng.'
- 2 It is observed that 咖啡 'ka fei' is used much more commonly and often among people in Taiwan to describe color brown than is 棕 'zong' or 褐 'he.' So, here in this study 咖啡 'ka fei' is classified as the basic category of color vocabulary instead of 棕 'zong' or 褐 'he.'

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Appendix

Questionnaire of Color-Naming Performance

Gender: _____

Date: _____

Grade: _____

Department: _____

Thank you for participating in this study. The researcher will show you 25 color cards in sequence. Please follow the order and name the color you see by writing them down on the provided lines in this questionnaire. In order to help you name the colors, you can imagine you were in the following situation:

You bought a shirt yesterday, and now you are going to buy a pair of pants to match the shirt. You enter a shop but forget to bring the shirt with you. Then, you tell the clerk, "I have already bought a _____ shirt. Could you show me a pair of pants to match it?"

Note. *You can give same answers to name different color cards.

*Do NOT check your answers with others.

1.	14.
_____	_____
2.	15.
_____	_____
3.	16.
_____	_____
4.	17.
_____	_____
5.	18.
_____	_____
6.	19.
_____	_____
7.	20.
_____	_____
8.	21.
_____	_____
9.	22.
_____	_____
10.	23.
_____	_____
11.	24.
_____	_____
12.	25.
_____	_____
13.	

The end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your participation.

The New Rugged Individualism: Modernity & Countersystem in Postwar Fiction

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I. Preamble

Today, we find ourselves at the receiving end of the 19th-century “revolution”¹ in thought. Darwin questioned god’s monopoly in the species-manufacturing industry while Spencer pitted us against one other in an anthro-genetic cage match. Marx, the contrarian’s contrarian, inverted the discourse, claiming that our hunt for prosperity, even capital itself, was wrong. Nietzsche concisely reported that god had died. In the novel, Dostoevsky, Poe and Henry James, among others, turned away from the linear domestic romance and looked inward, creating a fiction of psychology, sociology and theology, a curriculum that would be essential to the proleptic works of high modernism. In the visual arts, too, the past became an illness to bleed, a superstition to reject. Impressionists, postimpressionists, synthetists and others no longer concerned themselves with the realistic depiction of external reality; the flat and figurative Mirror of Nature was replaced with the funhouse Prism of the Psyche.

This presumptive rebellion in science, art and philosophy was a fin de siècle party that continued into the groggy morning of the 20th century. If anything, the partygoers became more noisy and raucous, breaking champagne flutes and spilling red wine on the carpet. Freud insisted it was just a matter of sex, family and childhood trauma, something to lie down and discuss. Duchamp painted a woman walking downstairs, but there was more than one of her and she didn’t look very much like a woman.

The 20th century, it’s been said, was a time of anomie, loneliness and despair, a frantic quest for meaning, purpose, god. Thinkers and artists were busy slaying the old gods—Reason, Religion, Patriotism, Capitalism, Democracy—and after the war this disillusionment became more widely dispersed. Charles Glicksberg maintains that the modern person is “altogether alone, a character in search of his lost self, living from moment to moment in the flux of immediacy” (28). It’s not difficult to see how this plays itself out among the celebrities of modernism. Stephen Dedalus can neither believe nor disbelieve. Jake Barnes thinks that Catholicism is a grand religion; he wishes he could believe in it. Vladimir and Estragon walk in circles, finding nothing.

The modernist stage is filled with lunatics and suicides, hedonists and heretics. It’s obsessively preoccupied with the quest for meaning and self-definition in a world of nihilism, materialism, global war and relativism. The religious journey, though often disguised in secular garb, is the central concern. Glicksberg notes that “all literature today which deals with the spiritual dimension... must be a dialectical struggle between affirmation and denial, the divine and the human, the Absolute and Nothingness” (11). Jake Barnes may have lacked faith, but he believed in the possibility of faith, which is why he wandered restlessly around Europe searching for a sign. Julien Sorel, on the other hand, may not have openly, or consciously, questioned the Catholic orthodoxy, but he wasn’t going to waste his time worrying about faith, dogma or ecclesial practices. He was too busy trying to get rich.

If modern humanity is indeed suffering through a grave illness, then what’s the cause? Karl Lowith points his finger at Continental philosophy, arguing that “[w]e are all existentialists,

some consciously, some willy-nilly, and some without knowing it, because we are all more or less caught in the predicament of being ‘modern’ by living in an epoch of dissolution of former beliefs and uncertainties” (346). We’ve been condemned by the grim force of European thought. Leo Strauss writes:

The crisis of modernity reveals itself in the fact, or consists in the fact, that modern man no longer knows what he wants—that he no longer believes that he can know what is good and bad, what is right and wrong, what is the just or the good or the best order of society. (81)

For Strauss, the issue is primarily epistemological. By some computational wrongfoot, we’ve lost the capacity to think clearly about fundamental topics, a malfunction that’s resulted in metaphysical and ethical crisis.

I wonder if we’re overstating the point, however, and missing another. Despite the profound effect of “ideas” on literature, on what amounts to a tiny set of intellectuals, the common man seems to go about his business without any reference to Nietzsche, Hegel, Marx or Wittgenstein. Darwinism, as an example, made all the tabloids when John Scopes taught it, but the concepts of evolution and natural selection were, on the whole, innocuous to the majority of Americans. “Most of the faithful,” according to Tindall and Shi, “came to reconcile science and religion. They viewed evolution as the Divine Will, as one of the secondary causes through which god worked” (902).

Newfangled ideas, in the abstract, don’t seem to have much impact on society at large. The crisis of modernity is more closely related to economics than philosophy. The industrial revolution, along with the continued rise of the middle class, meant that by 20th century most people had everything they needed to survive. This is the thesis of Galbraith’s *The Affluent Society* (1958), that economic reality, and thus human history, has metamorphosed from scarcity to affluence. Nietzsche and Darwin didn’t change the way people thought and lived, but rather Whitney, Bessemer and Fulton (admittedly, Marx had a foot in both worlds). As Galbraith points out, “the enemy of the conventional wisdom is not ideas, but the march of events” (11).

Industrialization, that fertile mother, always begets urbanization as well as economic growth. As people leave their towns and villages for the city, they leave behind agriculture, family, tradition and, perhaps most importantly, the values, attitudes and beliefs with which they were raised. The transvaluation of values does not come from exegesis of Nietzsche’s texts but from interaction with strangers, in a strange place, who have different ideas and practices. In the 19th-century realist novel, the young man moves to the city in search of wealth, career, fame and difference; he is also escaping from the provinces, which represent scarcity, simplicity, boredom and homogeneity. Julien Sorel is enjoying (and later suffering from) the early fruits of industrialization. Stendhal reveals Julien’s interior life, his misgivings about the ethics of his new community, but this isn’t central to the novel. *The Red and the Black* is about a young man’s economic and romantic hopes, his disillusionment, the perils of urban life, and provincial virtue. Julien lives in an economy of need, as does Stendhal, so the novel centers on satisfying this need.

Jakes Barnes, on the other hand, is completely unconcerned with money. He, and

Hemingway, grew up in an economy of plenty. It would be absurd to explore the quest for something that the protagonist already has so the novel switches focus from the external to the internal, from the hunt for money to the quest for meaning. World War I and the Great Depression also shook our belief in the old gods; a world of stability, security and predictability was beginning to look like chaos. This should explain why some novels were now narrated by multiple contradictory tellers and why a woman's nose might be painted on the side of her head.

II. Countersystem Analysis

Modernist fiction is grim, a futile and static journey towards nothing. The erosion of god, meaning and shared values had everyone frightened, if also hopeful that something new would come around. Postmodernity is the inverse. There is no faith in the possibility of faith, no spiritual quest, no despair. As Alan Bilton writes, postmodernity is an "age of cultural exhaustion and glazed indifference" in which "we must content ourselves with pastiche, quotation and parody—a kind of decadent knowingness" (1). The postmodern novel inhabits a world in which we assume that life is pointless, and everyone's okay with that. Bathos is the dominant mode. The Holocaust and Atomic Bomb are scary, yes, but the postmodern character hardly notices them anymore: they're just white noise. The West is now even more affluent, the government and its intelligence network even more intrusive. The old gods weren't dying anymore; they were dead and long forgotten. The only prayers are litanies of consumer goods and brand names. Our Coke who art in TV, hallowed be thy market share.

I'm going to examine two postwar writers—Salinger and Kerouac—whose work diverges, in many ways, from modernism and postmodernism. I'd like to quickly point out that my analysis will involve substance, not stylistics. In terms of prose technique, Salinger began as a realist and ended, if that's the correct verb, as a postmodernist; *Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters and Seymour: An Introduction* is, on the surface, a classic deconstructive "novel" whose only subject is its own writing. Kerouac also began as a realist, dabbled in stream-of-consciousness, and returned to realism. Regardless, I'm approaching modernism and postmodernism as categories that engender philosophical norms, rather than as technical or stylistic modes, so prose technique is not the issue.

Like the modernists and postmodernists, Salinger and Kerouac are horrified by the human condition. They see a world of chaos, anomie, despair. They get drunk, travel, sleep around, and hide from spiritual poverty. However, for the myriad normative values rejected or devalued by these writers, alternatives are implied or explicitly formulated. Despite the conventional wisdom, they are keen social critics in the tradition of Edward Bellamy, Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Richard Wright, Dos Passos and others. They haven't designed fully-functioning utopian communities, but they have portrayed fictive realms in which the dominant social ideals, and modern nothingness, are replaced with their own values, beliefs and practices.

Because Salinger and Kerouac offer alternatives to the existing social order and prevailing value system, they are builders of "countersystem" models. Countersystem, a paradigm designed by Gideon Sjoberg and Leonard Cain,

represents the *analytical* negative of, and *logical* alternative to, the system...under examination. It...is a tool for analysis rather than a weapon for attacking the system. Because actors can adopt an antisystem orientation without necessarily recognizing viable alternatives, the countersystem model invites social scientists to cope rationally and scientifically with alternatives to existing social systems. (224)

Countersystem offers an “external standard by which to examine a social order” and “heuristic devices for predicting, or understanding, the possible range of alternatives” (225). “Antisystem,” however, posits “the existing system as beyond repair” (222). This mechanism is used to evaluate the value-judgments of social systems; social scientists, or in our case novelists, challenge the assumptions that label certain values “positive” or “negative.”

Sjoberg and Cain argue that negative values “help to establish norms” and “serve to maintain or reinforce the existing norms” (214-16). That is, from the perspective of ethical gatekeepers, the negative, by serving as specific concrete examples of what is unacceptable, helps define the positive. From the perspective of the countersystem creator, the negative is offered as a replacement for the positive. While modernism and postmodernism entail a rejection of values, an antisystem, Salinger and Kerouac create countersystems, which means they offer new gods to replace the old.

III. Salinger, Kerouac

For the heroes of modernism, the spiritual quest was largely implicit. Jake Barnes steps into a church and wishes he could believe, but the religious story ends there. For Salinger, the quest is explicit. His characters find solace in mystic religion, especially Zen Buddhism. The dominant American system would embrace the Judeo-Christian tradition, the modernist antisystem would be agnosticism, the postmodernist wouldn't bother to raise the issue, and the countersystem model, represented by Salinger, suggests an alternative belief.

There's little direct evidence in *Catcher* of eastern thought, but his subsequent writings are saturated with it. This is most prominent in the Glass stories: “A Perfect Day for Bananafish,” “Franny,” “Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters,” “Zooey,” “Seymour: An Introduction” and “Hapworth 16, 1924.” Although written over a period of 20 years and never collected together, these pieces adhere to a single vision and constitute one continuous volume.

In “Roof Beam” Buddy Glass excerpts a letter from his brother Seymour, the oldest sibling and religious mentor to the others.

Is it so bad that we sometimes sound like each other? The membrane is so thin between us. Is it so important for us to keep in mind which is whose?...you and Z. and I have been brothers for no fewer than four incarnations....doesn't each of our individualities begin right at the point where we own up to our extremely close connections and accept the inevitability of borrowing one another's jokes, talents, idiocies? (158)

Salinger is dramatizing the Buddhist/Hindu ideal of submerging the individual ego-self into the collective ego-self, an idea that runs counter to the core American value of rugged individualism. The Glass-Salinger quest is for egolessness, transcendence, enlightenment. The path is Taoism, Confucianism, Freudianism, Kafkaism and especially Zen, which teaches

how to live within society while also being detached from it. Tae discusses this “non-dualistic” motif in Salinger. According to Zen, $A = A$ and $A = \text{not-}A$. The negative should be embraced along with the positive in order to achieve a fully-realized whole. Discrimination, $A = \text{not-}B$, is the source of our disharmony. In terms of countersystem, this non-dualism would be embraced by society, not just the individual; negative values shouldn’t be ignored or rejected outright, but rather considered as a necessary, and potentially beneficial, part of the social structure.

Tae analyzes Seymour Glass and the “problem” of discrimination: “Seymour as an ordinary man craves for the world beyond good and evil, beautiful and ugly, but on the other hand his instinct as a poet denies an indiscriminate view of art. Thus, Seymour is torn between the necessity to be a discriminative poet and the longing to be a non-discriminative person in society” (24). This ostensible paradox is not, according to Zen, a logical inconsistency, because Zen doesn’t place much value on logic or consistency. Enlightenment comes after one discovers the truth of non-dualism (or “suchness”) and returns to the phenomenal plane of dualism. As humans, we live in the practical world of dualistic necessity; discrimination is needed in order to make ethical, or aesthetic, decisions.

Seymour, who kills himself, clearly struggles with this return. The same could be said of Salinger. In the 1950s he moved into a secluded home in Cornish, New Hampshire where he still lives today, with no telephone and little contact with others. For Salinger, physical isolation is the answer to a social system he can’t abide, a world of commercialism, uniformity and insincerity. He equates modernity with the loss of privacy, which in turn means loss of the self.

The Glass children are intellectual prodigies who’ve appeared on the TV game show “It’s a Wise Child,” an experience that made them feel freakish, commoditized, depressed. Salinger explores this for two reasons. He’s examining the idea that we’ve replaced religion and other system values with technology, celebrity and entertainment. He’s also addressing the loss of the self. In “Zooey” the narrator discusses this:

...Zooey had been...the most voraciously examined, interviewed, and poked at. Very notably, with no exceptions that I know of, his experiments in the apparently divergent fields of clinical, social, and newsstand psychology had been costly for him, as though the places where he was examined had been uniformly alive with either highly contagious trauma or just plain old-fashioned germs. (54-5)

The Glass children have been objectified with great frequency and intensity, which has led to emotional and psychological damage. The scientific and media community treated them not as individuals but as specimens. Salinger’s objective is ultimately moralistic. If we treat people as mass-produced objects, they will act accordingly. If people dress and act and speak the same, they’ll eventually think the same, which is the death of moral judgment. As discussed earlier, the objective of Zen is first to achieve non-dualism and return to the dualistic world, but in Salinger’s countersystem there’s often no return.

Another facet of Salinger’s countersystem is his rejection of the scientific, the rational, the technocratic. In their place, he offers the human, the personal, the intuitive. These values are obviously correlative to Buddhism and eastern thought more generally, and they explain his

antipathy toward psychoanalysis and the adult world. Salinger has great respect for Freud and his theories, but he's suspicious of psychology in practice. Several of the Glasses have been through analysis, but the experience leaves them cold and practically victimized. The psychological community symbolizes the dehumanizing function of mass society. Salinger views psychoanalysis as a mediated or second-hand meditation and is wary of the psychologist who fails to recognize the spiritual nature of the process. Zooey claims that a truly good analyst would "have to believe that it was through the grace of God that he'd been inspired to study psychoanalysis in the first place (*Franny and Zooey* 108-09).

Childhood, innocence, idealism and sincerity—as opposed to “the hostile adult world” (Tae 21)—are defined as positive in Salinger's countersystem. *Catcher* is of course a monograph on the phoniness of adulthood. The Glass works, too, dwell in the notionally pure world of childhood; adults are shadowy figures lurking around the periphery while children take center stage. In “Roof Beam,” for instance, Buddy idealizes a (childishly) tiny old man who sits quietly and smiles while the other adults argue, gossip and complain. The old man is a deaf-mute—which Holden used to dream about pretending to be, because it would excuse him from participating in fatuous conversations—and sometimes “behaves like a fool, even an imbecile” (109). He represents childhood, idealism and purity.

In the modernist antisystem, innocence doesn't exist, and postmodern works are composed in the key of irony, but Salinger's countersystem embraces a non-ironic, optimistic worldview. Of course, many of his characters are unable or unwilling to go along with the program, so they turn to exile or suicide, which tells us that Salinger may have been idealistic but he wasn't naïve; the real world is often stronger than our ideals. Salinger's countersystem is caught between western individualism and eastern selflessness, escaping from society or becoming one with it.

Kerouac's countersystem exists within the tensions, never resolved, between East and West, society and self, asceticism and experience. He would rush frenetically across the country to devour as much life as possible, then rush back home to backpack in the woods, write in solitude, meditate, avoid human contact. He was quick to share communal apartments with Ginsberg, Burroughs and others, but he invariably tired of these arrangements and ran back home to *mémère*, his beloved French-Canadian mother. He dreamed of living in a small community surrounded by friends. In a 1951 letter to Cassady he discusses this: “I would also be completely befriended and need nothing; we'd live on the same street and meet in the dusty alley” (Charters 211). In this respect, his countersystem echoes the late-19th century utopian communities such as Brook Farm, Oneida and Amana; these enterprises were a retreat, from the sprawling industrial republic, to a more independent and agrarian age. Kerouac, too, sought a bucolic, mythopoeic, perhaps nonexistent America. He wanted to be Hawthorne sharing the workload at Brook Farm, but he also wanted to be Thoreau alone in his cabin. Kerouac may have wavered in his countersystem, but the point is that he didn't construct an antisystem; instead, he posited that peace and enlightenment, his positive values, could exist in the modern world.

Like Salinger, Kerouac was a student of Buddhism, but he followed the Mahayana tradition. *The Dharma Bums*, his most Buddhistic novel, follows the journey of Ray Smith, who wants

to break his inordinately strong attachments to the dualistic world. Smith spends his time meditating alone on a mountaintop. He's trying to achieve the non-dualistic state we discussed earlier, and he has the same difficulty as Salinger: how to bring this awareness back to the dualistic world. Eastern religious and philosophic systems tend to recognize no barrier between self and other, while in the West we see a distinction between the two. This may be why Salinger and Kerouac had trouble embodying their countersystems: the conflict between western upbringing and eastern ideas.

In Kerouac's countersystem, the world should be embraced joyously, despite the intrinsic pain and suffering, whereas the antisystems of modernism and postmodernism dwell on the world's imperfection. A well-known passage from *On the Road* exemplifies this:

The only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved, desirous of everything at once, the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing, but burn, burn, burn like fabulous yellow roman candles exploding like spiders against the stars... (9)

This is consistent with the life-affirming nature of Mahayana. According to Heinrich Zimmer, Mahayana Buddhism, a reaction to the earlier world-renouncing orthodoxies, teaches that everything in the physical world is sacred and should be embraced; we should take pleasure in, rather than reject, the physical world (508). Of course, this tenet only holds true to the extent that we take pleasure in things without becoming engrossed by them, without forgetting the spiritual nature of the physical world. The heroes of Kerouac's novels are never the main characters, who are plagued by insecurity and philosophical inconsistency; the hero is his best friend, who acts without thinking, who accepts everything equally, who is at peace in the world. Dean Moriarty, the frantic hero of *On the Road*, "digs everything." Japhy Ryder, the "Big Buddhist" of *The Dharma Bums*, is just as comfortable hiking and composing haiku as during nights of "free love lunacy" (30). Ray Smith, the main character, is tortured by this ostensible contradiction but, as Zimmer indicates, Ryder isn't sinning (the relevant Buddhist concept is ignorance, not sin): "The Buddhist idea of the progress to purity, self-detachment, and final enlightenment is based on a principle of basically moral watchfulness over one's feelings and propensities. Not the fact but the attitude toward it is the thing that counts" (255).

Kerouac never completely abandoned his parents' Catholicism. As he grew older, in fact, his attachment to tradition and the past became more acute. He strongly re-identified with Church myth and ritual. The young Kerouac, in life and art, was committed to experimentation and discovery. With age, however, rebellion lost its gravitational pull and Kerouac began to feel more attached to home, Mother, the town, patriotism. Though Kerouac and Salinger were instrumental in popularizing Buddhism and shaping the youthful rebellion against traditional values, both were strongly opposed to the counterculture. The older Kerouac even aligned himself with conservative politics, which pits him against virtually every modernist and postmodernist writer/text. This is perhaps the most pronounced element in his fictive countersystem.

IV. New Rugged Individualism

In the previous section, *On the Road's* Dean Moriarty was described as the novel's hero: what

could be more old-fashioned? You can't have a hero within the context of a meaningless or solipsistic world; you can't have a hero in the antisystems of modernism and postmodernism. Though Kerouac and Salinger did experiment with "modern" narrative technique, this was never more than formal innovation; from a substantive perspective, their work is retrograde. In the final analysis, they are not *modern* writers.

The hero is a prelapsarian figure from the premodern world, which is exactly where Kerouac and Salinger belong. They rebel against bourgeois values and practices, but they also rebel against the conventional rebellion. Whereas Holden Caulfield rants adolescently about "the system," Buddy Glass tries to construct a new system; whereas Vladimir and Estragon don't bother to move, in response to a God(ot)less world, Sal Paradise obsessively searches for enlightenment (I'm not expressing a moral or aesthetic preference for this countersystem orientation, but merely examining it).

Salinger and Kerouac served in the military and began publishing directly after World War II; they wrote during Korea and Vietnam, the King and Kennedy assassinations, the feminist and civil rights movements, the counterculture, the cold war and the atomic age. However, both writers manage, quite successfully, to avoid writing about these historical events. History is pushed aside, insofar as war, politics and social trends constitute History. This is an obvious sign that Salinger and Kerouac occupy a distinct conceptual space from their contemporaries. For the modernists, World War I was the shadow under which every line was composed. For the postmodernists, History was equally poignant and ubiquitous. The characters of DeLillo and Pynchon can't speak without reference to brand names and advertising slogans, without feeling the weight of rock lyrics forming trite platitudes in their mouths; they can't look up without seeing the arcing vector of a nuclear warhead.

For Salinger and Kerouac the self is a retreat from the fear, confusion and self-obfuscation of mass society. Redemption is portrayed as a self-effort system, an event that may happen in spite of society. Friends, family and community might help, but the individual is responsible for his own salvation, happiness, meaning. The work of Salinger and Kerouac (as well as Bukowski, Harry Crews, Douglas Coupland and others) occurred simultaneously with postmodernism but is not a part of that tradition; we can refer to this fictive strain as New Rugged Individualism.

The new rugged individualist is a premodern character in a postmodern society. He has more in common with Huck Finn, Hester Prynne and Captain Ahab than with Camus's stranger or Dostoevsky's underground man. Twain didn't shoehorn the story of Huck Finn into a novel about the Civil War. Instead he focused on Huck and his struggle to define himself in a world of moral uncertainty, against a world hostile to individuality, in a nation struggling to rebuild itself in the fallout of politics, war, social upheaval. The tone is light, but the mode is tragic. Salinger and Kerouac are doing precisely the same thing, in response to a social system that was working through a similar identity-crisis. The new rugged individualist knows the world is chaotic, but his response is not irony, nihilism or despair. The text may be playful, experimental and darkly humorous, but it's not steeped in paranoia, pastiche, technoculture, hyperreality or temporal distortion. Most tellingly, the world is not perceived, in this tradition, as an assembly line of thoughts, behaviors and moral (anti-)choices; or rather it is,

but the individual self is allowed to escape from and prevail over the simulations and simulacra of mass society. The new rugged individualist makes his own moral decisions; he doesn't refuse to move or act; the cogs of mass society do not choose for him; admen don't write his lines; he pulls himself up by his own bootstraps and resolves the problems of modernity as best he can; he is a self rather than a blurry xerox of a self.

It's important to remember that, to Huck Finn, the world looked just as moribund as it did to Jake Barnes and Tyrone Slothrop. Modernity didn't invent the abyss. Literary movements aren't created so much as recycled. Salinger and Kerouac embody a return to the classic themes, characters and conflicts of American literature. Alan Bilton addresses this return:

...the longing to escape an overly complex and materially corrupt civilisation, to "light out of the territories" and thereby rescue a sense of selfhood amongst the solitude of Nature—is, in a sense, *the* great American theme; indeed, the essential origin-myth of America itself. (220)

This passage perfectly encapsulates the new rugged individualism. Huck's countersystem involved physical escape from his society but, more importantly, a moral and spiritual escape. Hester also rebelled against the socio-religious values of her society. The heroes of Salinger and Kerouac are equally defiant and individualistic as they rebut the arguments of modernity and cross-examine every available witness.

Note

1 The "radical new" ideas of science, philosophy and literature are, in almost every instance, a gradual evolution rather than an instantaneous reinvention. Examples: Lawrence Sterne's postmodernism; Lady Murasaki Shikibu's psychological realism, which predates the European equivalent by 900 years; Darwin's theory of evolution, an idea originally formulated in the 6th century BCE by the Greek philosopher Anaximander.

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**West Runs Over East: Belief, Confrontation and Globalization
in Taiwanese Nativist Fiction**

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Submission Topic: Taiwanese Nativist Fiction

West Runs Over East: Belief, Confrontation and Globalization in Taiwanese Nativist Fiction

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The ongoing process of globalization and its implications is a major theme of Taiwanese Nativist fiction, particularly in the work of Huang Chun-ming(黃春明), "widely recognized as the best Nativist writer" and over the past twenty or so years "elevated to the status of a Nativist cultural hero" (Sung-shen Yvonne Chang 153). His fame on the island has reached such a point that he was recently (2010) honored with the 29th Culture Award by the Taiwanese Executive Yuan. Such distinction comes for his role in not merely preserving his people's collective memory but also for focusing so clearly on something akin to what Fredric Jameson discusses in his comments on the rise of the postmodern as in part a result of "some radical break or coupure, generally traced back [in the West] to the end of the 1950s or the early 1960s." For Huang, this "break" can be traced to the emergence of the big Taiwanese cities in the 1970's, leading to a distinctly modern urban lifestyle sharply different from that of the traditional Taiwanese village and countryside.

To dramatize this break, Huang developed a highly effective use of Taiwanese vernacular and other details of traditional everyday life in stories focused on confrontation between East and West, city and country, local and global culture in the post World War II era. Such writing appeals to the growing sense of cultural loss and the realization that once gone, precious cultural values and beliefs can never be fully regained. Nothing could explain this "break" more clearly than "The Drowning of an Old Cat"¹ in which Huang dramatizes the cultural break the elder inhabitants of Clear Spring Village must suffer as a result of modern collaboration between business and government regardless of local custom and belief. At first these older villagers are sublimely confident of the inviolability of their way of life based on the blessing of a "pure and simple" flow of spring water that feeds the surrounding land tilled by local farmers. The spring has been revered for countless generations as "the source of the people's pure and simple nature" (13), but when some city-dwellers discover the spring as ideal for recreational swimming, the rage for modernization and capitalistic greed lead inexorably to government subsidized construction of a swimming pool at the spring. For the older generation, any hole dug in or around the spring would destroy the land's fongshui. But their voices are ignored, and the old life in that small part of Taiwan is destroyed forever, dramatized in the suicide-drowning, fittingly in the new pool itself, of Uncle Ah-sheng who simply cannot live the new life.

"The Drowning of an Old Cat" demonstrates Huang's understanding that traditional societies have been historically self-sustaining by ensuring the inheritance of ancestral values. Highly conservative, local, stable societies their inhabitants are bonded to a particular geographical

1 As translated by Howard Goldblatt in *The Taste of Apples*. New York: Columbia U P, 2001.

territory essential to the formation of their identity. Their languages and other customs rise out of that land just as indigenous flora and fauna do. Everyone knows precisely what to do, how to act, and behaves accordingly, never having to confront an unfamiliar face. The life of these old societies creates a wholeness, a firmness that modern life cannot while urbanization destroys stability and wholeness. Walter Benjamin famously likened modern progress to a violent storm: the "Angel of History" turns his face "towards the past. Where we see the appearance of a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe, which unceasingly piles rubble on top of rubble and hurls it before his feet. He would like to . . . piece together what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise, it has caught itself up in his wings and so [sic] strong that the Angel can no longer close them. The storm drives him irresistibly into the future, to which his back is turned, while the rubble-heap before him grows sky-high. That which we call progress, is this storm" (quoted in Dencik).

We especially see such cultural devastation in the effects of technology that makes the daily affairs of living easier but in the process profoundly changes people's everyday lives, sometimes more for the worse than the better. Focusing more specifically on such technology, "The Gong" follows "the only remaining practitioner of the unique profession of gong beating" (55) as Han Qinzai finds himself and his brass gong replaced by a three-wheeled, loudspeaker-equipped vehicle. The jobless Han Qinzai therefore spends more and more of his time with a group of young men best described as "hangers-on" associated with the local funeral industry. They have no fixed jobs but merely "help out" whenever there's a local funeral. As it becomes known in the community that Han-Qinzai has become part of this group, however, his social prestige, which was relatively high when he was a gong beater, begins to seriously suffer. As nobody dies for quite a long time there is no work for his new associates, so Han-Qinzai reminds them of the traditional superstition that, when no one dies and the coffin sellers are about to become bankrupt, if someone strikes a coffin with a broom handle three times there will be a death. Accordingly, he performs this coffin-striking ceremony thinking his friends will thank him for it, but then he feels guilty: "*Ai! I hope I haven't killed anybody, and I wish I hadn't done that stupid thing.*" The feeling that his heart was bobbing around in a deep, dark abyss would not go away" (84). People who live in such a society and time cannot forget their conscience. This is Huang's memory of the old Taiwanese society, yet it is also the collective memory of villagers who remain untouched by modern degradation. Such collective memory lives on through story telling as it travels through a culture to the individual human heart.

An especially effective technique that Huang uses to express his fear of the negative effects of modernization and globalization on traditional Taiwanese culture is the foregrounding of local beliefs of country folk within a context of misunderstanding, loss and denial in these folks' interactions with urban "foreigners" from Taipei or other urban areas of Taiwan as well as the West. These interactions are often presented through a contrapuntal narrative strategy using multilingual dialogue and cultural confrontation in which the older generation/rural/local/Taiwanese must inevitably make way for the younger generation/urban/global/Mandarin. Between the lines of these narratives there also often lurk clear ideological messages, sometimes even political satire.

"During the early 1970's," Fangming Chen explains, "the political premise that the Nationalist government 'represents China' came under unprecedented attack in international circles, and, as a result, the colonial system in Taiwan, which had previously stood tall, also began to crumble. At this juncture, when the entire system of dominance was beginning to fall apart, Taiwanese authors began to use the political fissures to articulate their concern for the territory of Taiwan"

(37). Chen's statement, however, accounts only for changes in Chinese (as embodied in the KMT) colonial dominance without taking into consideration the increasingly looming dominance of America and the West. As David Der wei Wang and Carlos Rojas have put it, Huang, along with other new Taiwanese writers of the 1970's who were trying to establish a "nativist aesthetic" for their work, "used realist description and rural subject matter to advance veiled critiques of Nationalist politics and of a hegemonizing Western culture" (91).

"The Taste of Apples," the title story in Huang's 2001 English-language collection, uses a highly effective dialectical narrative strategy to dramatize Huang's Nativist concerns. The story features characters from differing cultural and linguistic backgrounds who talk past each other incomprehensively in conversations embodying conflicts too subtle to be fully understood by those most caught up within them and yet so pervasive and profound that the lives of the Taiwanese central characters are changed forever. The inevitable result of the cultural confrontation is that characters whose lives have heretofore been dominated by traditional Taiwanese values and beliefs find themselves and their lives permanently altered as essentials of their native culture are diluted, or even entirely replaced, by modern Western values and beliefs as a result of changing physical conditions.

The story opens with a violent confrontation between an automobile and a bicycle when construction worker Ah-fa is badly injured in an accident at an intersection leading from the suburbs to Taipei City. The ferocity of the collision, and what the reader soon discovers to be that of the cultural confrontation about to take place for Ah-fa and his family, is made shockingly clear in the story's second sentence: "A dark green sedan with a foreigner's license plate crashed into a rickety old bicycle like a wild animal pouncing on its prey, crushing it on the other side of the yellow dividing line of the two-lane highway" (135). Thus Huang loses little time in providing his readers with symbols central to the story's dialectical opposition of local and foreign, country and city, poor and rich, weak and powerful, old and new from which only one side can emerge fully intact. The force of the collision breaks both Ah-fa's legs, forcing him to undergo surgery. Because he is his family's principal bread-winner, the possibility that he may not be able to work as before creates consternation in his dependents as well as himself. However, wishing to compensate the family for its loss, Colonel Grant, the American whose car hit Ah-fa, offers NT 20,000 dollars and more to come, a fortune to the heretofore impoverished family, along with other forms of material aid, ironically raising the family's standard of living beyond anything they could ever have expected.

As a common laborer before the accident, Ah-fa made just enough money to cover his family's basic needs. Accordingly, when she hears of the accident, Ah-fa's wife, Ah-gui, who has been desperately struggling to make a decent life for her family in foresees a bleak future of miserable penury. Ironically, to the Taiwanese reader, her name refers to the laurel, a highly esteemed flowering tree suggesting upper-class status even as Ah-gui's social and economic situation seems to be deteriorating by the minute. The elder daughter, Ah-zhu, whose name means "pearl" while her life is dominated by household chores and caring for her younger sister and brother, imagines herself being sold in order to pay the family's debts. Given the Taiwanese significance of Ah-fa's name, so popular among Taiwanese for its ability to express the hopes of the named individual's parents' for good luck and prosperity, the family's situation seems even more cruelly ironic until they find themselves at an American hospital where Ah-fa is undergoing treatment and where Ah-gui and Ah-zhu's fears, at least in purely material terms, begin to dissipate.

The importance and delicacy of Huang's focus on language becomes apparent early in the story. In the third section, appropriately entitled "The Labyrinth,"² A young foreign affairs policeman acts as guide for the American colonel whose car injured Ah-fa while he searches for the family in the illegal "squatter's district" (139) on the outskirts of Taipei. The policeman's job is to act as intermediary between the American and the Taiwanese, but he is poorly prepared for such duty culturally and emotionally as well as linguistically. Finding themselves "meandering through a labyrinth" (136), the policeman wonders if the American is "questioning his qualifications. He was stung by the injustice of it all," he, trained only to deal with local incidents involving foreigners (read "not involving native Taiwanese") now "in the position of having to find his way through all this confusion" (136). To alleviate his sense of shame, the policeman lies that new accommodations for the inhabitants of the slum "are nearly completed," that once the inhabitants are moved out, a "high-rise" will replace the tin shacks. The American's habitual response, "mm-hm," is "pregnant with ambiguities and dubious connotations" (137) so that the policeman finds himself more concerned with determining the American's true thoughts than with finding Ah-fa's house. Although his English is quite good, he does not possess the special linguistic knowledge such American expressions require for full comprehension. When he and Colonel Grant finally find someone to ask for directions, she turns out to be mute. The American's reaction to finding such a child in such a place introduces the religious issue for the first time as he intones "a muffled 'Oh, my God!'" (137), but perhaps even more importantly it provides an answer to Gayatri Spivak's famous question: "Can the Subaltern Speak?" The answer in this case being, "No, she literally cannot." "The Other," for the American Colonel, is in this instance Ah-fa's younger daughter, who could hardly be more subaltern in the social context of the story given her identity as a mute female Taiwanese minor, an embodiment of Spivak's "silent, silenced center" (25). If Huang means to dramatize something akin to what Benita Parry has described as "Spivak's decree that imperialism's linguistic aggression obliterates the inscription of a native self" (39), he could hardly have chosen a more effective human signifier.

Shifting our focus back to the American Colonel, we can interpret his invocation of God, as does Chang, as an ironic reference to the Colonels' "first-world humanitarianism" leading to an "altruistic attempt to help the family" (158). Of course his "help," as we will see, perhaps even more than the instigating accident, has the effect of breaking up the family when the the mute daughter is sent off to America to a special school for the handicapped. The most important function of this "Labyrinth" section of the story, then, is to emphasize that communication between men of power and those unfortunate enough to be relegated to the illegal squatter's district, where in effect they do not officially exist, is very nearly impossible because of cultural and linguistic barriers.

As the story continues we come to realize that the policeman's first language is Mandarin, his second is apparently English, and his third is a slap-dash Taiwanese capable of little beyond the most basic communications. Thus this tandem of foreign affairs policeman and American military man becomes an embodiment of the demarcation in power relations among languages in Taiwan after World War II with English at the top and Taiwanese at the very distant bottom.³ The policeman means well, but when he and the American finally find Ah-gui, who knows

2 Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang writes of Huang's "ingenious use of section subtitles to convey sarcasm. The interplay of such subtitles with the content of a story gives his works an extra thematic dimension" (66).

3 This realization is reinforced in the "Civics Class" section in which Ah-fa's son, Ah-ji, is being taught in Mandarin rather than Taiwanese.

neither Mandarin nor English, his efforts to calm her do more harm than good because his Taiwanese is so poor. Thus it is the Catholic nun at the American hospital who comes to the rescue with her excellent command of the local language. Ironically, a woman who bears no racial or ethnic similarity to Ah-fa's family communicates with them much more effectively than a policeman of their own race and nationality. How comical! And yet how disconcerting. The family finds itself even more culturally disoriented by this linguistic disconnect than by the mystifyingly modern American hospital surrounding them. They are accustomed to people talking the way they look, a linguistic stereotype upon which every traditional culture builds its ethnic-linguistic edifice.

As the story continues, Huang adds increasing levels of dialectical confrontation, confusion and surprise. Underlying those concerned with language is what Howard Goldblatt in his "Translator's Note" terms "the language gap among people in Taiwan" (x). He also points out that most rural Taiwanese of the time lacked education and spoke only "their native Taiwanese dialect" (ix). We may add that, although Taiwan may be seen as an emerging polyglossic or polydialectal society, it is so in a very different sense from what Ashcroft, Williams and Tiffin describe in *The Empire Writes Back* as a community "where a multitude of dialects interweave to form a generally comprehensible linguistic continuum" (39). Much of the power of Taiwanese Nativist literature resides in the fact that the island's dialects, especially if we include Hakka and any number of local aboriginal tongues, and certainly in situations like that described in Huang's story, have not hybridized to become generally comprehensible.

Such a linguistic situation, in which the foreign affairs policeman can hardly communicate with the locals in their sole language exemplifies the political reality that Taiwanese culture, after fifty years of Japanese colonization followed by the domination of the Chinese republicans who fled the Mainland before the Communist onslaught and established their base of operations in Taipei, is weak to the point of being almost entirely ignored. The policeman has achieved his status by learning Mandarin and English--considered educated languages--while learning just enough Taiwanese to get along in those distasteful situations in which he finds himself confronted with such backward people as Ah-fa and his wife. This weakness of the local traditional culture is a result of the geopolitical situation confronting Taiwan. Under Japanese colonial domination, Taiwan had seen Japanese displace both Mandarin and Taiwanese as the language of power. The island had then been transferred by treaty after the Japanese defeat in World War II to the Republic of China, which installed Mandarin as the language of power. The ultimate geopolitical power in the transfer, however, was the United States whose military acted as guarantor. Thus the supremacy of English as embodied in the American Colonel whose automobile and money are the chief instruments of Ah-fa's transformation from poverty-stricken laborer to ward of the American military. In essence, then, the story dramatizes the pecking-order of linguistic-cultural-political reality in post-war Taiwan: America and English at the top, the republican Chinese and Mandarin in the middle, the Taiwanese and their local dialect at the bottom.

The scene in which this political-economic-cultural order is most apparent is that in the section "Blessed are the Believers" in which Ah-fa, unable to understand the policeman's Mandarin explanation that the Colonel was taking responsibility for the accident but nevertheless realizing it must have been Colonel Grant's car that hit him, declares accusingly in Taiwanese: "Aha! So it was you. . . . I pulled over to let you pass--I never thought you'd come right at me. Aiya! When you smashed into me, you also smashed my family to pieces" (153). The Colonel, mystified by Ah-fa's Taiwanese, seeks the policeman's help, but that young man has

himself been unable to follow, so again it is the Catholic nun who translates and from that point on acts as intermediary between the Colonel and Ah-fa. Thus the policeman becomes a mere spectator, and the Americans take complete control as the Colonel tells Ah-fa how everything will work. Not only will he make sure Ah-fa and his family do not suffer financially, but he will send their mute daughter to "a special school in the United States" (153). Ah-fa's reaction, intensified by an envelope containing twenty thousand NT dollars, is "the uneasy feeling that they'd [he and his family] done something wrong and offended someone" (154). The tables have been turned: the victim has become guilty of the crime.

At this juncture we should point out that Ah-fa and Ah-gui can be read as representatives of the pre-colonial linguistic stage in the history of twentieth-century Taiwanese globalization under American geopolitical economic/military domination because Taiwanese is their only language. Their children, on the other hand, represent the first generation of Taiwanese being educated under the KMT language policy explicitly forbidding instruction in any of the island's native languages while requiring a high level of competence in Mandarin. For Nativist writers such as Huang, this policy was a naked attempt to destroy Taiwanese culture, consciousness, and identity. Ah-fa's mute daughter thus takes on special significance as a living symbol of the voicelessness and resulting loss of subjectivity and identity of Taiwanese. Because she'll be sent to America, she'll presumably learn to read and write English to the exclusion of even Mandarin, much less Taiwanese, a language with no "native" reading/writing system.⁴ She will literally have no Taiwanese voice at all no matter how well she learns to read and write. We can also assume that her "special school" will teach her to be culturally American, certainly not Taiwanese, and very likely not Chinese, either.

Even so, Huang has not completed his irony. The foreign affairs policeman, continually concerned with losing face before the American Colonel, finds a way to reinsert himself into the action by attempting to lecture Ah-fa on his good fortune: "This has been a stroke of good luck for you, . . . being run down by an American's car" (154). Ah-fa's reaction, "through tears of emotion," is "Thank you! Thank you! I'm sorry, I'm so sorry. . ." (154). He has achieved material well-being not by selling his soul but by being sold in effect by his own government for the sake of the geopolitical security and "modernization," "globalization" offered by America. And yet he still must apologize, taking the lowest position not only socially but spiritually. None of the situation in which he finds himself has come about as a result of Ah-fa's desires or will but rather as an inevitable outcome of being caught up in the machinations of overwhelmingly powerful forces over which he, and traditional Taiwanese culture, has no control. As Chang puts it, Ah-fa has lost his "self-respect as a result of overpowering external conditions--the American and Japanese imperialist presence. . ." (157). We can link this loss of pride to loss of identity and subjectivity. Chang interprets "The Taste of Apples" as one of Huang's "later stories" in which "the poor are no longer able to sustain their pride," and in which the writer shifts focus "from the individual to the environment, to the collective fate of the group as united by class or nation" (157). Thus the American Colonel becomes the family god, displacing Ah-fa as breadwinner and protector. The American hospital becomes a heaven, its whiteness in Ah-fa's mind transformed from the traditional Chinese/Taiwanese connection with death to a symbol of American materialist purity and sterility.

The importance of religion and the pressures being applied to the traditional systems of belief according to which Ah-fa and his family have lived until the accident become increasingly

4 See Victor H. Mair. "How to Forget Your Mother Tongue and Remember Your National Language."

pervasive as the tale develops. Redemption for Ah-fa and his family in their seemingly impossible material situation comes through the intermediary of the Catholic Church, the modern hospital it has built and the Taiwanese-speaking nun from the West. The secular power represented by the Taiwanese policeman and the American military are certainly important, but it is the Church that renders essential communication possible between the American Colonel and Ah-fa and his wife. This religious theme is developed even further by the explicit linking, in the final sentence of the story, of "temptation" with the apples brought to the hospital for Ah-fa's family. Huang seems to want his readers to associate the apples to the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in The Garden of Eden.⁵ Tempted by the fruit, Eve eats of it, and her eyes are opened to a new world as are Ah-fa's and those of his family by their experience after the accident. Their apparent good fortune, like Eve's knowledge, however, comes at an impossibly high price--their Taiwanese subjectivity and identity as embodied in their heretofore simple, traditional Taiwanese life. Nothing for them will ever be the same. Ah-fa loses his traditional position as his family god, his identity, as provider and protector for his family, an effacement symbolic of Taiwan's loss of sovereignty to American economic, political, and military power.

In the end, then, Ah-fa's name proves prophetic, if in a most ironical manner. He comes to see himself in a new light, as a man of leisure. His wife finds him far more attractive than ever before, thinking, "*Today he really looks like a human being*" (154) and stops criticizing him for insisting on moving north to try their luck. We can read her new emerging relationship with her husband as a loss of love and respect for him as a Taiwanese. Thus she represents a critical stage in the transformation of the colonized as they learn to devalue their native cultural heritage. Ah-fa's construction worker colleagues, taken to the hospital by the colonel for a visit, joke about his new, lucky life while they themselves must continue "working like animals" (155).

And so Ah-fa and his family enter their new life by struggling to learn how to eat the apples provided by the colonel, each worth four catties of rice. The beauty and expense of the apples, however, does not hide the reality of their being not "quite as sweet as they [the family] had imagined; rather, they were a little sour and pulpy . . . and not quite real" (156). For Chang, these "precise symbolic implications of the apple" suggest "Taiwanese people's feelings about American aid in the postwar years," therefore conveying a much clearer ideological message than anything in Huang's earlier stories, which tended to be more "mysterious," full of "richly suggestive images" but relatively unresponsive to "reasonable analysis" (158). Ah-fa himself, as he quietly muses over his situation in "The White House," Chang concludes, suffers from an "ineffable, . . . existentialist fear of loss of identity" (156). He literally doesn't know who he is anymore.

Thus we see the thematic importance and technical use of the ongoing process of globalization and its implications in late 20th-century Taiwan in the stories of Huang Chun-ming. By so masterfully developing his dialectical narrative technique to dramatize how the older generation of rural/local/Taiwanese must inevitably make way for the younger generation of urban/global/Mandarin/English, he has firmly established himself as perhaps the island's foremost Nativist author. His use of Taiwanese vernacular in dialogue, his careful delineation of the details of everyday life as well as his loving, though resigned, depiction of a passing

5 *Genesis* does not identify the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil as an apple, but popular belief among many Christians holds that it is.

generations' most cherished beliefs fading before the overwhelming onslaught of Mainland Chinese and globalizing Western culture have reserved him an enduring place in the pantheon of Taiwan's most revered and beloved contemporary writers. His fears that the old Taiwan, with all of its unique local dialects and beliefs, will slide inexorably into oblivion by the end of the present century may turn out to have been well-founded, but his works, much like those of Mark Twain for the old American Southwest or those of Honore de Balzac for the now defunct alleyways of early 19th-century Paris, will forever remain an invaluable repository of local social and cultural history for those who hope to understand and appreciate the human history of their local ancestors.

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Cover Page:

Human Sustainability in the Face of Incidents of Mass Violence:
The Psychological Dynamics and Effects on Trauma on Emergency Response Interventions

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by

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Introduction

When a traumatic event occurs that is out of our control and through which we become impacted by others' violent intentions and actions, survivors may spend much time making attempts to recover their balance along with recovering a sense of well being. At the same time, they may also be grieving and feeling overwhelmed by their losses. This is what fear and terror can do to people.

This paper will present a theoretical framework from which to understand the aims of terror. For example, the psychological and cultural dynamics of terrorism will be discussed, with a particular focus on "holy terror." By understanding the intended psychological and social outcomes of terror attacks, emergency responders may be better able to prepare and put into operation strategies for successful and effective responder interventions towards the aim of amelioration of immediate survivor traumatic reactions when facing and enduring incidents of mass.

A Socially Constructed and Hermeneutic View of Sustainability

Social systems theory speaks to the importance of the dynamics and function of interactions between the relationships of people to the social, physical, and political contexts in which they live. In addition, cultural adaptation can be seen as creating the definitions and parameters of social functioning on micro, mezzo, and macro levels. As Cushman (1995) has stated, we must find a "way of conceiving of the self and of arranging ourselves socially and politically" (p.3).

In further explanation, the process of configuration of self can be the result of an engagement and interaction within unique cultural frameworks that configure our sense of moral understandings experienced within the politics of a local society. Thus, through everyday living, people repetitively experience the contexts of their individual environments whether they are family, neighborhood, school, and community. Consequently, expected behavioral patterns become created through prescribed and accepted understandings of societal values that are acted upon through a framework of agreed upon social beliefs and ethics. These form the foundation for the manner in which commitment and conduct to oneself, to others, to one's community, to one's country, and to one's place in history are bound. In the process, people while being socially constructed on the one hand by their social environments are at the same time involved in an activity of reconstructing their own present realities.

Thus, Cooley's concept of the "looking-glass self" can play out as a self internalization that "I am how others think that I am" (Cooley as cited in Norlin & Chess, 1997, p. 197). In addition, "language, symbols, moral understandings, rituals, rules, institutional arrangements of power and privilege, origin myths and explanatory stories" (Cushman, 1995, 16) reflect the functional

coverings through which communities operate and assign definitions of social meaningfulness to their activities.

While social systems theory tracks the input, output, and conversion of people's daily operations in interchange with social ecological environments (Chess & Norlin, 1997), the impact of cultural factors do not seem to have been taken into consideration. The role of traditions and customs can symbolize citizens' sense of people hood and destiny. Thus, sociopolitical contexts of nationality provide symbols of identification and worldview perceptions containing a volume of historical transcendent religious beliefs and commitment to spiritual destiny. In contrast, the social roles of victims and those deemed to be of less equality are also posited within established societal values. Therefore, how power is perceived and the tools employed to convey its authority, and how deviancy to particular moral truths are socially digested and incorporated may often contain a range of positive and negative racial stereotypes and gender imperatives.

Martin Heidegger and Hans-George Gadamer's hermeneutic, interpretive view reminds us that "a particular culture is created by the components of its conceptual systems" that can be passed down between generations through a "clearing" (as cited in Cushman, 1995, 20). This concept provides a way of seeing and experiencing the world. A person only knows what he or she knows. A person cannot know what he or she does not know. The ramifications of this view are that people cannot see past their own vision of what is and consequently, may experience difficulty in attempting to adjust to what lies outside of the borders of their own observations and encounters. As Cushman has pointed out (1995) cultural societies have their own significant and characteristic way of projecting their particular perception of what is true and sustainable in the world. In an extreme form, this "clearing" can become one that conceives of, legitimizes, and has the ability to rationalize acts of war and acts of terrorism. Such a worldview may have one major goal; that is in an outcome of death, personal injury, and environmental destruction to others.

From a functionalist perspective, social systems are comprised of parts whose effectiveness of function serves the overall purpose of an entire system. In democratic sociopolitical systems, these elements are contained within humanistic principles that emphasize individual creativity, uniqueness, and growth. As a primary requirement for successful operation of an open system, a network of flexible boundaries need to be in place for an exchange of inputs and outputs that enable a fluid conversion process within and between micro, mezzo, and macro levels. Central to this process are the enactment of social controls based on individual choice and human "behavior that is directed towards certain goals of self-realization" (LaPoint, 1998, p. 196).

The Moral and Psychological Dynamics of Terrorism: Values and Definitions

Terrorism and terror are defined here in two ways: on the one hand, "...as a strategy of violence designed to promote desired outcomes by instilling fear in the public at large" (Bandura, 1998, p. 162), and on the other, as "the revival of terrorist activities to support religious purposes in theological terms, a phenomenon that might be called 'holy' or 'sacred' terror (Rapoport, 1998, p. 1093). The former definition speaks to the psychological effects and impact of terrorism on its victims. The latter speaks to the issue of terrorism driven by religious rhetoric and for the spoken motivational legitimacy that, for example, produced the 9/22 attack on the United States by Osama Bin Laden.

From a social constructionist perspective, as Kushner (1989) states:

“Religion is first and foremost a way of seeing. It cannot change the facts about the world we live in, but it can change the way we see those facts, and that in itself can often make a real difference” (p. 21).

However, terrorist ideologies derived from a “messianic” and “apocalyptic genre,” propose that followers maintain their conviction that they are the “only ‘enlightened’ people” who have a duty to “liberate the blind people of this world from the rule of the unjust” (Amon, 1982, p.69) through the use of terror. An extreme interpretation of Islam has been a given central role in providing a source of social sanction for perpetrators of terror. As such, a terrorist may give him or herself self-sanction to psychologically disengage from non-believers who have been targeted for acts of terror (Bandura, 1998).

Earlier in this paper, it was stated that people are culturally constructed by their social reality through which they reconstruct their behaviors. One example is Ayman Al Zuwahri, a Bin Laden’s advisor. As a young man from a known and respected family of privilege, he joined a revolutionary group called *Al-Jihad*, “The Islamic Group of Egypt.” This group was associated with the President Anwar Sadat’s assassination in 1981 (Rapoport, 1998). During his resulting imprisonment, Zuwahri became a major spokesman for the group. He was deported and continued his terrorist activities outside of Egypt, eventually joining up with Bin Laden.

Al-Jihad’s leader in Egypt was Abd Al-Salam Faraj. The Egyptian government later executed him but not before he had written a manifesto called “The Neglected Duty” which interpreted the *QU’an* as encouraging *jihad* or holy war against non-Muslim communities (Rapoport, 1998). Faraj strategically advocated that “successful assassinations depend on infiltrating the apostate’s retinue and pretending to join his forces, even if this means publicly denying one’s one commitment as a believer.” Further that “one should, if possible – and this is quite important) – “humiliate the victim.” (114). Stark images of airline passengers who were encouraged to call their families, suffered at the hands of the terrorists who took control of their flights is one example.

Bandura (1998) states that groups that claim to be responsible for their terrorist acts, that their aim is to radicalize the masses, thus diverting focus from the carnage that they have inflicted on their victims. Self-sanction by terrorists to commit acts of terror become morally distorted in justifying terrorism as socially acceptable in light of their acts being performed “in the service of moral purposes” (Bandura, 1998, 163). Viewing the killing of humans as objects allows for the psychological “disengagement” of the perpetrator from his or her act of obedience. This approach allows for psychological disconnection of responsibility from the consequences. In the terrorist’s mind, the victims have brought their death on themselves.

One asks if this behavior can be explained as a mental illness? Prior research studies carried out with members of German and Italian terror groups have shown that the proportion of terrorists who are mentally ill is not likely (Reich, 1998). In fact, the use of language such as “hatred,” “revulsion,” and revenge” have described motivation to perform terror acts. In other words, as Bandura (1998) has pointed out, “one person’s victim is another person’s victimizer” (p. 184) and one person’s terrorist may culturally be emulated to be another person’s freedom fighter according to an interpretation of the *Qu’an* by Faraj.

Not only does cultural determination according to social constructionist theory play a large part in understanding the makings of a terrorist but it also defines what are considered “civilized” and oral behaviors. In the Western world, the value of individual life as expressed through social justice systems is one to be held as of the utmost importance. In addition, terrorism disallows for the use of a peaceful means of intervention as an act of resolution. Emergency managers and emergency responders alike must take steps to understand the dynamics of terror, to intervene at the appropriate and critical time of crisis, and to advocate for social justice against environments, conditions, and groups that produce terrorism.

The Psychology Behind Terror

In order to understand the means by which terrorists aim to impact their victims on an individual, community and societal level, professional emergency personnel need to be aware of four main immediate outcomes of a mass violence attack. In 1998, Bandura produced a list of potential aspects of terrorist intimidations (1998, p. 167). These were:

1. “The unpredictability of terrorist acts.” This aspect emphasizes the use of surprise while the targeting of innocent civilians promotes and intensifies feelings of vulnerability and fear.
2. “The gravity of the consequences.” The aim of terrorist attacks is to “maim and kill” as many victims as possible.
3. “The sense of uncontrollability that they [terrorist acts] instill.” Feelings of powerlessness and helplessness contributes to a rising level of fear that the general public experiences. Bandura reminds us that “The combination of unpredictability, gravity, and perceived self-inefficacy is especially intimidating and socially constraining” (1998, p. 168) The American public may have strong feelings of control over domestic incidents of violence and the possible risks involved when driving their cars.
4. “The high centralization and interdependency of essential service systems in modern-day life.” After the September 11th attack, as the number of people willing to fly initially lessened, the airline industry suffered large financial losses while numerous connected industries also, as a consequence, laid off vast numbers of workers. The concurrent anthrax scare pointed out the vulnerability of the national postal service, its employees, and of any American having the potential receive infected mail.

Those having lost loved ones, friends, and associates who died or were maimed from terrorist attacks have suffered the greatest losses and may experience longer-lasting psychological, social, and emotional effects of all. Emergency responders including professional social workers, firemen, and police are often the first-line of response to terrorist incidents and their victims.

Survivors and Psychological First Aid

Trauma has been defined as “...an external event causing a severe psychical upheaval with lasting consequences” (Balint, 1969, p.429). The dynamics of this phenomenon can impact not only the internal state of the affected individual but also can produce a ripple effect on the micro, mezzo, and macro levels that may intersect with the trauma at the same time. During that

process, the steady state or “well-being” of those relationships and the ecological environment that contextually supports them also become temporarily unsteady at the point of initial contact.

Survivors needing help often exhibit Acute Stress Reaction (ACR), presenting a symptomatic range of behaviors including feelings of “confusion, fear, anger, guilt, lack of insight, and feelings of powerlessness” (Rackley, 1982, p. 94). This sense of internal disruption and an inability to activate normal coping methods to reduce stress may derive from an initial reaction of intensified emotional shock and physical suffering in the initial period following an attack (Tanelian & Jaycox, 2008). Shalev and Ursano (2008) have described this phenomenon in the following way as:

“A mismatch between situational demands, personal resources and survival mechanisms is one reason for failure (e.g., when withdrawal is used as survival mechanisms in a situation from which one can escape or vice versa when scarce resources are wasted in fighting against uncontrollable dimensions of a stress.” (p. 1)

In the immediate aftermath of a mass violence attack, survivors must seek some way to make immediate “sense out of chaos” (Antonovsky, 1987, p. xvii). Integrating this happening into a logical, conscious understanding requires conscious cognitive efforts at adaptation to sort through the psychological and emotional side effects of such an event. These may include intrusive images flashing through the mind accompanied by a kaleidoscope of feelings of sadness, helplessness, confusion, and fear of death.

Resiliency theories in overcoming threat and stress have varied in their approaches. Lazarus’ transactional model has emphasized levels of awareness dependent upon one’s “cognitive appraisal” (as cited in Ell and Northen, 1990, p. 8) of a situation and, at the same time, in connection with one’s own resources. Similarly, Druss (1995) has focused discussion on hardiness and displays of “courage” to face adversity such as dealing with a health crisis. Thus, individuals may facilitate an internal locus of control that allows them to respond with self-affirmative and effective decision-making strategies to produce positive coping mechanisms.

Concentrating on the details of methods of positive adaptation, Aaron Antonovsky (1987) created a descriptive model of coping by people in their efforts to assimilate critical life stressors. Broken down into three major interactive components, that of “Comprehensibility,” “Manageability,” and “Meaningfulness,” a “Sense of Coherence” or SOC construct is created measuring the degree to which successful coping can take place. Subjective internal perception is portrayed as a key concept in precipitating a behavioral response to the stressor. More specifically SOC is defined as:

“The sense of coherence is a global orientation that expresses the extent to which one has a pervasive, enduring though dynamic feeling of confidence that (1) the stimuli deriving from one’s internal and external environments in the course of living are structured, predictable, and explicable; (2) the resources are available to one to meet the demands posed by these stimuli; and (3) these demands are challenges that are worthy of investment and engagement.” (Antonovsky, 1987, p. 19)

The meaningfulness component energizes the other two components and is viewed as the most impactful and significant factor in the combination of elements. The higher the level of internalized sources of meaningfulness, the higher the levels of coping are. Thus the locus of control for the individual is formulated by attitudes from the past and the present comprised of particular values, beliefs and coping behaviors that serve as mediators of externally derived stimuli.

Emergency responders dealing with the immediate effects of trauma need to be knowledgeable of the manner in which critical stressors may be experienced by survivors suffering from acute stress reactions. In addition, family and friends seeking their loved ones may also exhibit symptoms of vicarious trauma in responding to and adapting to the stress produced by the crisis. Re-traumatized individuals expressing ongoing posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms may appear at emergency centers and hospitals with the occurrence of additional attacks.

Emergency management and response strategies need to take into account that signs of impact, recovery and rehabilitation in communities, families, and individuals may depend upon social constructions of prior interpersonal relational structures placed within cultural contexts of “socially-determined systems” (Durst, 1994, p. 32). Therefore, provision of uniquely adapted support interventions by professional emergency personnel need to demonstrate an understanding and acceptance of the diversity of the social structures of the impacted populations in a community that has experienced a terror attack.

Psychological First Aid

Research has shown that in comparison to natural disasters, the effects of a mass violence attack have been known to produce higher levels of psychological distress (Friedman, Ritchie, & Watson, 2006). This phenomenon may be due to the unpredictable nature of terrorist attacks on vulnerable innocent victims overwhelmed by feelings of helplessness. The inexplicability of being purposefully targeted can have devastating emotional and psychological impact, incapacitating people’s ability to draw upon normal coping abilities and coping resources (James & Gilliland, 2005). Anything can happen during a life-threatening incident of terrorism producing the likelihood of unexpected reactions.

Thus, the delivery of Psychological First Aid (PFA) intervention services performed by emergency responders becomes critical. PFA’s primary goal has been described as:

“...aiding the adaptive coping and problem-solving processes of survivors who appear at risk for being unable to regain sufficient functioning equilibrium on their own...” (Griffin, 2007, p. 138)

Consequently, the necessity to reduce a sense of threat for the survivors is of first priority. This task is met through the provision of a physical and emotional safe location for the rendering of emergency services (Griffin, 2007). Then, initially a strategy of defusion (Ritchie, Watson, & Friedman, 2006), is used to allow for the ventilation of victims’ thoughts, and feelings of disruption (Rackley, 1982). Shalev and Ursano (2008) have pointed out that survivors in an effort to make sense of their memories may often find it necessary to tell and retell their stories, subtly changing their narratives of their experiences of shock, horror, and fear that they have gone through. Therefore, a main goal of terror management is to aid survivors to undergo a

slowly evolving sense of control and a regaining of equilibrium through a process of reconfiguration of the events that they underwent. During this “rescue phase” (Shalev & Ursano, 2008, p.5), emergency responders attempt to facilitate a de-escalation of the traumatic effects on survivors of the acute stress reactions that they are experiencing.

Emergency responders will need to be aware of individual survivor styles of coping, personal worldview perspectives, and culturally appropriate modes of interpretive meanings assigned to the incidence of terror. Using a Sense of Coherence approach, supportive strategies to empower survivors will need to be focused upon. This will involve discussion regarding ways on how to make sense of unthinkable events, on how to employ coping mechanisms that will manage the short and possibly long term post traumatic effects such as depression and lack of concentration, and the assigned meanings that each person will attribute to his or her experience of what happened, and the manner in which the terror incident took place. Additionally, responders will be evaluating survivors to determine those who may be most at risk for long-term posttraumatic effects such as continuing episodes of dissociation and hyperarousal (Griffin, 2007) requiring possible hospitalization, medical treatment or continued sources of psychological support.

Members of the emergency team that are working with survivors may themselves require PFA interventions. Witnessing stressful horrific conditions during and following a terrorist attack may culminate in feelings of shock, burnout and overwhelming sadness. Provision of emotional and psychological support may also be rendered through the use of defusion techniques such as voluntary ventilation of what happened, where they were when it happened, and what personal and professional coping strategies were employed. By strengthening group cohesion, the overall psychological and emotional health of the team may be strengthened and made sustainable over time to meet the further demands of ongoing emerging conditions of the attack.

Conclusion

Mass violence terror attacks are continuing around the world. Hermeneutics proposes that the “horizon is always moving” (Cushman, 1995, p. 318). Through the reflections of Cooley’s “looking glass self” against the backdrop of terrorism’s psychological aims and the consequent traumatic effects on the survivor, emergency responders’ interventions have been shown to be grounded in the rubble of incidents of mass violence activity, fear, and social constructions of religious distortion and fanaticism. However, even when faced with the human costs of terror, emergency responders trained in rendering psychological first aid interventions may aid survivors to overcome the obstacles they are facing while building paths to increased resiliency and renewed hope to carry on with their lives.

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Discussion paper

Sustainability: What Should *We* Do?

H.N.M. (Rick) Hölsgens

Introduction

‘There is little doubt about the prominence of the term “sustainable development” in contemporary debates about environmental and resources policy specifically and development policy more generally. Indeed, if anything the term itself has suffered from overuse alternatively as a panacea for all modern ills or as a meaningless catch-all theme to which all policy challenges (no matter of what complexion) are somehow inextricably linked. Nor is there consensus about what sustainable development is, (...)’ (Atkinson, Dietz and Neumayer, 2007, p. xiii).

‘There is consensus that there is no consensus on the meaning of the term “Sustainability”.’
(Eichler, 1999, p. 182).

Sustainability is a real buzzword nowadays, one can hear it a lot and it is used in a large variety of places and occasions. As the quote by Atkinson et al. (taken from the ‘*Handbook of Sustainable Development*’, emphasis added) makes clear, the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development do not have clear-cut meanings. Even for policy-makers and otherwise engaged professionals the meaning of sustainability is unclear and its use is contested (Atkinson et al., 2007).

At the same time another trend can be identified in which the role of the general public in sustainability debates is increasing. As a matter of fact, sustainability seems to be one of the most favourite topics with regards to public engagement¹ projects (see among academic publications on this (e.g. Kasemir, Jäger, Jaeger and Gardner, 2003, Kørnø, 2007) also the UNECE² Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters, better known as the Aarhus Convention (UNECE 1998)).

But the public does not only get involved in sustainability issues by means of public engagement; they can obtain different roles. This discussion paper will shortly address four different roles the public can have with regards to sustainability: the public as *consumer*, *user*, *participant*, or as *bystander*.

Since the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development do not have real clear-cut meanings it is necessary before going into the different roles the public might take up, to first have a

¹ Most authors in this field use the concept of public *participation* rather than public *engagement*; however in an earlier work I have shown how the term participation can be misleading (Hölsgens, 2009). I therefore prefer to use the term public engagement as an overall covering concept.

² United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

look at where sustainability originates from, and what sustainability is actually about. From thereon the different roles of the public can be examined. I will end this paper by reflecting on directions for further research which, in my view, should take a closer look at the different roles that the public is assumed to take. Since the meaning of the concept of sustainability is not very clear and restricted, while at the same time the public is expected to get more and more involved, I will argue that more research will be necessary. This research should address what the consequences of this wide open definition of sustainability are for the different roles the public can have.

Origin of sustainability

The term *sustainability*, or even more prominent *sustainable development*, got well-known to the world through the 1987 United Nations' report 'Our Common Future' (best known as the Brundtland Report). The UN World Commission on Environment and Development defines sustainable development in their report as development that 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987, p. 8). The origin of the concept of sustainability as we currently know it can be traced back to 1974 though, when the World Council of Churches brought it up (Dresner, 2002). According to Dresner the term sustainability was coined by Western environmentalists as a rhetorical tool to counter 'objections to worrying about the environment when human beings in many parts of the world suffer from poverty and deprivation' (2002, p. 1). Despite the fact that the term *sustainability* is rather new, the concerns it addresses are by no means new, nicely illustrated by Wall's reader containing various old essays: Green History (1994).

In these two short views on sustainability a few elements that constitute the broad meaning of the term can already be identified. First of all the environmentalists have been mentioned; for them one of the key elements of sustainability had to do with the preservation of nature and wildlife (see for example the beautiful documentary *Earth* by Fothergil and Linfield (2007)). Second it was mentioned that environmentalists introduced the term to counter objections that they ignored human beings who live in 'poverty and deprivation'; therewith touching also upon the social considerations that have become part of the meaning of sustainability (this social aspect can also be found a lot in feminists' approaches, e.g. Eichler, 1999). And thirdly the view of the UN WCED has an economic aspect inherent in its definition in the sense that they see sustainability as a sort of non-decreasing welfare³.

³ Herewith I do not mean to say that environmentalists do not look at economic issues, on the contrary, but their view on the conventional economic model of development is rather different, see Baker (2006).

These three issues are summarized also as the main objectives of the Brundtland report by Kirkby, O'Keefe and Timberlake (1995) as: *Environment, Equity and Growth*.

Why sustainability?

Before taking a closer look at what sustainability actually is about, and what its implications are for the general public, it is important to first take a look at why the concept of sustainability has taken off to become such a hype. In the words of Dresner (2002), quoted above, sustainability originates from the side of environmentalists who used the term to counter critiques of not caring for the poverty of other human beings, but focusing all too much on the environment. Nowadays sustainability has, in that sense picked up on three main issues. First, the environment is still a major issue. Second, sustainability has taken up a social aspect in fighting poverty. And third, sustainability is now also directed towards future generations (for which the before mentioned *growth* is assumedly important, however the traditional Western economic model of growth and development is also criticized (e.g. Baker, 2006)).

Within the scope of this paper I can not get into a too detailed level of describing why sustainability has become such a vital issue and many of these, with global climate change and resource depletion as some of the main arguments, are well known. What is interesting to touch upon here though, is what might happen if we do not adjust to a more sustainable way of living. In the view of many the warming of the earth, or the extinction of an animal such as the polar bears might seem rather trivial, but the work of Diamond (2005) and Ponting (1992, 1993, 2007) shows an a lot worse view of what might happen if we continue the decadent lifestyle of over-consumption we (and by we I mainly address the West) have gotten into.

Both Ponting and Diamond use a historical perspective to look at the collapse of past civilizations such as that of Easter Island and the Maya culture. Both authors make clear that, among other issues, the human influence on the eco-system has played a large role in the destruction of once flourishing civilizations. One of the main ways in which humans have destructed their environment has always been over-consumption, often shown in augmented deforestation. The authors warn that if our current civilization will not find a better way of dealing with the environmental resources at hand, in other words, will not become more sustainable, we might run the risk of ending up just like those past societies (Diamond increases the fear of loosing our civilization by pointing out that diminishing past societies often fell into cannibalism to provide the required food). A similar concern regarding over-consumption was already brought up in 1972 when The Club of Rome presented 'Limits to Growth' (Meadows, Meadows, Randers and Behrens, 1974), and although highly criticized (e.g. Cole,

Freeman, Jahoda and Pavitt (Eds.), 1973), the main ideas still remain and have been confirmed in later updates (Meadows, Meadows and Randers, 1992, Meadows, 2004).

Contemporary views on sustainability

What is sustainability? In the most general view the overall goal of sustainability can be seen as a strive to protect our planet. This of course leaves a lot of possibilities for different interpretations. What is it that we need to protect? Is it the planet's wildlife? Is it our civilization? Is it mankind in a more global approach? And even if these questions could be answered unanimously; from what do we need to protect it? What is causing the problem? Is there even a problem? Evidently these questions call for new questions: How can we solve our problems? What needs to change? What is more important, economic growth, fighting poverty, climate change, protecting endangered species?

It may be clear that it is impossible to answer all these enormous questions. And not only is it hard to try to develop an answer to them, but people with different backgrounds will have different views and different focus areas in attempting to find an answer. According to Sikor and Norgaard (1999) providing one clear answer to the questions above would be impossible, they argue that sustainability can not be defined because of a lack of 'objectivity' in its goal. They do not consider this a real problem, but rather argue that it is necessary to recognize this and they propose to see sustainability as 'an on-going outcome of appropriate social processes' (Sikor and Norgaard, 1999, p. 53). The social processes hinted at here concern interactions among people involved in working on sustainability (often in interdisciplinary modes). They argue that 'appropriate goals can be constantly assessed and worked toward by the people involved' (p. 53), thus leaving the definition of sustainability wide open and subject to interpretation and contextual assessment. Whether it is actually possible to set sustainable goals, *co-created* by different stakeholders I find questionable because economic influences tend to be very strong (consider for the example Paine's (2006) question: 'Who Killed the Electric Car?').

The definition that is worked with mostly (albeit sometimes slightly altered) is the one from the Brundtland Report (Baker, 2006, Baker, Kousis, Richardson and Young, 1997), but with its focus on *needs* it has a more social and economic than environmental connotation. Within this paper I will now move towards the different implementations of sustainability with a concrete focus on the general public. Let me start here by taking an economical view on sustainability, followed by the interpretations of the concept from a technological point of view and from the side of the natural sciences and politics which surprisingly share a role for the public in *participation*. Finally contemporary arts also influences the public's view on sustainability. Since an elaborate discussion of all the different views one can find would go far beyond the scope of this paper I will limit myself

here to a rather superficial level and I will mainly focus my attention towards those elements relevant for the general public; the elements of *environment*, *equity*, and *growth* can to various degrees be found in the different roles of the public though.

Sustainability and the general public

The Consumer

From an economical point of view the term *sustainable development* is most interesting. The traditional Western view on economy is based on development and growth (cf. Hunt, 1989, Sundar, 2006), and the economists view on sustainability fits within this focus on growth (e.g. Islam, 2001), even though various interpretations of sustainability and for sustainable development exists also within economy (see Rao, 200). Some free-market economists suggest that the market forces will autonomously create feedback loops to adjust itself to a more sustainable direction (cf. Sikor and Norgaard, 1999), others, like Rao (2000) advocate a more active approach. However based on economic principles sustainable development will largely depend on consumer behaviour, in other words on market forces.

Since environmental problems have largely been caused by over-consumption consumer behaviour shall have to change in order to reach a more sustainable society (Jager, van Asselt Rotmans and Vlek, 1999, Hinterberger, Femia, Fischer, Luks and Yavuz, 1999). It is assumed that consumer behaviour can be steered if the proper incentives are created (Jager et al., 1999), but consumer's perceptions of sustainability can also be used to create marketing strategies (McDonald and Oates, 2006). But regardless whether the focus is on changing behaviour, or on using users' perceptions of sustainability, this is the first way in which the general public can get involved in the debate: namely as *consumers*.

The User

Within product design and engineering the public is not so much seen as consumer, but rather as user. To increase the sustainability (which in the context of engineering mainly means being environmentally friendly) the first trend which could be identified was the so-called end-of-pipe solutions (cf. Tarime, 2003). This means that factories were modified, often by using filters to minimise their pollution, this is a common reaction of manufacturers to emission standards; it has no influence on the public (at least not as participating users/consumers) (Kemp, 1997). It has been shown however that cleaner production can be more advantageous and is also used more often nowadays (at least with OECD countries) (Frondel, Horbach and Rennings, 2007). A more recent trend, (which can also be seen within the field of industrial design in which I had my training) is the product life cycle

assessment (LCA) (Lambert, 2008). This LCA has the advantage that it looks at the entire process a product goes through and it examines its environmental impact at each stage. Therefore not only the pollution from the factory is taken into account, but also the use of resources, the transportation of both resources and (semi-finished) products, the impact of the product's disposal, and for this paper most important the environmental impact during use (Guidice, 2008).

Within product design it has thus become important what the impact of a product on the environment is during the use-phase. This implies that the way in which the general public uses the products is also essential, thus leading to the second role of the public, that of the *user*. People are not only assumed to *consume* sustainable, but also to *use* sustainable, after all 'while engineering advances permit increased efficiency of product operation, the user's decisions and habits ultimately have a major effect on the energy or other resources used by the product' (Lockton, Harrison and Stanton, 2008). Therefore user's behaviour will have to be altered. Lockton et al. (2008) and Wever, van Kuijk and Boks (2008) both present a number of ways in which the user's behaviour can be influenced through the design of the product. Here we see that the role of the public as a user, just like as a consumer, can be under pressure of the manufacturers to change to become more sustainable.

The Participant

The public can also be involved in sustainability in a very direct way, namely as a *participant* in public engagement projects, this is the third role I want to present here. The role of the public as participants can be steered from a variety of perspectives. To stay within the field of engineering, people can be asked to participate in technology assessments (cf. Remmen, 1995), in the case various stakeholders (and this can include citizens (Remmen, 1995) are brought together to publicly assess 'the potential risks, hazards, costs and benefits of developing some new technologies' (Freeman, 1995). The public can get involved in scientific issues concerning sustainability in a very similar way. Kasemir et al. for example describe a 'grand experiment in how lay publics might be more effectively engaged in linking science and technology to the quest for sustainable development' (Clark, 2003, p. xvii). They claim that, for sustainability science to become successful, it needs public participation (Kasemir et al., 2003). And third the public can be involved as a participant in a political manner. In my ESST master thesis I have examined how this public participation can look like by means of a case study of the planned windmill park in the Noordoostpolder (The Netherlands). It became clear that public participation is a vague and broad concept (therefore I rather use the term public engagement) and that the actual role of the public in this way can still be very diverse and unclear (cf. Hölsgens, 2009). However, for the scope of this paper we can consider the role of the public as a

participant; with its broad implications captured under the umbrella of engagement, as one of the roles the public can obtain in the debate around sustainability.

The public as a participant has one major distinction from the other roles described in this paper though, namely that it, in general does not address every individual. The public as consumer, user, or, as we will see next, *bystander*, captures all individuals together as *the society*, but in deliberate participatory projects the number of people is usually limited and the participants are selected (e.g. only 10-16 in a consensus conference (Joss and Durant, 1995)). In public engagement procedures more related to public information or consultation a larger share of society might be involved though (for the distinction between different levels of engagement please see Hölsgens, 2009, Rowe and Frewer, 2005, or OECD 2001a, 2001b, 2003).

The Bystander

Finally the public can be seen as a rather ‘innocent’ *bystander* being influenced by various factors. Two of these factors that address sustainability and that have an influence, even though the public is not directly involved as a consumer, user or participant are the visual arts and film.

Films are of particular interest here because they can reach a very large audience. Films have also often been used to raise the public awareness of issues concerning sustainability ranging from subtle hints at the needs for a sustainable development (such as Pixar’s animation movie WALL-E by Stanton (2008)) to very concrete and direct calls for behavioural change (see Al Gore’s *An Inconvenient Truth* by Guggenheim (2006)). And while narrator James Earl Jones directly addressed the viewer in the last sentence of *Earth* (Fothergill and Linfield, 2007) with the words: ‘if we are ‘to preserve its [the earth’s] fragile balance, it is in our hands’. The actual impact that these kinds of movies have on people behaviour, or even attitude, is hard to tell.

Within the visual arts a trend towards environmental and sustainable arts can also be seen. Sustainable arts distinguished itself from environmental arts because it does not only address topics concerned with the environment, but it also engages with the social side of sustainability (Fowkes and Fowkes, 2007). While Maja and Reuben Fowkes in an interview with *Antennae* indicate that for them arts should not be made to inform/persuade the public, in their words: they ‘do not envisage art to have utility’ (*Antennae*, 2009, p. 23), forms of sustainable arts will have an influence on the people that see it, and artists do have a message they want to spread.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued first of all that sustainability (or sustainable development) is not a clearly defined concept; its boundaries are vague and different people have different interpretations of its meaning. It also does not seem likely that a single clear-cut definition can be formed (although the one from the Brundtland report is most often quoted) and I leave the question whether we should attempt to do so open. What I have also observed though is that there is an increasing responsibility for the general public in the sustainability debate. Within contemporary discussions about sustainability I have identified four distinct roles for the public: as consumer, as user, as participant, or as bystander.

It is my believe that for each of those roles the people attitude towards sustainability will be slightly different; just like the actions they are assumed to take will differ. These different roles, combined with the wide open character of the concept of sustainability can, I am afraid, lead to a situation in which it is no longer clear for the pubic what is expected of them. I therefore want to propose more research into the different roles of the public in the sustainability debate, and I consider it necessary to investigate how the openness of the concept influences these various roles. The public will indeed by an important player in the search for a more sustainable society in which we can meet 'the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987, p. 8), but the variety of ways in which 'we' can contribute will have to become more feasible.

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Corporate Social Responsibility, Sustainable Development and Tourism; A Bridging Effort

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Corporate Social Responsibility, Sustainable Development and Tourism; A Bridging Effort

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Abstract: The debate on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and its contribution for the society remained indecisive. However, development in CSR literature like concept of Sustainable Development (SD) brings hope that the debate can be concluded. It is because of the fact that integration of SD concept into CSR revealed that an option can be explored which may be a win-win situation i.e., symbiotic development/SD for both i.e., business and society. Management literature in traditional manufacturing industries is substantially rich on this however; the area remained under-researched in service industries like tourism. Therefore, the paper explored these concepts in tourism industry while heavily drawing ideas from cross disciplinary areas and debated that tourism industry players like Tour Operators (TOs) have this responsibility to manage tourism deleterious impacts and contribute towards the sustainability of the destination stakeholders. Further, it has also been argued that delivering on such responsibility effectively will serve the interest of these TOs as well in the form of sustainable tourism (ST) or corporate sustainability (CS).

Key words: Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), Sustainable Development (SD), Symbiotic Development, sustainable tourism (ST), Stakeholders

1. Introduction

“Support tourism, support your economy” 2008 theme of United Nations World Tourism Organization (WTO, 2008) is the contemporary as well as historical role expected from and performed by tourism which ranked it among the largest industries of the world (UNWTO, 2009). The larger industry also faced the toughest challenges as well, one of these is sustainable development (SD) of the destination stakeholders¹ (resources/attractions, local service suppliers –LSS² and communities³) which also supports this industry.

Management of impacts of its operations and relationship with the society under the concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR) is an old tradition of traditional industries like manufacturing. Therefore, substantive literature on CSR extended our conceptual and theoretical understandings about the field.

¹ Freeman referred to stakeholders as “those groups without whose support the organization would cease to exist” as defined by Stanford Research Institute SRI 1963 and quoted by Freeman (1984). Donaldson and Preston (1995) defined stakeholders as all who can get potential benefit or harm due to actions or inactions of the firm. Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) suggested the criteria’s of power, legitimacy and urgency as the defining attributes which define the salience of a stakeholder which may change over the lifecycle of the organization.

² Local service suppliers referred to businesses at destinations, owned and managed by locals, which are facilitating tourism in their area – one of the possible way to define LSS.

³ Richards and Hall (2000) while admitting the problem of defining the term community, quoted the extended definition by John Urry (1995), who defined community in context having four different uses of the term. The term community includes a specific topographical location, association with a local social system, people having feelings of togetherness and sharing the ideology. This author intends to use this definition in this paper.

However, the tradition of CSR and our understanding about its contribution for the development of destination stakeholders in tourism industry is at embryonic stages. Author's this understanding developed from two sources:

1. No or poor reflection on their social contribution by the tourism industry players including Tour Operators (TOs) on their websites as compare to their counterparts in traditional industries⁴
2. Search with key terms like CSR & Tourism in tourism journals generated fewer entries.

Based on this theoretical as well as empirical gap, this theoretical paper will:

- Look at the historical development of the concept CSR and trace how SD thought emerged into CSR
- Reflect on how they can complement each other
- Draw their implications in tourism industry which need to pursue the paradigm like SD for its own reasons i.e., sustainable tourism.
- Look at tourism industry at micro level in a way how industry players like TOs can play a role in this context.

Scope of the paper: The paper is based on extensive review of literature but in no way the author claims that the search and review is the exhaustive one. Any such claim is substantially obscured by the fact that the paper draws insights from the concepts and field of studies like tourism, SD, and CSR which are researched and reflected extensively. In this situation, selection of the articles was also a problem therefore, the selection was based on breakthrough contribution of these articles in their respective areas. However, the discussion in paper contributes towards a new way of understanding the relationship among these concepts.

2. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

The idea of taking care of society by the business rooted in ethical domain of philosophy can be traced back to the 19th century in the form of corporate philanthropy though the usage of the term CSR emerged in 1920s (Fredrick, 1978). This care is generally reflected in business efforts to manage not only impacts of its operations but also its relationships with its stakeholders.

Since the emergence of CSR concept it developed its theoretical rigor over the time by extending the field of study in the direction of CSR (Carroll, 1974; Chrisman and Carroll, 1984; Schwartz and Carroll, 2003) Corporate Social Responsiveness (CSR₂) (Fredrick, 1978), Corporate Social Performance (CSP) (Carroll, 1979; Jones, 1980; Wood, 1991; Carroll 2000;

⁴ This impression of weak tradition of CSR in tourism industry also substantiated by this author as well who found catchy words like CSR, business social responsibility, sustainability, SD, social contribution, and corporate citizenship (CC) etc. on the websites of the companies like Fast Moving Consumer Goods (FMCGs) and Energy sector, as compare to "socially barren" websites (visited more than 100 websites) of Tour Operators (TOs) based in UK, Germany and Norway – the industry players running most of tourism show particularly in Europe and from Europe to rest of the world.

Clarkson, 1995), Theory of Stakeholders (Freeman, 1984; Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Mitchell et. al., 1997) SD and Corporate Citizenship (DeBekker, et. al., 2005; Blowfield, 2004,2005). Authors like Maignan and Ralston (2002); Chapple and Moon (2005); Eweje (2006); Kolk and Tulder (2006); Flanagan and Whiteman (2007); Jamali and Mirshak (2007); and Gjørber (2009) researched the field empirically.

However, this long history of research in CSR could not give the concept a single conceptual definition which may facilitate its operationalization and measurement. Use of 37 definitions in CSR related literature as identified by Dahlsrud (2008) reflected that CSR is a multidimensional concept, therefore, attempts to define the concept has colored the literature with many shades. The shades emerged from the fact that the concept shared boundaries with many disciplines like, ethics, marketing, management, economics, power and politics, psychology, theory of the firm, voluntary or regulatory approaches, sociology and cultural studies (Gjørber, 2009).

This diversity in definitions also indicated towards the diverse perspectives individuals and organizations associated with CSR which gave emergence to different set of questions. Some of these questions as raised by literature are; why the business should be concerned about the society? What the business will get if it protects the interest of the society (with or without its own)? What will happen if business doesn't bother about these? And whether CSR deliver more to the society or to the business itself? CSR literature has produced many plausible explanations as well for these questions.

For a theoretical soundness of the framework discussed in this paper, the following part intends to elaborate on these questions while focusing on the motivations behind CSR.

2.1. Instrumental view: Doing good because it's good for us (business)!

Social spending for business enjoyed the support⁵ from early opponents of CSR like Friedman (1970) to the contemporary supporters like Porter and Kramer (2006); Schwartz and Carroll (2003); Garriga and Mele (2004); Kottler and Lee (2005) and Prout (2006).

2.2. Ethical View: Doing good because it's good for others!

Philanthropic thought by Carroll (1979), concept of Social Contract by Wartick and Cochran (1985) and the implied responsibility of business as one of the most powerful institutions in the world (Macleod and Lewis, 2004) partially support ethical view of delivering to the society.

2.3. Institutional View: Doing good because we (business) have to!

Concept of Iron law of responsibility given by Davis (1973) which empirically observed by Yaziji (2004) as according to him business inability or unwillingness to deliver on its responsibilities associated with power given by the society to this institution, NGOs emerged as one of such powers trying to regulate the business behavior across the world through its community power.

⁵ One of the main reasons behind this can be to justify the early underdog position of the area of study, where business needs business reasons to justify this (non) business spending.

Further, to avoid threats for non-compliance along with incentives for compliance (Frederick, 1978), increased pressure on government/multilateral institutions and resultant legislation to protect the interest of citizens (Harrison and Freeman, 1999; Macleod and Lewis, 2004; Flanagan and Whiteman, 2007), and the costly compliance to those regulations (Prout 2006) also forced the companies to behave more responsibly.

However, individual motivation in 2.2 and 2.3 can also be linked to 2.1 i.e., business interest as well, as the purpose behind response to social expectations may also resulted into business benefits like responsible corporate image, this argument lead us to the concept of Symbiotic Development.

2.4. Symbiotic Development View: Doing good because it's good for everyone!

Schwartz and Carroll (2003) acknowledgement that philanthropic responsibilities will not be delivered just because of philanthropic concern of the business, rather, there may be economic, legal or ethical concerns (one or more than one) associated with this, reflected this symbiotic development view. Wood (1991) can be considered as the pioneer for this argument lately Hart (1995) and Wheeler et. al. (2003) claimed that principle of societal interest will ultimately protect the mutual/symbiotic (along with business) interest. This development in thought also reflected in definitions of CSR as referred by Blowfield (2004).

This is the perspective this author assumes which will also serve the overall structure for this paper. This framework is in line with Garriga and Mele (2004) who categorized CSR theories into Instrumental, Political, Integrative (last two are close to institutional view), and Ethical Theories (Ethical and Symbiotic Developmental view as referred in this paper).

Overall, section 2 revealed that development in CSR thought brought in the concept of symbiotic development i.e., Development/SD⁶ of the stakeholders will also lead to Corporate Sustainability (CS)⁷.

⁶ Wadham (2009) quoted Parris and Kates 2003; Hopwood et al. 2005 according to these the terms can be used interchangeably.

⁷ For a representative definition of SD see Gladwin, Kennelly, and Krause (1995: 877) and Montiel (2008). Montiel also discussed CS in context of SD or there's no difference between CS and SD.

3. Development + Sustainability = Sustainable Development (SD):

Sharpley (2000) used this equation (originally given by Lele, 1991) to structure his theoretical debate about tourism and SD. The equation concept reflects the solution proposed by the academics to deal with the ambiguity arises from the variety of ways SD can be defined. The equation also expressed the evolution of thought in this area as provided in table 1.

Table 1: Representative Literature on Development, Sustainability and SD

Author	Contribution
Rao (2000)	Development found its source in economic growth
Williams (2004)	Development is a state and a process
Sharpley (2000)	Development is a process as well as goal Sustainability referred as “capacity for continuance”.
WECD, Brundtland Report (1987)	“Sustainable Development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”
Gladwin et. al., (1995)	“SD is a process of achieving human development (widening or enlarging the range of people's choices; United Nations Development Program – UNDP, 1994) in an inclusive, connected, equitable, prudent, and secure manner”

However, different authors like Saarinen (2006) reflected that SD is a social concept which may have different meaning in different societies depending upon the need of the society, implying different paradigm in SD i.e., strong vs weak positions on SD. Authors like Gladwin et. al., (1995); Martens and Rotman (2005) also shared the same and supported not very strong SD paradigm.

Under this paradigm earth is considered as life supporting system and has mutual interdependence with humans. The primary objective of this interdependence is to improve quality of life which includes the achievement of and through green economy and human rights etc. It also considered human vs natural capital as partial substitutes, hence only non-substitutable need to remain intact or preserved. However, authors like Hunter (1995); Johnston and Tyrrell (2005) while assuming the strong position on SD opposed any such substitution.

This author aligned with the definition as given by UNDP 1994 and used by Gladwin et al. (1995) as a personal belief that what should be the purpose of development efforts therefore, this definition will further be integrated as the goal behind what already referred as symbiotic development. This integrated framework will direct further reflection in this paper. This belief of the author also supported by the literature as well as observation that it's what business is trying to do under its CSR i.e., widening the people's choices. However, as

referred earlier the question remained unanswered whether CSR really contributed towards “widening people’s choices”?

4. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and Sustainable Development (SD): path towards Symbiotic Development

4.1. Did CSR really deliver?

The authors like Carroll (2000); Wood (1991); Porter and Kramer (2006); Banerjee (2008) expressed their concern over the contribution of CSR for the intended beneficiaries’ as claimed by the business.

One of the possible solutions for these concerns is suggested by Schwartz and Carroll (2003) who proposed that the contribution of the business for the society can become effective if it linked to the business interest itself. Authors used *bottom of the pyramid*⁸ as the example where business is meeting its profit need along with delivering on legal and ethical/philanthropic responsibilities. Blowfield (2004), and Fritsch (2008) also supported this idea along with Porter and Kramer (2006) who while focusing the interdependence of economic and social system, suggested the selection of CSR that should be mutually beneficial for community as well as business. Nestle collaboration with the milk farmers in developing countries used as case example by these authors, to highlight the point of symbiotic development. Hart (1995) presented this idea from the perspective of taking care of the environment by the organizations. The care which will help the organization to develop sources of competitive advantage those will be valuable, and costly to copy.

Along with this theoretical justification, symbiotic development view can be substantiated ethically as well. Ethical theories like Utilitarianism and Universability Test as discussed by Holden (2006) support this view of doing good because its good for every one.

The previous debate highlighted that the debate of CSR and SD is converging. Montiel (2008) also recommended to study CSR and Corporate Sustainability/SD (the author identified CS in context of SD in management literature)⁹ collectively as concepts and measures of both are converging¹⁰.

Cross disciplinary ideas can be synthesized to reflect on how a symbiotic development can be operationalized specially through the concept of networking.

4.2. Approaches for Symbiotic Development

The authors like Williamson (1990); Reve (1990); Hall (1999); and Wheeler et. al. (2003) used different terms to express the idea of partnership. This diversity indicates that the

⁸ Bottom of the pyramid is the term used to reflect business efforts to meet the needs of poor class of global society.

⁹ For different definitions of SD and how CS defined in context of SD see Montiel (2008:256)

¹⁰ CSR Issues identified theoretically by Carroll (1999); (Egri and Ralston , 2008:319); Clarkson (1995); Davenport (2000); Porter and Kramer (2006); Observed practically by Chapple and Moon (2005); Jamali and Mirshak (2007) Eweje (2006:118) and contemporary practices by different corporations like Nestle and Unilever under their sustainability and or development slogan also reflect this convergence.

concept of partnership can be not only defined from different perspectives but also the concept can be put on a continuum ranging from very weak to very strong concept of partnership. One of the definitions (which also serve the purpose of the paper) is given by Bramwell and Lane (2009:179) according to them “ regular, cross-sectoral interactions between parties based on at least some agreed rules or norms, intended to address a common issue or to achieve a specific policy goal or goals”.

Use of partnerships for business reasons researched substantially by the authors like Aoki et. al. (1990); Gulati et. al. (2000); Castells (2001); along with Williamson (1990) and Reve (1990). Use of partnership for both business and (apparently) non-business reasons also remained in academic focus as reflected by Harrison and John (1993), Hart (1995) and Wheeler et. al. (2003)

Wheeler et. al. (2003) while quoting examples from the contemporary corporate world reflected that by defining value/goal/objective collectively and by establishing Value Based Networks (VBN) with the stakeholders, how the companies successfully managed stakeholders on which companies depend to deliver. Hart (1995) referred these collaborative efforts as the characteristics of resources required for sustainable competitive advantage of the firm. Harrison and John (1993) also emphasized the importance of defining common goals by the corporations and their stakeholders, and then building partnership referred as *bridging* to attain those common goals. Bramwell and Lane (2009) saw the use of partnership recommended by Brundtland Report, in order to follow the route for SD.

So far the synthesis efforts to create a link between CSR, SD and CS reflect that the concepts are not only converging theoretically but operationally feasible as well through the concept of partnership. Beyond literature companies efforts to deliver on their CSR under SD slogan¹¹ also indicate about such convergence. The rest of the paper will see implications of these concepts in tourism industry as the area of study is taken as context for this paper.

5. Traditions of CSR and Sustainable Development in Tourism

5.1. Tourism:

With reference to Jafari (1990) travel is centuries old practice. This old practice as experienced by different actors/groups developed the differences (among and within the group) in definition of tourism, which over the time diverge instead of converge.

Among the variety of definitions one of the definitions (which addresses the SD and tourism issues the paper is intending to explore theoretically) is given by Jafari (1977:06) according to him “tourism is the study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the host’s socio-cultural, economic, and physical environments”.

¹¹ Website of MNCs like Nestle, Proctor & Gamble and Unilever reflect that they are using the CSR and SD terms alternatively to educate its stakeholders about their efforts to bring a change in society

The need to study these impacts is highlighted under knowledge based platform as suggested by Jafari (1990) who recommended to take the study of tourism as a whole. This platform focused the need to produce scientific knowledge to develop any opinion regarding development in tourism. Concept of SD in tourism reflects the intention to develop this scientific knowledge.

5.2. SD Traditions in Tourism

The opinion of the authors like Buttler (1991); Weaver (2000); Hall et al. (2004) and Saarinen (2006) differ over the history of sustainable management of tourism. Traditionally the industry was considered as environment friendly as compare to its counterpart manufacturing industry. However, authors like Butler (1991); Fyall and Garrod (1997); Tribe (1997); Saarinen (2006); Lu and Nepal (2006) believed that tourism due to its voracious use of natural resources is posing a major threat to the environment of destinations therefore, becoming a challenge for tourism stakeholders. Hunter (1995:858) also added that “In reality, it is impossible to imagine any kind of tourism activity being developed and then operating without in some way reducing the quantity and/or quality of natural resources”, the point expressed by Jaffari (1977;1990) as well. Sustainability of community at destinations along with natural resources sustainability is emphasized by Richards and Hall (2000). Therefore, popularity of the term SD developed the expectations that the philosophy will serve the base upon which sustainable tourism can be developed.

SD in tourism also gave emergence to alternative tourism thought referred as adaptancy platform by Jafari (1990), concept emerged in the backdrop of mass tourism. The debate on mass vs alternative tourism has implication for sustainability of the industry itself.

5.3. Mass vs. Alternative Tourism

Tourism experienced the era when it was believed that a certain type of tourism activity like mass tourism is injurious to the environment and destination sources. Mass tourism shares the following characteristics (Vanhove, 1997:51):

1. “The participation of large numbers of people in tourism, whatever the tourist activity may be;
2. The holiday is mainly standardized, rigidly packaged and inflexible.”

Mass tourism is driven by Tour Operators (TOs) through package tours which is believed to constitute more than 80% of the tourism industry.

Authors like Buttler (1991); Cavlek (2002) highlighted the negative impacts of mass tourism. These negative externalities under mass tourism developed the idea of alternative tourism. Though alternative tourism also faced the challenge of defining the phenomenon precisely as the term enjoyed different terms as defined by Smith (1988); Williams (2004) and Saarinen (2006) but one of the representative definitions is given by Holden (2006:130), according to him “ecotourism is characterized by being low-scale and low-impact, with a high degree of local involvement in development decision making, and a high level of local ownership of tourism facilities”.

While considering the massive impacts of mass tourism, alternative tourism emerged as a more sustainable tourism, but Cohen (1994); Jafari (1990); Weaver (2000); Lu and Nepal (2009) rejected this idea.

If this is the case with both alternative and mass tourism then the question arises who is responsible in tourism industry to manage these negative externalities?

5.4. The Question of Responsibility

The responsibility to manage impacts of business operations along with community development is the foundation of CSR thoughts as reflected in part 2. Tourism industry players can not be an exception to this tradition. This acceptance of responsibility also acknowledged by Federation of Tour Operators (FTO) and Tour Operators Initiatives for Sustainable Tourism Development –TOI along with emphasis laid down by UNWTO (1994) recommendations on tourism.

The responsibility of tourism industry players came into limelight in tourism literature as well like Fyall and Garrod (1997); Tribe (1997); Cavlek (2002); Miller et al. (2005) Budeanu (2007); Saarinen (2006), Jamal and Stronza (2009) along with Bramwell et. al. (2008:253) who expressed this as “resurgence of research interest in the idea that tourism-related actors can develop a sense of ethical and moral responsibility that has resonance beyond self interest, and that there is at least a possibility that this could change behaviors and contribute to more sustainable development”.

While commenting on justification/rationality for responsibility apart from these individual (ethical/moral by Bramwell et. al., 2008 and business by Tribe, 1997) justifications, the justification of symbiotic development can also be traced from the studies like Butler (1991); Jamal and Stronza (2009) etc.

The question of this responsibility for SD efforts in tourism leads us to the debate between Sustainable Development of Tourism (SDT) and Sustainable Tourism (ST). SD is considered as the parental paradigm of ST (Williams, 2004; Sharpley, 2000), though some authors like Hardy et. al (2002) debated about its separate identity. The debate about STD and ST is also interesting to reflect because it has implication for weak vs strong SD and their application in tourism.

5.5. Sustainable Tourism (ST) AND Sustainable Tourism Development (STD):

The initial ST demands were met by showing and doing (though to a limited extent) with the environmental concern via ecotourism (Budeanu, 2007). However, authors like Johnston and Tyrrell (2005) established that environmental sustainability at the cost of economic sustainability of the business or the destination stakeholders is not the value even environmentally sustainable in long term - an idea backed by a strong position on SD also supported by Hunter (1995).

Apart from this strong position, other tourism researchers supported a weak position on SD i.e., tourism focused. Saarinen (2006) quoted the definition of ST (tourism centered) given by WTO (1993) as the landmark need to be achieved by tourism industry. The author (2006:1133) expressed that “from the sustainable development perspective, the sustainable use of resources and the environment and the well-being of communities are goals to which sustainable tourism could and should contribute – if the industry’s role is also seen to be beneficial to that process by groups other than the industry itself”. This concept of

adaptability of ST also emphasized by Hunter (1997:855) as well, according to him “the potential of tourism to contribute to sustainable development (however defined) from local to global scale is substantial”

Other authors like Sharpley (2000); Weaver (2000); Fyall and Garrod (1997); Saarinen (2006); Lu and Nepal (2009) and Jamal and Stronza (2009) also supported the idea of adapted/weak or different interpretations of SD are possible, depending upon the circumstances with different set of trade-off among the three components of sustainability i.e., environment, economic and socio-cultural.

Under this adapted SD paradigm and using CSR as tool a case for the development of destination stakeholders (Resources, LSS and Community) can be constructed which is the core contribution this paper is looking for. This adapted SD may also contribute towards the sustainability of tourism as well.

6. Symbiotic Development: Destination Stakeholders and Tourism

There are certain inevitable interdependencies between/among tourism stakeholders because of fragmentation of the industry and industry's dependence on destination stakeholders. This interdependence expressed by different authors like Buttler (1991), Budeanu (2007) between environment and tourism industry; Sharpley (2000), Richard and Hall (2000), Jamal and Stronza (2009) and Jensen (2010) between community and tourism; and Saarinen (2006) between community, resources, environment and sustainability of tourism. This interdependence between/among tourism industry stakeholders make every stakeholder's sustainability vital for others. This common interest can motivate them for symbiotic development.

Therefore, authors including Saarinen (2006) and others like Hunter (1997); Sharpley (2000); Weaver (2000); Jamal and Stronza (2009) believed that tourism can play a vital role in the development of destination areas. Other authors like Nicolau (2008); Tapper (2001); and Budeanu (2007) reported that such contribution also contribute towards the sustainability of the tourism as well. These mutual interests from one another make them inevitable stakeholders for one another thus leading the way towards partnership or alliances to pursue the goal of symbiotic development.

Theoretical literature on collaboration in tourism is also quite rich. Crofts et. al (2000) traced the tradition of alliances between the tourism enterprises since 1841 but acknowledged that the area remained widely unattended by the tourism researchers or remained focused on larger companies ignoring alliances with and between smaller firms (Telfer, 2000). The idea of collaborations between or among the different tourism stakeholders forwarded for different reasons like Tremblay (1998) to manage destination resources and negative externalities of business operations; Hall (1999) to counterbalance only business interest in tourism; Crofts et. al. (2000) for strategic advantage or competitive response; Telfer (2000) to avoid leakages associated with tourism; Li and Petrick (2008) as the new paradigm shift in tourism marketing; and Jensen (2009b, 2010) to serve the goals of different stakeholders. The diversity of reasons for collaboration indicate towards the strong traditions of this practice in tourism.

Furthermore, authors like Tremblay (1998) highlighted that these collaborations can be of different scale, structure and scope. Like with respect to scale one of the collaborations type is local-international collaboration for local level sustainability.

Under this interdependence and collaboration thought, TOs became the focus of responsibility discussion in tourism literature. Like for protection and conservation of resources at destinations Cavlek (2002) and Bundeau (2007) stressed the responsibility of TOs who has been earning profit from this industry for quite a long time. Similarly for the development of destination community stakeholders like (LSS) Jensen (2000, 2004, 2009 a,b, 2010) researched substantially these stakeholders relationship with TOs. It is under this mutual interdependence and the type of collaboration as suggested by Tremblay (1998) which may ensure symbiotic development of tourism stakeholders.

However, along with Jensen (2009b), other researchers also indicated that such collaboration remained at operational level i.e., TOs keep these relationship to lower level of task not at strategic level.

7. Discussion

The importance of managing relationships effectively with the stakeholders (not necessarily under CSR) and management of business operation's impacts can't be that much crucial in any other industry than it should have been in tourism industry because of its inevitable dependence on destination and its resources. Further, fragmented nature of the industry also stretched the value chain required to assemble and to deliver a tourism product increasing the interdependence among the players further. This mutual interdependence expressed by different tourism authors like Buttler (1991); Budeanu (2007); Sharply (2000); Richard and Hall (2000); Jamal and Stronza (2009); Jensen (2010) Scheyvens (2003); and Saarinen (2006).

Among these the case of Noah; a local guide running a micro business in Zimbabwe who is contributing financially to meet the community needs like education and medical (Scheyvens, 2003), in Poper's term can be referred as 'white swan'. It is because; the case has shaken the myth that CSR is the 'responsibility' of the 'corporations' only. Or 'corporations' can be given exemption on this responsibility because they are delivering on other responsibilities like generating employment and paying taxes. Or the corporations' argument that development responsibility of destinations lies majorly on host governments (Curtin and Busby, 1999). The case has also weakened the arguments of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) that they don't have resources to contribute for this purpose.

Noah is contributing because he knows the cooperation of the community is important for his business, this investment will contribute towards the development of the community which will increase his personal/business acceptability in this community. CSR shift from only a face saving PR activity to its measurement in the form of CSP, and linking it to the SD of the society reflect evolution of accountability thought in business with the concern that CSR should also deliver to the society as well as referred by De Bakker et. al. (2005); Blowfield (2004,2005) and Montiel (2008) along with delivering to the business.

Carroll (2000); Wood (1991); Porter and Kramer (2006); and Banerjee (2008) dissatisfaction from company's CSR behavior reflected the academic concern about the true contribution of these (claimed) social efforts. Integration of SD concept in CSR has actually limited the liberty of the business to choose CSR issues, for its own good as the case of Nestle highlighted by Porter and Kramer (2006). Such empirical examples demonstrated that CSR can be used (as a tool) to increase the choices for the people i.e., development/SD which will contribute towards CS as well – a path towards symbiotic development.

Wadham (2009); Wheeler et. al. (2003); Porter and Kramer (2002); Hart (1995); and Gladwin et. al. (1995); concept of interdependence between nature/environment/society and business can be used to construct debate for partnership to materialize the symbiotic development i.e., the common goal/value.

Industrial fragmentation in tourism industry makes industry's players mutually interdependent as well dependent on destination stakeholders. Destination stakeholders also depend on tourism in one way or the other as highlighted by Buttler (1991), Budeanu (2007); Sharply (2000), Richard and Hall (2000), Jamal and Stronza (2009) and Saarinen (2006); and Jensen (2010). Figure 1 expressed the idea of this mutual interdependence.

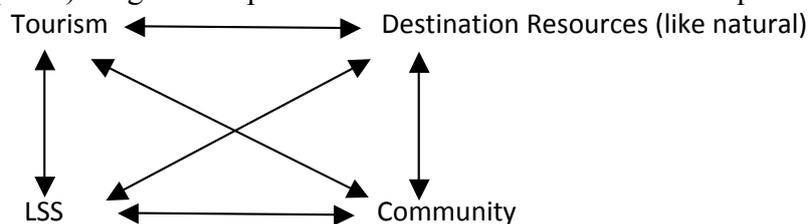


Figure 1: Interdependence between tourism stakeholders

As reflected by figure 1, this interdependence makes destination community, its resources/attractions (including environment), LSS and other industry players generally and especially TOs as inevitable stakeholders for one another. Developing collaborative arrangements to pursue the common goal of symbiotic development make strong business as well as social sense. It's not the business need (instrumental as well as institutional perspective of CSR) which may force these TOs to establish partnership with stakeholders at destinations rather the practice of marketing and making money from a product not owned by these TOs (natural resources) or owned by others (local culture) put a moral/ethical responsibility (ethical perspective of CSR) on these TOs to take care of local stakeholders interest along with their own (symbiotic development perspective).

Symbiotic Development can be the objective of collaborations as highlighted by Tremblay (1998) Hall (1999) Crotts et. al. (2000) Telfer (2000) Li and Petrick (2008) and Jensen (2009b, 2010) wholly or partially.

This interdependence is also the hallmark of adaptive SD paradigm which is the prevalent paradigm in tourism. In tourism this paradigm can be referred as tourism centric development i.e., tourism is taken as a tool for development; the notion will remain for indefinite period of time. Author's this understanding is based on different ground realities like:

- Both SD and CSR are socially driven concept therefore, can be defined while considering the society's needs. Like tourism in remote areas can meet the

economic needs of the area while giving second consideration to environment which may not be in dire need of attention.

- Tourism industry is at the initial stages of responsibility debate therefore, support for strong SD will be difficult to get from tourism industry players like TOs, a business case has to be there to motivate them.

So while summing up in a way its collective interest /common goal / value i.e., symbiotic development to establish and nurture relationships not only with the other firms in this industry but also with the local stakeholders consisting of LSS and community. This partnership will motivate all these stakeholders to work for the passive stakeholder i.e., resources at destinations upon which both community stakeholders and tourism industry are depending. Partnership will also have implications for knowledge creation and sharing, vital for future tourism product development.

8. Conclusion

The objective of the article was to synthesis literature from different field of studies to develop support for SD responsibilities in tourism industry by industry players like TOs who are otherwise (apparently) seems less inclined to assume and deliver.

In tourism, fragmentation of the industry created natural interdependencies between or among the industry players to deliver a memorable experience to the tourists. This player list is diversified with respect to size, scale, scope and spread (geographical). Therefore, TOs sitting in skyscrapers of metropolitans like London and Berlin are able to claim an awesome experience to the tourists in the mountain region of High North Norway because of their confidence that from large (air carriers) to micro (local guides) businesses partners in their value chain will be able to deliver. Further, they also need confidence that the communities at such remote destination will also give a neutral (if not welcoming) response to the tourists they are directing and the attractions at these destinations are still in a condition that they can deliver what tourists were charged for.

This dependence make destination stakeholders i.e., attractions, LSS and community as the vital stakeholders who may affect the objective of the TOs to send tourists profitably to these areas. Getting tourists is also in the interest of these destination stakeholders though for different reasons. Both TOs and destination stakeholders will be eager to promote tourism until it contributes towards their symbiotic development. All this requires to have an approach i.e., taking care of what has to take care of you (tourism industry).

However, despite this correlation literature revealed that such partnership remained limited to operational level i.e., not contributing towards the development of stakeholders like LSS at strategic level. Such limited scope also has other implications like interest of other stakeholders e.g., attraction/resources and community will also be uncertain as it would be difficult to materialize this without LSS support. Therefore, there's gap of understanding how collaboration between LSS and TOs can contribute towards the SD at local destinations, do they? If not what restricts the development of these strategic relationships to the extent that it

can deliver to these local stakeholders on SD basis? Such questions require empirical studies to extend the much needed theoretical foundation in this cross field area of study.

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The wisdom of Chinese Calligraphy Imagery

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Abstract: By study on the origin and culture of imagery I pointed out that the "imagery" is based on "farming culture". It is perception of nature of human beings. I also discussed the similarities and differences of image's theory development of Chinese and Western. "Obtaining meaning while forgetting image" is the key factor to the acquisition of imagery from the analysis of book discussion, it mostly expresses in "xing", "li" and "shen" of calligraphy which derive from nature, from the understanding of nature, and experienced a complicated process which is from "xing" of imagery, "li" of imagery to "shen" of imagery. The six scripts of Chinese character is the foundation for the text; the emergence of six styles of calligraphy is derived from imagery; the wisdom of the Chinese calligraphy creation imagery is "The unity of calligraphy and humanity." The performance of calligraphy imagery is in nature; man and the perfect combination of calligraphy is one of the features of calligraphy imagery; calligraphy imagery is in the perfect combination of Heaven and Man. The paper reveals the law of Chinese calligraphy images from the subject to object, to subject-object relationship of calligraphy creation. The imagery of Chinese Calligraphy Appreciation imagery lies in "view of the calligraphy is a soul calligrapher". Appreciation of Chinese calligraphy imagery have three levels that is eye appreciation, heart appreciation and spirit appreciation, which correspond to the concept of the formation of visual concept, illumination of the heart and the spiritual agreement.

Keywords: Calligraphy imagery; Imagery theory; Chinese calligraphy; Imagery;

Introduction

The "imagery" is a basic creed of Chinese arts and discriminative culture root of China arts and West arts. Chinese "imagery" had been put forward in 3000 years ago from *the book of Changes*. In the long history, after the formation and development and improvement of the course, the "imagery" theory have formed a unique Chinese characteristics "imagery" theory and art practice system, and produced the ancient Chinese art Classic in the "imagery". Whether from the "image" of the birth, formation and characterization Chinese calligraphy have the most direct and most practical, the most extensive and most in-depth features, and which make calligraphy imagery is representative of personalized and practice of the image theory. Which reveals and explore calligraphy "images" theory of origin, and cultural foundation and the similarities and differences between Chinese and Western imagery, the wisdom of calligraphy image acquisition, creation and appreciation, it has important theoretical

significance and practical value to inherit and carry forward and develop the wisdom of Chinese calligraphy imagery.

The origin and culture of Chinese calligraphy imagery

"Imagery" originated from of image to make meaning of Guaxiang divination of "Book of Changes".⁽¹⁾ Obviously, "image" in the "The Book of Changes" is Guaxiang. The "meaning" refers to God. If we investigate the relationship of the "meaning" and "image" in "The Book of Changes", the establishment of "image" aim of best "meaning" expression, and the "image" as the carrier is only used to convey his "meaning". The meaning of "imagery" has the implications of mutual tolerance and interoperability of heaven, earth and human. Not only "image" both the spirit and understanding of subjective expression, but also it stems from the objective things. This is the originator of the "Heaven and Man" thinking. How did this "imagery" concept of the philosophy and aesthetics bring forward? We can review it from the origins of Chinese culture contrast of West culture.

The geographical distribution in China has laid a Chinese traditional culture is characterized by small-scale peasant "farming culture", which form a clear contrast in the West to ancient Greece as the representative of "the sea culture". The "farming culture" has given Chinese tremendous appetency between man and nature. But the "sea culture" is mainly manifested in confrontation and antagonism of human beings and nature. From the human visual point of view, the "farming culture" is really brought a sense of the land that seeing is believed, while Western culture is remote sense of seeing mostly virtual in the sea. While human nature determines the human consciousness of the soul is housed in the place that the six consciousnesses can not reach to, which not only makes the soul to soar, but also which got soul comfort and relief from the place that six consciousnesses can not reach to. This is precisely the existence significance of cultural and arts. Therefore, the Chinese culture have the character of seeing real and heart seeking ethereal and fill with a romantic sense fully, and which pursue its "meaning" and seek "Mind". But the west culture is that seeing ethereal and heart seeking "real", so it fill with a sense of quest and go after "law" and seek "science". Therefore, the Oriental culture sees the world with the soul, while West culture looks at the world with science. This is the most fundamental difference of Chinese and Western arts and roots that Chinese culture emphasizes "from the outside and inside" and the West culture emphasize "from the inside out". Therefore, the Chinese arts seek freehand, the Western arts seek realism.

Research on the relationship between man and nature, the "farming culture" makes the Chinese culture to show a converted and non-confrontational sense of man and nature and pursue the harmony and emphasizes people's own capacity is limited, but with limited blending unlimited. The "sea culture" makes Western civilization advocating defeat, stressing man's own ability to infinite upgrade to meet the infinite desires of people. Obviously, we can clearly see that the Oriental culture in the East and Western culture in the West are inevitable historical choice in dealing with the relationship between man and nature and emit the wisdom of East and West, and

which also produced the distinctive classic arts of the West and East. The "imagery" is an inevitable choice and wisdom that Chinese people realize nature and dispose the relationship between people and nature.

On the similarities and differences of "imagery" in Chinese and the west

If we look back and reflect the history of the theory of imagery, Chinese "imagery" theory has gone through a long development process and formed a complete theoretical system. The *"Book of Changes"* as the representative in Zhou Dynasty put forward the theory that "meaning" and "image" is coessential and "speech depict image and image express meaning". Lao-tzu is representative in the Spring and Autumn Period. He stressed hominine initiative and meaning value and proposed "obtaining meaning while forgetting image" and "obtaining image while forgetting speech". "Meaning expressed by symbol and image" was brought forward by Yan Yanzhi in Southern Dynasties. He Yan, Wang Bi and Han kangbo brought forward "obtaining image while forgetting meaning" and "obtaining meaning while forgetting image". "Six Ways Theory" was put forward by Xie Hei in Southern and Northern Dynasties and aspired after "extravagant shape, gorgeous novel". Zhu Xi and Zhang Zai in Tang & Song Dynasties brought forward "Li Qi unity, out of image". Wang Ting-xiang and Hu Ying-lin is the representative in Ming Dynasty, and they brought forward the theory of "Li out of Qi, spirit expression by image". Wang Fuzi in Qing Dynasty put forward "scene and feeling unity, feeling out of scene". Chinese "imagery" theory in its development has formed two schools of thought of "Soul Communication" and "Six Methods Theory". The main differences reflect in two different understanding of values in the key issues how to use image to show meaning.

⁽²⁾ Taoism as a cultural support for the "Spirit Image" emphasis on subject-object unity, "action without action" divine encounter under the "image", "meaning" and "spirit" unity; But the "Six Law Theory" in the Confucian culture emphasizes subject-object dichotomy, the conscious process and implementation of "promising for the promising".

But the Western "imagery" theory was put forward in modern times. British esthetician Shaftsbury (1671-1713) thought that the image is "to give people in the form of" and "spiritual shape." Kant put forward the "purpose of the aesthetic image together" and "direct integration" is the main reasons of aesthetic image for non-utilitarian. Italy esthetician Croce deemed that the feeling is higher than intuitive sense, we will be able to feel something imagery. Aesthetic Imagery produced by a process which is the process of expressing emotions. United States esthetician Susan Langer believes that the aesthetic imagery originated in appearance of the perception, the appearance appeals to imagination, and become "imbued with emotional appearance" through recycling, which is image. In the aesthetic image, the emotion is the formalization of the emotions, the form of emotion in the form of its own, the two merged inextricably. Aesthetic images come from the appearance of life. The appreciation of works of art is achieved through the aesthetic image.

If we compare the Chinese and Western's "image" theory, its same point is that they

all acknowledge the existence of a relationship between image and meaning in natural way. Feeling and image, meaning and image have natural unity. The aesthetic imagery possesses illusoriness character. And the aesthetic characteristics of images have the same view: Chinese imagery is that "feeling" and "image" blending and produces aesthetic images; the Western imagery is that "emotional" integrate into "form".⁽³⁾ The different points are mainly reflected in the following three aspects:

A. From a philosophical perspective, Chinese "imagery" emphasizes one subject and object of "monism"; the Western Philosophy is a subject-object dichotomy of "dualism."

B. In the creation of imagery, the Chinese "imagery" emphasizes the combination of emotion and scenery, subjective meaning and objective image; and the Western "imagery" tend to the manifestation of subjective experience.

C. In the imagery acquisition, the Chinese "imagery" stresses comprehending and experiencing, specializes in integrative, focus on "meaning out of the image". The "Xing xiang theory" is the representative; but the Western imagery emphasize philosophical and specializes in analysis; focus on feeling form. The "symbolic theory" is the representative.

D. In the relationship between language and imagery, Chinese imagery emphasizes "obtaining image while forgetting speech" and "obtaining meaning while forgetting image". The Western "imagery" place emphasis on the creation role of language.

The wisdom of Chinese calligraphy image acquisition, creation and appreciation

(1) the wisdom and way of Chinese calligraphy images: obtaining meaning while forgetting image

A. The imagery of calligraphy elements come from nature, derived of understanding of nature by development process of "meaning of xing", "meaning of li" and "meaning of shen"

Cai Yong said that "the calligraphy derive from natural, the natural has established, Yin and Yang produce. If the yin and yang produce, the posture turns out". He pointed out that the calligraphy imagery comes from the natural, and attribute the yin and yang, and yin and yang is the roots of the situation.

On the form of calligraphy imagery, Cai Yong in the "pen" theory, said: "calligraphy font, like people's attitude, and some like sitting there want to go, and some like flying or like a move, if it come to that if, like lying still since, like the unhappy once like joy, like the insects eat the leaves, like the sharp sword spear, like a strong bow and arrow, like fire and water, like clouds, like the sun and the moon, whether it is from every aspect, has a unique image, so as to known as calligraphy. " Obviously, Cai Yong deemed that the grasp of calligraphy shape is by no means a simple form of simulation, but rather are fusion of meaning. And they make calligraphy joined the emotional element in "like the unhappy once like joy".

Cui Yuan in the "grass hand potential" pointed out the "potential" understanding of the calligraphy: "Appreciate of the cursive art image, we can observe that the calligraphy have pitching their own state", "Pen income trend is stroke tangled, like a

jumping snake to go to cave, his head into the cave but the tail remained outside, the pen is twists and turns, swing and smooth. This is the result of a distance. If we approach observation, the cursive have own law, and have the rules and regularities that "a painting can not be moved". Obviously, this calligraphy "potential" is also on the natural tendency of the meaning of all things, and contains the natural potential of reason. In fact, the calligraphy "potential" has been shaped up to the level of "reasonable" level, the "meaning "and" meaning-shaped "to" meaning truth ", which in itself is a big step progress of calligraphic image theory. And this by the "meaning-shaped" to "meaning reason" to upgrade, as Suojing in "*cursive-like*" in talks that "clever modifications make meaning clever breed". Obviously, this "meaning" is "image" philosophy thinking and flexible results.

The Wei Shuo in the "*pen array map*" has discussed the imagery of the seven stroke and 6 kinds of pen. Not only from image of meaning and truth of meaning, but also from the spirit of meaning tells the essence of calligraphy imagery. It completed the development process of the theory of Chinese calligraphy imagery shaped from image of meaning to truth of meaning and to spirit of meaning. This is not only concerned about the leap of calligraphy imagery of objects and the level, but also the free bailment and the image of the spirit of the Chinese people.

B. The law of calligraphy was obtained from meaning out image

The law of calligraphy comes from nature and a sense of enlightenment in the heart, which take meaning as derived from image completely. Such as the Ge-law of the calligraphy, Wang Xizhi in the "*The fifth chapter of dealing with the law of Ge*" said: "The law of the Ge hook likes as nagatake ramp ups and downs, a long pine in the valley according to the side of valley, it may be inverted and firm, and tightened the strings at once like the wings on the bow and arrow. The artistic conception of Ge hook is wonderful infinity ". It can be said that the Ge-shaped state with God to take care of the natural state of imagery is vividly depicted and infinitude meaning. The ancients for the treatment of water, ink and paper of the relations derived from a natural phenomenon. It condensed the wisdom of changes in rigid pushing soft born. Lu Xie in the "*facsimile tips*" put it: "If the paper must be relatively rigid to use soft pen in order to Pie-La can be finished in brushstroke. If the paper is soft, we must sue the rigid brush in order to the Hen-Shu-Gou-Zhe can be finished naturally".

With regard to hand, heart and mouth imagery in calligraphy on the function of level, Xu Wei in the "*Xuan chao lei zhai preface*" said: "From the beginning to learn calligraphy skill with a brush, all aimed to test the manual skills. From writing neat to master calligraphy method is rely heart go comprehend. The principle of Calligraphy is observed by eyes. The comment of calligraphy is talked by word of mouth. Comprehend is the highest realm of intentions. Manual skills are secondary, and the eyes and mouth to comment on the observation is the most basic skill". While for the understanding of the ancient brush law that obtained from meaning out image, Xu Wei's discussion is even more incisive: "Until I see the big lightning and simple white clouds, and heard the voice of big waves to comprehend brush style and make progress, and then I came to realize that the ancients said that snakes fighting is not talking about stippling and the font, but stresses calligraphy pen moves".

Obviously, the law of calligraphy imagery has a clear relation with the "image". If we assess the image of the ancients obtained, the ancients had not exhausted all of all natural "image", and imitate the "image" are often derived through the ancient spiritual choices, and obtained the different "meaning" because of different psychological insights. Therefore it also determines the development of the law of the calligraphy. This is exactly an important breakthrough innovation for the technique of contemporary calligraphy.

C. The six scripts of Chinese character is the foundation for the text

The generation of Chinese character such as Lee Si-zhen in *"Shu Hou Pin"* has said, "Cang Jie made Chinese character in the past, rain millet, ghosts night crying, some sense of carry on. Tak-sing in the previous is called benevolence, righteousness, rites, intelligence, and fidelity. Art-sing in the downward is called rites, music, archery, riding, writing, arithmetic. Making the Chinese character by Cang Jie are all derived from nature, and is a natural sense the result of supernatural powers. Therefore, there are "the rain millet, ghosts night crying". This has laid the obvious imagery features of Chinese characters since the generation. It is definitely not a simple record of information symbols, but is the ancestors' philosophizing for nature awareness, perception, and is the Heaven, Earth, mixed into a product. Chinese is not only record the information symbols, but also the spirit of man and heaven and earth communication medium. Therefore, the Chinese dynasties such as the gods for the worship of words like awe. This wisdom of condensation and unsealing in writing system in the world is unique. This is a major contribution of the Chinese nation to the world writing systems.

D. The emergence of six styles of calligraphy is derived from imagery

The emergence of six styles of calligraphy is derived from imagery. In today's perspective, the calligraphy division of the body just under the natural state of motion is character writing of imagery. Therefore, the ancients have the theory of "Zhen-calligraphy such as standing, Xing-calligraphy such as rows, draft calligraphy like walking on". If we put aside the academic arguments of Bafen and Li calligraphy to define, ZHANG Huai-Gwan had a imagery comparison of in respect of the six styles of calligraphy in the *"six styles of calligraphy theory"*, we can conclude that the six styles of calligraphy have their own characteristics in image and Shi and shape and gas. If we generalize the imagery law of the six styles of calligraphy, we can have a conclusion that the big-seal style obtains the meaning out of signs image and takes attention to changes, the lesser seal obtains the meaning out of whisht image and takes attention to logos, Bafen style obtains the meaning out of moving image and takes attention to Qi Yi, script obtains the meaning out of whisht image and takes attention to implication, running script obtains the meaning out of moving image and takes attention to spirit and attitude, cursive script obtains the meaning out of all image and takes attention to temperament.

(2) The wisdom of the Chinese calligraphy creation imagery is "the unity of calligraphy and humanity"

A. The performance of calligraphy imagery is in nature; man and the perfect combination of calligraphy is one of the features of calligraphy imagery

Imagery in the performance of calligraphy, the deal with God, heart, Qi, hand relationship is a primary issue. About "God" is the "fine soul" of the calligraphy, such as Li Shimin in "*Zhi Yi*" and said, "if God do not know, the word is not the attitude," while "God" is "Heart to use also". He pointed out "Heart" and "God" relationship. Yu Shinan in the "*pen soul theory*" proposed that the calligrapher must "reach viewing anti-listen with rapt attention and appear the spirit", which tells the key of calligraphy out of "God". This "anti-listening audience, and must consider with rapt attention" approach is the Taoist "mind fasting" and the Buddhist "inside view", which all demands that we cleaned up the soul, the heart no cared, can only fit with the Tao and highlight the spirit.

B. Calligraphy imagery has the unity character of people and calligraphy

Imagery of Calligraphy in the process of meaning are all mixed with emotional factors. To some extent, the process of meaning is the process of "feeling". But the expression and extent of "feeling" is different. This also determines that the calligraphy imagery has the characteristics of the lovemaking and expressing feeling. A variety of emotional sustenance is appeared in calligraphy by Zhang Xu in the process of meaning of image. Calligraphy has become a carrier of feeling. We turn the matter into the calligraphy, it passes through a feeling process of some "pleased and amazement". Therefore, we can see that lovemaking of calligraphy imagery get across of "natural image to feeling to meaning to spirit to feeling to meaning to calligraphy image". Among of them the feeling is premise of meaning. If there are not the "feeling" for "meaning", we can't talk with "meaning" for "image". The end-result of "feeling" and "meaning" of "image" is "spirit". But the explanation of spirit must recur to "image" and pass through feeling to meaning to image. If there are not the feeling and meaning for "image" and "spirit", the image of calligraphy can not have a lovemaking and meaning. Before a "feeling" is for "image", and only touch "feeling" before they can have "meaning". When we increase the meaning to spirit, its must touch off the meaning and make the feeling to meaning. This is a precise law of relationship and reciprocity of meaning and feeling and image of calligraphy arts. It's also a reason that the ancient Chinese scholars used calligraphy to express emotions, spiritual sustenance reasons.

(3) The wisdom of Chinese calligraphy appreciation –"view of the calligraphy is a soul of both calligrapher and my self"

Chinese Calligraphy features the unity of people and calligraphy makes that view of the calligraphy is a soul of both calligrapher and my self. Liu Xizai (1813-1881) said "calligraphy is a mirror, reflect calligrapher's knowledge and literary talent and ambition, in a word like himself". Appreciator of Chinese calligraphy makes his own mind reflected in the taste of the calligrapher's spiritual realm. Appreciation of Chinese calligraphy images can be divided into three stages: concept of calligraphy is the calligraphy, to the shape; concept of the calligraphy is not calligraphy, to the beauty; concept of the calligraphy is also calligraphy, to the Tao. We feel the Chinese calligraphy aesthetic realm in calligraphy appreciation, settle down and fly our tired minds, and make personality purifying and upgrading.

The method of calligraphy appreciation is the way of "obtaining meaning by

looking image". Southern • Song • Zong Bing had the words of "Observation", "Understanding" and "Joyful Expression". Calligrapher Xiang Mu in Ming Dynasty had the theory of "ear appreciation, eye appreciation and heart appreciation." The Eastern Han Dynasty thinkers Yang Xiong had these words that "calligraphy is the painting in our minds" in *Yang Zi Fa Yan • Ask God to Speak*. And the eye appreciation and heart appreciation is intuitional and illumination of the heart. Xiang Mu's words cut into the level of specific methods of the calligraphy appreciation, but he ignored the highest ideal of spirit appreciation. LI Zehou separated the art aesthetic appreciation into three kinds of taste modality, "pleasing ears and eyes", "pleasing mind and emotion", "pleasing will and spirit". This is actually precise and appropriate generalization in standing in a function of the arts for the person-level discussion.

If the combination of the past appreciation of calligraphy methods and function to the main body of calligraphy appreciation of view, I think the appreciation of calligraphy imagery should include eye appreciation, heart appreciation and spirit appreciation. By contrast, the specific methods should be compared with visual, satori and god.

A. Eye appreciation - visual concept

Visual concept, this is the first step in appreciation of calligraphy. The appreciation of calligraphy works by the first objective "view" access to a work of calligraphy "image" information, that is the form of calligraphic works, including writing movement, Knot words, art of composition and ink style. Attributed to the visual arts to the art of calligraphy is from this level to inspection. Visual concept is an intuitive way that is the appreciation of the "image in the image", with the sensory immediacy, emotional participation, feelings of transient features. Wang Guowei said in *"Commentaries on Lyrical Work"*: "observes scenery from his own angle and makes it have his own emotional colouring". Liu Xie said "to find the movement, the heart is also shaking" in *"The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons"*, which is all precise and appropriate words in describing the eyes concept. Eyes concept that obtain the visual stimulation and its shape and vision of pleasure is the low level of appreciation, but it's a basis of heart appreciation and spirit appreciation.

B. Heart appreciation – illumination of the heart

Illumination of the heart is a intuition to "meaning out of image" on basis of eyes concept. We can obtain the beauty and soul of pleasure. Li Zehou said "from the limited, accidental, and the specific image, realizing the infinite and inevitable contents that embody the essence of the life, thus enhancing the state of our mind." Tang Dynasty calligrapher Yu Shinan said in the *"Brush quintessence on • Qi Miao"*: "ingenuity must be illumination of the Heart, and not obtain through the eyes". Tang Dynasty Zhang Huaiguan had the theory that those who deeply understand the calligraphy have only seen in high spirits, but can not see font, which is precisely reveal the features of heart appreciation. The Qiyun and strength and expression look of calligraphy is obtained through satori and meaning.

C. Spirit appreciation – the spiritual agreement

The spiritual agreement is the highest stage of appreciation of calligraphy.

Appreciator can reach the realm of the unity of calligraphy and humanity and direct access to the realm of heaven and earth, and obtain the pleasure of Tao and will and spirit. "This is an infinite field, speech broken, never mind road, the main feeling from top to bottom with heaven and earth to experience the freedom and swim with the stream of mind on the matter at the beginning of the fun ",⁽⁴⁾ as Zhang Yan Yuan in the "*Chronicles painting in mind*" to describe the aesthetic process and the aesthetic realm: "soar reverie, Miao Wu nature, two things that I forgot from the shape to the intellectual." This soul deep joy brings people into the realm of Tao and spiritual liberation to be obtained happy and freedom. For thousands of years, ancient calligraphy and appreciation of those who admire the classic reason to make them and can not extricate itself, that is due to appreciation of Chinese calligraphy into the realm of Tao and brings charm and enjoyment of the endless to them.

Calligraphy appreciation process that is around the eye appreciation and heart appreciation and spirit appreciation these three methods has formed the three calligraphy appreciation programs of visual concept and illumination of heart and the spiritual agreement. In fact, in calligraphy appreciation process, the appreciator of those who view from the visual concept to the illumination of the heart then the spiritual agreement will be never-ending process and repeated pondering and gradually in-depth, then they can enter sublimity - appreciator and calligraphy will turn back into one. It is worth noting that knowing why is the deepening of "image" based on visual concept level and in view of the image. We are likely to have deep illumination of the heart and the spiritual agreement for "meaning".

Results & Discussion

Through the research of the origin and culture of Chinese calligraphy imagery, the analysis of compression to the similarities and differences between Chinese and Western, and the study of Chinese imagery acquisition, creation and appreciation, we can draw the following main conclusions:

A. The "imagery" originated from of "*Book of Changes*". The "image" of "image for meaning" is a way for meaning. The asymmetry in information of the "image" and "meaning" decides "end of the image can not express views". The Chinese ancient "farming culture" is a culture basement of Chinese calligraphy imagery. The "imagery" is an inevitable choice and wisdom that Chinese people realize nature and dispose the relationship between people and nature.

B. Imagery is admitted by the entire world. Chinese "imagery" emphasizes the comprehending imagery of one subject and object of "monism", but the Western Philosophy is a feeling form imagery of subject-object dichotomy of "dualism." Therefore, the Chinese "imagery" stresses comprehending and experiencing, specializes in integrative, but the Western imagery emphasize philosophical and specializes in analysis.

C. The wisdom and way of Chinese calligraphy images is "obtaining meaning while forgetting image". The imagery of calligraphy elements come from nature, derived of understanding of nature by development process of "meaning of xing",

"meaning of li" and "meaning of shen"; The law of calligraphy is obtained from meaning out image; The six scripts of Chinese character is the foundation for the text; the emergence of six styles of calligraphy are derived from imagery.

D. The wisdom of the Chinese calligraphy creation imagery is "the unity of calligraphy and humanity." The performance of calligraphy imagery is in nature; man and the perfect combination of calligraphy is one of the features of calligraphy imagery; calligraphy imagery is in the perfect combination of Heaven and Man and etc. The paper reveals the law of Chinese calligraphy images from the subject and object and subject-object relationship of calligraphy creation.

E. Appreciation of Chinese Calligraphy imagery lies in "view of the calligraphy is a soul of both calligrapher and us." Appreciation of Chinese calligraphy imagery have three levels that is eye appreciation, heart appreciation and spirit appreciation, which correspond to the concept of the formation of visual concept, illumination of the heart and the spiritual agreement.

Imagery makes Chinese calligraphy become the Garden of Eden of Chinese Spiritual sustenance and pursuit. We feel the realm of heaven and earth in the soul and the spirit of the great ease, which enhance our spiritual realm and make us not feel lonely in the course of life.

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West Meets East: Cross-cultural Art from the Western Perspective

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Abstract: Is it possible today in the age of globalization to create new modes of cross-cultural art based on a comprehensive understanding of the other culture without being accused of mimicking or exploiting the other? - This paper includes an example of Western art that attempts to incorporate Eastern aesthetics and to discuss these issues. Proceeding from Chinese thought and aesthetics the traditional concept of landscape painting ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’ is recreated in modern Western video art.

Topic of submission: Visual Arts

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Abstract: Is it possible today in the age of globalization to create new modes of cross-cultural art based on a comprehensive understanding of the other culture without being accused of mimicking or exploiting the other? - This paper includes an example of Western art that attempts to incorporate Eastern aesthetics and to discuss these issues. Proceeding from Chinese thought and aesthetics the traditional concept of landscape painting 'Shan-Shui-Hua' is recreated in modern Western video art.

Introduction

This paper explores new modes of cross-cultural art within the current debate of a global art history. It looks specifically at the Western position - where the West meets the East - and deals with difficulties of a post-colonial, post-imperialistic world where Western paradigms seem to dominate the creation and debate of contemporary art worldwide. The author of the paper is a Western art practitioner. The paper is a result of a practice-based research project that investigates analogies between traditional Chinese landscape painting and modern Western film and visualisation techniques. During the practical process it became obvious that it is impossible to create such a work without encountering difficulties of translation between Eastern and Western art tradition and without engaging in a debate on post-colonial issues. The text is not aiming to deliver a comprehensive in-depth research into the comparison of different cultural modes and global art issues, it rather highlights some aspects and presents a single example of Western video art that reveals some observations and offers opportunities for further discussion. It invites engaging in alternative, competing and opposing cultural perspectives in the light of a multi-cultural globalized world where the understanding of other (visual) cultures becomes increasingly important.

East meets West meets East

In recent years China emerged as the most influential Eastern country on the global art market. With the rise of the international attention on the political and social impact of China it has also created a strong impact on the Western art world. In the past ten to fifteen years it has become quite common for Eastern contemporary artists to incorporate aspects of Western art into their practice, and there is evidence of its worldwide success in various exhibitions in major museums and galleries. In the short time contemporary Chinese art has had to establish itself - often accused by Western and Chinese critics of continuing to mimic Western art historical movements. Meanwhile a more complex relationship of influences has developed, and Chinese artists are reworking traditional Eastern concepts combined with Western ideas in a more independent way, which the Chinese art critic and curator Fei Dawei describes as 'gradually placing issues brought from Chinese context into the larger cultural background of the world, in a

lively and creative way, so that it can set in motion a process of becoming ‘common’ and ‘extensive’.’ (Dawei in Lu, 2009)

But the adventure of mixing aspects of both cultures is rarely been undertaken in the other direction from the West to the East. Although the incorporation of Eastern aesthetics into Western art has long precedent in modern art, it is today often still regarded as ‘esoteric’ or criticized as a ‘post-colonial attitude’. It seems to be quite difficult for a contemporary Western artist to create ‘non-imperialistic’ artwork that is originated by Eastern influences in the current ‘minefield’ where ‘according to some voices, globalization is the new guise under which colonialism has returned.’ (Singh, 2010)

So there is a crucial question: Is it possible today in the age of globalisation to create new modes of cross-cultural art based on a comprehensive understanding of the other culture and without being accused of mimicking or exploiting the other? Is it possible to have an equal exchange between West, East and other parts of the world within a world that is dominated by Western paradigms and its imperialistic history?

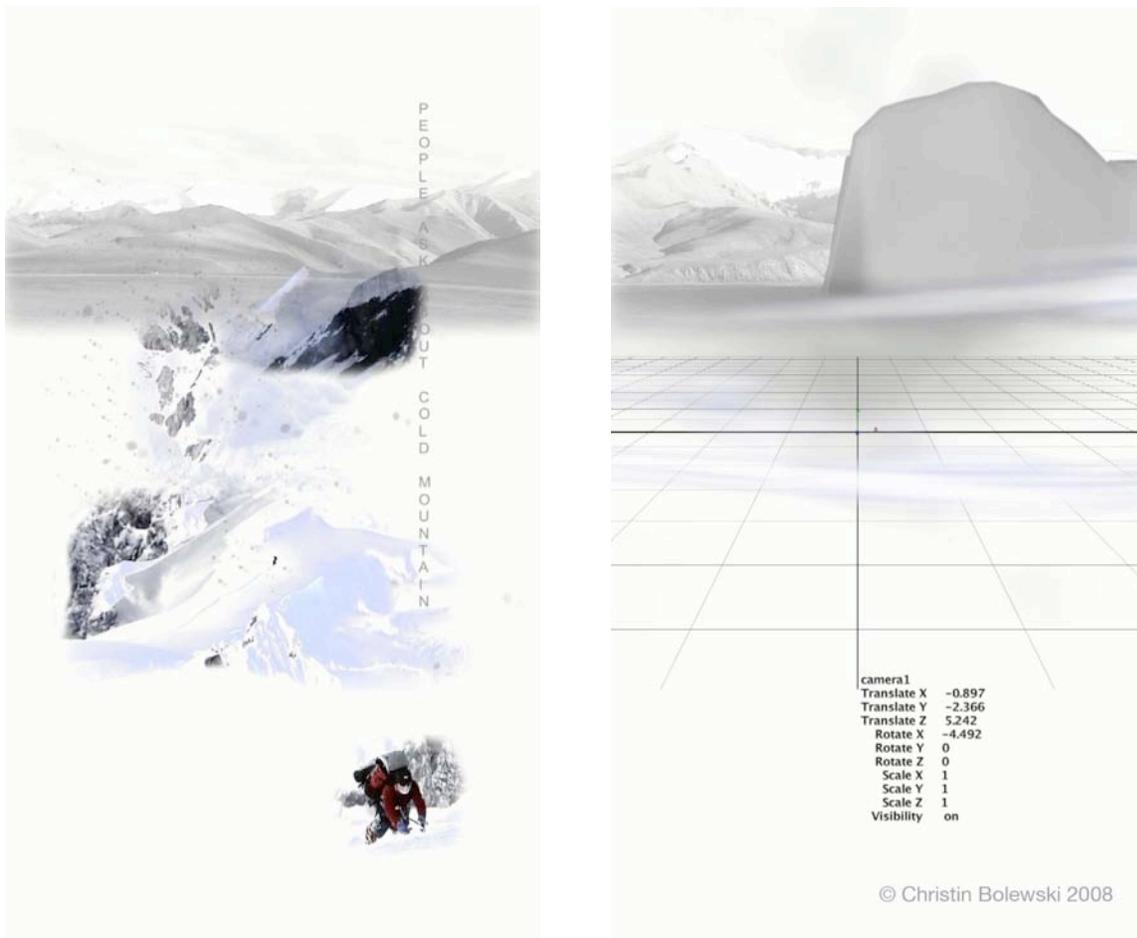


Figure 1 + 2: video still from video scroll ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’, © Christin Bolewski 2008; single screen video installation, 2D/3D Animation, HDV-PAL, Color, 15,19 min video loop

This paper includes the presentation of an example of contemporary Western video art that attempts to explore cross-cultural influences between the West and the East and discusses these issues from the Western perspective. It investigates how East Asian traditions of landscape art can be understood through reference to the condition of Western contemporary video art. Proceeding from Chinese thought and aesthetics the traditional concept of landscape painting 'Shan-Shui-Hua' ('mountain-water-painting') is recreated within the new Western genre of the 'video-painting' as a single (flat) screen video installation.

Global Art (History)

In recent years numerous publications on the globalization of contemporary art have been published worldwide. Most of them commonly agree that global art practice and history is mainly based on Western principles.

- The German art historians Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg report in the publication 'The global art world, audiences, market and museums' about a paradox situation where now in the 21st century the 'de-colonial re-writing' of art history is initiated by the West - dictating their post modern vocabularies to the rest of the world. (Belting and Buddensieg, 2009)
- The book 'Is Art History Global?' by James Elkins includes contributions of international art historians and critics discussing the practice and responsibility of global thinking within the discipline. Elkins argues that art history depends on Western conceptual schemata. 'Perhaps the most surprising fact about worldwide practices of art history is that there may be no conceptually independent national or regional traditions of art historical writing. Chinese art history, for example, demands expertise in very different kinds of source materials and formal concepts, but its interpretive strategies remain very Western. Chinese art historians, both in China and in universities in the West, study Chinese art using the same repertoire of theoretical texts and sources - psychoanalysis, semiotics, iconography, structuralism, anthropology, identity theory.' Elkins concludes that 'it can be argued that there is no non-Western tradition of art history, if by that is meant a tradition with its own interpretive strategies and forms of argument.' He finally comes to the conclusion that 'globalism means the use of Western forms, ideas, and institutions.' (Elkins, 2007)
- Jim Supangkat, an Indonesian artist and curator, talks about art 'with an accent' and explains that since the beginning of the nineteenth century art in Indonesia has interpreted 'art in the Western sense'. 'The art in the Western sense can be viewed as analogous to the development of English. Considering this analogy, the understanding of art in Asia can be viewed as 'art with an accent'.' (Supangkat, 2009)
- Carol Lu, a Chinese curator, critic and writer based in Beijing offers in her essay 'Back to Normal', a diagnosis of the Chinese contemporary art scene. 'Many of the 'exiled' artists who left China to live and work abroad in the 1980s and 1990s have gradually returned to major cities in China, and these people brought back not only their updated practice and artistic

thinking shaped by their overseas residence but have also presented formidable possibilities and influences on the art scene within China.’ (Lu, 2009)

These are just a few references demonstrating that contemporary art is mainly a Western construct that is incorporated in global or cross-cultural art forms; and there seems to be no easy escape to develop original contemporary artwork or art writing of worldwide recognition which is not based on Western principles.

Detour via China

But how to proceed as a Western artist when attempting to learn and understand Eastern traditions and to incorporate aspects of Eastern art into own practice, if in the East-West direction artist cannot create internationally recognised artwork without using Western strategies and which has to persist in the Western art historical discourse? How can then a Western artist create artwork containing Eastern elements without not exploiting and using it as a foreign and ‘exotic’ attribute that gets translated, reshaped, adopted, attached or incorporated into Western concepts?

At first East Asian aesthetic and philosophy is difficult to understand for the Western mind. There is a difficulty involved in bridging the gaps of understanding when viewing and understanding Chinese art. The reception of the art is passed through filters of language and culture and we in the West often realize that we cannot always grasp the full meaning. In her essay ‘Another kind of global thinking’ published in ‘Is art history global?’ Barbara Maria Stafford points out that translation and interpretation always involve transformation. ‘The pristine distinctiveness of other cultures cannot be maintained through the process of interpretation. It involves assimilation to the conceptual vocabulary and values of the other culture and does not overcome the basic fact that they are still being removed from the specific cultural context to which they belong, translated into an alien context and idiom - Anglo-American art history - and set into a network of concepts and comparisons which transform their significance.’ (Stafford, 2007)

There are some contemporary writers such as the French philosopher and sinologist Francois Jullien or the Chinese French writer Francois Cheng who ‘translate’ Chinese aesthetics for Western understanding offering some insights and interesting alternatives to compare and rethink Western traditions. (Jullien, 2005) (Cheng, 1994) Francois Jullien is one of the most important contemporary writers working in the cross-cultural field between the East and the West, although it has to be mentioned that some other sinologists criticize his method. Jullien has found his own way of dealing with the difficulties of transformation and translation between the cultures, and it is more a philosophical approach. Pointing out that it seems intellectually and politically imperative today to reinvigorate Western thought with ideas from the East, Jullien seeks to create a space of mutual inquiry that maintains the integrity of both Eastern and Western thinking. Moving between the traditions of ancient Greece and China, Jullien does not attempt a simple comparison of the two civilizations. In his book ‘The detour via China’ (original title: ‘Un detour par la Chine’) Jullien attempts to create a new approach to Western culture. He explains it as a ‘local change of thinking’, a process of distancing from Western thinking as an effective strategy

where Chinese philosophy functions as an ‘outside’ from which to see more clearly the values and preoccupation of Western culture. (Jullien, 2000) His detours about China always emanate from European philosophy with its Greek origins, and lead back there to reveal the contingencies of their principles and conditions. Jullien talks about the impossibility to compare the two separate cultures. Instead, he uses the perspective provided by each to gain access into the other culture. Eastern and Western concepts are often not in opposition; instead they are based on different categories and different pattern of thought, which make a direct comparison impossible, and he suggests distancing and reflecting each others preoccupations.

The Western video scroll ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’

The philosophical approach of Jullien offers an interesting possibility for a Western contemporary artist, who also struggles with the difficulties of bridging the gaps of understanding and translation when approaching Chinese art tradition. Julliens ideas have been used as a starting point for a practice-based art project and tested and applied for the creation of the Western video scroll ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’ which is reworking Chinese landscape traditions. The video work ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’ is not the research of an art historian or a specialist in Chinese art or a sinologist. It is an individual response of a contemporary Western artist and includes artistic freedom and subjective interpretations. In the sense of Francois Jullien the artwork is a ‘detour via China’. The methodology of the work process for the creation of the video scroll derives from Julliens philosophical approach. The subject of study is Western film and digital visualisation practice, but the access is through Eastern aesthetics. Emphasizing to some extent pictorial concepts and practical aspects of the Chinese painting process enables the artist to create distance, in order to take a fresh approach to Western visualisation practice. But at the same time using software tools that generally have been devised to create 2D and 3D artefacts from a Western cultural perspective avoids the pitfalls of echoing and imitating Chinese landscape painting too closely. The concept of multi-perspective and the endless scroll of the Chinese landscape are explored through digital filmmaking, video compositing and virtual camera, depths and particle systems. The main features of the original ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’ merges with Western moving image practice and one of its aims is to question Western digital visualisation practice that intends to represent realistic space.

Prof. Paul Wells, Director of the Animation Academy UK, talks in ‘Aspect Magazine – The Chronicle of New Media Art’, Volume 15: Influence and Reference, about the video scroll ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’: ‘Bolewski preoccupations are about the ways in which digital technologies – primarily geared to Western applications - can facilitate exploration of spatial terrain, and how this revises aesthetic orthodoxies, Chinese or otherwise. Western perspective underpins the implied desire to create plausibly realistic representations of the material world, and that this in turn authenticates an accountable ‘truth’. ‘Truth’ self-evidently, is a relative thing, and in encouraging a different way of seeing – aesthetically and culturally – Bolewski insists upon a re-interrogation of how tools help to define creative practice, and how our perceptual sense can be re-orientated by a different technical construction of pictorial elements.’ (Wells, 2010)

The Video Scroll: Appropriation? Cultural Hybridization?

The video scroll ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’ is a combination of a traditional Chinese hanging and hand scroll. The horizontal scroll of the video unrolls in time and space, but only in the moment of projection and is composed and animated from right to left in analogy to the East Asian principle. It presents a permanent virtual camera movement gliding through an indefinite landscape containing original 2D video recordings as well as 2D / 3D computer generated images and animations of landscapes. It is presented on a large high-resolution flat screen monitor, wall-mounted in vertical position as a ‘video painting’. It is simultaneously an exploration of ancient Chinese art practices and highly contemporary digital experiments in revising Western frame aesthetics and moving image construction. The exploration of the Chinese scroll as a moving image practice has long precedent, but is seen afresh through the digital intervention. Confronting the tools of modern computer visualisation with the East Asian concept creates an artistic artefact counter-pointing and reflecting both positions.

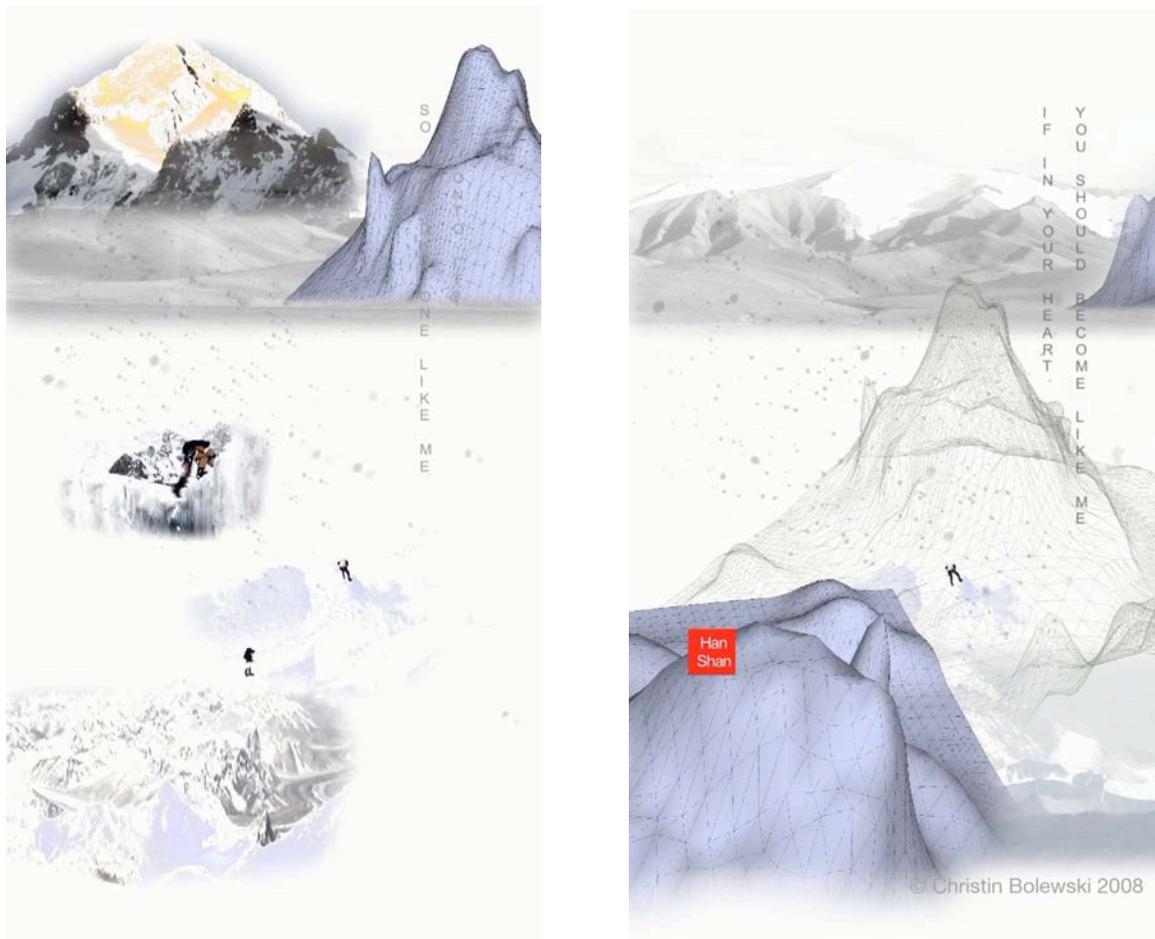


Figure 3 + 4: video still from video scroll ‘Shan-Shui-Hua’, © Christin Bolewski 2008; single screen video installation, 2D/3D Animation, HDV-PAL, Color, 15,19 min video loop

Appropriation has a long tradition in Western art. In the visual arts, to appropriate means to adopt, borrow, recycle or sample aspects or the entire form of man-made visual culture. In fact, appropriation of visual culture and art, in some form or another, has always been part of human history. Inherent in the process of appropriation is the fact that the new work re-contextualizes whatever it borrows to create the new work.

The video scroll 'Shan-Shui-Hua' specifically re-contextualises aspects of Eastern landscape tradition in the following areas:

- The use of time and temporality: This is an important feature for both Chinese aesthetics and the medium film. The Chinese horizontal hand scroll is often referred to as the first motion picture: it unrolls in time and space and is enjoyed as a progression while the painting is revealed foot by foot.
- The use of space and perspective: Based on the Renaissance tradition the achieving the effect of realistic space by the employment of linear perspective is a major preoccupation of Western visual culture, whereas the Eastern concept of using multiple vanishing points never aimed to create a realistic space.
- Chinese philosophy: The video painting plays with absence and presence, totality and emptiness, materiality and transcendence. 3D computer generated forms and wire frame grids of mountain models mix with 2D video recordings; illusionism meets reality. The principle of transformation so central to Taoist thought becomes the transformation of an imaginary digital landscape.
- Relation of man and nature: The video scroll transposes the traditional Eastern relation of man and nature into a more contemporary Western manner: it uses the figure of the Western mountaineer equipped with special tools and protective clothing to vanquish the highest peaks in order to conquer nature rather than searching for harmonious existence, thus counter-pointing Eastern and Western ideals.

And there is an important historical reference to make: Once the Russian avant-garde filmmaker Sergej Eisenstein was inspired by the commonality between the medium film and the Eastern art tradition in the development of his theory of film montage. (Eisenstein, Leda, 1996) He studied Japanese language and art and concluded that all the various branches of Japanese art were permeated by the same cinematic element, so that it was appropriate that the cinema should learn from other forms of Japanese artistic practice. Besides extracting techniques from Chinese characters and the Kabuki theatre, Eisenstein had also drawn on traditional scroll paintings that fused in his mind a combined image of close-ups and composition in depth.

Unfortunately the link between film and Chinese art is not very prominent today, so that it is very challenging - from the perspective of a contemporary digital media artist and film maker - to look closer to this relation and to consider the early observations of Eisenstein specifically in an approach to digital film practice, nearly 100 years later. The video painting 'Shan-Shui-Hua' follows the idea of Eisenstein and introduces the new genre of the digital 'video painting' as a suitable form for development. The video painting is a new artefact in Western contemporary moving image practice. It is a hybrid concept between the still and the moving image using traditional patterns of film narration and painting practice. It emerges as a supremely pictorial form and due to its ambient and meditative character the video painting seems to be privileged to

represent the conceptual and philosophical ideas of the traditional Shan-Shui-Hua.

But also Eastern artists appropriate and translate the traditional Chinese scroll into modern forms. In his book 'The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting' the contemporary artist Wucius Wong creates an interesting analogy to digital visualisation practice: 'But as he paints, the Chinese artist prefers to rely on his own imagination, and arranges the elements as though he were building a model. From his mind-heart he selects mountains, which he can then rotate and re-shape;...through acquaintance with the elements, the artist will be able to visualize at will in fabricating his scene. Through understanding of the laws, the artist will position the elements in appropriate positions, directions, and proportions, with transitions, extensions, and overlaps conforming to a definite order'.' (Wong, 1991) Wong uses terminology that sounds more familiar describing the construction of a virtual landscape within a digital software application rather than the traditional Chinese painting process. Here it becomes obvious that the exchange between different cultures, visual tools and aesthetics continues to create a 'unique global (visual) culture and language'.

And the new technical genre of the high-resolution flat screen display wall-mounted as a video painting inspires also Eastern artist to set their traditions into motion. The Korean artist Lee Lee Nam is internationally very successful and transcends traditional Eastern forms into digital sculptures and video paintings. And a very prominent example was presented at the Opening Ceremony of Beijing 2008 Olympics. Here a mega scroll was displayed and set in motion on probably one of the world's biggest LED screens: 22 meters wide and 147 meters long. As usual, the painting was a still image. It was not temporal art, but the scroll's dynamic display set the painting in motion and was able to show both the still image and dynamic one.

So is there now a difference if Eastern artists rework their own traditions or if a Western artist does it?

Altermodern - Creolisation

An interesting framework for the cross-cultural approach of the video scroll 'Shan-Shui-Hua' and the Eastern examples delivers the Tate Triennial 2009 exhibition at Tate Britain UK curated by the French art critic Nicolas Baurriand. This exhibition provided a framework for a new modernity that is emerging, reconfigured to an age of globalization, which Baurriand describes as 'altermodern' culture. This 'altermodern' culture is based on increased communication, travel and migration. Multiculturalism and identity is being overtaken by creolisation and artists are now starting from a globalized state of culture. This new universalism is based on translations, subtitling and generalized dubbing. He says: 'If twentieth-century modernism was above all a Western cultural phenomenon, 'altermodernity' arises out of planetary negotiations, discussions between agents from different cultures. Stripped of a centre, it can only be polyglot. 'Altermodern' art is thus read as a hypertext; artists translate and transpose information from one format to another, and wander in geography as well as in history.' (Baurriand, 2009)

Another framework delivers Kavita Singh, one of the curators of the exhibition 'Where in the world' at Devi Art Foundation Delhi India in an essay published in 2009 in the catalogue of the

exhibition. He suggests one formula for international success as an artist, which is 'national content' housed in 'post-modern forms'. 'That is, artists might use new genres, media and technologies of spectacle to reiterate icons from their own cultures, or to address current issues relating to their contexts that have already been made familiar by news. The artists can thus ensure that they appear 'contemporary' in their art-language while remaining 'authentic cultural insiders' in their content.' He continues: 'Observers have pointed out that this leads to 'self-ethnologizing' or presenting ourselves as others would wish to see us. Some even sharper critiques suggest that the nomadic contemporary artists of today are the 21st century equivalent of the living ethnographic specimens who toured with 19th century World's Fairs.' (Singh, 2010)

So here we have two different voices: the one of Kavita Singh is quite critical and the other one of Nicolas Baurriand does not even consider issues of power play between East and West, colonial and colonised countries and the use of Western paradigms as a basis for the 'creolisation' of contemporary art. He speaks about 'dubbing and translation in a polyglot world stripped of a centre', with equal access and knowledge and without all the worries of many art historians. - But it can be argued that his 'polyglot' world is today still based on Western paradigms and then 'polyglot' becomes another metaphor for what Dan Karlholm describes in his essay 'Does it work? - A note on pragmatic part and global wholes': 'Global seems to be the latest incarnation of 'universal' and is a quintessentially Western preoccupation. The anxiety to meet the standards of a global account (or narrative, or history) is certainly a product of the Western aspiration of conquering the world both literally and symbolically.' (Karlholm, 2007)

What to conclude?

Stafford concludes in her essay 'Another kind of global thinking' that 'the only way one might mitigate such transformations (between cultures) would be to attempt to become assimilated to the culture of the other, and some have followed this course.' (Stafford, 2007) One example is the French philosopher Francois Jullien who has spent many years of studies in China to gain access to the other culture. Carol Lu reports on the Chinese art historian and critic Leng Lin who is widely considered one of the most influential players on the Chinese contemporary art scene. After being away in Berlin for two years he returned to Beijing and manages and directs there one of the most important galleries in the world. 'Leng has a deep understanding of and experience in both worlds and clearly stated that these are two completely different systems: 'I need to develop two methodologies and languages to deal with these two worlds.' As he brings his full grasp of both worlds into his practice, they definitely show mutual influences on each other and possibly will give shape to a new model that makes the best of both systems.' (Leng in Lu, 2009)

Global, cross-cultural art or hybridisation and creolisation of art - all these concepts cannot be seen apart from the historical and political background of a Western world dominance within the last centuries. In the 21st century single individuals, who traverse between the cultures and get assimilated to different cultures, might be able to develop more authentic strategies. But the dominance of the Western art historical discourse might still remain a standard for the worldwide appreciation and reception of art. Hans Belting who has been thinking around concepts of 'universal art' since more than 10 years, says that the 'global' in art has yet no definite meaning,

but he speaks about a ‘turning point’ where in the moment the concept of art is shifting and he expects that in the time to come it will change more than we ever would expect. (Belting, 2006)

But meanwhile for a single Western visual artist using modern Western visualisation tools day-to-day for the creation of own imagination and views of the world, it is fundamental to be remembered of the restriction that lie within own cultural concepts, to be aware of a (self-) limitation within own practice and thinking, which is dictated by own culture and soft- and hardware tools, which are designed to serve Western preoccupations. It is important to be remembered of alternative modes of expression through this ‘detour via China’ to be able to expand ones own imagination.

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The Topic of the Submission:

Anthropology, Archaeology, Cultural Studies and Humanities

Title:

Critique and Reconstruction

— The Reflection on Preservation of War Landscapes in Kinmen-Matsu Areas

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Critique and Reconstruction

— The Reflection on Preservation of War Landscapes in Kinmen-Matsu Areas

Chen, Chien-chung*、Fu, Chao-ching**

ABSTRACT

This article tries to analyze after 1949 - when a united “one China” has separated-how the traditional dwellings of Kinmen(金門) and Matsu(馬祖) were influenced by the state and gradually turn into military bases under the Cold War and “ROC vs. PRC” military confrontation across Taiwan Strait. I will try to point out how military power forms the space and society of local people, reflecting on the landscapes and lifestyle there. Furthermore, the historical meaning and value of preserving the battlefield Kinmen-Matsu as World Heritage will be discussed.

Although the military deployment has ensured the safety of Taiwan, the decade-long military control also seriously confined local people’s rights. Everything was under monitor and discipline of government authority. Kinmen and Matsu were not only the front base of the “anti-communism and national recovery” policy, but also the first Asian island chain in the “Containment Policy”. They are spatial symbols of the military confrontation during the Cold War, just like Berlin Wall in Germany, Panmunjom in Korea, Cu Chi tunnel in Vietnam. Particularly the long confrontation state across the Taiwan strait with no real fighting has peculiarly become a unique landscape in the world history of war worthy of preservation.

In 2003, Taiwan’s government has listed Kinmen-Matsu’s military cultural landscapes as a potential site for World Heritage. In recent years, these military buildings has lost their original functions and turn to be local tourist resources to attract visitors, a kind of war landscapes were created under special time frame.

1. The Historical Changes of Kinmen and Matsu in Modern Times

The geography scope of Kinmen includes Greater Kinmen, Lesser Kinmen, and some islets. Administratively, it is Kinmen County of Fujian Province, Republic of China. The total land area of Kinmen is 150 square kilometers. In 1915, Kinmen was assigned as a county. After the second civil war in 1949, Kinmen is administrated by Taiwan Government.

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The immigrant society of Kinmen had already existed since the fourth century. The immigrant increased after the Ming Dynasty and became prosperous since then. In 1949, the Kuomintang (KMT) government moved from Mainland China to Taiwan, and Kinmen was forced to become the battlefield of the civil war. After The ROC armed forces had been assigned to Kinmen, they undertook serious battles of Kuningtou(古寧頭) and Dadan(大膽) island with P.R.C Military which thousands of R.O.C armed forces were dead or wounded. Moreover, battles such as “93 Artillery Bombardment” in 1954, “823 Artillery Bombardment” in 1960, and “617 Artillery Bombardment” in 1960 made Kinmen the island with the most battles and artillery shells. Although the military shelter of Kinmen ensured the security of Taiwan during the Cold War period, the result of “full military operations” had changed the scenes of Kinmen, and made the daily lives of people restrained and inconvenient.

Matsu is namely Lienchiang (連江) County. After the second civil war in 1949, the R.O.C government had combined five major islands such as Nangan (南竿), Beigan(北竿), Dongyin (東引) and other 36 minor islands as Matsu islands. The total land area of Matsu is 28.8 square kilometers. The historical records of



Figure1: Map of Kinmen, Matsu and Taiwan.

Yuan-Ming had mentioned little about Matsu islands: Matsu was a small and barren fishing village as a shelter for the fishing men from Fujian, and gradually becoming a village with kinship. According to the documents, Matsu as the “anti-communism fort” also had encountered thousands of artillery shells from P.R.C. in the period of Taiwan and China split, although it wasn’t as serious as the tens of thousands of artillery shells in Kinmen area, Matsu was still under the control of military administration for decades, and battlefield facilities such as military bunkers, underground tunnels, battlefields, and field batteries were everywhere in the islands.

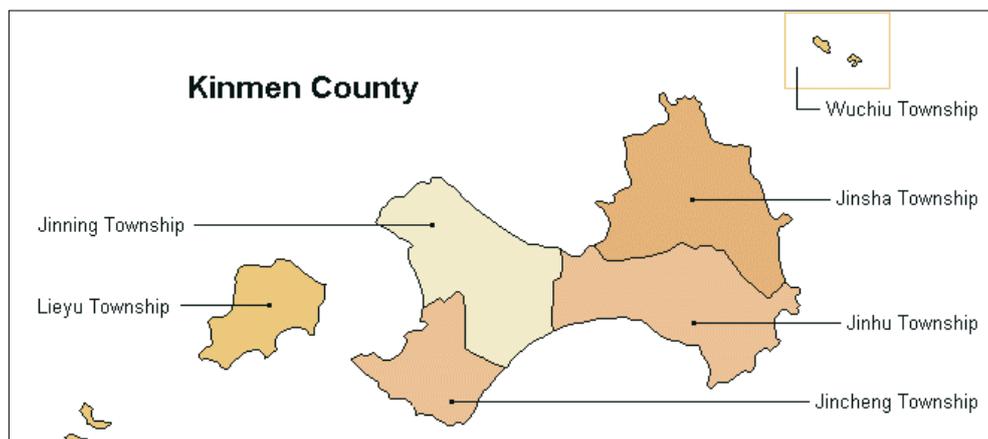


Figure2: Map of Kinmen County.

In the early 1950s, the United States had declared not to involve in Chinese Civil War. Until the Korean War broke out in June 1950, the situation of Taiwan Strait had changed fundamentally. The supportive military actions from the communist party to North Korea reminded the United States of the spread of the communist forces in Pacific region. After the end of Korean War in July 1953, Zhou Enlai reaffirmed the determination of “The Liberation of Taiwan” with Taiwan, and reassembled the armed forces to bombard Kinmen. Considering the red crisis, the United States determined to sign “Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty” for ensure the security of Pacific region by providing defensive military in the Taiwan strait. The structure of military bases in Kinmen and Matsu had gradually changed from “conquering the mainland” to “defending Taiwan”.

Under the circumstances, Kinmen and Matsu as the islands dominated by farming and offing fishing had entered the military blockade period with the history trends. In all industries, military needs took precedence over others under the condition of military administration. The local economic development was forced to rest on the position of the primary industry. The industries enough to be called “the secondary industries” were those supported by the military such as distilleries, ceramics factories, granite fields and so on. After relieved from the



Figure3: Map of Matsu area.

military administration, Kinmen and Matsu had gradually returned to local autonomy. Since parts of the garrison evacuated, the abundant military facilities were no more mysterious and grim but became the popular sites of tourism as the cultural landscapes of battlefields.

2. The Villages Restructure of the Military Administration: The Space Control of the De-contextualization

2.1 The Military Administration in Kinmen and Matsu

The military administration refers to the particular administration established for unifying civil administration, finances, construction projects, education, police administration and intelligence work. R.O.C armed forces had been assigned to Kinmen and Matsu after 1949, but the military organizations were too complicated to manage, R.O.C government, therefore, had classified Kinmen and Matsu areas as the military administration for the military uniform and the battlefield defense in 1956. Defense Department, after a short time, had enacted “Experimental Methods of the Military Administration of Kinmen and Matsu,” and had established “Battlefield Government Affairs Committee” in both Kinmen and Matsu area. The military units were assigned to assist the experimental work. The military government period started with the systems of the military administration such as “fully military operations” and “military and political integration”, and last for nearly 40 years.

The battlefield government affairs committee was directly under Defense Department, and all affairs were conducted by Defense Department in this region. The battlefields commander also the chairman of the military administration committee. Kinmen and Lianjian county governments must obey the command and supervision of their military administration committees respectively. The county heads were assigned by Defense Department, the county governments had become the domination of the military administration committee for dealing with normal civil affairs. The military administration committee was an institution with the highest authority, meanwhile, it was the agent of country for information filtration and elimination and resources distribution and conformity. So the military administration committee shaped the battlefield impression for Taiwanese people and the self-identify for people in Kinmen and Matsu.

The martial law in Taiwan and “Period of Communist Rebellion” were terminated on July 15, 1987 and May 1, 1991 respectively. However, Kinmen, Matsu, Dongsha (東沙), Nansha (南沙) and other outlying islands were still under the temporary martial law based on the military consideration, and people’s rights were restrained with “The Safety and Counseling Regulations of Kinmen, Matsu, Dongsha, and

Nansha Region”. Until the termination of this regulation in 1998, the history of the military administration for 36 years was finally and completely terminated and returned to the normal operations of the constitutional government, the local authority and the democracy.

The result of the Chinese civil war in 1949 was the key of “full militarization” in Kinmen and Matsu. The main task of the military administration was to reinforce the combat readiness and the mobilization of the military and the civil. The long-term objective was to strengthen the consciousness of patriotism and anti-communist, and to establish a system of battlefield organizations, sources supply and health care for building “**the model county of Three Principles of the People**”. However, the long military administration also caused negative influence which made people in Kinmen and Matsu live in a different situation from people in Taiwan with the Implementations of curfew, blackouts, military law judgments, entrance and exit administrations, and telecommunication, financial and electronic appliances administrations.

2.2 The Military Reorganization of Village Community – Civil Defense Organizations

Michel Foucault’s perspective is worth learning from regarding the discussion of space and authority. He argues the principle of discipline is to assign everyone to a position, and assign every position to a person. It terminates the blurring distribution and people who are not under control, and ensure the present and absent ones to supervise the performance of everyone, make evaluation and adjudication constantly. The nature of military administration is a sort of disciplines with gentle methods and force. It implemented four systems: “the civil defense organizations”, “the village autonomy organizations”, “the village joint protection organizations”, and “the uniform system which combined the police and the household” to distribute people in the villages as units and control them with the military administration. By implementing the top-down “pyramid” military leadership, “only people in Kinmen



Figure 1 (left) past Kinmen and Matsu, and (right) present Kinmen (the village was the model of “The Three Principles of the People.”)

military and the villages. The field officers were assigned as the vice chiefs of townships and the company officers were assigned as the vice village chiefs to control and monitor everything in the villages. The vice chiefs reported every detail to the superiors for ceasing the tendencies of the residents. On the other side, the military cadres located in the villages would supervise the residents to execute the demands from the military which made the social organizations militarize fully. The local officials were just dummies for conveying and implementing demands with no real authority.

The civil defense organizations classified the residents by their age, gender and profession, and then assigned tasks such as military operations, garrisons, logistics supply, injure aid and intelligence delivery to them. The principle of classification was to assign every resident a combat position with a particular task and cooperate with others. "Everybody is an element to be settled and shifted." This classification must consider the continuity of time and ensure every resident in any age was assigned to a military position and a task. From children to elders, the residents must change their identities to be a military man to meet the needs of the country. Besides, the self defenders of civil organizations would provide their labors without payments. Under the banner of country battlefields, the labors were the properties of the country.

Moreover, the system of the household co-punishment prescribed the residents to ensure the co-punishment for combining at least 2 households and 5 households at most. The co-punishment system became a filter for preventing outsiders from entering Matsu, meeting the effect of mutual monitoring, and controlling the flow and amount of the residents.

The Task Distribution Units of Civil Defense in Kinmen and Matsu		
Unit	Identity	Task
Young Lions	Students above 11 years old.	Command by the garrison units of each village.
Youth Zone	Young men and women from 11 to 16 years old	Intelligence collection and communication.
Feminine Unit	Women from 18 to 35 years old	Counseling, guiding, aid, intelligence and defense.
Feminine Preparation	People with over 5 month pregnancy and babies under 2 years old, people who support the families singly, and those who are poor or disable.	
Maneuver Unit	Men and military men from 17-35 years old.	The main force of the civil defense organizations.

Garrison	Mainly men from 36-48 years old	The garrison and the patrol of strategic locations and traffic.
Logistics Supply	Retired men from 44-55 years old	The supplemental support.
Cooperation	The weak under 11 and over 55 years old.	Cooking and assisting the supply work.

3. Recontextualizing the Villages: Reconstructive Projects of the Military Spaces

The objective of implementing the military administration was to define Kinmen and Matsu as “spring boards of anti-communist”. The results of full militarization simplified the scenes. To build the military roads and green planting for defense, the original ecological system and geography had been destroyed. Controlling the dominance of passing in and out of the space can reorganize the social order and weed out the suspects. However, the long-term blockade policy for commanding the military mobilization and resource management had caused the decline of local economic industries and social development. The present cultural landscapes of battlefield are the metaphor of the “the authority of military administration”, “land exploitation”, “the ignorance of local lives and geography” in the past. The declaration of “the priority of military status” by monitoring and disciplining local residents from the military was reflected on the allocation of local space.

3.1 The Combat Villages

Kinmen and Matsu were positioned as a blockade space out of military consideration. Each island was independent, and the military bases on the mountains were monitoring the residents of traditional villages. At the time the military decontextualizing the region, they were also recontextualizing the spaces such as the constructions of “combat villages”, “military bunkers”, “ underground tunnels”, “bomb shelters”, “military roads” and “spiritual slogans” everywhere. The “combat villages” were constructed in 1960s which combined the combat villages with the civil defense organizations. “Everyone is a combatant, and every village is a combat village” is the best explanation of the combat villages. The policy of “everyone is in the organization, and everyone can combat” proposed by General Hu Lien(胡璉), the commander of Defense Department in Kinmen had combined the military and the residents to reinforce the combat capabilities.

“The combat villages” required every village larger than medium size to be able to conduct instant military operations. Make villages as a “combat plane”, and the whole island as a “combat body”. There were foxholes outside the villages, guards in each intersection, shooting windows in every house of villages, and machine guns and lookout posts on the roofs. Normally, every house was for residence use until the

exploding of war, it turned into a military blindage and a bunker for armed forces to enter. Thus, almost every house was a bunker and the villages were all independent military units.

3.2 The Underground Tunnels

The famous “underground tunnels” system in Kinmen and Matsu is another remodeling project of military space. Although many underground tunnels are still the districted military area, and the tourist is not allowed, we can still understand the property value by the open battlefield tunnels such as “Cingtian Hall” in Kinmen, “88 tunnel” in Matsu and so on. It took limitless labor, physical resources, and financial resources and sacrificed to build the “maritime blockhouses” in Kinmen and Matsu.



Figure 6, 7, 8 & 9: the Da-han(大漢) military stronghold is located on the Tieban (鐵板) coast of southern Nagasaki.

For the garrison of hundreds of thousands of the armed forces, the soldiers scooped every single tunnel out and exploding every mountain block house with their hands in this granite-based island. The dozens of kilometers battlefield tunnel system is connected to various underground blockhouses and combat strongpoints all over the island. The density of the tunnels is unique and the first in the world.

4. Preliminary Observation of the Implication of Reservation and the History Value of Battlefield Landscapes

During Chinese Civil War, Kinmen and Matsu were forced to involve the History. The past strategically policy “the family of the military and the residents, the life of the whole island” was the discipline to the residents for the integration of the military and the politics and the tight defense of the island. Moreover, with the shift of the battlefield between Kuomintang (KMT) and the communist party, Kinmen and Matsu had become the focusing point of the Chinese political history and the blueprint of anti-communist policy in Asia for the United States. However, as for the residents, they had nothing to do with wars were now forced to involve in the system of the military administration. Their survivals were tied with the armed forces, and the lifeblood of the island could only live or die together with the country.

The special battlefield landscapes in Kinmen and Matsu were caused by the context of cross-strait political development after World War II. The role of “battlefield” in Kinmen and Matsu was an imaginary mirror for reminding the United States and Taiwan of the security of the Pacific region must depend on Kinmen and Matsu as the battlefronts. Thus, the space organization of Kinmen and Matsu must be constructed with the image of militarization and became the famous battlefields. The value of the battlefield landscapes in Kinmen and Matsu could be parts of World Cultural Heritage might be highlighted from the following explanations.

4.1 The “Historical Altar” among the United States, Mainland China and Taiwan under the Global Cold War Structure

Since Kuomintang (KMT) and the communist party shifted their battle to Taiwan Strait in 1949, Kinmen had become the famous battlefield in the Chinese modern history for undertaking countless artillery actions from the communist party. After the dividing administration, Taiwan and Mainland China had ceased the fire but still couldn't put it an end for unwilling to accept the fact of the split from both sides.

Under this circumstance, Kinmen and Matsu had changed into instant combat blockhouses for providing military services at anytime.

The battlefield of Kinmen started with Kuningtou (古寧頭) Bombardment. After Kuningtou Bombardment, Mao Zedong had decided to process the domestic affairs for stabilizing his own politic authority, and stopped the invasion to Kinmen and Matsu. However, the attitude of the United States became the key of influencing the history of cross-strait situation. After the Korean War in 1950s, Taiwan had become part of “Pacific Defense Alignment of Anti-Communist”. Kinmen and Matsu soon turned into the center of the military confrontation, and their important roles had been highlighted under the global cold war structure. The global cold war headed by the

United States and Soviet Union had formed, and Taiwan had join the side of the United States gradually caused Mao Zedong to process the situation of Taiwan with different ideas. He no longer wanted to conquer Kinmen but proposed the so called “Hands Theory” which takes Kinmen and Matsu as hands to choke Taiwan, he argues: Kinmen and Matsu are two dots which connect Taiwan and us. Without the two dots, we are no longer related to Taiwan. Every man has two hands, and Kinmen and Matsu are our hands for holding Taiwan. The two islands can also be a baton to fool Khrushchev and Eisenhower around.

As for Kuomintang (KMT), it must depend on the proposal of “reconquer Mainland China, and restore the system of justice” to maintain the administrative legitimacy for stabilize the internal authority and hundreds of thousands of external armed forces after retreated to Taiwan. Although the opportunities and capabilities of reconquering Mainland China gradually become impossible with the containment of the United States, the garrison in Kinmen and Matsu as “the spring board of reconquering Mainland China” could manifest the intention and determination of reconquering Mainland China for Kuomintang (KMT). “Kinmen is the bridgehead of reconquering Mainland China. The existence of Kinmen allows Kuomintang (KMT) to express the determination without truly engaging in reconquering Mainland China.” Therefore, defending Kinmen could not only protect Taiwan and as the spring board of reconquering Mainland China and also represent the administrative legitimacy of Kuomintang (KMT) in Taiwan. Nominally, Kinmen and Matsu are the only politic link between Taiwan and Mainland China which belong to Fujian Province of Republic of China. Although Republic of China is located in Taiwan, it possesses Kinmen and Matsu of the other side as a presentation of not abandoning the only legal regime in Mainland China. Internationally, Taiwan authority won’t abundant the authority in Kinmen and Matsu presented the uniqueness of Chinese law system.

The cold war between the United States and Soviet Union made Taiwan the first chain in the anti-communist military island chains of the United States. Kinmen and Matsu were the advance bases for Containment. Mao Zedong’s intention of bombarding Kinmen was apparently a declaration of the liberation of Taiwan but actually trying to shift the focus on the political infighting in Zhongnanhai (中南海); Chiang Kai-shek assigned a large numbers of military to Kinmen and Matsu for reconquering Mainland China and saving the fellow citizen; the United States contained Kuomintang (KMT) through Kinmen and Matsu for preventing Soviet communist party from extending to Pacific and maintaining the security and benefits of the United States. Kinmen and Matsu were always a stage for the leaders of the United States, Mainland China and Taiwan to deliver strategic intentions. Under the anti-communist and the communist-phobia atmosphere, Kinmen and Matsu turned out

to be a “historical altar”.

4.2 The Historical Reference as a World Cultural Heritage

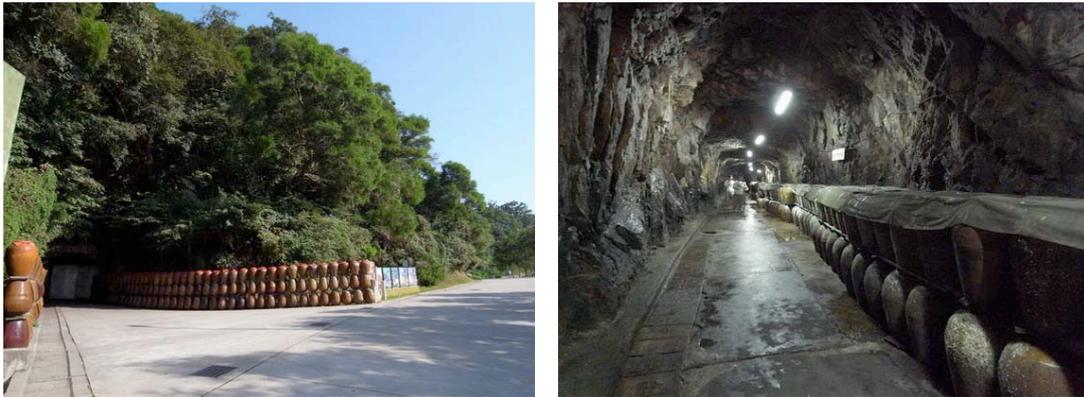


Figure 10 &11: “Tunnel 88”, the famous distillery in Matsu, it was transferred from military tunnel.

In 1990s, with the disruption of Soviet communist party and the termination of the material law in Taiwan, the cold war had become parts of the history. Soon after that, the military administration of Kinmen and Matsu was also terminated. People in Taiwan, Kinmen and Matsu had started to repair the lost lives and years since then.

With the reconciliation between cross-strait relations at present, the battlefield had turned into a “cultural heritage of battlefields” which represents the cold war period and the Chinese civil war. Chiang Kai-shek used to believe that: “Kinmen in southeast Asia is comparable with west Berlin in Europe, Malda islands during World War II as an anti-communist blockhouse.” Thus, the position of Kinmen and Matsu was no less than “Panmunjeom” in the confrontation between North and South Korea, “Cu Chi Tunnel” in Vietnam War, “Berlin Wall” in the split of East and West Germany, and “the Great Wall” in ancient military history. Kinmen and Matsu not only appeared on the Cold War history in such a history context but also became parts of the Cold War history. Kinmen and Matsu possess an unique value of battlefields in the history of Asian region and even the global history. They played a role as “Omaha Beach” in Normandy Invasion in 1944, “Auschwitz” in World War II, “Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Museum” in Japan, and “Choeung Ek Massacre Museum” for remembering the victims during Khmer Rouge as historical references and terror landscapes to remind people of the unwise actions in the past. Furthermore, the landscapes of battlefields in Kinmen and Matsu are sufficient to represent the complete history reservation of special battlefield sites.

4.3 The Fantasy Landscapes of the Global Military History

“That was a strange war; the unique war must combine with many unusual historical factors”. After “93 Artillery Bombardment” and “823 Artillery Bombardment”, a war unprecedented also no latecomers had started between

Kuomintang (KMT) and the communist party. They bombarded each other but never made bench landings. The encounters had gradually turned into a strange war scene so called “only attack on even days”. “Afterwards, the bombardment is just like a routine, you can even predict the date and location.” The reasons of the special military actions are due to Chiang Kai-shek’s inability of reconquering Mainland China from the battlefronts in Kinmen and Matsu, and the communist party was no hurry on occupying Kinmen and Matsu out of plans for the unity and the international situation.

Therefore, the destiny of Kinmen and Matsu were operated among the benefits of the United States, the authority of the communist party, and Kuomintang (KMT). The result of fully militarization was another formation of Asian “Phony War” which lasted for 40 years in Kinmen and Matsu and changed the social spaces, the appearances of the villages and the life experiences of the residents. “The 20-years counterattack of “only attack on even days” had made many “Phoney War” relics in Kinmen.” The relics were the unique landscapes in the global military history.

5. Conclusion

Since the Kuomintang (KMT) government moved from mainland China to Taiwan, the task of Kinmen and Matsu had played a role as front guards. The long military administration and blockade had blocked the normal development of local democracy and finance. Kinmen and Matsu turned into the boundary islands behind Taiwan. Until now, there are still many land disputes, landmine removal tasks, military casualties, unjust charge reparations and other historical issues to be solved. However, just as Mr. Chao-Ching Fu (傅朝卿) had said about the future of Kinmen and Matsu: “the future of Taiwanese culture is not about the conservative retention but how it becomes parts of the world culture.”

Kinmen and Matsu were under the state of combat readiness for a long time, and the villages were another space formation of battlefields. The villages were undertook oppression and reservation. Take the traditional South Fuchien (福建) buildings and western buildings as an example, there were hundreds of natural villages could be reserved due to the military administration. The changing history of traditional buildings of Southern China could be tracked down. Meanwhile, the traditional buildings in Taiwan were destroyed due to the overdeveloping modernization. Besides, the military relics such as squares of review stands, bomb shelters, spiritual slogans and so on. The military relics could reflect the unique history context of Kinmen and Matsu. Both the buildings built by the military and the residents could represent a historical product under a special condition of time and space—A heterotopias created the hostile authorities and international situations. The buildings are not only what

they are apparently, they are a mirror to reflect the ugliness of the nature of wars and the oppression of totalitarian rule. At present, the battlefield relics in Kinmen and Matsu could be the important cultural properties which lead the world.

Last but not the least, the previous battlefield tunnels are now famous distilleries, the military bunkers have become the art museums. While modern Kinmen and Matsu have turned into the international tourist sites, the day that “the cultural landscape of battlefield” log into World Cultural Heritage might be just around the corner.

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Eastern and western monetary systems from difference to similarity

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1. Short summary of the European monetary history¹

1.1 Antiquity

The creation of coins has been preceded by a long period when monetary instruments were metal objects.

The birth of the coins in the years 625 BC is the result of the decision of a king. It is an administrative creation and not the result of commercial developments.

From the beginning, the currencies used the most precious metal: gold and silver, often a mixture of both. The creation of money was not the result of a desire to facilitate the daily small exchanges, but the very important trade, between kings or between rich notables.

The choice of metal was an important element in monetary history. The precious metal has always (it is a constant) been linked to the deities. Gold is the physical representation of the flesh of the gods and silver has been a favorite metal of the gods. It is to the gods that people offered gold and silver and temples retained reserves.

This is an important part of the history of money. This relationship between the metal and the sacred is the basis of legislation concerning currency and was a very important point in the development of coinages.

Another point is important, the relation between the coin and its weight. Nearly all the coins were struck and the individual weight was more or checked. The system allowed the verification and the checking of the weights.

During the fifth century BC, the war has necessitated the development of monetary emission to pay the soldiers and the mercenaries, including the weapons. The Greek cities which proceeded emissions used then metal from the temples for hitting increasingly important quantities of coins. To mark the sacred character of issues and metal, they have figured the portrait of the deity on the coins.

This initial confusion explains that counterfeiting was treated as a breach of gods and that the emissions have engraved on one side of the coin the divine figure. Note that this divine figure can be replaced by another sacred figure, the emperor or the king, or the personification of the state. In all cases, this is not the figure of a man, but of a holy man. In the Middle-Ages, artists have preferred to represent the Christian cross representing God.

For a long time, emissions have been precious metal issues. The divisional emissions are occurring only later, when the entire society has been monetized, during the fourth century BC

In Greece the monetary system has slowly developed in cities and between cities and colonies. The construction of colonies far from the cities has been a factor in the dissemination of Greek coinages throughout the Mediterranean basin.

¹ Depeyrot, G., 1995-1996.

After the conquests of Alexander the Great, the arrival of gold and silver taken in Persia, and estimated at 3,000 tons of silver, gave the Greek mints an opportunity to significantly increase the monetary production. These strikes were circulating in large quantities and allowed to shift from the nonmonetary economy to the monetary economy.

Thanks to the colonies, the Greek monetary habits spread throughout the world, both in the Mediterranean world in the world of Central and Northern Europe.

Finally, the incessant wars between peoples and between cities and empires have forced people to recruit mercenaries who were paid in coins. Those mercenaries returned home and often imitated the gold and silver coins.

The currency developed with significant emissions, either through colonies or via currency given to mercenaries. The growth of money stock in the fourth century BC has led to increased emissions of bronze coins. Thus following the conquests of Alexander, or the late fourth century BC, coins of gold, silver and bronze had become common.

The conquest of Greece by the Roman armies changed the situation. The booty taken by the Roman legions to Rome was, more or less, the amount of silver and gold taken by Alexander the Great in Persia. This very important amount of silver that arrived gradually in Rome, according to the rhythm of the tribute paid by the Greek, gave to the Roman mint the means to produce a very large amount of silver coins that were used in the whole western world. Millions of denarii very produced completed by a very large quantity of copper coins.

During the Republic (3rd c. BC-1st c. BC), Rome took the control of many nations and countries, exporting its monetary system. The consequence of the integration in the Roman Republic of all the invaded nations was the change toward an urban style of life and integration in a monetary society. The coinage was a necessity to pay for the armies, the administrators and to collect the taxes.

With the creation of the Roman Empire, at the turning of BC/AD, the monetary system was changed and unified, with a complete series of gold, silver and bronze coins. All these coins were linked by a fixed relation of value. Several mints were opened in the Empire and in the Eastern and traditional mints continued to produce coins. Several millions of coins were in circulation in the Roman world. During the crisis of the 3rd century, the quantity of coins increased up to several millions of coins/year.

1.2 Middle-Ages and Modern period

During the first part of the Middle-Age, the copper slowly disappeared. The gold, then the silver coinage continued some years and disappeared.

After the end of the 7th century, the rare issues were in silver. There were a lot of small mints producing very few coins. The coinage of the silver continued in various regions, but the development of the society in the 11th – 12th c. needed large amount of coined silver. At this moment the outputs of the main mints increased and get again a status of real important coin producer.

The conquest of the Eastern Mediterranean Sea obliged the kings and the nations to change the monetary system, to introduce again gold that was used in the Islamic regions, then to adopt again a coin in good silver. In some years between the 12th and the 13th centuries the economic world of Europe changed from a very Northern one to a Mediterranean one.

At the same moment the development of trade obliged the development of the bank system and relations.

So the Silver renaissance of the 12th c. was followed by a gold renaissance in the 13th and 14th c.

The 15th century was a period of gold and silver famine. This "famine" continued up to the arrival of the metal of the Americas.

So the 16th century was marked by an arrival of gold, then by a huge arrival of silver that flew the complete world. After the end of the 16th century, Europe endured a new period of famine linked to the decrease of the arrival of metal and on the other side to the massive exportation of silver towards the Eastern regions.

However, the quantities available for the mints were so important that the mints change for a new system of strike. The traditional one, with hammer was replaced by the system of the press. The banks and the banknotes appeared soon after.

2. Summary of the Chinese monetary history

2.1 From Antiquity to the Three kingdoms, 5th c. BC – AD 265

Qin Shi Huang Di (221-207 BC) is supposed to be the creator of a round copper coin with a hole in the center *ban liang qian* (half *liang* coin)². Actually the date of the first issues seems to be close to 378 BC. Qin period is characterized by the extension of the coinage to the complete China³. The coins were produced with a total absence of uniformity⁴. As far as the purity of the coinage is concerned, there is no way to establish any sort of standard⁵. Private minting was permitted, but with strict regulation of the weight and alloy.

The emperor Han Wu Di (118 BC) created a new copper coin *wu zhu* that was utilized until the Sui dynasty (581-618)⁶.

In around BC 100: the *wu zhu qian* (*wu zhu* coin) was annually produced at 500 million coins. At the same time, gold was used⁷. After the collapse of the Western Han, China only kept gold as treasure and no more as coin⁸.

2.2 Western Jin to Ten Kingdoms Dynasties, 265 - 960

During the Jin Dynasties, the production seems to be stopped. In the south, the production continued with fluctuations in the weights. In 465, permission was granted for the people to mint coins. The part of the natural economy was important: silk was used as money⁹, silver or gold was also used in ingots¹⁰.

Tang Gao Zu (618-626) replaced the *wu zhu* coin by the *kai yuan tong bao*¹¹. Many private mints were active and producing light coins.

During the period 742-756, the annual production was about 320/330.000 strings (320/330 million coins)¹². After 834 the annual production was 100,000 strings a year. The paper money was a way to avoid bringing heavy strings of coins¹³.

² Yu, L., Yu, H., 2004.

³ Peng, X., 1994, p. 41.

⁴ Peng, X., 1994, p. 74.

⁵ Peng, X., 1994, p. 78.

⁶ Yu, L., Yu, H., 2004.

⁷ Kuroda, A., 2007.

⁸ Kuroda, A., 2009.

⁹ Peng, X., 1994, p. 246, p. 271.

¹⁰ Peng, X., 1994, p. 278, p. 329.

¹¹ Yu, L., Yu, H., 2004.

¹² Peng, X., 1994, p. 387.

¹³ Peng, X., 1994, p. 329.

2.10 Northern & Southern Song Dynasty, 960 – 1127/1279

The period of the Song dynasty is one of the most important in the history of China, with the first development of silver.¹⁴ During the period, China entered a period of development of money supply, bill of exchanges, credit and paper money.¹⁵ The transition to a silver economy was underway by the time of the Mongol conquest of the Song in 1276.

In 996 Song cast 800.000 strings of bronze, far from the maximum output of 370.000 strings during the Tang. By 1007, the issues of the Song mints reached 1.83 million of strings. In 1021, the court settled on a quota of 1.05 million strings. Copper production jumped from 4.580 tons annually in the 1060s to 9.606 tons in 1075¹⁶; the output of coins quadrupled from 1.2/1.3 million strings over 5.600.000 string per year¹⁷. The total issue of bronze coin for the Northern Song period has been estimated at 262 million *guan*¹⁸.

In 1005, 4 mints in Sichuan produced over 500,000 strings of iron coins. This declined to 210,000 strings by 1041. By 1056, casting was down to 100,000 strings a year, and in 1059 the production was 30,000 strings a year. In the *Yuanfeng* period (1078-1085) about 1.139.234 strings of iron coins were produced per year¹⁹.

The paper money was used everywhere: there were up to 416 places with either own monetary units²⁰.

The increase of the role of silver can be explained by the taxes to be paid to the neighboring people and because of the development of the international trade²¹. A very large proportion of silver and gold was exported, as tribute²². In the Song dynasty the value of silver rose at its maximum but the relation gold/silver was low (1/10-12). It increased when the value of the silver increased up to 1/4-5²³.

Complaints about hoarding in the 1150s became a key argument in favor of creating the new *huizi* paper currency in 1161²⁴.

2.12 Liao, Jin, Yuan Dynasties, 916 – 1368

The acquisition of a huge quantity of silver during the conquest of the Southern Song may thus have prompted the Yuan to abandon silver coinage forever²⁵. These abundant silver ingots could easily be released for transport beyond Chinese territory and could circulate freely along Eurasian trade routes²⁶.

The consequence of the strong demand of silver was the decrease of the ratio gold/silver from about 1/10 in 1100/1350 to 1/5 in about 1380/1450, and then increased again to about 1/10 after 1450²⁷. This "decrease" was an increase of the value of silver.

This period is the age of official paper monies (11-14th centuries)²⁸ as the major change was the issuance of official paper currency²⁹. The issues of paper money represented about 7/10 million ingots/year, up to 36 million³⁰.

¹⁴ Glahn, Richard von, "A Reassessment".

¹⁵ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 48.

¹⁶ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 49, p. 50.

¹⁷ Peng, X., 1994, p. 335.

¹⁸ Kuroda, A., 2007. Glahn, Richard von, "A Reassessment".

¹⁹ Peng, X., 1994, p. 335.

²⁰ Peng, X., 1994, p. 332.

²¹ Peng, X., 1994, p. 359.

²² Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 52, 54-55.

²³ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 114-115.

²⁴ Glahn, Richard von, "A Reassessment".

²⁵ Kuroda, A., 2009.

²⁶ Kuroda, A., 2009.

²⁷ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 61.

²⁸ Kuroda, A., 2007.

2.13 Ming Dynasty, 1368 – 1644

The demand for petty coins increased after the closing of the imperial mints in the 1430s. The debasement of the bronze coins occasioned a sharp rise in the nominal prices. The ratio was in 1478 of 1/1.550 or even 1/1.300 copper coin for one *tael* of silver instead of the official price of 1/1.800³¹.

After the 1530's Japan became exporter of silver³² and after the 1570s, the influx in China of silver from Japan was complemented by the arrival of silver from the New World³³.

The Ming tried to supplement the costly copper coins with state-issued paper certificate³⁴. In 1425, the tribute emissary from Ceylon was given 159.050 ingots worth of certificates. Later, the King of Manshujia was given a total of 500-600.000 stings of certificates³⁵.

2.14 Qing Dynasty, 1644 – 1912

In 1647, the output was 1.7 billion coins, but in 1651 all the mints were closed³⁶. Around 1760: the annual production of coins was 3,000,000,000³⁷

In the 19th century the mints decided to change for the minting machines, and in 1887, the government adopted the machine-made coinage³⁸.

With the uncoined metal arrived the foreign silver dollars and other coins³⁹. These were introduced at the very end of the 18th century, and joined the European coins already in use since the beginning of the same century⁴⁰.

The monetary development of the economy was supported by a growing use of the paper money. To the official ones, private local paper notes were added⁴¹.

²⁹ Peng, X., 1994, p. 471.

³⁰ Peng, X., 1994, p. 506 & 510.

³¹ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 84-85.

³² Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 114-115.

³³ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 118.

³⁴ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 1.

³⁵ Peng, X., 1994, p. 538.

³⁶ Glahn, R. von, 1996, p. 209.

³⁷ Kuroda, A., 2007.

³⁸ Peng, X., 1994, p. 661.

³⁹ Kuroda, A., 2007.

⁴⁰ Peng, X., 1994, p. 668.

⁴¹ Kuroda, A., 2007.

Dynasties	Monetary facts
Western Zhou, 770 - 256 BC	Creation of the currency (objects), then round coin (about 378 BC?).
Qin, 221 - 206 BC	Creation of the round coin according to the tradition.
Western Han, 206 BC - 9 AD	Creation of the <i>wu zhu</i> coin. Large issues of coins, up to 500 million/year. Large use of gold for the gifts.
Xin, 9 - 23, Eastern Han, 25 – 220 Three kingdoms, 220 - 265	Monetary reforms. <i>Wu zhu</i> coins continue to be minted. Period of political and monetary instability.
Western Jin, 265 - 317, Eastern Jin, 317 - 420	Instability in the South, with fluctuations of weights. No official production registered. Local independent coinage in the North.
North and South, 420 – 589 Sui, 581 - 618	<i>Wu zhu</i> coins continue to be minted. Development of local and private issues.
Tang Dynasty, 618 - 907	The <i>wu zhu</i> coin replaced by the <i>kai yuan tong bao</i> . Private production of low quality. In 742/56, the production was of 320/330 million coins/yr. After 830s it was reduced to 100 m/yr due to a shortage of copper. Silver and gold used as money. Development of paper money to avoid transportation of coins.
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 907 - 960	Lack of copper in the North. Mints still active in the South.
Northern Song, 960 – 1127	Development of silver, mainly for military and external purposes. Enormous production of copper up to nearly 6 billion/year Production of more than 1 billion/yr of iron coins. Development of paper money.
Southern Song, 1127 - 1279	Continuous development of silver. Stop in the production of copper coins. Development of the paper money from the 1150s to 1210s.
Liao, 916 – 1125, Jin, 1115 – 1234, Yuan, 1271 – 1368	Continuous development of silver. Increase of the value of silver. Development of paper money up to the end of the 14 th c.
Ming, 1368 – 1644	Flux of silver from Japan and from America. Decrease of the value of silver. Important issues of paper money, but replaced by silver. Decrease of the role of cash.
Qing, 1644 – 1912	Important issues of copper, but decrease of the role of cash. Flux of silver from Japan and from America. Arrival of silver coins from America/Europe. Decrease of the value of silver. Important issues of paper money, replaced by silver. Adoption of machines to strike the coins.

Dynasties	Gold	Silver	Copper	Paper		
Western Zhou, 770 - 256 BC	Ingot	Ingot	Issues	-		
Qin, 221 - 206 BC			Very important issues			
Western Han, 206 BC - 9 AD			Very small issues			
Xin, 9 - 23, Eastern Han, 25 - 220 Three kingdoms, 220 - 265			Used as money		Important issues	Production
Western Jin, 265 - 317, Eastern Jin, 317 - 420					Very small issues	
North and South, 420 - 589			Very important issues		Very important issues	Development
Sui, 581 - 618						
Tang, 618 - 907						
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 907 - 960						
Northern Song, 960 - 1127						
Southern Song, 1127 - 1279			Silver flow Very important issues		Very important issues	Very important issues
Liao, 916 - 1125, Jin, 1115 - 1234, Yuan, 1271 - 1368						
Ming, 1368 - 1644			Coins		Silver flow Very important issues	Very important issues
Qing, 1644 - 1912						

3. Differences and similarities

3.1 Precious coins and the unit of account

One of the main differences was the use of precious metal as money since the very beginning of the coinage in Europe. The gold coin was the first coin produced and the issues of gold were completed by new coins in silver and in copper. During wartimes, for the main commercial exchanges gold and silver coins were produced in large quantities. Of course in period of peace, the metal was kept in the Treasures.

In Eastern Asia, the role of the silver was reduced and limited. The silver, and sometimes, gold was preserved in the Treasure and used as ingots as was as coin. This double use, as commodity and coin differed from the European tradition.

Of course, silk was never used in Europe as commodity money. In some cases, grain could be utilized in a kind of barter system.

So in Europe, considering the metal used in the coining process, the monetary system was up > bottom as in Orient the system was bottom > up.

One of the differences was also the relation between the coin and the unit of account. In the system during the Antiquity, the relation between the coin and the number of units was stable and public. In case of increase of prices, this relation was destroying the monetary system: the cost of the minting of coins was more expensive than the cost of the metal.

The floating system of evaluation of the value of the coins in units of account appeared only after the end of the 16th c. when the amount of coins was so important than the standard relation was impossible to maintain: the regular arrival of metal destabilized the value of the metal and so made impossible any stability.

This relation UC/coins obliged all the elements involved in the monetary stability to control every coin in circulation. The forgers must be prosecuted and the forgeries destroyed.

The stability of the relation units of account/coin was possible only because the coins were struck one by one with dies and not cast. If the coins were cast, the variation of the weight of metal would be so important between the heaviest and the lightest that the stability could not be applied.

The system of production of the coins in China was different. The coins were mainly produced by casting. With such a system the metallic value of each coin cannot be preserved.

The dissociation between the unit of account and the coin give the possibility to reevaluate the value of the coins. The circulation of coins in strings diminishes the potential consequence of the weights of the individual coins.

3.2 Paper money

The question of the banknotes (and in general notes) in Ancient Europe is a complex and difficult problem. Of course, the question of the absence of banknotes in Ancient times can find a trivial answer "there is no banknote because there is no printing machine". The question and the answer are more complicated and more difficult than at a first glance.

The Roman Empire (as the Greek one) had coin-changers and sometimes a network of coin-changers; a system of account for private and public accounts; the possibility to transfer money from one account to another; a network of representatives in each province; a centralized administration; a network of specialized representative able to check the coins (and why not bank-notes?)

The Roman Empire could have a bank-note system (as all the centralized empires could have), But the Roman Empire (as the Greek one) had no banknotes. This reason is not linked to the administration, not linked to the absence of printing system, not linked to any impossibility.

The technical reason is not pertinent. The absence of paper could be solved in using parchment, wood, even skin of animal more or less prepared (leather), or even tissues. All these material were used at one moment.

We have to go back to the status of the coin in Ancient Europe: a coin is made from the metal kept in temples; it bears the representation of Gods; on a legal point of view, forgeries are assimilated to a crime against the Gods; on a religious point a view, gold is the flesh of the Gods.

There is no discussion concerning the existence of bank-account during the Middle-Ages and the Modern period.

What is the problem with the notes in Ancient Europe? We have to go back to the status of the coin in Ancient Europe: a coin bears the representation of Gods; on a legal point of view, forgeries are assimilated to a crime against the Gods; on a religious point a view, Gold is the flesh of the Gods.

The only reason that can explain the absence of "bank-notes" in Ancient Europe is not a technical reason, but the impossibility for the Ancient world to dissociate "value", "power", and "wealth" from something linked to the Gods. The Ancients were always in relation with the Gods. Even the coinage (Moneta) was a goddess.

Wearing the face of the God, of the emperor, the coin is something sacred. To imitate it, to destroy it was a crime against the divinities. On the other side, the Gods were the guaranties of the strict intrinsic and facial value of the coin.

So it was a complete impossibility to imagine an anonymous mean of payment that was not guaranteed by the metal of a god. It was not imaginable to have a secular way, aside the religious one, to transfer wealth. The bank note was not yet imaginable in scholastic Europe: its development is linked to the decrease of the religion.

During the Middle-Age, the tradition was to use gold for the main expenses. For the larger sums, the way to pay was to use the bank or to use barrels of coins or bags of coins. In any case, even through the bank, the sum has to be paid in cash in a way or another.

In this way, the medieval and modern Europe stayed in the old ancient Greek and Roman tradition. The value of a coin was a mixture of its metallic value increased of the seignuriage and the value given by the minting operation (including the decision of the king to increase the value of the coins).

The gold/silver coin was in fact the unit of account and all the other coins were understood as parts of the gold/silver coin. In this situation, there was no place for a banknote.

3.3 Export of coins

One of the most common explanations concerning the change in the monetary stock is linked to the question of import/export of the metal⁴².

The influx of gold and silver changed completely the monetary system during the 16th century. A large part of this metal flew from Europe or Mexico to East Asia. This phenomenon is largely documented and analyzed even by the writers of the 16th century (Bodin, Malestroict, etc.).

On the contrary there are very few analyses of the "smooth export" of the precious metals during the other periods.

Appearance and disappearance of metal are common in the monetary history in all the civilizations. If it is easy to understand the appearance of new metal or the development of new strikes, but the slow decrease is uneasy to explain. There is, in general, no special event to explain the diminution, although there are, in general, many facts that can explain the development of the minting: mines, imports, and booties.

The most current explanation is to say that the decrease of the stock of metal that can be used for the mints is linked to an exportation of metal. The reasons of this export are the tribute paid to the invaders (to "buy" the peace), the tribute or the booty taken by enemies during wars, the deficit of the "commercial balance".

All these explanations are very coherent, but partial, explanations. In the case of the tribute paid to the enemies to avoid an invasion, we have to balance the cost of the tribute with the possible cost of the war: salaries for the soldiers, pays of the mercenaries, weapons, foods, destructions, etc.

When it is possible to compare the cost of the tributes and the cost of the wars, the impression is that the cost of the tribute is cheaper than the cost of the war⁴³. On the contrary the expensive dues to the wars are mainly internal expenses: the sums are given to the merchants, soldiers (exception of the mercenaries).

Concerning the commercial deficit, this interpretation is a consequence of the bullionist or mercantilist analysis of the commercial exchanges. It means that the general balance is in deficit, whatever is the importance of the imports and exports. Unfortunately, we only have

⁴² Peng, X., 1994, *passim*.

⁴³ Iluk, J., 2007, *Aspects économiques et politiques de la circulation de l'or au Bas-Empire*, Wetteren.

information from the countries that imported goods. The complaints are the same, describing merchants wanting to be paid in precious metal and selling a huge amount of goods.

In general, I consider that this possibility to accept a relation between the possible export of precious metal and the diminution of the precious monetary stock as non probable. This analysis belongs, to my point of view, more to a kind of nationalist literature than to the reality of the economic facts⁴⁴.

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⁴⁴ Depeyrot, G., 1991, "The Disappearance of Gold

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Reviewing the reformed welfare system in Indonesia
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1. INTRODUCTION

The 1945 Constitution as the basic law of the Indonesian state contains key doctrines and concepts of the role and responsibilities of the State towards “the people”. Apart from the mention in the Preamble regarding “advancing general prosperity”, there is very little indication as to how it should go about doing so.

To observe how the welfare provision—including health, education and social security—works in Indonesia, this paper is aimed to examine these main questions: What are the constitutional requirements for such provision? Are they sensible or feasible? What key factors and issues should be considered in the future development of welfare policies to be effective? The answers should encourage the skepticism of the general public over policies, which is likely to be valuable for obtaining a better policy-making process in the future.

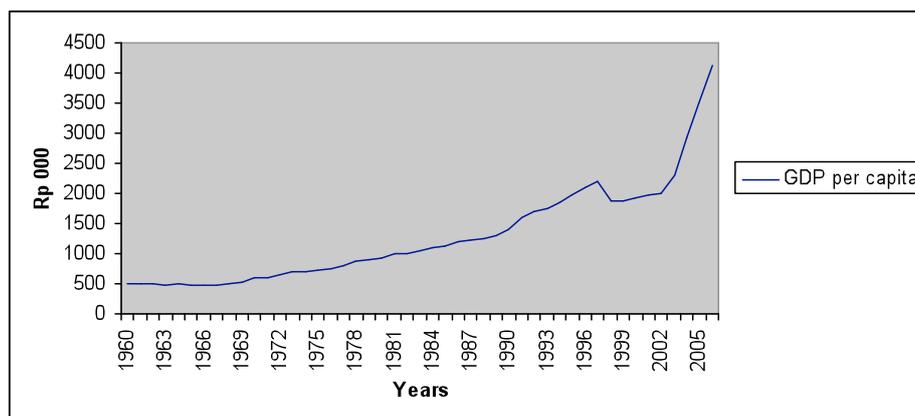
This paper begins with a brief illustration on the long-run growth and equity in Indonesia. Section 3 reviews of the Constitution requirements for the welfare provision in Indonesia. Section 4 discusses the welfare provision policies and the outcomes obtained by policies. Section 5 compares concisely features of the education and health reforms in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. The final section summarises the key findings.

2. GROWTH AND POVERTY IN INDONESIA: LONG-RUN TREND

Since the beginning of the “New Order” era in 1966 up until the 1997 economic crisis, Indonesia experienced an impressive economic transformation with per capita GDP grew by almost for times (as demonstrated in Figure 1). The growth provided the benefits in reducing the poverty (as depicted in Figure 2). The national poverty rate declined from 40% in 1976 to 11.3% in 1996. The Asian financial crisis period (1997-98) caused highly negative growth of GDP per capita. It generated a huge, albeit temporary, increase in the national poverty rate, from about 12% in 1997 to 23% in 1998. Apart from the social welfare programmes that have been implemented, the governments also introduced safety net programmes to mitigate the social impact of the crisis.

After the crisis period, GDP per capita increased averagely at about 2% per year until 2003, when it started to grow significantly (with average growth approximately more than 15% per year) until 2006. We also can see a gradual reduction in the poverty during these periods.

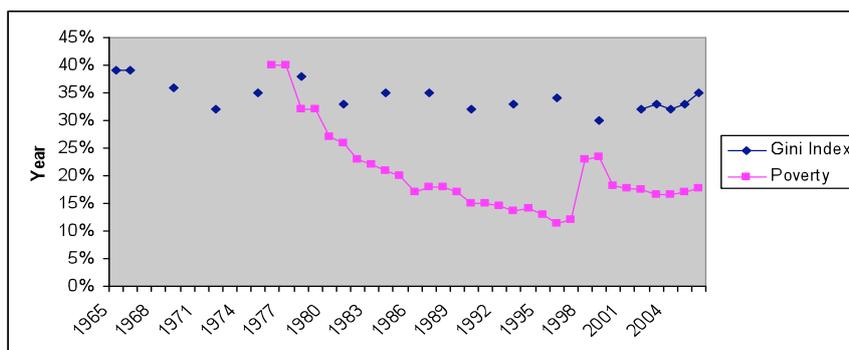
Figure-1. Trend in GDP per Capita*



Source: Annual Report Bank Indonesia (various editions)

*Note: Based on the constant price 1993

Figure-2. Trend in Household Expenditure Inequality and Poverty*



Source: Annual Report Bank Indonesia (various editions)

*Note: Based on the constant price 1993

3. THE CONSTITUTION AND SOCIAL WELFARE PROVISION

Three of the most popular ways of welfare provision—i.e. subsidised education, health and social security—are provided for explicitly in the Constitution, to which dramatic changes have been made by way of the Second and Fourth Amendments. Clause 3 of Article 28H—within the chapter on human rights—was added as part of the Second Amendment in 1999, stating that “every person has the right to social security in order to develop him fully as a dignified human being”. Article 34 is explicitly concerned with the people’s welfare, and clearly spells out the obligations of the state toward its citizens. In its original form, Article 34 simply mentioned that “destitute persons and abandoned children were to be taken care of by the state”. But in the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution in 2002, two further clauses were added to this Article to make the state’s responsibilities more explicit, and to extend dramatically its social welfare function.

These new two clauses as well as the new Clause 28H(3) raise two main concerns, regarding the state’s role in redistributing income. First, the state’s duty becomes incalculably bigger, since it is now responsible for providing a social security system for *every* citizen rather than merely the relatively few—presumably less than 5% of the total population—severely disadvantaged people. Prior to enactment of the Fourth Amendment, the state was responsible for taking care of only the *fakir miskin* (who are not just poor, but rather in a state of chronic incapacity to meet basic needs), whose total number is far below the proportion of the population living below the official poverty line (about 15.4% of the total population in 2008).¹ Yet the Fourth Amendment now requires the state to provide a social security system for 100% of the population. Second, there is lack of clarity in relation to coverage of *health* and *general service facilities*. There is no explicit statement mentions *to whom* the state should provide appropriate health and general service facilities. It is quite unclear whether it is intended that *everybody* should receive those services or, if not, to whom they should extend. There is no obvious reason why coverage should be complete, since wealthy people are more than able to take care of their own health and medical concerns

The only other article of the Constitution that is concerned with the responsibility of the state in relation to the people’s welfare is that concerning education, i.e. Article 31. The original text of the Constitution stated that every citizen has a right to education and the government shall manage and conduct a national educational system that shall be regulated by law. The text of Article 31 was amended in 2002 to stipulate more concretely the government’s role in provision of education. The implication is that the government should provide *free* educational services to *all* citizens aged 7-15 years. In reality, students both in private and government primary schools still pay part of their education costs. Funds provided by the government—to private and government primary schools—

¹ According to the data from the Statistics Indonesia (*Badan Pusat Statistik*) cited in on “The Evaluation of the Economy of 2008 and the Outlook of 2009,” *the Press Release of Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs*, 5 January 2009.

to meet the cost of education are often not sufficient to cover the fees actually charged by schools. This leads to the emergence of a disparity in the quality of education for the poor and the rich, since the poor will be concentrated in schools that charge very little but can therefore only afford to provide a low quality of education (Lie, 2004). It follows that the government is failing to fulfil the requirement of Article 5(1) of the Education Law that “all citizens have the same right to obtain a quality education”.

The amendment requires the state to give priority to the education budget by allocating at least 20% of the state’s as well as regional governments’ budgets to meet the requirements national education. The implication is for a huge expansion of budget funds going to education, at the expense of other important areas, including health and infrastructure. Somewhat surprisingly, the 20% budget allocation is subject to various interpretations. Article 49 of the Education Law limits the range of spending items that count toward the 20% target by excluding salaries of educators, stating that “education funds, excluding salaries of educators and service education expenditure, are allocated at a minimum 20% of the central government budget and a minimum 20% of the regional government budget”. Obviously, teachers’ salaries account for a very large proportion of total spending on education. If the salaries of educators are excluded, central government spending on education accounted only for 7.4% of the 2006 state budget (World Bank 2007a).

4. THE WELFARE PROVISION POLICIES AND THE OUTCOMES

I turn now to discuss to what extent some policies implemented in education, social security, and health serving to increase the standard of living for Indonesians.

4.1. Education

In the early years after independence and during the Old Order, the government conducted several programmes for developing human resources and complying with Article 31 of the Constitution. In this period, education became more accessible, although remaining far from universal. The government focused on literacy in national educational development, since more than 95% of the population were illiterate in 1945 (Brojonegoro 2001, cited in Kristiansen and Pratikno 2006). In 1951 the government formulated a “10 year Community Education Plan” aimed to overcome illiteracy within the next 10 years, and the programme successfully decreased the illiteracy rate to 40% in 1960 (Jalal and Sardjunani 2005). In this period, more private schools rather than government schools were established, as the government faced financial constraints resulting from political instability and economic decline (Kristiansen and Pratikno 2006).

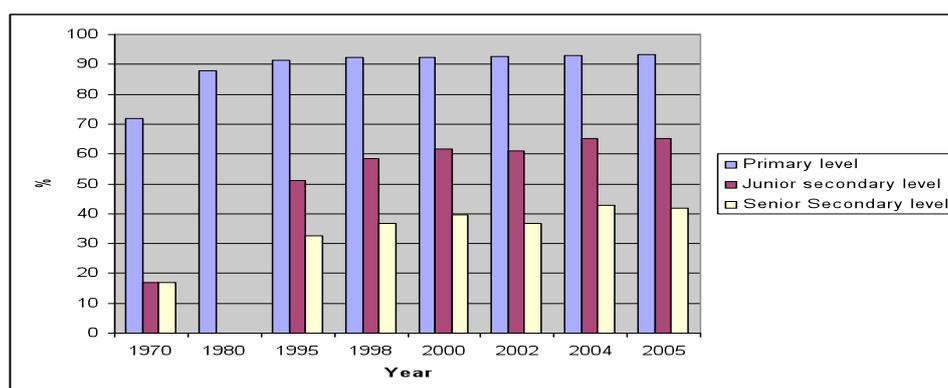
The government enacted the first basic education law, i.e. Law No. 4/1950 on education and teaching, later to be replaced by Law No. 12/1954 about the national education system. This Law made a clear commitment to universal education, by stating that all children from age six had the right to study at schools for at least six years and that by age eight they were obliged to do so. The government also adopted a policy of building at least one public university in each province. Some 23 higher education institutions were built during the 1960s in Indonesia’s 26 provinces (Nizam 2006, cited in Wicaksono and Friawan 2008).

The New Order established a fully centralised education system that succeeded in increasing the level of national educational attainment. Relying on burgeoning oil revenues, in 1973 Soeharto issued a Presidential Instruction (*Inpres*) on basic education, which provided block grants for the construction of new primary schools, such that the number of primary schools doubled from 65,000 in 1973 to 130,000 in 1984, while the number of children enrolled also doubled, to 26 million (Ministry of Education 1996, cited in Kristiansen and Pratikno 2006). This *Inpres* played a significant role in moving toward universal primary education, which was achieved in the mid-1980s. Subsequently the government extended basic schooling from 6 to 9 years by enacting a new Education Law (No. 2/1989), and introducing a nine-year “compulsory” education programme in 1994. Figure 3 showed the result of those programmes, since 1970s enrolment rates at the national level have increased significantly: the net primary school enrolment rate increased from 72% to

93.2% by 2005, while the net enrolment rate for junior high school has experienced a more marked increase from 17% to 65.2% in 2005 (World Bank Education Sector Review, 2005 cited in World Bank 2007b).

Despite the impressive improvement in access to education, there is still a problem of social disparity at most levels. Lanjouw *et al.* (2001) identified significant disparities in high school enrolments between children from poor versus rich families, between children in urban and rural areas, and between children in the western and eastern parts of Indonesia. They also argued that the poor are not the first group to benefit from the government spending on education, which can be seen from several facts, including the fact that gross enrolment rates at secondary school level were higher for children from richer consumption group—with the 40% lowest group accounted for less than 30% of the total enrolments in junior and senior high schools. World Bank (2007b) noted that a poor child was 20% less likely to be enrolled in junior secondary than a non-poor (Figure 4). This implied that the benefits accrue disproportionately to wealthier families.

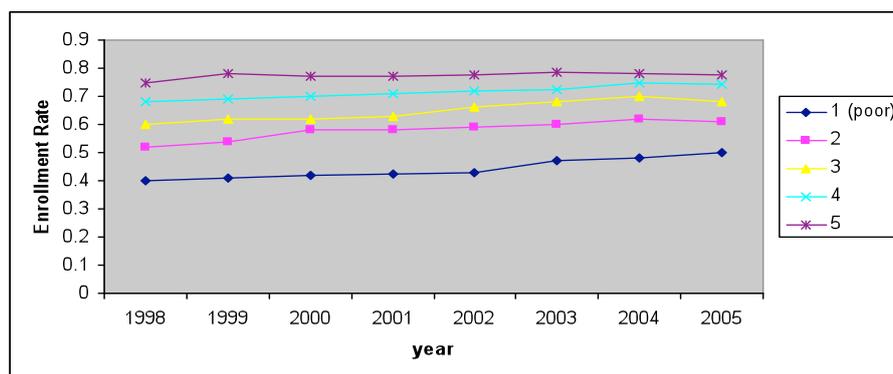
Figure-3. Net Enrollment Rates, 1970-2005



Source: World Bank (2007b)

Note: data for junior and senior secondary level in 1980 was not provided.

Figure-4. Net Enrollment Rates by Income Groups for Junior Secondary Education



Source: World Bank (2007b)

The government mitigated the Asian financial crisis impact by establishing new social protection programmes, including assistance in the education area. Sumarto and Suryahadi (2002) found that though scholarships and block grants were not perfectly targeted to the poor, at the national level the programme covered more poor than non-poor families.

After enactment of the regional autonomy laws in 1999, the education system changed dramatically, from highly centralised to much more decentralised, with local governments becoming responsible for education provision. Despite the increase in funding from the central government for education, this devolution of responsibility has not been able to eliminate discrepancies in education provision among provinces, and has even caused disparities to become greater within provinces than among provinces (World Bank 2007a). The World Bank (2007a) also

criticised the requirement for a 20% allocation for education in the central government budget, as increasing the central level of spending in decentralised sectors such as education appeared to contradict the logic of decentralisation. The World Bank (2007a) suggested that increased resources at the central level should be utilised appropriately and effectively to improve the spending at all levels of education, to make education expenditure more equitable, and to increase the efficiency of education expenditure.

4. 2. Social Security System

The social security system as mandated in the Constitution was not a new concept. An early social security system was introduced as a form of an employer funded pension fund for private sectors worker in the 1920s (Ramesh and Asher 2000), and the Dutch colonial government issued a regulation on work injury benefits in 1940 (Queisser 1991). When Indonesia became independent in 1945, the government's role in social security provision was not stipulated explicitly in the Constitution until the Fourth Amendment in 2002—though the definition of social security remained unclear.

Indonesia—like many Asian societies—continues largely to rely on traditional social security provided by families or communities, based on the principle of *gotong royong* (the term used for mutual self help). World Bank (1994, cited in Whiteford and Forster 2002) reported that more than 76% of people over 60 years in Indonesia live with their children, while 63% of them receive income transfers from their extended family.

From the 1960s the social security system covered civilian government employees, members of the military forces, and private employees in the formal sector. The coverage included health care services, compensation for work-related injuries, and cash benefits or pensions from retirement age. There was also an assistance scheme for victims of natural disasters and social unrest, and for those who lack the capacity to earn a living—in particular, invalids and orphans.

For government employees, a “compulsory” social health insurance scheme—*Askes*, provided by a state-owned enterprise (PT Askes). Two other income maintenance programmes for civilian government employees are a pension fund scheme and a social insurance scheme. A social insurance scheme consisting of the government civilian employees' saving and insurance (*Taspen*) for civil servants, while the armed forces social insurance (*Asabri*) for military personnel, civilian personnel in the Ministry of Defence and the police. Until now, both *Taspen* and *Asabri* provide lump sum cash benefits on retirement and are managed by state-owned enterprises PT *Taspen* and PT *Asabri*, respectively.

In 1977, the employees' social insurance (*Astek*)—provided by a state-owned enterprise, Perum *Astek*—was introduced as a “compulsory” social security insurance for private sector employees in firms with at least 10 employees or a monthly payroll of more than Rp 1 million. This implied that the *Astek* scheme excluded informal sector workers, self-employed individuals, and formal sector workers employed by small businesses with less than 10 employees. *Astek* was changed to become *Jamsostek* in 1992, based on Law on workforce social security. *Jamsostek* provides insurance on health, accident and life insurance as well as a provident fund.

However, the participation rate in *Jamsostek* has been low, and the scheme has been criticised for some important shortcomings. First, as Indonesia's workforce is largely informal, almost 80% of the total workforce cannot feasibly be covered by this scheme. Moreover, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration claimed that only about one fifth of the population employed in the formal sector was enrolled with *Jamsostek* in 2002 (OECD 2008). Second, members of *Jamsostek* obtain little actual benefit from their participation because of PT *Jamsostek* management to provide adequate funds to meet workers' claims as a result of a very low net return on investment. This failure is mainly due to poor management, with low real investment returns (about 0-1.3% per annum in 1994), weak governance and high administrative expenses (Leechor 1996).

The Law No. 40/2004 on the National Social Security System provides a basic framework for the development of social security for all Indonesians. It defines social security as a form of social protection to ensure that all citizens are able to provide for their minimum basic living needs, and covers five social security programmes, namely: health insurance, compensation for work-related injuries, old-age saving (provident fund), pensions, and death benefits. It requires the eventual expansion of social security coverage to the informal sector, the unemployed and the poor. Although it states that it is mandatory for employers to enrol their employees in the social security programme and that the government will provide social assistance to the poor, its explanatory notes state that implementation of the law will be subject to the economic capacity of the people and the government as well as the feasibility of the programme. Realistically speaking, however, it is hard to take all of this seriously, as there is no obvious means by which the programme could be extended to cover workers in the informal sector, much less individuals who are unemployed. In other words, the very poor people most in need of social security are precisely those who will not have access to it. There is nothing in the Law that gives any indication of how the scheme could be extended beyond the small minority of better-off workers in the formal sector.

Four state-owned enterprises— PT Jamsostek, PT Askes, PT Taspen, and PT Asabri, the existing agencies for social security provision—are appointed as social security providers. This policy maintains the existing state monopoly of social security, despite poor performance in the past. Setting a monopolistic arrangement for an organisation to deliver subsidies in kind to the poor will almost certainly be inefficient, due to lack of incentives to act in its clients' interests.

4.3. Health

The Law on the National Social Security System also covers access to health and medical services, presumably to fulfil the government's task as mandated in the Constitution. In reality, implementation has been inadequate. Only 21.3% of the total population was covered by any kind of health insurance in 2003 and the proportion decreased to 19.8% in 2005 (World Bank 2007b, 62). In 2007, Indonesia's expenditure on health was 2.8% of GDP, and with total public health spending only 5% of total government expenditures, this was below its East Asian neighbours, such as The Philippines (with a similar per capita income) and Cambodia (with a far lower per capita income), whose spending on health was about 3.4% and 6.7% of GDP, respectively, while total public health spending accounted for 6.3% and 11.4% of total government expenditures (World Bank 2007b, 43). According to World Health Report (2006 cited in World Bank 2007b, 67), the density of physicians and nurses in Indonesia is far lower than in the Philippines, at only 130 per 1000 population, compared with 580 per thousand. Presumably as a consequence, Indonesia still underperforms its neighbours—even those with lower per capita incomes—on most conventional measures of health outcomes, as can be seen in the Table 1.

Table-1. Regional comparison of health expenditures and measures of health outcomes, 2004

Country	Annual GDP per capita (USD)	Health expenditures as % of GDP (%)	Total public health expenditures as % of total public expenditures (%)	Life Expectancy (years)	Crude Death Rate	Infant Mortality Rate	Under-five Mortality Rate
Malaysia	4,970	3.8	7.5	73.7	4.7	10.0	n.a.
Thailand	2,720	3.5	11.2	70.9	7.2	18.0	21.2
China	1,740	4.7	10.1	71.8	6.5	23.0	31
Philippines	1,290	3.4	6.3	71.0	4.9	25.0	39.9
Indonesia	1,260	2.8	5.0	67.8	7.3	28.0	45.7
Vietnam	620	5.5	5.0	70.7	6.0	16.0	66.7
Cambodia	430	6.7	11.4	57.0	10.4	68.0	124.4

Source: World Bank (2007b)

The government generally provides financing for an extensive network of primary health care centres (*Puskesmas*) and public hospitals for preventive and promotional health measures. However, most Indonesians still have to pay a large part of the cost, since both public and private providers of health services charge fees for service, while insurance coverage is very limited. It is estimated that out-of-pocket payments constitute about 50% of the total health care expenditures by families (World Bank 2007b, 61).

The World Bank (2008) observed that inequality of access is one of two main problems in Indonesia's health sector, alongside inefficiency. The latter is not our primary concern here. In relation to the former, greater benefits from public health spending accrue to richer income groups than to the poor. With primary health care—which is mostly provided through *Puskesmas*, and focuses on services provided predominantly by general practitioners and paramedics—the lowest income group receives a reasonable share, as the benefits of primary health care are relatively evenly distributed among income groups. However, with secondary health care (i.e. that requiring hospitalisation), the poor receive little benefit since, in practice, they have very little access to public hospitals. The direct cost of hospital treatment, even though it is heavily subsidised, is still typically unaffordable for the poor, many of whom also face substantial transport and opportunity costs by virtue of living in rural areas very distant from the nearest hospital.

The government allocates about 40% of its public health care spending to public hospitals, but lack of access to them on the part of the poor means that the poorest 20% of the population is estimated to account for less than 10% of total public health subsidies, while the richest quintile capture almost 40% (World Bank 2008, 2). Despite lip service to the contrary, therefore, actual outcomes again reflect the government's failure to ensure a pro-poor orientation of this important category of spending (World Bank 2006, cited in World Bank 2007b).

In 1998-2001, the government provided free health support to the poor through the social safety net programme established as a response to the financial crisis at 1997-98. In 2005, it introduced a huge programme to offset the negative impact on the poor of the reduction in fuel subsidies to improve access and quality of services to the poor by providing health insurance for 60 million poor through *Askeskin* (health insurance for the poor), under which the poor receive free basic outpatient health care and third class hospital care. This programme covered 25 million people within a year—with 70% of the recipients are with the poorest 40% of the population—nevertheless, these efforts have not had a significant effect in improving the utilisation rate of the health services by the poor, because of three main problems as observed by Suryahadi and Sparrow (2008): the existence of additional costs for the poor to obtain the services such as the cost of photographs as a requirement to get the *Askeskin* card and the travel cost to hospitals; evidence of considerable leakage to the non-poor; and difficulties on the mechanism of the compensation and reimbursement by the government to service providers.

5. THE HEALTH AND EDUCATION REFORM IN INDONESIA, THAILAND, AND THE PHILIPPINES

This session briefly compares the education and health reforms in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines, in terms of the constitutional requirement, policy, process and impact. These three countries are different in many ways, but have several similarities in the ways of reforming health and education provision.

a. Constitutional requirements for the education and health provision

The rights of all citizens to receive education are explicitly stated in the Constitutions in these three countries. Beside this right, the Indonesians have the obligations to attend the primary education. In Thailand and the Philippines, the Constitution clearly requires the governments to provide free education in the elementary and high school levels, while the Indonesian Constitutions does not mention explicitly about it. Another difference between Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines is in the allocation of state budget for education. Whereas the Constitution obliges the Indonesian

governments—in both central and regional levels—to allocate at least 20% of their budget for education, there is no such constitutional requirement in Thailand and the Philippines.

For the health provision, it is clear that in all three countries the Constitutions warrant and protect the people’s right to receive health service, and oblige the governments to provide health services and facilities. The Indonesian Constitution does not clearly mention the provision of free medical care for the poor like what it is stated in Thailand and the Philippines.²

b. The policy and process in the reforms

Education

All the three countries have faced the same challenges in education, that are, managing their education systems to reduce disparities within and between regions as well as between the relatively wealthy and poor group in the society, and to improve the overall quality of education. These goals have been pursued by decentralizing the education systems in these countries. The decentralization in the education system in Thailand and Indonesia have been related with and intensified by the rise of greater democracy support in 1997, whereas the decentralization of education in the Philippines was initiated since 1975, as a part of the integrated reorganization plan of the government (Guzman 2006). In all three countries, the central governments retain the responsibility of core curricula policies, design, implementation, and evaluation procedures.

Financing for education in all three countries are derived from both public and private sources, with public resources come from the central and regional governments. Each country has its own system for sharing responsibilities in education financing between the central and regional authorities. In the Philippines, for example, education financing is more centralized since public education is not formally decentralized (Guzman 2006). The size of the education shares of the state budget in Thailand and the Philippines have been significant—ranging from 15-26% (Office of Education Council Thailand 2004, Manasan *et al.* 2008). As seen in Table 2, Indonesia spent less than two countries for education. During 2005-2008, however, significant rises occurred in education spending ranging from 16.7% to 22.4% of the total central government budget (State Secretariat Republic of Indonesia 2009). This increase was presumably aimed to fulfill the requirement of 20% budget allocation in the Constitution.

Table-2. Education expenditure in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand

	Indonesia	Philippines	Thailand
Education Public Expenditure % of Total Expenditure (2003)*	14.20	16.00	27.00
Education Public Expenditure % of GNP (2003)*	2.80	3.10	4.60
Central government Education Expenditures % of GNP **			
1995	1.04	2.90	3.59
2000	1.01	3.28	4.55
2003	1.28	2.77	4.13

Source: *) World Bank (2007a)

**) Manasan *et al.* (2008)

Health

The health reforms in all three countries were initiated in late 1990s and early 2000s, with two main goals, namely achieving the universal health coverage and decentralizing the health reform. The Philippines has initiated the reform in 1999 by establishing a comprehensive plan known as the health sector reform agenda 1999-2004, with a key policy to expand coverage and to improve benefits of the National Health Insurance Program (Solon *et al.* 2003). The universal health coverage policy in Thailand was successfully introduced in 2002—facilitated by strong political imperative and previous experience from existing health schemes. This scheme is financed by the

² The Thai Constitution clearly mentions that the free medical treatment for the indigent is provided by the state’s infirmary, but the Philippines Constitution does not.

government taxation system and requires the insured to contribute a co-pay of 30 Baht per visit, except for the poor (Towse *et al.* 2004). Indonesia has formally introduced the first phase of universal health coverage policy in 2004, by increasing care and financial protection for the poor through the health insurance for poor population.

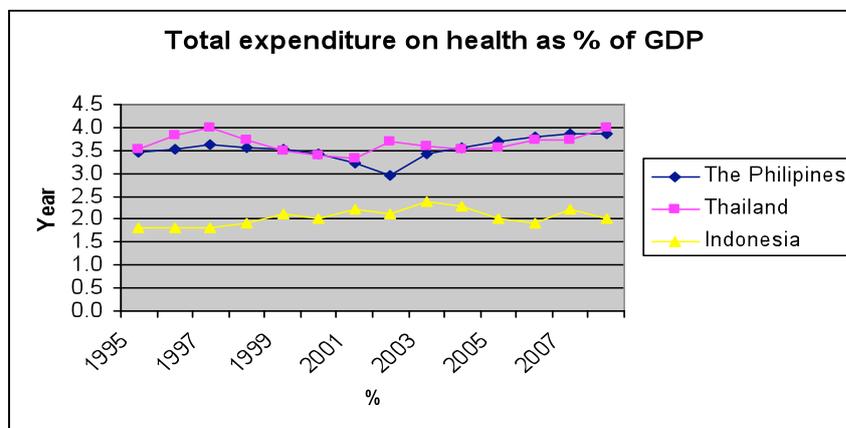
Comparing the health expenditure, the Thai government had spent more moneys in health than the governments in the Philippines and Indonesia, as seen in Table 3. As seen in Figure 2, the overall trends of health expenditure as a percentage of GDP in all three countries show an increase, but Indonesia's health spending has been the lowest compared to other two countries. While the public share in total health expenditure in Thailand has been greater than the private (averaged 60%), about 60% of the total health spending in the Philippines has come from the private spending (WHO 2008). In Indonesia, the private health expenditure remained greater than the public spending until 2006, when public health spending marginally exceeded private health expenditure (Figure 5).

Table-3. Health expenditure in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand

Public Expenditure for Health % of Total Central Government Expenditure	Indonesia	Philippines	Thailand
1972-9	2.28	4.30	4.09
1980-9	2.18	4.87	5.41
1990-2000	3.29	3.07	7.58

Source: Croissant (2004)

Figure-5. Health spending as % of GDP in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines



Source: WHO. National Health Accounts Database, 2008

c. Impact of the reforms

The reforms tend to bring positive changes in the education and health provision in three countries, though countries vary in the extent to which they achieve the progress. The problems and challenges in completing the reforms in these countries are also quite similar.

Education

Significant increases in net enrolment rates in all level of education occurred in all three countries after the reform took place. However, the inequality of education access and provision still becomes the main problem in all three countries. Large disparities occurred due to inequalities in the distribution of resources among and within geographical regions. There were educational gaps between areas with a strong revenue base and those that are less wealthy. Social disparities also exist in education, for example Lanjouw *et al.* (2001) found a very regressive distribution of subsidised education in Indonesia, with the total transfer to the richest quintile more than three times that to households in the poorest quintile. But at the basic education level, the poor benefit more from government subsidies in all three countries (Lanjouw *et al.* 2001, Manasan *et al.* 2007, Office of Education Council Thailand 2004).

Health

Almost all conventional measures of health outcomes showed an upward trend in three countries after the reforms implemented.³ The health reform in Thailand also helped to reduce relative economic inequality in the society—for instance, the low income group received higher subsidy than the high-income group in tertiary and provincial hospital (Ministry of Health Thailand 2009). The remaining challenges and critical issues are how to deal with transitional arrangements—from the previous condition to the new system—which consider the funding sufficiency and managements, supply-side constraints on human resources and physical infrastructure, as well as governance and administration system.

6. CONCLUSION

The Second and the Fourth amendment of 1945 Constitution contain several requirements in relation to the social welfare provision, namely education, health and social security. To make these requirements successfully fulfilled, two main issues should be considered. First, the presence of ambiguity or vagueness in several words of the Constitution should be resolved properly by the authorities, so as reducing potential complexities or misleading interpretation in legislation that renders the Constitution. Second, the impact of dramatic changes regarding the welfare provision—as results from the amendments—should be appropriately addressed and prepared, by carefully designing effective, well-targeted and fiscally sound policies. Also, the implementation of these policies requires a coordination across government agencies at all levels.

Comparing the reform in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, two main points can be highlighted. First, inequalities in access and quality of the health and education provision across the country's regions and within the society. However, implementing an equalization scheme is indeed a political challenge: to what extent the arrangement can redistribute from the relatively richer area or group of people to relatively poorer ones. Second, the quantitative targets, which seemingly have been prioritised to be achieved in the reforms, are not sufficient without the improvement in the quality and sustainability. Hence, underlying these important issues will facilitate the reform process move forward successfully.

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³ These measures include life expectancy at birth, health life expectancy, Crude Death Rate, Infant Mortality Rate, and under five mortality.

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The history of definitions for *Hattatsu Shōgai* (Developmental Disabilities and Developmental Disorders) in Japan

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The history of definitions for *Hattatsu Shōgai* (Developmental Disabilities and Developmental Disorders)¹ in Japan²

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Abstract

This paper investigates the assumptions behind the definitions of *hattatsu shōgai* in several kinds of documents in Japan. The analysis relies on two methods from separate theoretical frameworks: (1) the historical analysis of the themes of policy documents and medical journal articles in recent decades and (2) Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995, 2001, 2004; Gee 2004), especially cultural models (D'Andrade 1987; Danforth 2008; Gee 2004; Quinn and Holland 1987), a concept of innate ideas in language speakers or writers. Regarding themes, the definition of *hattatsu shōgai* formerly encompassed a wide range of impairments regarding human development, but it later narrowed into several specific disorders. This paper will investigate the factors which differentiated the definition, including scientific knowledge and human rights advocacy. Regarding news reports, education and crime dominate the topics of news stories. Definitions in news stories tended to be based on the definition of *hattatsu shōgai* in the specific law for persons with *hattatsu shōgai*. The research also reveals that the definitions are sometimes confusingly used as synonyms for one type of developmental disability, and that negative factors, such as communication difficulties and the possibility of criminality, are embedded sentences using the term *hattatsu shōgai*. In the final part of this paper, the author considers the dynamics behind the definitions of this imported medical term and its transformation into a term of general bureaucracy.

Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the assumptions behind historical understandings of the Japanese term *hattatsu shōgai* (developmental disabilities or developmental disorders), as reflected in medical literatures, policy documents, and Japanese newspaper articles. Literally, *hattatsu* means “development,” and *shōgai* means “disorder,” “disability,” “handicap,” or “impairment.” “Developmental Disabilities,” the basis of *hattatsu shōgai*, has been present in medical discourse in the United States since the 1960s, introduced by a committee for mental retardation, gathered by John F.

¹ In this paper, Japanese term “*hattatsu shōgai*” is used unless specified, rather than using English term, in order to clarify that *hattatsu shōgai* has become different concept from developmental disorders or developmental disabilities.

² In this paper Japanese terms, clauses, and sentences are basically spelled with *italic*, and are translated in English by the author.

Kennedy Jr., the president of United States of America (Takeshita, 1999, p. 4). In Japan, scholars and professionals introduced this term by translating it as “*hattatsu shōgai*.” (Hara, 2004). In old time periods, *hattatsu shōgai* used to mean “the development of permanent physical and mental dysfunction occurring by age 18 years which, since it is life-long, limits people in daily life and requires treatment.” (Ichikawa, 2008, p.7). It included a wide range of physical handicaps, such as orthopedically impaired, visual and hearing impairment, and intellectual disability. (Ibid.) However, recently, with the introduction of *Tokubetsu Shien Kyōiku* (Special Needs Education) policy and *Hattatsu Shōgaisha Shienhō* (December 10, 2004, Law No., 167; Persons with Developmental Disabilities Support Act), the concept of “*hattatsu shōgai*” has narrowed into only a few types of diagnosis. In this paper, by reviewing the historical change of the definition of this term, which is not simply transferred into medical discourse from outside of Japan, I will reveal the dynamics of transformation of the definition of *hattatsu shōgai* as an imported medical concept. Beyond a review of medical and other professional literature, I discuss the complexity behind the definition of this term in Japanese newspapers, because of the strong influence of newspapers on public opinion. Although I use “developmental disabilities” as a translation for *hattatsu shōgai*, I will argue that neither developmental disabilities nor developmental disorders is a proper translation for *hattatsu shōgai*, and I will argue that stakeholders and scholars should use this term in international contexts across “East” and “West” with utmost care.

Hattatsu Shōgai in Japan

As I noted above, Japanese government has developed policies on *hattatsu shōgai*. *Hattatsu Shōgaisha Shienhō* (Persons with Developmental Disabilities Support Act) was passed in the parliament in December 2004 and took effect in April 2005. This act aims to support the independence and social participation by persons with *hattatsu shōgai* and to contribute to the growth of social welfare by promoting early intervention for children with developmental disabilities, clarifying the responsibility of governments, and to state the responsibilities of educational institutions, employers and persons with developmental disabilities, and developmental disability support centers (*Hattatsu Shōgaisha Shienhō*, 2004, Article 1). In addition, the government enacted a new special education policy named *Tokubetsu Shien Kyōiku* (Special Needs Education), which is aimed at students with disabilities including those who with developmental disabilities such as Asperger’s Syndrome, High-functioning Autism, Learning Disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Children with those disabilities had been excluded from the special education system in Japan. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (n.d.) of the Japanese national government is going to provide special support to these children through schools in local communities.

These policies reflect governmental effort to improve the living of persons with developmental disabilities previously neglected by social welfare policy in Japan. In fact, the old law upon disability in Japan, *Shōgaisha Kihonhō* (The Basic Law for Persons with Disabilities), categorized people with disabilities into three categories (physical, intellectual and psychiatric) and most people with developmental disabilities were segregated from social welfare services. For instance, there is an argument that “A common perception among psychiatrists is that the Persons with Developmental

Disabilities Support Act has made it easier for persons with developmental disabilities³ without mental retardation to get welfare benefits from municipalities.” (Miyazaki and DeChicchis, forthcoming). Those people with developmental disabilities fell in the virtual gap called *seido no tanima* (institutional cleavage), according to the statement by Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (n. d.). *Seido no tanima* means a particular area any social institution fails to cover. In Japan, after the wartime, social services for persons with disabilities have been provided depending on if each individual has *shōgaisha techō* [disability certificate]. As disabilities are divided into three categories, physical, intellectual, and mental, local governments issue these booklets in accord with a screening by at the request of a disabled person or family member for any of those three categories. In “Definition,” section 2 of the *Shōgaisha Kihonhō (the Basic Law for Persons with Disabilities)*, the term *Shōgaisha* (persons with disabilities) is defined as follows:

The term “persons with disabilities” in this Law means individuals whose daily life or social life is substantially and continuously limited due to physical, intellectual, or mental disability (hereinafter referred to as “disability”).

A juvenile psychiatrist, Shimizu (2005), argues that there used to be good professionals, such as craftsmen, those who were regarded as being not good at interpersonal communication. A professional of university disability service, Goto (2008), suggests that recent policies regarding developmental disabilities are encouragement for surveillance by the public. N., Ishikawa (2005) argues that policy justified by *Hattatsu Shōgaisha Shienhō* is suspected to be the key to increasing psychiatric drugs for children. The social change in Japan possibly also influenced the cultural understanding on definitions of *hattatsu shōgai*.

Definitions Problem

Public awareness on developmental disabilities in Japan seems to be questioned regarding whether the above new institutions positively affect people living with developmental disabilities. The definition of developmental disabilities is still vague. As a psychiatrist, G., Ishikawa (2007), noted that different practitioners have different definitions of developmental disabilities, based on different interpretations of imported concepts.

The ambiguity of definition is problematic, because it is possible that different stakeholders use the same term with different definitions. This causes miscommunication between stakeholders and results in ineffective treatment, therapy and social services coordination. The person with *hattatsu shōgai* himself or herself gets left behind from a confusion of treatments. In particular, regarding the influence of newspaper on the public opinion, definitions for new terms like *hattatsu shōgai* should be discussed critically. This paper is aimed at contributing to those discussions. More concretely, I address the following research questions. First, what are the historical development and current definitions of developmental disabilities in the Japanese newspapers? Second, what factors affect those definitions?

Research Review

³At the time the authors wrote the quoted paper, they used “developmental disabilities” as an actual English Japanese translation of “*Hattatsu Shōgai*.”

In this section I review the research on how disabilities are described in the media and in language, primarily in Japanese contexts. In terms of media, Stibbe (2004) has investigated the depiction of the woman with disabilities in Japanese television drama. In particular with developmental disabilities, Nozawa and Kitamura (eds., 2006) have gathered critical insights on media reporting from persons with developmental disabilities: a mother of a person with Autism, journalists, a lawyer and a psychiatrist. Regarding the research on situations outside of Japan, O'Dell and Brownlow (2005) has investigated one of the controversial issues on Autism, the media reporting on MMR vaccine as a suspected cause of Autism. Danforth and Navarro (2001) have done a discourse study on the power behind narratives and news reporting regarding ADHD.

In terms of language, there are some precedents. Gottlieb (2001) has reviewed the transition of Japanese words that describe disabilities. Based on their survey research to higher education students, Toya et al (2004) suggests that, particularly with developmental disabilities, the quality of person's existing knowledge about Autism varies depending on the person's contacts to media and first-hand experience with persons with disabilities. Aside from these, Miyazaki (2007) has discussed the existence of unspoken normalcy behind the depiction of communication behavior of persons with developmental disabilities in medical and communication science articles. Reviewing those works, there are still spaces for discussing the Japanese media depictions on developmental disabilities.

Discourse analysis on newspaper articles

Data Collection

Because data collection should be identified strictly more about newspaper corpus, I describe mainly the methods about Discourse Analysis on the newspaper articles. In respect to traditional influences on the formation of public opinion, this research uses electronic texts of newspaper articles. For this study I choose the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, one of the five nationwide newspapers in Japan. The reason for choosing this source is its large circulation and estimated strong influence on public opinion. *Yomiuri Shinbun* identifies itself as a newspaper with the largest circulation among five nationwide newspapers in Japan, with 10,047,992 in January 2008 based on the statistics conducted by Japan's ABC association (The Yomiuri Shimbun, n.d.). In this research I use its online electronic article database *Yomidas Bunshokan*. I limited the article search to one year, from November 1, 2007 to October 30, 2008. For this study I use the Japanese phrases *hattatsu shōgai* (developmental disabilities), *jiheishō* (Autism), *Asuperugā* (Asperger), ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) and *gakushū shōgai* (learning disorders or learning disabilities). Although I also used the term AD/HD, which stands for Attention Deficit / Hyperactivity Disorder in the actual name listed on Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 4 th. Edition text revision (*DSM-IV-TR*, American Psychiatric Association: 2000), no results were found by the keyword AD/HD.

Using this database, I stated several criteria in addition. On the *Chīki ban sentaku* (choosing the region) criteria, I choose *zenkoku ban* (national edition) and excluded articles on local editions (*chīki ban*), a few pages per day which are edited and published exclusively for particular local areas (e.g., prefecture) and compiled with *zenkoku ban* pages. *Zenkoku ban* were divided into the larger area which Yomiuri set up into several larger news areas, such as Tokyo, Chubu, Osaka and Seibu. On the *Bunrui sentaku* (choosing the category) criteria, I covered all articles including politics, economics, social,

sports, culture, life, crime / accident, science, international, and imperial household (the news on family of emperor named *kōshitsu* in Japanese). In addition, the search query included both *chōkan* (morning edition; which is sold in the morning) and *yūkan* (evening edition, which is sold in the evening). This search found the following numbers of articles for each keyword, originally spelled in Japanese ethnic alphabet:

- Hattatsu shōgai (Developmental Disabilities): 72
- Jiheishō (Autism): 31
- Asuperugā (Asperger): 8
- ADHD (ADHD): 23
- Gakushū shōgai (Learning Disorder): 30

In this paper, I decided to further analyze only the articles which were retrieved with the keyword *hattatsu shōgai*. I retrieved those full-text articles and put them into an electronic plain text document. Next, I made a list of articles according to the date, headline, region, edition, category, number of characters and number of *dan* (columns).

Analytical Procedures

I employed the following procedures for two types of analyses as follows. First, I did analysis of the articles for the extent of topics in order to investigate the tendency of the newspapers to cover it. I then made categorization analysis on the topics of those articles. I divided the articles into several categories (see the next chapter) according to the headlines. This categorization was modified after I read the full-text of all of the articles, because I found some misunderstanding on estimating the main topic of a few of the articles. Second, in order to investigate the definition of *hattatsu shōgai* in Japanese newspaper, I searched sentences including *hattatsu shōgai* among the full-text article corpus. I used the ‘search’ command of the plain word text editor to find those sentences, including the headlines of articles. This search retrieved twenty-six sentences. Because I estimated that *hattatsu shōgai* was followed by or follows the definition or a characteristic of the phrase, I extracted those expressions.

Theoretical Framework

In my analysis on newspaper articles, I employ Critical Discourse Analysis, such as discussed by Fairclough (1995, 2001, 2004) and Gee (2004). I consider this research method and field as a way to critically analyze language use in the social and power contexts. The objects of study for this research are various; these include written texts on fiction books, newspapers, magazines, interview scripts and also include visual expressions such as television programs. Japanese scholarship in news media studies provides relatively small numbers of analysis under using Discourse Analysis or Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Murata 2007; Saito 1998; Satoh 2001).

The meaning of Critical Discourse Analysis needs clarifying. From the linguistic perspective, Gee (2004) clarifies the term Discourse by distinguishing capital ‘D’ discourse from discourse with a lower case ‘d’:

A person cannot enact a particular kind of person all by themselves and by using only language. A Discourse (with a capital “D” - I use “discourse” with a little “d” just to mean language in use) is a distinctive way to use language integrated with “other stuff” so as to enact a particular type of (however ne-gotiable and contestable) socially situated identity (type of person). (p. 46)

His idea on Discourse with capital ‘D’ fits nicely with this paper’s agenda to track the definitions of *hattatsu shōgai* in Japanese newspapers and investigate the ideology and culture behind those definitions.

I specifically investigate on the idea of cultural model(s). Several scholars including Gee (2004) have different definitions. D’Andrade (1987, p. 112), as cited in Danforth (2008, p. 387), defines as ‘A cultural model is a cognitive schema that is intersubjectively shared by a social group’. Quinn and Holland (1987), as cited in Danforth (2008, p. 387), offers a more macro level definition:

Cultural models are presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of their world and their behavior in it. (p. 4, italics in original)

In simple words, the idea is aimed at analyzing the assumptions of the language a person uses and the society in which that person resides. This paper investigates the cultural models of news writers and other sectors around them in respect to topic choices and word choices for definitions of *hattatsu shōgai*.

Findings

In this section I review the findings of the newspaper corpus for definitions of *hattatsu shōgai* according to the words and phrases which are followed by or which follow the term. Here I cite my English translation from Japanese text examples. Respecting the opinion by Fairclough (1995) who argues that the examples in discourse analysis papers should be indicated with original language, I indicate the texts in Japanese and English translation in parallel, with the Japanese texts spelled in the roman alphabet and not Japanese ethnic characters.

Definitions in the Glossary

First of all, I employ the analysis of *hattatsu shōgai* in the *kaisetsu* (glossary) column. *Kaisetsu* is a small section for definitions of key terms with which readers may not be familiar. This is sometimes attached with other articles, and sometimes listed as separate article in on-line databases. In the corpus, 4 *kaisetsu* stories for *hattatsu shōgai* were found. There were two types of similar texts which are written twice for each. Here I review both of these definitions.

Example 1:

<*Hattatsu shōgai*>

Besides not having a delay of intellectual level in general, the learning disorders (LD), (difficulty in the learning and use of particular skills such as reading, writing and calculation), Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) (characterized by motion and hyperactivity that does not match with development), and high-functioning Autism (characterized by having strong for a specific phenomenon, but not delayed intellectual development) are included. In 2004, the Persons with Developmental Disabilities Support Act, that demanded wide support from the national and local governments, passed at the parliament. (*Yomiuri Shinbun* December 12, 2007)

(Excerpted from the article about specialized school for children with developmental disabilities)

Example 2:

<*hattatsu shōgai*>

The collective term which houses Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), learning disorders (LD), Asperger's syndrome, etc. These generally cause problems with learning, language and interpersonal relations. (*Yomiuri Shinbun* February 23, 2008)

(Excerpted from the article about influence of body movement to brain development)

Two facts were found in the above two samples. First, both definitions have sentences listing the particular names of disabilities and each of those definitions had a different list. Example 1 listed LD, ADHD and high-functioning Autism. Example 2 listed ADHD, LD and Asperger's Syndrome. Further, these list-up definitions are close to those in Article 2 of *Hattatsu Shōgaisha Shienhō* (2004):

In this law Developmental Disabilities means Autism, Asperger's Syndrome, other kinds of developmental disorders, learning disorders, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and other kinds of disorders of brain function, and the symptoms should be designated by cabinet order as what appears primarily in early age.

One possible assumption about these list-up definitions is that news writers relied on the law texts as the source of definition for the unfamiliar terms. If so, they might assume that discussing the topic based on the law's definitions is a perfectly correct way to address the social problem of developmental disability. The truth is that the definition of the term *hattatsu shōgai* is controversial, as is discussed in the next chapter.

Second, those newspaper definitions did not mention the general notions of the *hattatsu shōgai* as an umbrella term. In other words, those definitions did not state the general concept of brain function, neurology, or social relations regarding the person with the disabilities. The articles in the corpus mainly discussed the *hattatsu shōgai* topic based on fragments of facts on persons with *hattatsu shōgai*, without presenting the big picture of the umbrella term to their readers.

Defining hattatsu shōgai by the Words Before / After the Term.

In this section I investigate how *hattatsu shōgai* is described in words before and/or after the term. Although rarely being regarded as an official definition, it gives an idea of the cultural models operating in the minds of news writers, speakers of comments which were cited in the articles, and the ideology of organizations which are related to the article (e.g. a newspaper company or the organization which gave the information on the topic to news writers). Twenty-six sentences which included characteristics or definitions of *hattatsu shōgai* were extracted. I discuss those sentences regarding the following points: umbrella term and interpersonal relations.

As an umbrella term in these articles, *hattatsu shōgai* has a confusion of employed terms and branch categories. This is the introductory paragraph of the article featuring a school teacher who invented a card game that enables children to learn *kanji* (Chinese characters). A lot of Japanese elementary school children have difficulty learning those characters in order to write ordinary Japanese texts; among the Japanese writing system, *kanji* have more strokes than do other types of Japanese characters (*hiragana* and *katakana*).

Example 3:

Children with *hattatsu shōgai* worries about ‘not being able to write Chinese characters.’ An elementary school teacher in Sakai City, Mr. Mitsuru Yamada, age 51, produced educational cards which contain illustrations to remind children of the pronunciation and meanings of Chinese characters. (*Yomiuri Shinbun* May 21, 2008)

In this excerpt, *hattatsu shōgai* might have been used as a synonym for one particular type of developmental disabilities, not as an umbrella term, using the expression “Children with developmental disabilities those who have worries, such as ‘not able to write Chinese characters’” (Ibid.) These symptoms such as ‘being not able to write Chinese characters’ are mainly associated with learning disorders (LD). Not all persons labeled as developmentally disabled have difficulty writing difficult characters.

Regarding the findings on interpersonal relations, nine sentences in the corpus mentioned difficulties with interpersonal relations of persons with developmental disabilities. Here are three excerpts on interpersonal relations. The first one is cited from a news story about study tutors for a second-year elementary school student in a general education classroom.

Example 4:

Takuya, a boy with pervasive developmental disorders, has difficulty establishing interpersonal relationships and is not good at learning Chinese characters. (*Yomiuri Shinbun* May 27, 2008)

This article is primarily about the academic learning support which the school provided to a boy, Takuya. The developmental disability label is embedded by the clause “has difficulty on establishing interpersonal relationships” (Ibid.). In parallel with another clause “is not good at learning Chinese characters” (Ibid.), that mentions his academic performance.

Another example is a sentence on the employment obstacles of a man with LD. He was diagnosed as LD just before the 4th grade at elementary school. After finishing vocational school, he

was hired as an auto mechanic. However, he quit the job in a year. Here is a sentence which stated the fact.

Example 5:

Although having been hindered by his developmental disabilities, failing to read others' faces, he withdrew from the company approximately in a year. (*Yomiuri Shinbun* May 31, 2008)

In this example this sentence connotes the relation of the suspected characteristics of persons with some type of developmental disability. The phrase "failing to read others' faces" (Ibid.) is a crucial part of interpersonal communication, particularly in terms of non-verbal communication. Connections of this phrase and another phrase, "withdrew from the company approximately in a year" (Ibid.), might connote relation of one's ability for reading other's feeling and that for continuing job.

The next example is related to a crime case in which an eighteen-years old boy rushed into a high school and slashed down a teacher. The teacher was a former homeroom teacher of the boy's class. At the bottom of the story, two psychologists stated their insights on this incident. Here is one of the comments by Dr. Toshiaki Inoue, a professor specialized in clinical psychology at Ashiya University Graduate School in Hyogo prefecture in the Western part of Japan:

Example 6:

Inoue Toshiaki, a professor of clinical psychology at Ashiya University graduate school says 'Looking at the point that he was attempting to work off a grudge for several years, it could be that he has developmental disabilities, which create difficulty in establishing interpersonal relationships. (*Yomiuri Shinbun* July 30, 2008)

Despite the fact that it was not officially reported that the criminal had developmental disabilities, Dr. Inoue suggests that he had developmental disabilities. In addition, Dr. Inoue suggested that *hattatsu shōgai* makes the persons "have difficulty establishing interpersonal relationships" (Ibid.). Even if neither news reporter nor Dr. Inoue attempted the cohesion between difficulties on interpersonal relationships and criminology of persons with developmental disabilities, the possibility of existence of a hidden agenda among them regarding the cohesion cannot be completely denied: by placing both ideas in the same frame, the article infers that developmental disabilities are one possible factor of severe crime.

In this section, after understanding that main agendas on *Yomiuri Shinbun* reporting *hattatsu shōgai* are education and crime, I reviewed the defining practice of *hattatsu shōgai* on Japanese news stories through two elements: Definitions in Glossary and Defining *hattatsu shōgai* by the words before / after the Term. There I found that definitions on those news stories have reliance on the law text, a confusion of umbrella term usage and concerns about interpersonal communication.

Discussion

Here I discuss the possible ideology behind the definitions on *hattatsu shōgai* in *Yomiuri Shinbun*. First, the strong cultural models regarding the meaning of *hattatsu shōgai* among news writers

and informants for articles (e.g. interviewee) is that ‘the greatest weakness for persons with developmental disabilities is interpersonal communication’. Moreover, the ‘weakness’ of interpersonal communication skills embeds a lot of obstacles, according to the sentences in *Yomiuri Shinbun*, such as example 5 which embeds job difficulty and example 6 which embeds merely suspected cohesion with crime. These expressions could be a sign of the poorness of discussion on developmental disabilities in Japan; these might encourage stigmatization of persons with developmental disabilities and might let the persons around them to treat them negatively.

Second, regarding the definition of *hattatsu shōgai* in general, the coverage is still vague. It is true that Japan is one of the countries where *DSM* is dominant in manuals of psychiatric diagnosis. Aside from these, *hattatsu shōgai* as umbrella term makes a different type of categorization than *DSM* does. ‘Pervasive developmental disorders’ on *DSM-IV-TR*, translated into Japanese as *kōhansei hattatsu shōgai*, houses Autistic Disorder, Rett’s Disorder, Childhood Disintegrative Disorder, Asperger’s Disorder and Pervasive Developmental Disorder Not Otherwise Specified (*DSM-IV-TR*, 2000, pp. 69-84). This extent is different from that of *Hattatsu Shōgaisha Shienhō*, which includes “Autism, Asperger’s Syndrome, other kinds of developmental disorders, learning disorders, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder and other kinds of disorder, which are brain function, and the symptoms should be designated by cabinet order as what appears primarily in early age.” (*Hattatsu Shōgaisha Shienhō*, article 2, 2004, my translation). If we use Japanese terms for other terms on *DSM-IV-TR* and the Japanese law, those terms look similar: *kōhansei hattatsu shōgai* for the former and *hattatsu shōgai* for latter. Persons with diagnosis of any in *hattatsu shōgai* and their stakeholders should be careful about confused use of the term, that different stakeholders use with different definitions.

Discussed were three factors: cultural models and vagueness of categorization. In sum, many analyses tell us that both the thoughts of participants of news stories and the context of news stories affect the definition of the subject: *hattatsu shōgai*.

Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed the nature of the definition of *hattatsu shōgai*, a recently popular concept in Japanese social policy and news media reports, and the historical variation of its definition. Such dynamics may sometimes cause confusion, and G. Ishikawa (2007) describes the distortion problem of introducing the concepts of developmental disabilities in Japan and translating that vocabulary into Japanese. Furthermore, confusion in the public sphere regarding a new concept can result in diverse definitions which effect the interaction of several sectors, such as the media, policy makers, medical doctors, and education professionals. Currently, *hattatsu shōgai* is promoted with a bureaucratic meaning, with assimilation into common language via news reports.

For further insight into the definitions which I have discussed here, we need a historical survey of the transition of the concepts of *hattatsu shōgai* and developmental disabilities. Such a study would enable us to fully describe the vagueness and confusion in these definitions. Furthermore, there is still need to discuss the social change which may have made *hattatsu shōgai* visible in Japanese society, as Shimizu (2005), Goto (2008) and N. Ishikawa (2005) argue.

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Cultural Networks: Abu Dhabi's emergence as a global city

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Cultural Networks: Abu Dhabi's emergence as a global city

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The Gulf region in the past few years has clearly established economic dominance among its neighbors. It is now setting its sight on loftier aims – namely creating a cultural Mecca that will replace the traditional centers of the Middle East. This is done through acquisition of major works of art and artifacts¹, the construction of museums designed by world-class architects, and the buying of brand names such as the Louvre and Guggenheim. Such efforts should, once and for all remove the “tribes with flags” stigma.² The seductive allure of the Tabula Rasa allows for the use of a plethora of contextual references, each serving the purpose of communicating these objectives. This clean slate approach, the new beginning as it were, enables rulers to transplant various forms and activities into the desert.

The city of Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates seems to be particularly suited for examining these developments. My focus will be on its Saadiyat Island cultural district development, a barren island which will be populated by a series of ‘iconic’ structures designed by world class architects. My aim is to situate these projects within the city’s ‘urban imaginary’ – using a conflation of fiction, perception and reality. I will conclude by elaborating on the role of global cultural networks in developing these projects and how this serves the larger political purpose of creating a new Middle East, which hopes to replace the regions traditional centers.

Imaginary & Real Cities

I will in this section use the case of Abu Dhabi – a typical Gulf city owing its existence to oil and rapid urbanization within the last three decades. While it seems to lack any substantive context, a more thorough examination reveals complex layers of history and memory. As in any city there are different versions or perceptions. Similar to Italo Calvino’s *Invisible Cities* I will be looking at the city from different perspectives: the *imaginary city*, defined by the perceptions of its inhabitants, evoking its transience and ultimately alienation; the *perceived city*, as propagated by outside visitors – journalists and travel writers – suggesting suddenness as well as exoticism; and finally the city of the *present* and the *future* – the real city inhabited and lived by its residents. Taken together they constitute an *urban imaginary* which defines any city – even sudden cities such as Abu Dhabi.

The mythical city: Munif's Cities of Salt

Abdelrahman Munif's Pentology "Cities of Salt" represents an appropriate starting point for examining the city of Abu Dhabi. His settings are fictional, yet they are an amalgamation of sorts of cities in the Arabian peninsula which in their encounter with modernity undergo a process of upheaval and transformation thus forming a narrative thread in the series. The second part titled "The Trench" is particularly relevant as it examines the impact of modernization, influx of foreigners, as well as the consolidation and ubiquity of the state's power.³ The title itself – particularly the original Arabic word *Al Ukhduh* – suggests a hole that one is likely to fall into, some sort of undersea geological formation. This is evocative of massive social and economic changes which have opened wide *chasms* subjecting its inhabitant to great danger.

His novel evokes the transient character of nomadic settlements which are nothing but a "cluster of continuing mud houses" inhabited by Bedouins who kept their way of life – thus providing a key insight into understanding the urban and social character of these places. His depiction of the fictional city of Mooran is quite typical of the alienation and the sense of loss accompanying massive urban transformation. His narrative of a city being transformed, and in the process alienating its citizens, offers a rare look into the mindset of Arabia's citizens (even though they are fictional). Modernity created a city that no longer resonated with its occupants. While this process was not the same everywhere it nevertheless enables us to situate contemporary urban developments within cities in the Arabian Peninsula. The notion for desire and change – the constant changing and questioning of identity and history, play a central role in the consciousness of its citizenry. Yet there is also resistance, the "mound of debris that rose higher every day" leading people to wish that they can "get this all over with."⁴

Munif underscores the pristine beauty of its unspoiled past, its romantic desert settlements and sense of community among its inhabitants – spoiled by the arrival of modernity. The city is described as *harsh* and *repulsive*; its rapid change and the introduction of buildings that were "a mélange of styles." Yet "in hidden places, behind the wide streets and the tall new buildings, lay the low mud-houses." Thus the bedouin past is still very much part of the urban fabric. The novel's protagonist – a Syrian doctor – proclaims "he did not like this city and still was not used to it."⁵ Behind that veneer of modernity "Mooran's neighborhoods were tortuous and overlapping, their narrow streets crowded with dust, children and flies ...". Munif repeatedly stresses the Bedouin connection and that in spite of being transformed into a modern environment, they were still clinging to their old ways to the extent that "Camels roamed the small squares and were tied by the doorways, tents were set up by the mud room."

Thus the present and the past coexist, yet there is also tension and friction between them. Furthermore what this brief review illustrates is that the desire to move away from a past – a Bedouin past – to a modern present, but not quite being able to escape from it, is key to understanding the mindset of Arabia's citizens. It also demonstrates in my view – that the notion of an absolute *tabula rasa* is fictitious. A similar theme is echoed at times by outsiders, although for the most part the complete absence of any sense of history

dominates the discussion as I will illustrate in the following section – another conceptualization of the city: the city as perceived by strangers.

The perceived city: Abu Dhabi through strangers eyes.

Our understanding of cities in the region, to a large degree, is shaped by travelers writings, journalists, and movies. A certain assumption is put forth about Arab's likes and dislikes. In some instances clouded by an *orientalist* mentality in which the region is viewed as a primitive, exotic place waiting to be discovered by *westerners*. Clearly the limitation of an orientalist mindset have been exposed – showing that there are subversive directions undermining and critiquing some main tenets of this discourse.⁶ With that in mind I shift my focus to the city of Abu Dhabi starting with its early beginnings.

Early accounts of life in the settlement were based on travelers notes and visits by missionaries which taken together comprise a fascinating view of a primitive town which lasted until the early 1960s⁷. Following the succession of Sheikh Zayed in 1966 as ruler of Abu Dhabi, urban development began in earnest . Consequently a number of western reporters were dispatched to describe the changes that were taking place. A typical account by Gloria Emerson from the New York Times, suggests that "...The big, thick, glooming banks make a mockery out of the squat, peeling buildings next door." The airport terminal "...consists of two bare rooms where passengers cannot sit or find a glass of water."⁸ It is also noted that the ruler, strongly influenced by the British began to display an attitude of tolerance towards foreigners – officially opening a church for example.⁹ In another article she writes that "... the town of Abu Dhabi itself is not more than a village built on sand, where men squat to urinate in the streets and where the roads are full of lumps and holes." She also notes that there are only two hotels in the city, there is no cinema and restaurants are only in the two hotels. Thus, "Europeans must learn to waste time."¹⁰

Continuing the fascination with *Arabia* journalists and writers flocked to the city, in an attempt to discover this new land, continuing a process that began in the 1940s with the travels of Wilfred Thesiger and others. One of them was Edna O'Brien, well known Irish writer, whose travel accounts were published in a pictorial book called *Arabian Days* in 1977. Filled with poetic depictions, encounters with locals – among them Sheikh Zayed – as well as a series of local women. Her experiences evoke a sense of wonderment, at times bewilderment, at how those residents of the desert are coping with modernity. Pervading the text is a sense of nostalgia for an authentic Arabia that is simply not there anymore. For example she notes that "Abu Dhabi had taken a plunge into the twentieth century" and she could not have imagined that she would see "...towers of concrete as far as the eye could see, cranes, tanks, a sense of unfinishedness as if the place had just been dropped higgledy-piggledy from the sky."¹¹ She criticizes the fast pace of development, and the danger of being "oblivious of the past," thus "...the illiterate have to be made literate, a breakwater built for the harbour, flats built, mobile homes hauled in, sodium streetlights installed, a traffic system and a traffic sense developed, kerbstones put down, paving slabs, polythene greenhouses, feed drips for the trees"¹².

Continuing along similar themes, journalist Edward Lee writes that Abu Dhabi is in "... the midst of a construction boom that makes the capital look like an American beachfront development."¹³ Another writer Edward Sheehan argues that it is "a paradigm of instant development" – noting that it consists of "boulevards of Parisian scope and a cornice that rivals Alexandria's crisscross sand as white as moonlight; cranes and scaffolds are more numerous than trees. Here is a salt flat, there a city dump; blink and see a bank, a school, a hospital, a Hilton hotel." Anticipating current migratory problems he observes that "the streets murmur with Omanis and Iranians, with Indians and Baluchis; they are the labor force and many of them live in hovels."¹⁴ Others observe with a hint of sarcasm (and racism) that this "... is a culture starting from scratch, from scratching in mere sand."¹⁵

The coexistence of the present and the past alluded to earlier in reference to Munif's writings captured the attention of one particular poignant observer, Jonathan Raban. In his account of Abu Dhabi in the 1970s he uses the Central Souq – a market located in the city's central business district – as a narrative device anchoring his experience in the city – characterized by restlessness, anomie, etc. The symptoms of decay, even squalor – become signs that there are elements of life in an 'artificial' city such as Abu Dhabi. His first depiction of the market notes its generic qualities and that it could be home in 'Levittown.' Its straight geometry and grid-like arrangement are lifeless. However, its inhabitants with their shops and stalls have taken over the space and ignored "all the architects design on them".¹⁶ In one particular insightful observation he writes:

... and under one umbrella an old man with a mouthful of gold teeth was crouched over the Koran. The book, which looked older than he was, was coming apart in his hands. Its pages were brittle and grey; the oldest, grimmest, most battered object in the whole of Abu Dhabi.

The space is thus subjected to a certain level of informality – enhancing its appeal for 'western' sensibilities. While the familiarity – or banality – of the architecture is evident, the arched backs of the praying inhabitants, and the old man gave the architecture "a fierce ironical twist" and thus the souk's "remoteness was accentuated rather than diminished by the banality of its appearance" (p. 128).¹⁷

While both the imaginary and the perceived city offer subjective encounters it is based, of course, on real developments which were (are) taking place. This takes us to the realm of planning – following the literary and poetic – perceptions and conceptions of the city. My aim in the following section is to first provide a glimpse of the actual developments that took place in Abu Dhabi after 1966 and second using the case of the Saadiyat Island as an illustration of how conflating the imaginary, the perceived and the real may have the potential for further alienating the citizens of Abu Dhabi.

Real and Future Cities: From Utopia to Dystopia

As I noted above, following the succession of Sheikh Zayed as ruler of Abu Dhabi the process of urban development began in earnest. Modifications were made to a 1962

masterplan. Accordingly, main roads in the northern part of the island were designed on straight lines. Also, a series of public works projects were constructed such as governmental buildings, airport, desalination and electricity plants, and the Maqtaa bridge. The central business district – received particular attention, Divided into small lots which were given to locals, resulted in a high rise district which shapes the overall character of the city today. Yet the suddenness of their construction – all in the 70s and 80s – and the subsequent low level of maintenance has resulted in the shabby appearance of today. Thus a series of demolitions are currently in progress to replace these outdated models with newer structures. At the same time a set of ‘quirky’ projects have become landmarks – the massive Emirates Palace Hotel evoking a 1001 fantasy, or the Mughal style mega-mosque of Sheikh Zayed. Drawing inspiration from Middle Eastern and Islamic references they are the ultimate orientalist imaginary manifested in built form. Encouraged by the city’s rulers it established their local as well as regional credentials. Yet clearly this would not suffice for a global orientation. Which leads us to the Saadiyat Island development.

Development plans for the Saadiyat Island – located approximately 500m from the main shoreline of Abu Dhabi, and encompassing an area of 25sq.km – go as far back as 1992 when it was conceived initially as a major financial center. Described by *The Economist* in 1999 as an “an elongated triangle of desiccated scrub and scorched sand criss-crossed by camel tracks” but where “skyscrapers will sprout, bankers and stockbrokers will congregate—and a financial centre on the scale of New York, London or Tokyo will blossom.”¹⁸ Changes following the death of Sheikh Zayed involved the redevelopment of the islands surrounding Abu Dhabi. Most significantly, in 2004, the Tourism Development and Investment Company (TDIC) embarked on a project to develop Saadiyat Island into a ‘world-class’, ‘environmentally sensitive’ tourist destination that included as its centerpiece the creation of a new cultural district for Abu Dhabi and the UAE.

Thus, the hope is that the city will finally emerge from the shadow of its neighbor, Dubai, and place itself squarely on the map of ‘globally significant’ cities. In July 2006 an agreement was signed between TDIC and the New York based Guggenheim museum to establish a ‘world-class’ museum devoted to modern and contemporary art to be built as part of the cultural district. The museum – designed by Frank Gehry – would be called the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi (GAD) covering an area of 30,000 sq.m – the largest of that franchises museums. The choice of Frank Gehry seems curious. Yet the architect admits that he knew little about the place but that his initial reluctance was overcome by three hours of ‘quality time’ with Sheikh Sultan, chairman of TDIC, in his office in California, which convinced him otherwise.¹⁹ Asked about his vision for the project, he said that one of its main ‘draws’ “were the “magic” of the Arabian desert – with its undulating peach-colored dunes and the turquoise Persian Gulf” – a curious statement given the fact that there is no immediate desert surrounding the island, which is for the most part a barren landscape. The project in its final form was unveiled in 2007. In addition to Gehry’s Guggenheim museum, the development includes a classical museum by Jean Nouvel (affiliated with the French Louvre), a maritime museum by Tadao Ando, a performing

arts center by Zaha Hadid and a museum dedicated to Sheikh Zayed designed by Foster Architects.

The architectural designs are signature pieces characteristic of the architects chosen; each is a unique tribute to the his/her style. Yet they, as Hassan Fattah, in a 2007 New York Times article poignantly observes, represent “a striking departure from Abu Dhabi's crumbling 1970s-style concrete buildings and more modern glass-and-steel high-rises.”²⁰ The notion of the “tabula rasa” designing within an unconstrained setting – figures highly in the design discourse of all architects – to varying degrees.²¹ Architects are creating their own context. Frank Gehry in a recent internet blog, titled *My Abu Dhabi Adventure*, agrees that his design alludes to the traditional alleyways of Arab towns, as well as paying homage to traditional ways of cooling and controlling climate.²² None of these images have existed in any way in Abu Dhabi – they are more an evocation of towns in Syria and Egypt, or even Dubai. Similar contextual references are made by Nouvel, (an ‘Arabian’ town covered with a gigantic dome – a homage perhaps to Buckminster Fuller’s 1950s proposal for a dome covering the city of New York), Ando (evoking the shapes of the *dhow* the traditional gulf boat). Zaha Hadid on the other hand utilizes an organic growth metaphor – which could be applicable anywhere.²³ Whether the references are regional or universal, their significance is twofold: first, by evoking linkages to traditional towns the project positions itself as the regions center and second the universalizing aspect of these designs establishes its global credentials. Taken together these two factors supposedly show that the project represents a perfect fusion between east and west, a model of happy co-existence – a politically correct hybrid.

Conclusion: The curse of the Tabula Rasa²⁴

Abu Dhabi since embarking on its drive towards modernization is constantly re-inventing itself searching for ways to define its identity through built form. This is happening elsewhere in the region too. Starting from a language of modernism, to an engagement with historical references it has seemingly fallen into the trap of an orientalist discourse where its image is defined by outsiders. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Saadiyat Island development where star architects freely adapt metaphors that are not directly related to the context of Abu Dhabi – Frank Gehry using windcatchers (which historically have never been used in Abu Dhabi); Jean Nouvel basing his design on an image of an object in the forest, modified to the oases of the Emirates. Such non-contextual metaphors avoid a more substantive engagement with the city’s context – resulting in a mixture of buildings that simply do not relate to each other. The curse of the tabula rasa as it were, leads to a constant questioning of identity, a re-invention and ultimately a sense of transience. As a result the city’s inhabitants lack any sense of identification with this project – which essentially is viewed as catering to its transient population – as Munif illustrated in *The Trench*, and sometimes pointed out by *strangers*.

This ultimately makes the project non-sustainable socially as well as culturally. To illustrate this point the recently concluded Picasso exhibition held at the Emirates Palace

hotel in Abu Dhabi, in spite of intensive media attention has for the most part attracted westerners. On a recent visit I only observed a handful of locals. While such observations are anecdotal it seems to illustrate the schism which these projects create – an attempt to import ‘western enlightenment’ into a region that has not been subjected to western culture as other parts in the Middle East. Thus, they become enclaves catering to a select number of residents and do not seem to enrich the local cultural scene. This may have social, cultural as well as political re-percussions (Munif’s citizens resentments).

To bring this into perspective one needs to take into account the larger political context in which this is taking place. The notion of Abu Dhabi becoming a ‘new’ cultural center in the Middle East has in fact occupied a central position in announcing the project and in providing a justification for such a massive undertaking. Officials note that “culture crosses all boundaries and therefore Saadiyat will belong to the people of the UAE, the greater Middle East and the world at large” thus effectively establishing the projects main credentials.²⁵ Taking this a step further the chairman of the TDIC proclaims that “What is happening is unfortunate in places like Beirut ... we want it to come back to its old days.”²⁶ Nicholas Ouroussoff the New York Times architecture critic in a major article titled “A vision in the desert” offers a similar view arguing that the traditional centers of the Middle East could effectively be replaced by Abu Dhabi which offers “... the hope of a major realignment, a chance to plant the seeds for a fertile new cultural model in the Middle East.”²⁷

Viewed in these terms such projects could be interpreted in relation to the larger notion of a new Middle East, imposed on the region by a hegemonic power such as the US. Richard Haass, a US policy advisor, in fact notes that if the US would like to change the Middle East it needs to ‘intervene’ in its affairs “with nonmilitary tools.”²⁸ Echoing similar sentiments, Thomas Krens – Guggenheim director – suggests that these museums could become a “tool of diplomacy.”²⁹ Taking this a step further it could be argued that they are tools of cultural imperialism. While I noted earlier the limitations of an orientalist perspective – in the sense that a certain vision of this region is imposed by outsiders – it becomes clear by looking at the Saadiyat project that even though it is initiated locally, it has perhaps unwittingly become part of this larger political vision. Or, it shrewdly utilizes these policies to further its own objectives. Consider the following statement by the CEO of Tatweer, a major developer in Dubai: “We are a city of bedouin nomads – we can change direction in an instant.”³⁰

Endnotes

¹ Christa Salamandra, “Globalization and cultural mediation: the construction of Arabia in London.” *Global Networks*, 2:4 (2002): 285–299.

² The quote is attributed to Tahsin Bashir, an Egyptian diplomat: ‘Egypt is the only nation-nate in the region the others are tribes with flags’. (Quoted in Charles Glass, *Tribes with Flags: A Dangerous Passage through the Chaos of the Middle East*. (New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990), 3.

³ Abdelrahman Munif, *The Trench (Cities of Salt)* (New York: Vintage, 1991).

⁴ Munif, 1991; p. 222

⁵ Munif, 1991; p. 430

⁶ Steve Caton, *Lawrence of Arabia: A Film's Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁷ British traveler Wilfred Thesiger on a visit in the 1950s notes that a "... small castle dominated the small dilapidated town which stretched along the shore. There were a few palms, and near them was a well where we watered our camels." Furthermore, "the ground around us was dirty, covered with the refuse of sedentary humanity."⁷ He describes a visit to a "dilapidated" house near a market where he and his companions stayed for twenty days. The market itself was a place where they "sat cross-legged in the small shops, gossiping and drinking more coffee" after which they "wandered along the beach and watched the dhows being caulked and treated with shark-oil to prepare them for the pearling season, the children bathing in the surf, and the fishermen landing their catch." Wilfred Thesiger, *Arabian Sands* (London: Penguin, 1991) 265-66.

⁸ Gloria Emerson "Abu Dhabi gushes instant wealth." *The New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1968a.

⁹ Gloria Emerson "Abu Dhabi: the unsociable baby boom town." *The New York Times*, March 10, 1968b.

¹⁰ Describing scenes of extreme primitiveness contrasted with emerging signs of modernity she observes: "The camels, the goats and the mongrel dogs of Abu Dhabi still meander through the market place, a honeycomb of stalls and huts and stands, speckled with pocket-sized supermarkets and pharmacies too. The screech of tires and the horns of big foreign cars, driven too fast by men who learned to steer in Mercedes and Cadillac, do not startle the animals any more" (Gloria Emerson "A mixture of goats and cadillacs: Abu Dhabi is rolling in oil wealth." *The New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1968c)

¹¹ Edna O'Brien, *Arabian Days*. (London: Quartet Books, 1977)

¹² O'Brien; p. 147

¹³ Edward Lee, "Unity eludes nine Persian Gulf Sheikdoms." *The New York Times*, November, 29, 1970.

¹⁴ Edward Sheehan, "Unradical sheiks who shake the world." *The New York Times*, March 24, 1974.

¹⁵ A Broyard, "Books of the Times: Arabian Days." *The New York Times*, June 27, 1978.

¹⁶ Jonathan Raban, *Travels through Arabia* (London: Touchstone Books, 1979), 125.

¹⁷ Raban, 1979; p. 128.

¹⁸ The Economist. "Sandcastles in the Air." *The Economist*, July 22, 1999, 67.

¹⁹ Jim Krane, "Frank Gehry wonders whether he can top Bilbao." *The China Post*, July 10, 2006.
www.chinapost.com.tw/art/detail.asp?ID=85658&GRP=h. Accessed July 12, 2006.

²⁰ Hassan Fattah "Celebrity architects reveal a daring cultural xanadu for the Arab World." *The New York Times*, February 1, 2007, Sec. E, p. 1, 5

²¹ Gehry on context: "It's like a clean slate in a country full of resources ... It's an opportunity for the world of art and culture that is not available anywhere else because you're building a desert enclave without the contextual constraints of a city" (quoted in Fattah, 2007).

²² The complete statement is quite fascinating: "Abu Dhabi's going to be very different - a take on a traditional, spread out, organic Arab village or town. Not literally, but it'll have the equivalent of streets and alleys, souk-like spaces and plazas, some shaded and others covered. It'll be the biggest Guggenheim yet. There'll be fresh air and sunlight, and we'll be bringing in cooling air through a modern take on traditional Middle Eastern wind towers. Of course, the core of the building, or complex, will need to be air-conditioned, but this won't be a hermetic building; it'll be an adventure, a kind of walk through a town with art along the way" [Gehry, F. (2007). "My Abu Dhabi Adventure." *The Guardian Unlimited, Art Blog*. March 5.
http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/art/2007/03/my_abu_dhabi_adventure.html. Accessed, March 25, 2007].

²³ Both the Gehry and Nouvel project are described as being a perfect representation of a successful fusion of east and west: "Mr. Nouvel and Mr. Gehry have ingeniously harnessed local architectural traditions without stooping to superficial interpretations of historical styles. Intrinsicly their designs acknowledge that the flow of culture between East and West has not always been one-sided. If they convey nostalgia, it is for a belief in the future ... Yet overall it is heartening to see Western architects engaged in seeking a balance between the brute force of global culture — its ruthless effacement of differences, its Darwinian indifference to the have-nots — and the fragility of local traditions" (Ouroussoff, 2007) Zaha Hadid's design on the other hand "springs from the complex nature of the site rather than an exploration of cultural memory."

²⁴ This phrasing is taken from Rem Koohaas in an essay written with Bruce Mau, in *S,M,L,XL*, 1995

²⁵ Haider, H. (2007). "Saadiyat projects' designs on show." *Khaleej Times*, Feb 1, p. 3.

²⁶ As quoted in Ouroussoff (2007)

²⁷ “Now the city is on the verge of another audacious leap. Over the next decade or so it aims to become one of the great cultural centers of the Middle East: the heir, in its way, to cosmopolitan cities of old like Beirut, Cairo and Baghdad ... With once-proud cities like Beirut and Baghdad ripped apart by political conflict bordering on civil war, Abu Dhabi offers the hope of a major realignment, a chance to plant the seeds for a fertile new cultural model in the Middle East ... the buildings promise to be more than aesthetic experiments, outlining a vision of cross-cultural pollination” (Ouroussoff, 2007)

²⁸ Haas, R. (2006). "The New Middle East." *Foreign Affairs*. November/December.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20061101faessay85601/richard-n-haass/the-new-middle-east.html>. Accessed, November 26, 2007

²⁹ Taylor, K. (2007). “Abu Dhabi lures Western museums.” *The New York Sun*. <http://www.nysun.com/article/47795>. Accessed Feb. 10, 2007.

³⁰ Quoted in Dyckhoff, Tom (2008). “Dubai architecture: the tart turns tasteful.” *The Times*, March 26.
http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/visual_arts/architecture_and_design/article3620340.ece. Accessed October 23, 2008.

Company Citizenship Creation in the Developing Countries in the Era of Globalization: Evidence from the Toyota Motor Company in India.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether a multinational company can transmit its corporate management system and operations management system from its domestic operation to its subsidiary located in a country with very different national culture. According to Hofstede (2002), the national culture of the host country will dominate the internal management system of a multinational company. This research proposes that it is possible for a multinational company to override differences in national culture and create a 'company citizenship' across the globe with similar corporate management and operations management system. Another purpose of this research is to show that it is not true that globalization would create just one single culture, originated in USA and Western Europe, which is called 'Jet-Set Culture' by Freedman (2006). Japanese multinational companies are spreading their own unique organizational values of their management system across the world in their subsidiaries. Thus, different multinational companies may create their own unique organizational culture that produces their own company citizenship, which can be spread globally. To prove these hypotheses, this paper has reported the result of a survey conducted in the domestic operations of the Toyota Motor Company (Toyota) and in its operations in India. Core values of Toyota's management systems are derived from the values that are identified in the mission statement of Toyota. According to the results of the survey based on opinions of Toyota's employees, there are broad similarities in the values composing its management systems irrespective of national locations. Thus, Toyota has managed to form the 'company citizenship' in its headquarters in the host country, Japan, and successfully transmitted it

in its subsidiary located in the host country, India, with an alien national culture. Therefore, the company citizenships of different companies, based on their unique organizational cultures, but not on their national cultures, are emerging as a new organizational form in this global era.

This paper proposes that there are some specific espoused values in every important multinational company, which form their organizational cultures and create values, which in turn may form commitment of its employees. These commitments are the indicator of successful performance of a company because creation of commitment leads to success of the company. We can call this interrelationship between culture and commitment as company citizenship. This company citizenship can be transmitted from one part of the globe to another by a multinational company through the transmission of its corporate management and operations management system.

Formation of this company citizenship based on firm's organizational culture creates unique competitive advantage of a multinational company as the part of its international strategy. This is a new theoretical development because it is different from the existing theoretical explanations of the transmission of values from the social or national environment to the organizational values (O'Reiley, 1989; O'Reiley, Chatman and Caldwell, 1991, Cameron and Quinn, 1999).

This concept of 'company citizenship is directly opposed to two very important theories put forward in recent years. Thomas Freedman (Freedman, 2006) has coined the term "Flat World" to describe a world where people have the "Jet-Set Culture" (Triandis, 2006) of the high Anglo-American executive class, with similar language, education, tastes and preference but with varied citizenships and nationalities. Emergence of this Global culture is the result of globalization process that has started since 1990. That has

created a new breed of managerial class whose culture is global, not national. If that is the case, organizational systems that were developed using national characteristics are undergoing changes to include global characteristics. There is also the powerful argument of Hofstede(2002) who thinks organizational culture is related to the national culture of the country where the company is located and as a multinational company cannot avoid the strong influences of the national culture of the host country.

This paper, drawing upon the experiences of Toyota Motor Company, has examined the core values of corporate management and operations management systems of Toyota in both Japan, the home country and India, the host country, to demonstrate that both of the above two theories of Freedman (2006) and Hofstede(2002) are not exactly valid. A company citizenship can be formed even in a country with a very different national culture because a strong organizational culture of a multinational company, which gave rise to the values of corporate management and operations management, can override difference in national culture between the home and the host countries of a multinational companies. As there are different multinational companies with different organizational culture, there would be different company citizenships for different multinational companies rather than just one Anglo-American 'jet-set Global' culture.

Global Culture

Kluckhohn (1954) has defined culture as shared standards operating procedures, unstated assumptions, practices, tools, myths, art, kinship, norms, values, habits about

sampling the environment and shared meanings. There is the opinion of Hofstede (2002) that national cultures are different from each other and as a result, different organizational cultures can be formed. However, globalization gave rise to a new concept co-called 'Jet Set Culture' or 'Global culture' (Triandis, 2006). According to it, multinational companies are propagating just the corporate culture based on Western, mainly US, values and, thus, other cultures would be swept away soon by the force of Globalization. The main implication is that ultimately there would be one global corporate culture instead of separate individual cultures.

Triandis (1989) in his research has divided the people of the world into two parts. People in individualistic cultures (in North and Western Europe, North America) have complex culture while the people of the collectivist cultures (Asia, Africa, South America) along with Fascists, communists and religious fundamentalists have a simple culture. The 'Jet-Set Culture' is complex, they are sophisticated, multicultural, materialistic, and support liberalism, humanism and rationalism. The people with collectivist mind emphasize soul, instinct and intuition. There are two types of collectivist cultures. Vertical collectivist culture (Indian villages) emphasizes in-group cohesions, respect for in group norms, and directives of authorities (Triandis, 1995). Horizontal collectivists are less authoritarian. People in that kind of culture are interdependent with in groups (Markus and Kitayama, 1991), give priority to the goals of their in groups (Triandis, 1990) and behave in general communal way. They value patriotism, bravery, loyalty, and self sacrifice (Triandis and Trafimow, 2001).

The 'Jet-Set' culture emphasizes individualism, self-reliance, competition, uniqueness, hedonism, and emotional detachment within a group. Vertical individualistic culture (US corporate culture) values competitiveness. Horizontal individualistic culture (Australia, Sweden) de-emphasizes hierarchical differentiations (Triandis and Gelfand, 1998). Effects of Globalization is the creation of a 'Jet-Set Culture' who belong to an emergent global culture, which promotes primarily the vertical individualistic US corporate culture irrespective of national boundaries (Clark and Mathur, 2003). This global culture consists of people who are attached to other members of this global culture through a process of self-selection. Core values of global managers are not derived from ethnic group, national origin but from a cultural cross-pollination (Bird and Stevens, 2003).

Historically speaking the term 'global culture' is nothing new. Baron Macauley, who went to India in 1834 to reform the education system of the British India, 175 years ago wrote, "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (Macauley, 1860). Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote in 1872 about the globalization initiated by the industrial revolution in Britain. According to Marx and Engels (1892) the global character of business itself creates a world after its own image, where the need of expanding market chases business over the globe, and thus, that global market actually determines the cosmopolitan character of production, consumption and culture. Triandis and Freedman, have only repeated Marx-Engels and Macauley in different words. Indeed both British and the French empires had created a class of people in their empires very similar

culturally to the British or French; however, that had not changed the cultures of the countries in the British or French empires even after 175 years.

Global Citizenship

Husted (2003) has pointed out that the assumptions that global culture is homogeneous is questionable. The US corporate values are the values of the dominant group in USA, which may not be shared by everyone in U.S society. While national culture is heterogeneous there are heterogeneous cultures in the world, which may cross the national boundaries. That creates a number of global cultures for each affiliated groups but not a single global culture (Lincol, Kerbo, Wittenhagen, 1995).

The second question is adaptation of a particular managerial practice (for example, 'Just-in-Time' from Japan or 'down-sizing' from USA) does mean cultural adaptation of 'Software of mind' or values inherent in these practices (Shingo, 1985). These affects the culture at the level of "deep mental programming" referred by Hofstede (2002).

Sheth (2006) proposed that global culture may be viewed as fusion of cultures. He has pointed out that instead of a global culture based on values forming US corporate culture (monolith-type of a global culture), a combination of cultures of different countries may emerge in global era, which shall combine the best from all multicultural values (fusion-type of a global culture).

This papers argued that in modern business world not countries, but the multinational companies are establishing their own cultures over the globe. The corporate cultures of leading multinational companies are forming their own company citizenship within their borders and spread their way of doing things globally.

That organizational culture which exists globally in a multinational company is formed by major values introduced by of the founder/top management of that corporation, and may or may not necessarily be influenced by the values of the country where that MNC is operating. That corporate global culture in turn forms company citizenship, a new organizational form in the era of globalization. Some successful MNCs are transcending national cultural differences by developing a common pattern of drivers of business practices through the formation of the ‘company citizenship’. . This research aims to describe the components of company citizenship and to provide evidence of its existence.

Company citizenship in this research refers to a relationship between organizational culture and organizational commitment, working through corporate management and operations management system. O’Reilly, Chatman and Caldwell (1991) have identified

certain dimensions of values of organizational culture. Basu (1999) has pointed out the values of the Toyota's corporate management system. Shingo(1985) has defined values at the core of the operations management system of Toyota. These values are innovation, stability, respect for people, outcome orientation, detail orientation, team orientation and determination. These values are closely related to what Triandis (2006) has described as 'collectivist' values, which should give way to the 'individualistic' values in a fully 'globalized' value system according to the supporter of the 'Jet-Set Culture'. However, as we can see the 'collectivist' values from the East are associated with superior business performances of the Japanese multinational companies and are affecting the behavior of the 'Western' managers as well. Thus, the direction for the 'global' culture as suggested by the supporters of the globalization and existence of a monolith-type global culture may not be the correct one.

National Citizenship versus Company Citizenship

There are important differences as mentioned by Triandis (2006) between the Western (Individualistic) and Eastern (Collectivist) organizational cultures and as a result values of the corporate management system and operations management system in Eastern and Western companies also differ. These differences were explained in detail by Hofstede and Bond (1994), Hall and Hall (1990), Goodman (1981), and Yeh (1995). The cultural value system in Japan promotes hard work and attention to detail, group orientations and consensus orientations (Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1990). It focuses on conflict avoidance, importance of long-term relationship, and uniformity. The end result is very high level of

loyalty for the company (Lazer, Murata, Kosaka, 1985). US corporate culture on the other hand promotes more communication and coordination and short-term performance evaluations (Ueno, 1992).

Hofstede (2002) has concluded that the organizational culture created in the context of one specific national culture may not be implemented in a different nation because of the differences in national cultures. Recently the GLOBE project (Gupta, Hanges, Dorfman, 2002) has tried to categorize nations according to their leadership culture and organizational culture. In Hofstede's analysis, national culture and national characteristics form organizational culture.

However, the alternative argument proposed in this paper is that organizational culture along with corporate management and operation management system, as its components, can be transmittable from one nation to another by a multinational company. If a company can influence its employee with a strong organizational culture it can override influences of national characters and can have a superior organizational culture throughout the organization irrespective of national boundaries.

From the above analysis we can proceed to a concept which we named as 'Company Citizenship' (CC), Company citizenship does not depend on nationality but on the organizational culture of a company irrespective of nationality.

Company Citizenship

Company citizenship can be defined as the reflection of the reason for the existence of the company and its organizational culture. Values of the organizational culture, that are proposed by founders of a company and developed by top managers, create super-ordinate goals, visions, and purpose of the company, which binds the corporation to its members in spirit (Basu, 1999; Pascale and Athos, 1981). Leadership defines these features in practical terms in order to disseminate these to its employees. These provide guidelines for decision-making, coordination, evaluation or, in other words, in ways of doing things or corporate management and operations management system.

Corporate management and operations management systems through their beliefs and assumptions influences behavior and create values, which in turn affects decision and actions of the members of the organization and creates a citizenship or membership. Company citizenship is formed for a multinational enterprise first in its home territory but it spreads to the subsidiaries located in various parts of the world creating a common organizational culture throughout the organization. Company citizenship differs from one company to another, as the organizational culture of a company is different from that of another company.

Thus, this paper argues that instead of a global culture, which is supposed to produce a common global citizenship, in reality we can observe a common company citizenship for

a specific multinational company throughout the world. Moreover, there can be as many company citizenships as the number of multinational companies. Thus, in real business world in the era of globalization instead of monolith-type single global culture composed by Western values, or a fusion-type composed by multiple national cultures, there will be a multiplicity of corporate cultures, which form company citizenships, which differs from each other as the organizational culture of Toyota differs from that of Ford.

Company Citizenship as a Competitive Advantage: Evidence form Toyota

The purpose of the Toyota existence is to implement its vision proposed by its founders:

- 1. to reduce cost, improve profit to have sustained growth;*
- 2. to provide employee's satisfaction, fulfill its obligation to Japan to enhance its honour (Basu, 1999: 188):.*

The organizational culture of Toyota is designed to fulfill these objectives both in its Japanese operations and in its overseas operations. The organizational culture of Toyota can form a 'company citizenship' throughout its worldwide operations irrespective of national boundaries. "*Toyota has a strong organizational culture, which depends on its values, and assumptions*" (Basu, 1999: 235).

The continuous growth of the company is needed for the preservation of these values. Continuous progress and respect that can be gained to be associated with a company with continuous growth is the end objective of the employees of Toyota. A deep religious value to perpetuate growth is also the objective of the corporate growth of Toyota. Toyota's employees think and operate with their outlook for the long-term prospect of the organization and harmony with the work-place and broad social environment. These feelings lead them to develop a family feeling within the work-place and responsibility towards the fellow employees and the community at large. They believe they have a responsibility towards the organization and the local and global societies, as Toyota is now a global organization.

Irrespective of the location Toyota is striving to inject these values to its employees across the globe creating an organization citizenship, which would carry the essential values of the Toyota as a global organization. The fear of loss of face due to non-achievements of its objectives to the employees, Japan and the global community are the motives for Toyota's efforts to mould every employee irrespective of their nationality to a company citizen. The then president of Toyota in 1995, Shoichiro Okuda said that his task is "to encourage a change in nationality through globalization—to transform Toyota Motor Corporation into Toyota, a company with a world nationality"(Okuda, 1995).

In order to evaluate whether Toyota has managed to create a company citizenship in its India plant this research made a comparative analysis between the corporate management system and operations management systems in Toyota plants in Bangalore in India and in

Toyoda city in Japan. Interviews of the most senior managers in both of these plants were conducted in order to understand their systems and a survey of opinions of the 150 managers in both of these plants was executed. The results are given below.

Results of the Quantitative Research: Toyota's HQs vs. Subsidiary

Results of the quantitative research of a survey conducted in Toyota, in its headquarters (HQ) in Japan, and in its subsidiary in India are summarized below. There are certain key variables to characterize the corporate management system and operations management. These are given below, along with the statistical analysis.

The following six variables (Basu, 1999, Ouchi, 1981) composing the concept of 'corporate management' are selected for the analysis:

1. Community Feelings;
2. Innovations
3. Consultations
4. Stability
5. Employee Welfare
6. Contributions to Organization

Analysis of the Data from survey in Toyota India: Correlation Matrix: Corporate

Management:

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1	3.9	0.36					
2	3.9	0.52	0.72*				
3	4.5	0.42	0.79*	0.55*			
4	4.3	0.35	0.78 *	0.63*	0.69*		
5.	3.9	0.55	0.76**	0.65*	0.81*	0.79**	
6.	3.9	0.59	0.79*	0.81**	0.72*	0.68*	0.69*

* Significant at 5 % level; ** Significant at 10 % level

Analysis of the Data from survey in Toyota Japan: Correlation Matrix: Corporate Management:

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1	4.5	0.35					
2	4.8	0.55	0.72*				
3	4.2	0.42	0.81*	0.53*			
4	4.9	0.25	0.74*	0.63*	0.74*		
5	4.1	0.25	0.82*	0.68*	0.83*	0.87*	
6	4.7	0.33	0.84*	0.78*	0.69*	0.68*	0.71*

* Significant at 5% level

Thus, the following six variables (Shingo, 1985; Hayashi, 1989; Jaeger, 1983; Imai, 1986)) composing the concept of ‘operations management’ are chosen for the analysis:

1. Awareness of Return to Investment
2. Continuous Improvement
3. Total Quality Management
4. Customers Satisfaction
5. Facilitations
6. Goal Orientations

Analysis of the Data from survey in Toyota India: Correlation Matrix: Operations

Management:

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1	3.9	0.26					
2	4.9	0.51	0.82*				
3	4.2	0.32	0.89*	0.85*			
4	4.7	0.55	0.88**	0.73*	0.89**		
5	3.9	0.35	0.79*	0.85*	0.86*	0.89**	
6	4.4	0.55	0.89*	0.85*	0.79*	0.88*	0.89**

* Significant at 5% level; ** Significant at 10% level

Analysis of the Data from survey in Toyota Japan: Correlation Matrix: Operations

Management:

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1	4.6	0.26					
2	4.4	0.58	0.82*				
3	4.7	0.32	0.87*	0.83*			
4	4.5	0.55	0.84*	0.83*	0.84*		
5	4.7	0.35	0.89*	0.88*	0.83*	0.87*	
6	4.5	0.53	0.81*	0.88*	0.89*	0.88*	0.81*

* Significant at 5% level; ** Significant at 10% level

In both cases it is accepted Toyota' main operation in Japan as the bench mark for its operation and the subsidiaries are expected to emulate this process. The next step is to compare the behavior of Toyota's subsidiary in India to examine whether the operational characteristics in the subsidiaries are similar or different from the main operation in Japan. If they are similar, it clearly indicates the fact that Toyota is successfully transmitting its corporate culture from the headquarters to its subsidiaries worldwide.

In the tables given above the basic characteristics of corporate management system and operations management systems are identified. The opinions of the managers provide the quantitative measures of the degree of correlations among these characteristics. If these matrices are found to be similar, it will prove that the corporate management systems and operations management systems in both of these plants are similar both in Japan and in India.

To examine the similarities or differences between these two sets of matrices, the Likelihood-ratio test, of comparison of two covariance matrices (Manly and Rayner, 1987), were employed. Our initial hypothesis is that these matrices are not different. The results do not reject the hypothesis that matrices are not different. In the Discriminant Analysis, for the tests of covariance matrix, the results show there are not any significant differences between the two covariances. The smaller the Wilk's Lamda, the differences between the two samples, of Japan and India, will be smaller and insignificant. That is also supported by the Eigen value and Cannonical Correlation. Eigen value is small and the canonical correlation is very high, thus these two samples are similar.

Discriminant Analysis to Compare Corporate Management in Japan and India:

Tests of Equality of Group Means

	Wilks' Lambda	F	df1	df2	Sig.
CMI1	.381	2109.909	1	1297	.000
CMI2	.402	1930.019	1	1297	.000
CMI3	.376	2156.212	1	1297	.000
CMI4	.837	253.058	1	1297	.000
CMI5	.848	232.309	1	1297	.000
CMI6	.940	82.599	1	1297	.000

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices

Log Determinants

TYPE	Rank	Log Determinant
1.00	6	-16.427
2.00	6	-15.505
Pooled within-groups	6	-8.405

The ranks and natural logarithms of determinants printed are those of the group covariance matrices.

Test Results

Box's M		9807.466
F	Approx.	464.732
	df1	21
	df2	6187131
	Sig.	.000

Tests null hypothesis of equal population covariance matrices.

Summary of Canonical Discriminant Functions

Eigenvalues

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	2.459 ^a	100.0	100.0	.843

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

Wilks' Lambda

Test of Function(s)	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	.289	1605.875	6	.000

Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Function
	1
CMI1	.231
CMI2	.411
CMI3	.719
CMI4	-.156
CMI5	.014
CMI6	-.366

Discriminant Analysis to Compare Operations Management in Japan and India:

Tests of Equality of Group Means

	Wilks' Lambda	F	df1	df2	Sig.
OMJPIN1	.782	360.975	1	1298	.000
OMJPIN2	.577	949.977	1	1298	.000
OMJPIN3	.787	350.306	1	1298	.000
OMJPIN4	.781	363.478	1	1298	.000
OMJPIN5	.575	957.455	1	1298	.000
OMJPIN6	.779	368.741	1	1298	.000

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices

Log Determinants

TYPE	Rank	Log Determinant
1.00	6	-17.644
2.00	6	-10.149
Pooled within-groups	6	-10.789

The ranks and natural logarithms of determinants printed are those of the group covariance matrices.

Test Results

Box's M		4033.616
F	Approx.	191.136
	df1	21
	df2	6196706
	Sig.	.000

Tests null hypothesis of equal population covariance matrices.

Summary of Canonical Discriminant Functions

Eigenvalues

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	.830 ^a	100.0	100.0	.673

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

Wilks' Lambda

Test of Function(s)	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	.546	782.708	6	.000

Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Function
	1
OMJPIN1	.171
OMJPIN2	.815
OMJPIN3	.175
OMJPIN4	-.343
OMJPIN5	.056
OMJPIN6	.091

Thus, we may say that there is no significant difference between the Corporate Management Systems in the Japanese main operations and the subsidiary operation in India, as perceived by the employees in Japan and India. As we can see similar characteristics of corporate management in their subsidiary operation in India, we can fairly conclude that the organization may have successfully transmitted its Japanese organizational culture to its subsidiary operation in India. Just like in Japan, in the Indian subsidiaries employees are reasonably satisfied with their perceived organizational culture and the resultant corporate management system, given the high values of the mean responses for each items.

For the components of Operations Management in two countries, the differences between the two samples of Japan and India are not significant, as the Wilk's Lamdas are quite small. The smaller the Wilk's Lamda, the more important the independent variable to the discriminant function, i.e. the differences between the two samples, of Japanese main operation and of Indian subsidiary operation, will be smaller and insignificant. That is also supported by the Eigen value and Cannonical Correlation. Eigen value is small and the canonical correlation is very high. Thus, we may say that there is no significant difference between the operations management systems in the Japanese main operations and in the Indian subsidiary operation as perceived by the employees in Japan and India.

Thus, there are close similarities of both corporate management system and operations management system of Toyota in Japan and Toyota in India. It signifies that although Toyota in India operates in a very different national cultural context, organizational culture of this Indian subsidiary is similar to the organizational culture of its parent

company in Japan. Thus, the organizational values in this subsidiary in India are not different from their Japanese counterparts despite of the vast differences of the culture of India and Japan. As a result, Toyota has managed to override the national cultural differences to implement its organizational citizenship in its Indian subsidiary as it did across the globe.

Conclusion

Successful multinational firms transcended national cultural differences to develop a common pattern of business performance by creating company citizenships. These included a primary focus on such values as organizational innovation, and a goal orientation. Corporate purpose of the company, its espoused values, vision of the leaders create values of its corporate management and operations management systems and for the organizational culture of the company as a whole. These values ultimately create commitment of the employees. Creation of commitment, an important index of a firm's successful corporate performance, in turn forms a company citizenship. Organizational cultures that "encouraged trust, participativeness, and entrepreneurial behavior were effective across" the globe, both in the home country and in the host countries all over the world (Basu, Miroshnik, Uchida, 2008).

In the context of a Japanese company, the role of culture should not be ignored, as culture implies resources of high economic significance. A multinational company, like Toyota,

with strong organizational culture can provide a global company citizenship compare to a company with weak organizational culture (Kotter and Heskett,1992; Basu, Miroshnik, Uchida, 2008). This research provides the evidence from the Toyota Motor company, that instead of the proposed co-called 'Jet-Set' or monolith-type of global culture as described by Triandis or Freedman (Triandis, 2006; Freedman, 2006) or fusion-type global culture as proposed by Sheth (Sheth, 2006), many different company citizenships of various multinational companies may be emerging as a new organizational forms in the global era.

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The Memories of Exile, Disorientation, and Self-identity in
Li-Young Lee's "Persimmons"

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The Topic of Immigration, Refugees, Race, Nation

The Memories of Exile, Disorientation, and Self-identity in
Li-Young Lee's "Persimmons"

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For many Chinese Americans, immigration proves a traumatic experience, especially in the case of Li-Young Lee, a Chinese American poet of the second-generation immigrant always suffering the conflict of self-identification and the anxiety of cultural confrontation in a foreign country far from home. As a Chinese American, Lee may exactly be said to undertake more cultural memories and obligations than any other Chinese immigrants when facing with such an ongoing impact of the dominant western culture. To such cultural confrontation, the poet's response and assimilation in turn are not allowed to suspend at any moment. In this regard, how the poet responds to his cross-cultural experience in his poetry is hence the foremost concern of this paper.

To such cultural conflicts, the alternative for the poet to free himself is, this paper suggests, no doubt necessary. Paralleling much with Lee's autobiography, "Persimmons" is a poem arguably dealing with painful portion of his own life experience in the conflict between his familial duties and public responsibilities when he straddles between two different cultures. As Wenying Xu argues, this poetry "drives largely from his ontological condition as an exile" and is full of "dialectic tension with his frequent usage of ethnic signifiers" (129). Reading in the historical context, I will first discuss the cross-generation/cultural exile/immigration from the distinctive legacy of the poet's family history, and then investigate an immigrant's sensibilities in "Persimmons" in order to elucidate the ambivalent position between Chinese and English cultures. In the final part, the conflicted self-identity between an immigrant's past and present will be explored to address a process of cultural transition in a multi-cultural or global context. With the growing number of the second-generation immigrant children in the twenty-first century, this study, through the discussion of these issues, looks forward to offering another interpretation of Li-Young Lee's ethnical identity and inheritance in "Persimmons" for local interests and global concerns.

I. A Cross-generation/Cultural Exile/Immigration: From China to America

As a second-generation Chinese American born in 1957 Jakarta, Indonesia, Li-Young Lee is a poet obsessed with an ongoing impact of the dominating western

culture for a long life. Lee's maternal grandfather is Yuan Shi-kai (the first president of Republic of China elected during the country transition from monarchy of the Qing Dynasty to republic), and his paternal grandfather is a gangster and an entrepreneur. During Mao Ze-dong's Cultural Revolution in China, his mother's family, the House of Yuan, encounters the fate of demise. Consequently, the marriage of Lee's father, a personal physician of Mao Ze-dong, and his mother from a family of Yuan's royal lineage, is inevitably frowned upon in Communist China. With his wife, the elder Lee hence decides to flee to Indonesia, where he teaches medicine and philosophy and also helps found Gamaliel University in Jakarta, but he is imprisoned by President Sukarno in the year 1958. As a political prisoner for nineteen months, Lee's father therefore decides to flee again, fleeing Indonesia with his family to escape anti-Chinese sentiment.

From Lee's parents to Lee, or even to Lee's sons, this cross-generation immigrant geographically from China to America or culturally from Oriental to Occidental culture mentioned above is somehow a process of cross-generation exile, and it might be said also that it must contain the confrontation with language and the conflicts of self-identity. Besides, this confrontation with language and the conflicted identity of Lee's family are global issues to any other immigrants as an outsider living in a foreign and unfriendly environment. Hence, after five-year diasporic journey throughout Hong Kong, Macau, and Japan, Lee's experiences living in exile still continue and have not yet stopped, though with his family he finally settled in the United States, a new country not only far from home but also a foreign culture. And, it is worth noting that even though American society has often been described as a melting pot, and all immigrants of various ethnic and cultural origins are supposed to be entitled to be a citizen like the white people without racial bias, the anxiety of belonging and identification actually hunts a vast number of these immigrants and newcomers at any moment, which shows the denial of citizenship in white society. In addition, all immigrants are designated by United States laws as "aliens," legal or illegal, resident or nonresident. As Sheng-mei Ma mentions, "Asian immigrants have in recent years become one of the newest waves of aliens arriving on the shores of American" (11). Because of this distinctive legacy of family history and predicament mentioned above, Lee could be said to be weighed down with more memories of his mother culture than any Chinese immigrants, and furthermore as an immigrant, he is also doubtlessly overwhelmed by the anxiety of identity and belonging problems to adjust and change himself anytime that are especially shown in his poems.

Like much Chinese American literary works, Lee's poems seldom suggest

ambivalence that underlies the straddling position of the immigrants. And, for the reason that Lee's parents have a classical education and used to recite Chinese poems from the Tang Dynasty to Lee, he learns to appreciate the aesthetics of Chinese poetry since he was a child, and at the same time is deeply influenced by Chinese classical culture. Therefore, his poetry may, in some degrees, indicate that no matter how distant an immigrant from Asia to America seems, he still feels himself in the dual position between his ancestral heritage and his American lifestyle. In other words, he has not yet left Asia behind, or fully assimilated America, but actually faces a dilemma between them. In his poems, it is not hard to find that, on the one hand, he embraces culture and history, even though memory afflicts him so much; however, on the other hand, he works out a way to keep an appropriate distance between the past and the present, or more precisely, between the dominating and dominated cultures.

For him, all immigrants are hardly free of such cultural identities. Thus, to the ambivalence of these ethnical stereotypes, he states in an interview, "it was important for me to take a breath and then go under. . . to try to escape all stereotypical views of what an Asian is in American, what an immigrant is The only way I could escape those stereotypes was to defy my own rational thinking" (qtd. in Xu 131). As a poet, he, of course, still needs to look back, but at the same time has to look forward with hope, though he is unwilling to regard America as his home since he is impossible to return to his motherland again. Through poetry, he is able to have a dialogue with his truest self and his most naked spirit; most importantly, this spiritual art also makes him able to shed his rational thinking or ethnical/cultural identities. Poetry for him is a great feeling of power and a silent voice but almost omniscient of a poet,¹ and in his view the poet as an artist "has to discover a dialogue cultural or canonical, but a dialogue with his truest self" (Marshall 132). Consequently, it is inevitable that Lee cannot help but force himself constantly to redefine his American citizenship in order to remind him of his status both as guest and citizen participating in American culture.

II. The Anxiety of a Chinese-American Poet within an English Context

Studying Li-Young Lee's autobiographical poem "in light of textual theories of deferred, hidden, or occulted meaning" is arguably "to re-examin [e] the notion of ethnicity" like reading an ethnic autobiography or autobiographical work of any other Chinese immigrants (Ma 13). Among his poetry, "Persimmons" is a poem that not

¹ Lee says in an interview, "for me poetry is both those things: that power and yet some mundane—in the best sense—some mundane thing we do," and "poetry could bring tears to a person's eyes" (Heyen and Rubin 18-19). For more information, see William Heyen and Stan Sanvel Rubin, "Seeing the Power of Poetry," *Breaking the Alabaster Jar: Conversation with Li-Young Lee*, Earl G. Ingersoll, ed. (NY: BOA, 2006) 16-29.

only sufficiently and vividly portrays his fragmented memories of exile and immigrant experience from repulsion and alienation to reconciliation, but also manifests an immigrant's sensibilities in several periods of his life: rage, disorientation, hope, tolerance, and so on. Besides, this autobiographical poem also embodies how Lee as a poet re-defines and re-creates the self in exile, experiencing disconnection or alienation in a foreign country. With the dynamic images and past memories featuring "Persimmons," Lee's presentation of the wor(l)dly perception implicates the significant allegation underlying language in which the semantic meanings of language make up the ethnic relation, the straddling position of an immigrant in particular. An epitome of Lee's reflection on his relationship with the Chinese (Eastern) and American (Western) cultures, "Persimmons" eventually neither simply reproduces Chinese ideas or memories within an English context, nor merely records his longing for his ethnic heritage because the power structure inherent in a dichotomy of Self and Other, of subjectivity and objectivity, etc. is essentially bewildering to the poet himself. In what follows, "Persimmons" will be discussed by the ambiguous position of the poet in two different cultures and his response to such immigrant journey.

As a second-generation Chinese American (poet), Lee has seldom chance to establish his mother culture as the center of his identity and his spiritual stability when living in America, which symbolizes a dominating culture full of power discourse. In light of this, if such a center does exist, it must exist in a borderless field, simultaneously extending into another area, and therefore be an endless process of re-locating and re-building. In addition, as Steven G. Yao points out, these experiences and aspects of an immigrant in America revealed in the poem also include

the trauma associated with learning (or failing to learn) English pronunciation, the ambivalence attendant upon assimilation, most powerfully emblemized in the form of an inter-racial sexual relationship, the sense of profound alienation and otherness that arises from a confrontation with mainstream ignorance and cultural insensibility, and finally the anxiety over a loss of connection with the original or parent(al) culture. (5)

This tension of cultural confrontation with a painful memory is explicitly shown in the first few lines of the poem when Mrs. Walker, Lee's sixth-grade teacher, slaps him on the back of his head, and makes him stand in the corner for his "not knowing

the difference/ between persimmons and precision” (“Persimmons” 1-5, 6-7). Unlike the other American students in the class, Lee, as an immigrant with ethnic accent, in his childhood experience of English-speaking learning at this point is categorized by Mrs. Walker as the “other” in the corner, or metaphorically as an alien different from the mainstream, only because he cannot pronounce these two words precisely akin to the typical American English speakers, and slurs English words often in his childhood. Even though they happened a long time ago, however, these traumatic experiences had haunted his mind for a life long. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, the self is radically dependent upon others, and the self, in his view, is an act of grace, the gift of the other.² In this sense, this frustrated and painful memory of learning second language to Lee himself, as well as the experience of fleeing Indonesia, is certainly full of feelings of disconnection, dislocation, and alienation, though he dwells in America, a multiracial country.³ Therefore, not only does the past torment him so much, but the present is also affected by the recurring memory.

Additionally, straddling between American and Chinese cultures, “How to choose” to Lee himself thus becomes a crucial question and a main concern in his poem without doubt (6). Overwhelmingly haunted by the fragmented and continental memories, Lee in some degrees reveals his anxiety and conflicts to the sense of belonging between Chinese and American cultures or between past and present. Take “Persimmons” as an example. Persimmon for Lee is not just a kind of fruit, but functions as a reminder that helps him remember the past memories of his childhood. As a symbolic sign, “every persimmon has a sun/ inside, something golden, glowing/ warm as my face,” said his mother (46-48). Moreover, Lee’s knowledge of choosing persimmons seems even better than his teacher when Mrs. Walker brings unripe persimmons to class so that each student can have chance to taste what she calls “Chinese apple.” As a Chinese immigrant, Lee doubtlessly well knows that those persimmons are not ripe or sweet at all, so for this reason he does not taste any of them but watches his classmates’ faces (40-45). In light of this, it is apparently ironical that Mrs. Walker, as an educator figure with professional authority in class, does not exactly know what differences between persimmon and apple in Asia are, either on semantic or on semiotic level. With few knowledge of persimmon, she is

² The idea of the self, Bakhtin argues, is that “[O]ur own relationship to our exterior does not, after all, have an immediately aesthetic character; it pertains only to its possible effect on others. . . . That is, we evaluate our exterior not for ourselves, but for others through others” (qtd. in Zhou 123). For more discussion, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays*, Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov, eds (Austin: U of Texas P, 1990) 3.

³As for exilic memory, Lee says in his dialogue “in my most pessimistic moods I feel that I’m disconnected and that I’m going to be disconnected forever, that I’ll never have any place that I can call home. . . . I don’t feel nostalgic because I don’t know what to feel nostalgic *for*. It’s simply a feeling of disconnection and dislocation” (Moyers 32).

hardly to describe precisely how to choose, peel, and taste a ripe and sweet persimmon like Lee does in his poem:

Ripe ones are soft and brown-spotted.
Sniff the bottoms. The sweet one
will be fragrant. How to eat:
put the knife away, lay down newspaper.
Peel the skin tenderly, not to tear the meat.
Chew the skin, suck it,
And swallow. Now, eat (8-14)

Although these few lines above seem powerful, in some aspects, however, they are imperious and defiant, based upon the virtue of respecting teachers deeply rooted in Chinese culture. Besides, his mischievous and revengeful psychology at this point perhaps can be viewed as a resistance to dominant culture in the act of self-defense or justifying his inheritance of Chinese culture.

Yet, ironically, Lee finds that his understanding of the dominant culture (Western culture) seems to be closer to precision than that of the dominated culture (Eastern culture) since “Persimmons” is written in English, his second/foreign language. Thus, the question of the precision of his understanding of Chinese culture begins to differ immediately when he says that “every time I try to write about a piece of fruit or the body of my father, it disappears under my looking, under my gaze”(Marshall 133). As a defender of his Chinese heritage, Lee also finds that he cannot precisely catch up the basic vocabulary anymore, and to him the cognition of Chinese words is even removed from his memory and trouble him even much when he teaches his wife, Donna (a white woman), to speak Chinese: “Crickets: chiu chiu. Dew: I’ve forgotten./ Naked: I’ve forgotten,” and says that “Other Words/ that got me into trouble were/ *fight* and *fright*, *wren* and *yarn*” (24-25, 29-31; italics original). In this situation, it seems that Lee is much closer to the center, the dominant Western culture that he tries to resist and struggle against. However, different from English or any other languages, Chinese is a language full of symbolic meanings and images in one word. With this feature of emphasizing the meanings and images even more than its pronunciation, Chinese words, from this respect, could make people easily to evoke their past memories, and even raise their emotions as well. Even though Lee does not remember the pronunciation of these Chinese words anymore, such as *fight* and *fright* or *wren* and *yarn*, by contrast, he indeed recognizes their meanings, and fully understands when he can use these words properly:

Fight was what I did when I was frighten,
fright was what I felt when I was fighting
Wren are small, plain birds,
yarn is what one knits with,
Wrens are soft as yarn. (32-36)

On the one hand, living in American, Lee may be said that he is departing from his heritage gradually, and a growing distance also makes him leave away his mother culture since he does not remember how to pronounce some of Chinese words anymore. However, on the other hand, Chinese words make Lee able to recall his past memories with his mother when “wren” and “yarn” these two irrelevant words come to bond together.⁴ Furthermore, through catalysis of Chinese words, Lee not only recollects his fragmented memories with his parents little by little in this poem,⁵ but at the same time ties his relationship to Chinese culture much closer in the English context, since yarn is strongly knit in the form of wren by his mother.

III. The Conflicted Self-identity between an Immigrant’s Past and Present

Besides the image of persimmon, the image of father in the poem is another important symbolic sign of the cultural precision. From his nostalgia for his heritage and Chinese tradition, the poet attempts to and is “looking for something” that he has lost. Nevertheless, through constant remembrance, he knows very well that his past origin and “home” are losing and fading away as he discovers that his father is “going blind” (55). Like his father’s eyesight, all (the unity, home, the origin, etc.) are gone, only left in the memory. However, the past for Lee seems to be fractured and discontinuous, and his dual identities of Chinese heritage and American culture always make him confuse. Hence, the struggle in the poem is not only “a struggle between words and the word,” but also an ambivalent position existing between Eastern and Western cultures (Butts 38). For Lee himself, either choosing Chinese culture (the past) or embracing English culture (the present) is a to-be-or-not-to-be question always bothering him from time to time.

And yet in comparison with the meanings of “future” and “past” in the western

⁴ In a literal sense, wren and yarn are in fact irrelevant to each other, but in the parabolic sense, these things are signified properly and figuratively: for instance, as yarn, wrens for Lee are soft, and wrens as songbirds could also further signify/sing a soft and warm movement of Lee’s past with his mother.

⁵ In the sixth stanza of “Persimmons,” Lee says, “My mother made birds out of yarn./ I loved to watch her tie the stuff; a bird, a rabbit, a wee man” (37-39). Apparently, the image of Chinese words somehow makes Lee able to remind himself of his past memories little by little.

culture, Lee goes to further indicate the differences in the symbolic meanings of Chinese words, for example, *hou* and *chien*, in a dialogue:

In the West we usually think of the future as lying ahead of us and we walk forward into it, leaving the past behind. But it's probably the other way around for an eastern mind. The Chinese word for the day after tomorrow is *hou*, meaning *behind*, and the word denoting the day before yesterday is actually *chien*, meaning *in front of*. . . to a Chinese mind, tomorrow, the future, is behind me, while the past lies in front of me. Therefore, we go backing up into the future, into the unknown, the what's-about-to-be, and everything that lies before our eyes is past, over already. (Marshall 133)

Consequently, in order to precisely know the past, the present, and the future, a backward notion is important to Lee, especially to a Chinese-American poet, when he faces such aforesaid predicaments in a foreign country. Additionally, though the conflicted self-identity between an immigrant's past and present afflicts him much, and though nostalgia for a totalized, fixed, and enclosed structure disappears, the issue of self-identity, either for Lee or for any other immigrants, however, is everywhere with an act of rebuilding self anytime when it is put in a larger multicultural or global context. At this point, Lee cannot help but is constantly forced to look at the immediate change. Apparently, it is not difficult to find that the pivotal concern in "Persimmons" is the idea of changing and strengthening the poet/ immigrant by learning to know and adapt both the known and the unknown from the beginning of the poem to the last stanza.

Still, it is also worth mentioning that memory is not simply a static experience, but as Edward S. Casey points out, it is

that remembering transforms one kind of experience into another: in being remembered, an experience becomes a different kind of experience. It becomes "a memory," with all that this entails, not merely of the consistent, the enduring, the reliable, but also the fragile, the errant, the confabulated. . . . The way that the past is relieved in memory assures that it will be transfigured in subtle and significant ways. (qtd. in Malandra 221)

Thus, in terms of Tim Engles' conception, Lee, in some ways, embodies his parents and their culture "in the figure of Donna, a white girl (or woman)," and this cultural transition or replacement is "involved a prostitution of sorts of his heritage" as he

parts her legs (191). However, what he finds lacking in American culture is “the rich, full warmth of his parents’ love, figured in persimmons,⁶ and their precise, caring ways, represented by their respective crafts” (Engles 192). Painting persimmons for hundreds of times, Lee’s father surely knows persimmons, and perhaps also masters all characteristics of persimmons, though he is blind and paints them eyes closed. Therefore, persimmons look like real that with two cats in the painting, “they want to drop from the cloth” (76). Through the effect of this father image, the poet is able to get equilibrium between his past and present, or even future. He finally realizes that “Some things never leave a person” since “scent of the hair of one you love,/ the texture of persimmons” is still in his palm (85-88).

Conclusion

Based upon the aforesaid analysis, Lee’s transition from exile, disorientation to self-reconciliation is clearly revealed in this poem. Apparently, “Persimmons” calls attention to Lee’s anxiety over a loss of connection with the original or parent culture to which he is inevitably indebted, and throughout the poem Lee also strives for certitude of precision in a multicultural context. With past memories, Lee, in his perspective, deals with the global issues of cultural confrontation and the conflicted self-identity to the growing numbers of immigrants worldwide. And, most importantly what confronts Lee or an immigrant most in this poem is the language learning, re-awakening him to the immediacy of languages in a forceful and imposing way. Language for him undeniably is an identity of the uncertainty and the tentative signified sign. Through infinitely referred words, the whole world and his experience become language and discourse in his poetry that is beyond the dichotomy of dominating/dominated culture, subjectivity/objectivity, past/present, etc. and possibly makes him keep moving forward in the future. In other words, in a multicultural sense, it could be said there is no static result for meaning making, but a constant shifting with flexible and innumerable possibilities.

Moreover, if this discourse of the middle position brings about the poet’s painful experience and the anxiety of his double identity as a Chinese immigrant and an American in citizenship, it in some degrees gives Lee or any other immigrants a way to be friendlier with the present mainstream culture by keeping himself properly detached from his insistence on holding past heritage. In addition, if precision lies nowhere in the multicultural vein, it could be said that the essence of precision is an imprecision and an endless play of its ever changing significations. Through language, structure, and content of his writing Lee deals with the question of identity beyond the

⁶ Persimmon for him is a fruit “swelled, heavy as sadness,/ and sweet as love” (“Persimmons” 59-60).

territorial boundary, tries to answer the continuous questions, and as a meaning maker, ever redefines meanings in a multicultural context. Eventually, what Li-Young Lee's memories and response to this cross-generation/culture exile/immigration manifested in this poem already shows an act of self-transcendence beyond time limitation and space.

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East Meets West in Pursuit of a Sustainable World

Change and Conundrum in Adib Khan's *Spiral Road*
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“To err is human, to forgive divine.”

--Shakespeare

“Isn't change the one certainty we can't escape?”

--Adib Khan, 121

Background

At the time I was writing this paper, the US President and other 47 world leaders were gathering in Washington to combat nuclear terrorism in the Nuclear Security Summit. One of the summit objectives is to prevent terrorists worldwide from laying their hands on nuclear arsenals, given that once terrorists possess the deadly weapons, its impact to the world can be disastrous. The summit, however, is ended with compromising results: Pakistan refused to stop producing weapon-grade plutonium and India failed to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, while Israel did not acknowledge its nuclear arsenal. However, one suspects whether the summit fails radically to take into consideration what should be done to reduce the incommunicado, misunderstanding and even hostility one country has toward the other. That is, they failed to solve the core issues.

At the time this paper was being written, female suicide bombers wrecked havoc at Moscow Metro leaving at least 38 dead and more than 60 injured. Though the problems confronting Chechnya and Russia may not be identical with those between the US and Al Qaeda, the tactics the poor/weak employ is to produce a grave sense of fear and horror at the most populated urban concentrations.

At the end of British colonization in India in 1947 occurred the Partition of India. Two Muslim-majority regions to the west and north-east of India were separated by over 1000 miles and known as West and East Pakistan. The Partition of India also mobilized the largest bi-directional human exodus, consequent of widespread rioting

and killing. Millions of Muslims moved to Pakistan, and millions of Hindus and Sikhs to India. However, structural imbalance between the two regions and natural disasters started the fire that eventually led the two parts of a country to warfare. East Pakistan had a larger share population of the land was the provider of crop economy, though the nation's capital Islamabad and other major cities were in West Pakistan. A sense of exploitation had long been with the East Pakistanis: they did not have proportional share of either political power or economic profits. After decades of tension, in 1970 the opposition Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib won a landslide election of 167 out of 169 East Pakistan seats in the National Assembly that enabled the Awami League to form government according to the Constitution. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto refused to acknowledge defeat and declared the Assembly postponed indefinitely, which in turn bred resentments. On November 12 Typhoon Bhola devastated West Pakistan and estimated 500,000 lost their lives, but aids from the West Pakistan never arrived and thus aggravated public resentments in the East. March 3, 1971 leaders from both regions met to decide the fate of the country. The failure of the talks led to Mujib calling a nationwide strike. In response, the West part announced "Operation Searchlight" which instigated crackdown of political discontent and cultural nationalism in East Pakistan. The war broke out soon after. Two million people died and millions of refugees flooded into India's eastern provinces. India eventually aided the Mukti Bahini, the Bangladeshi resistance army and involved in the Indo-Pakistan War in 1971. On December 16 West Pakistan surrendered. What else of Bangladesh is known besides the annual flood from the Brahmaputra and the Madhumati and their tributaries? In English, stories about the Partition had been dealt with, however partially, by Salman Rushdie, Amitav Ghosh and Rohinton Mistry, and Tahmima Anam. The ignored voice which constitutes the present study is Adib Khan.

Adib Khan's *Spiral Road* (2007) is a novel that dissects the ideological and religious confrontations, the causes and consequences, with a humanistic approach. *Spiral Road* tells how a Bangladeshi returnee from his adopted country Australia takes off the hurdles blocking the communication between family members, the masks disabling his seeing and being seen. This paper examines that by the end of journey back to Bangladesh the protagonist reaches reconciliation with his family and with himself. This paper addresses the diaspora is endowed with a lens different from that of the indigenous, given his special life experience constantly in different time and places, by which his observation could be rendered more objective and hence noninvolved. In other words, it is far from perfect; it is biased and with defects that calls for correction and revisioning. How and what the returnee fails to participate in

while he is abroad and accordingly the changes occurred between his leaving and return might disorient him and hence explains the differences in impression. This absence is pivotal in the sense that it can pose to him a sense of regret in his eventual understanding. This paper contends that the absence, far from a void, makes the presence/present possible: as he is hopping between chronotopes, the diaspora is able to superimpose two different time and places so as to reach a surrealistic presencing. This paper also argues that Masud Alam's humanism is squeezed out of post-partition and post-911 forces. Post-partition is here employed as a trope for separation, severance, discontinuity, whereas 911 as metaphor for explosion of mutual trust between countries and cultures. The journey back is then interpreted as one of self discovery and reconciliation. At a time when the world is shrouded with post-911 horror, Adib Khan subdues and disrupts national identity, on which the rigid dichotomy of us and them is easily installed and redefines what it means to be a hero and what courage is. He needs, however, to go through a spiral road to approach the elusive, shadowy figure to achieve his end.

Self-discovery

If to leave one's native land initiates one's quest of self-knowledge, then to return concludes the journey of self-discovery. On board of the plane heading for Dhaka, Masud Alam thinks to himself, "Here are those other selves that emerge from the shadows of my past. I appear in different guises, modeled by time. Voiceless figure. And the stories, some not worth recollecting, but others are intricately threaded and weave the design of who I am." (5) In the meantime, he is contented with, "The world hasn't really changed. Not from where I'm sitting" (8) Masud Alam is on the plane heading to Dhaka. What he sees now is a false impression and a wishful thinking, as later proves to be. The airplane is a significant setting in what one of the core issues of cultural politics is played out. He questions himself as he mutters to himself, "I'm home" and reflects that "the words sound hollow, like the beating on the rind of an empty gourd" (8). Here Masud identifies himself as a nomad, one engages in constantly coming and going, belonging to neither place. Nomadic life is known to be dictated by the weather, availability of animal feeds and water supply.

In the beginning chapter, however, one has no idea as to what these dictations are. The narrative begins with a reminiscence of the protagonist's great-grandfather, whose heroic chopping of a ferocious king cobra is said to be the beginning of the vicious cycle of family curse. What this paper contends is the significance of a

recollection of the past lies not only in the fact that the Alam family lacks a spirit to pursue after truth, but also by juxtaposing a memory with what is being seen outside the airplane creates a surrealistic effect to shake what is believed to be true. The first conundrum confronting Masud is at the immigration customs. Adib Khan shatters with an easy stroke the rigidity of national identity. Here Masud is depicted as an expatriate living in Australia for twenty years with still an ability to speak fluent Bangla. The customs official asks whether Muslims are discriminated in Australia. He answers that he is an Australian and he does not discriminate himself, and above all, he is a lapsed Muslim, though his physical look challenges the stereotype the official has in mind. The logic prompts the official with a condemnation, "Your country invaded Iraq" (14). This immigration experience, commonly experienced by travelers worldwide after 9/11, exhausts Masud's patience to he thinks that "already I yearn to return to my inconspicuous life as a librarian in Melbourne" (16). It is not until his identity is verified presumably in the computer databank that he is a war hero in the Bangladesh independence war he is released from the hassling red tape.

In the immigration experience, it seems that the past is in service to the present. This paper contends argues that the past and the present are engaged dialectically to the migrant's ends. That is, the past is to be renounced so as to give birth to a meaningful present, while it does not contradict that sometimes he excavates the past to fill up the void he faces at present. This applies to his present understanding of his Abba, as well as the changes Omar undergoes.

Reminiscence of the past can be amendable to the present. Amelia Goldstein, Masud's girlfriend in Melbourne, accuses him, "Your problem is that you don't passionately believe in anything! You don't seem to have any need for anchorage." (19) As their relationship is concerned, what Amelia says of Masud is certainly true in that he is a man lack of and afraid of commitment. However, this assessment can also be applied to his status as an atheist and agnostic as he reflects at the time seeing Omar's peers obsessed with a cause, "I can't say how these young men might think. It's like trying to figure out how my mind worked twenty-one years ago. Intensity of belief is diluted with age. But perhaps wisdom is in seeing our own failures, how we misdirected our energies? Nothing is entirely pure or sacred or certain as we grow older. Nowadays my dreams are rarely grand or fresh. They're smudged or chipped. Mundane matters occupy my fanciful moments. And I'm afraid of planning anything beyond my tangible grasp or if it entails risk." (263) he is drawn by the weight of the present. Throughout the narrative Masud is groping to know the evasive figure lurking behind whether s/he be his Abba, Abba's lover and his

illegitimate daughter, his unknown self, or the mastermind operating the murder.

Diasporization can be a journey of no return in the sense that the returnee is no longer his previous self. Different chronotopes fragments his self: “Fragmentation has grown in me here. I feel emotionally torn. All these landscape are too diverse to unify my thinking. The wandering migrant. . .the roaming atheist. The sense of loss is maddening because I’m unable to pinpoint the reasons for the regrets I feel. I doubt if I’ll come back to live here again, and yet there’s an elusive being within me that wants to redefine belonging, and whispers about home coming and morality. About ending where I began. About a completion to the circle of life.” (170) While Abba still retains his speech, Masud fails to maintain a close relationship with him. It adds to his remorse and hence a conundrum to him that when he attempts to, Abba is struck with the Alzheimer’s disease. He can only approach him as he was preserved in the diary kept and dated back to the 1960s, i.e., his father’s past speaks to him directly to make a meaningful picture to him.

Refutation of the Past

The farther back in time Masud retreats, the clearer the picture of his father and of himself appear. Jumping back and forth in time makes Masud one capable of correcting the errors done in the past and of amending the false impression. He problematizes what a hero is to stress the instability of identity. “Once I was among those classified as freedom fighters. *Terrorist* to some. . . *insurgent* to others. *Miscreant* to the Pakistani soldiers....” (27) As revealed in a later section, Khan rewrites his definition of hero. Hero is never one wields weapons and kills mercilessly; instead, he is one to face his vulnerability with courage. Masud recounts to his nephew the 1971 war against Pakistan, “You can create illusions of nobility and great deeds, and hide behind them. But recollections and the guilt surface later. You feel stained and dirty. . . And there are mistakes within mistakes. Darkness within darkness. Gross, horrible, soul-mangling errors that cripple you permanently. They suck out the marrow of life and leave you like the drought-stricken bed of a pond. A cracked and parched surface littered with the memories of what you once were. ” (121-22) It is obvious that a present retouch alters what was. The dialectics of past and present accentuates an inherent change.

The visit to Alya’s village gives Masud an impetus to quicken his change of perspective, not one with a foreign lens, but one with a genuine understanding. The episode exposes Masud’s condescending attitude toward the rural “innocent way of

life” (126), to whose slip of tongue Alya refutes, “People who settle overseas often come back and criticize changes they see. . . Is it because their remembrance of the past is threatened? Or do you lean on memory to keep away the guilt of leaving your native land?”(127) Alya insightfully perceives that changes are not only constant, but they are precisely the process the migrant fails to attend to in their absence overseas. Masud, thus, feels threatened due to unfamiliar landscape, otherwise put, their once fixed points of reference become loosened and unstable and call for urgent adjustment.

The imperative of the present also demonstrates in Masud’s symbolic farewell to his ancestral family house in Manikpur. “I realize my return to Manikpur was like meeting an old lover after years of separation---one cannot hope to revive the passion, but it is possible to bask in the warmth of recollection. I had expected a bitter-sweetness of past association, perhaps some sadness of transience. . . the visit has been merely a mechanical playback of a flawed recording that’s aroused mild interest in what was, but is devoid of yearning.” (156) The bland, tasteless past gives way to the urgent and pressing present, in which moment various family member is caught in crisis: Abba has the Alzheimer’s disease, Ma indulges in luxurious lifestyle oblivious of the dwindling family fortune, Nasreen moves back to Zia’s house after divorce with a slim chance to remarry, Uncle Musa the octogenarian is going to have his fourth marriage with a seventeen-year-old, and last but not the least, Omar the obedient nephew becomes a religious fanatic, while the Bangladeshi society is permeated with Islamic fundamentalism. It is at this moment that Masud attempts to bridge up the relationship gulf, to grasp his Abba’s true color, and as himself is concerned, to negotiate for himself a spot in a world where the cry of war on terror is loudest.

Changes Within & Without

As he is beset with familial problems, Masud chances to meet some religious zealots and the particular scene adds momentum to his change. “At the next tea stall a group of bearded men has gathered. Among them is a mullah, delivering a fiery speech on the religious imperative of Bangladesh becoming an Islamic republic and helping fellow Muslims around the world. . . It’s one of those emotionally charged criticism of the West. Conspiracy theories. Christian plots.” (171) Masud, fully aware that he has already stepped into a mined area, says to himself, “I’m now surrounded by religious zealots.” He is surrounded by extremists, war-mongers, people provocative of hostility toward the West, people “behave like holy warriors”

(172). Adib Khan, however, adds another layer of the past memory to erect a firewall for the Manichean identity politics. “A sense of irony sweeps over me. Something just like this might easily happen at an airport in America. Seeing my Muslim name, immigration officials there would want to know the motives for my visit, although the Australian passport would probably lessen suspicion. Here, it’s my name that suppresses hostility, but being an Australian isn’t an advantage, I am a resident of a Christian country, they remind me, mostly inhabited by whites...” (173)

Masud is suspected as “an outsider with insidious intentions” (178), though he eventually makes his way out by reciting a surah (174). This bazaar scene reminds readers of the earlier scene at the immigration. For these fanatics, identity comes too easy as far as a suspected outsider could recite a chapter from the Koran, he passes as one of us. What they fail to detect is that Masud indeed has intended something to change. What he experiences in the bazaar gives an impetus to quick his pace to enter the maze, as he calls it. “Everything’s different except my recollection of how things were once. And that too cracked after this morning” (184). That is, the morning bazaar experience. “It’s like standing on the edge of a maze. I fear if I enter I’ll be lost” (183)

Omar and Masud perceive in each other changes unsuspected so far. Detecting mutual changes enables them to “a meaningful existence” (190). As Masud reports, “I can’t put it in words. It’s something elusive that I sense in your father as well. It’s as if, in your own ways, you’ve each stumble upon a---a meaningful existence. And yet you don’t want to share with others. . . A kind of unshakeable faith seems to guide both of you” (190). Omar is certainly fallen to prey of the fanaticism suffused the society. Masud’s hunch is right for Omar and his father swerve toward conservatism unlike what they used to be.

Omar’s firm belief in the religious cause dismays Masud. The senior cannot persuade the junior out of his fundamentalist belief and eventually he resorts to his experience, trying to use his own past to talk Omar out of the present mire. “Nothing is worth of the loss of lives . . . Back then I knew nothing about the insidiousness of war, the way it can slowly wreck those who return, even as heroes.” (191) Young and strong-headed, Omar is never easily persuaded. He replies, “War should be fought for monumental principles, not personal glory. Individuals make sacrifices for a better world. . .What if the cause is to end oppression and injustice? To rid the world of ‘civilised’ exploitation? (191) An example of the past is employed in the service of the present, but failed to win Omar over. So Masud

becomes more interested in seeing what made Omar a changed person in the uncivilized nowhere he is about to take him to. For Masud, it is obvious that no cause, no principle, nothing is comparable to human lives.

Before Masud can further persuaded Omar, Adib Khan is meticulous enough to delineate with another episode how intolerant the Bangladesh society has become since he migrated to Australia, using the death of Shabir Jamal, a local journalist eager to excavate truth at any cost. A journalist is doing what his calling demands and is murdered because ironically he is dedicated to what he is supposed to do. The death of Shabir Jamal indicates severe ideological contestations in Bangladesh and he is merely a scapegoat. After a description of how he died, the novelist reveals Masud's thought of such a violent loss of life. "Without having known Shabir Jamal, I feel a tug of sadness for a life out with such brutality. I can't help wondering about the last moments before he died. Did he beg to be spared? I think of the pain, fear and the irrepressible hope of that unique experience. Ultimately life owes every human a peaceful death." (193-94) In other words, Masud is sympathetic with a man defending freedom of speech and oozing from his sympathy is his genuine humanistic concerns. Masud, unlike any other one of the Alams, would not let easily let go the unpursued truth just as his relentless attitude toward delving into his Abba's secret.

The Alams is wrecked with problems from inside the family as well as from the society without. Zia has become the only pillar of the family after his father is struck with the Alzheimer's disease and that worries Masud. He ruminates what if something happens to him the moment Steven Mills' innuendo that Zia could well be a terrorist suspect. The horrifying atmosphere pervaded the society has earlier menaced the returnee as Masud is identified as someone with insidious intentions by those religious zealots at the bazaar. What the Alams is facing coupled with the pressure from society make him impatient to do something. He thinks he could no longer be someone indifferent. At this thought, he rejects his earlier selfishness, "Absorption in my own wellbeing was a vehicle of escape, my way of keeping people at an emotional distance." (217) Hence, Masud reaches out for his family as much as he could for the twisted value in the society. He is desperate to know what and who is hidden beneath the façade of family harmony, to expose the disguises and disclose the evasive figures. "I curb a sudden urge to run. It's a familiar feeling. I've been good at it for a significant portion of my life" (210). He succumbs to the immediacy of the present.

From his moment of awareness the narrative is diverted into two parallel storylines.

On the one hand, the uncle travels with his nephew to “somewhere near Chittagong”, as the senior reveals that he is “intrigued by the vagueness of *somewhere*” (234). On the other, through Abba’s diary, Masud launches a journey to first discover his father and then himself. Both narrative lines intersect at the moment when he determines to stop escaping and boldly face what is at hands. I call the moment his emotional anchorage. It is a moment he decides to commit, “I must reach out and let [Amelia] know that I care. I must curb my expectations of others and wade into life without the fear of being swept away by the strength of its emotional currents” (218).

Significantly, the chapter entitles “Reaching Out” has a great deal to say about Masud’s change and again the past memory makes an inroad into the present. It is a retrospect with remorse: That night, March 25, 1971. Masud is depicted as shot through with “a sad realization chastened and frightened me on that terrace. My youth abandoned me. We had been dragged into the morass of a new world. And as the days passed, I mourned for myself and for the way of life that had died in front of me.” (227) Nine months later a new identity is born: Masud the East Pakistani turns a Bangladeshi. This change, however, pays dearly.

For Steven Mills, identity as much as one’s loyalty should remain stabilized. Masud, however, does not share what Mills believes. To Mills’ accusation that he hides something from him, Masud replies, “My loyalty is certainly not with any religion or race of people. I don’t believe in making a virtue out of patriotism. Or the stereotypes of national identity. Maybe I’m among the Muslim men of the twenty-first century living without permanent ties to the West, emotionally and spiritually uprooted. Someone to be viewed with reservation and even dread.” (240) What he has gone through these years in Bangladesh at war time and in Australia makes Masud think himself as flotsam and jetsam, someone/something useless and floating as the currents carry them. “Splinters of loyalty are scattered across my life, but I don’t have the skill to reconstruct them into a unified who and place it permanently in any one country. It’s not necessarily a satisfactory state of being, but then neither is an insular view of the world based on limited experiences.” (241) This splinter imagery echoes the trope of the partition. “I’m neither a traitor nor a blind patriot,” Masud says to Mills, “A safe occupation of the middle ground is so common to migrants” (241). A migrant without any pledge to loyalty to any one nation can be troublesome. He further ruminates on how to position someone like him in the post-911 era, “Who am I now? Born in a Muslim family, a Bangladi, a freedom fighter. A suspected terrorist sympathizer? An Australian, a librarian. . . a scarred person. An emotional nomad. . . Maybe I should have changed my name to

John Something and converted to Christianity. Solid citizen. Right religion. Probably of a conservative mould. There are plenty of advantages when you're one of the herd. For one thing, the ground beneath your feet remains stable." (245)

In this vein, Steven Mills can be interpreted as Masud's alter ego that at whichever crucial moment Mills and Masud would engage in dialogues to stage an ideological debate and trials of beliefs, be it on the plane, in Dhaka Club, or over the phone. The debates they go through is a series of self-doubt, self-denial and reaffirmation of the self. Masud is seen as one who would accept ideas unquestioned. After these trials and debate, he accepts his self as one with multiple identities, difficult to be place in any ready-made category. "Where does someone like me fit in? Sandwiched in the middle and squeezed from both ends until I'm mashed to a pulp. I've been spoilt by life in the neutral zone. Bland and inconspicuous, but physically safe." (267) With an understanding of himself as such, Masud is deeply shocked to find Omar's staunch identification with the cause and belief in a retaliation of an eye for an eye. In his dream he sees the ugly triangle relationship of his parents and Sumita. It is a dream, but he thinks the present here and now poses as too heavy a reality to bear. "All I want to do is to find a seat on a plane, heading towards a scorching desert, with all these experiences bundled into a deep recess of my memory." (272)

In Chittagong, a place symbolically far away from any sign of human civilization, Masud is shocked to find a "reptilian coldness in Omar" (280). To his chagrin, he attempts to lure Omar back to the right track and this time with his own confession of negligence of familial and filial responsibilities, his awareness reached with the aid of Abba's diary: "In Abba's weakness, I find consolation. Seeing such familiar echoes of flawed judgement and guilt makes me want to reach out to him and say that he's not alone in his frailty." (284). A past failure is amended with the present awareness, a past void to be filled up with a present understanding, however paradoxical this may sound. Sensing Masud's sentimentalism, Omar asks his uncle, "Could it be that you're giving the past a significance it doesn't deserve?" However, Masud ingeniously kills two birds with one stone, "blurt[ing] defiantly, 'It's the immediate present that I want to deny.'" (286) He would not accept his Abba's present condition without remorse, nor will he be moved with the prevailing fanaticism and intolerance. Masud duly whips his own failure of familial and filial negligence.

At the same time, Omar recounts his maltreatment and humiliation in the post-911 US and it is because his unpleasant experience as such that he sees himself as someone "to be netted in the sweeping generalizations of revenge" (289). Omar tore up his

return ticket back to the US and “continued the journey east. There were people I met and places I called home” (289). In a nutshell, Omar’s change explains the reason why there are photos posted in the camp with bruised and butchered bodies. Knowing the desperate action to be carried out in the city, Masud confesses, far from identifying himself as a wartime hero or freedom fighter, “that I realized now broken up I was inside. . . a voiceless chamber, full of rubble, bereft of righteousness.” (308)

The two parallel narrative lines merge into one to create a surrealistic effect in which it is not easy to distinguish the present and the past, the uncle and the nephew. “These memories are also the present, and the future. It’s me. I become my own witness again.” (308) Not know he is indeed tapping some vital message into Omar, Masud implores the youth to give up. He senses his own vulnerability again, “A single man’s words against a tidal force of history.” (309)

In the no man’s land near Chittagong, Khan explains how terrorists are trained. Visual reminders of photos of mutilated bodies, fanning anger and violence. As the leader Amin Haider explains, “We tap their emotional resources, release their frustrations. Life is a price they’ll pay, to strike at a world that pretends to be just and caring.” (301) Hearing his, Masud makes clear his position that he has renounced the use of force so that they are “in polarized and well-entrenched positions” (301). A stroke to deny the past errors draws him closer with his Abba, as he is duly reminded of the extent to which his father opposed his youthful ambition: “Belatedly, I understand the pain of a despairing father.” (303)

At the place with no sign of civilization Masud brings to Omar a genuine human compassion and understanding that, as Shakespeare would, “To err is human, to forgive divine.” So that explains why the novelist would depict Omar takes a bullet for Masud. Omar’s death once again accentuates the urgency for a humanist, however vulnerable and weak, to stay the place where he is needed.

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Narrative Levels and Metafictional Structure
of Dream of the Red Chamber

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Narrative Levels and Metafictional Structure of *Dream of the Red Chamber*

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1. Introduction

This paper attempts to illustrate the metafictional structure of the 18th-century Chinese masterpiece of prose fiction, *Honglouloumeng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*, also known as *The Story of the Stone*). I would like to propose that metafiction, which refers to the narrator's reflections on the fictionality of a narrative, is treated deliberately and systematically by the author Cao Xueqin through the constructing of its narrative structure. Since metafiction is a narratology term usually applied to western modern fictions, my effort to disclose that constructing is in a way to manifest the transcendence of the narrative art of this masterpiece.

Despite the fact that the fictional features of *Honglouloumeng* are easily recognized as David Hawks (1973) mentioned partly in the introduction of his world's popular English translation, it has received little attention in the traditional scholarly field. Scholars as Cai Yuan-pei, Hu Shi, Yu Ping-bo and others variously see the work as a political satire, a love story, a patriotic dirge to the fallen Ming dynasty, or a disguised autobiography. This predilection for "realism" is criticized by Lucien Miller (1975) who points out that they tend to misunderstand or ignore the novel's mythological framework or other structural aspects which precisely, stand for the work's artistry. Through a detailed analysis, Miller argues that the work is composed of polysemous layers and three primary literary modes: myth as the allegoric mode, mimesis as the realistic mode, and persona as the narrative mode. While Miller concentrates on the hidden beauty of the work's style and structure, Anthony Yu (1997) insists to clarify how Cao Xueqin weaves literally the origin, genesis, production, and reception of the tale into the plot of the tale itself, and how he deploys the Buddhist themes to aid the novel's fictionality. He claims that,

Honglouloumeng happens to be one text which places peculiar emphasis on its own nature and being and makes its own fictionality a subject of sustained exploration and dramatization...if such an emphasis and such a technique are commonplace phenomena in Western literatures (from, say, the *Odyssey*, through *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote*, to *Ulysses* and *The Auroras of Autumn*), they constitute a rare – perhaps even unique – achievement in the history of Chinese literature. (1997, p.VI)

There are also relevant researches done by other critics, such as Richard Kunst (1969) and Yaohua Shi (2005) who have specifically examined the beginning of the novel, Jing Wang (1992, pp.208ff), Wai-yee Li (1993, pp.202-30) and Karl S. Y. Kao (1997) who have mainly discussed the issue of intertextuality and self-reflexivity.

Although their researches vary in many ways, they do share one thing in common, that it is

impossible to discuss the novel's fictionality without touching its structural aspects, from which we could see the inseparable connection between the two. However, when it is easy to reach a consensus on the fictionality of the novel, a complete vision of its structural composition remains unclear. The techniques and devices are usually analyzed partly and separately in aid of text appreciation and interpretation, and there are ambiguities hidden in those analyses which might be caused by a lack of coherent narrative terminology. As a sort of response and revision, I am going to focus on the structure of the novel, using the updated narratology as a tool of analysis and with diagrams to illustrate it as clear and scientific as possible. I hope the structure could deepen our understanding of the artistry and fictionality of the novel, and the structure itself could be extended into a unique model of metafiction.

2. First Three Levels and Frame Tale (Figure 2)

My analysis starts from examining the novel's narrative levels, the notion of which serves to "describe the spatiotemporal relations between the various narrating acts occurring in a narrative" (Didier Coste & John Pier, 2009, p.295). Gérard Genette ([1983] 1988), who first proposed the term, explains (Figure 1): "Extradiegetic narrator A would produce a balloon—a first narrative with its diegesis—in which would appear an (intra)diegetic character B; she, in turn, would become the narrator of a metadiegetic narrative about a metadiegetic character C, who would possibly, in turn, etc" (p. 85). Each balloon designates a hierarchical subordinate relation between the adjacent levels, which means the authenticity of narrating goes like: $A \succ B \succ C \succ \dots$ Narrative level draws our attention to the narrating acts of a narrative, thus in a sense, expose the process of making fiction and undermine the realism of the narrative.

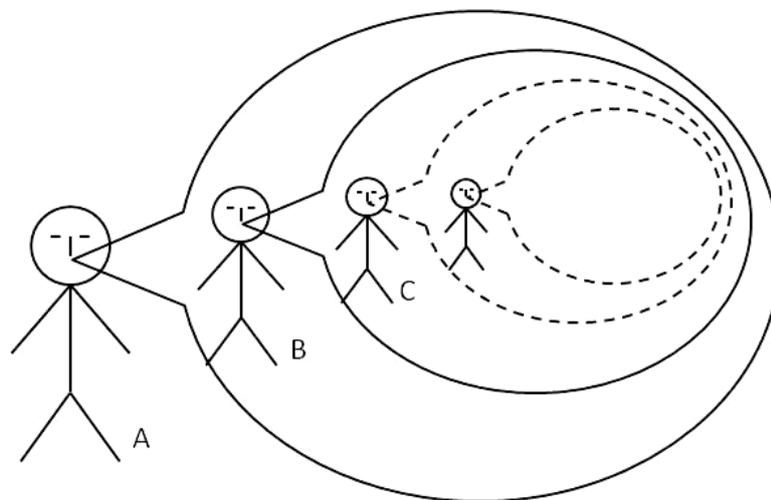


Fig. 1. Genette's narrative levels.

The multiple narrative levels of *Hongloumeng*, which are mainly produced in chapter 1, create a dazzling, complex narration termed by many critics as "a series of beginnings"¹. Though it

¹ A typical explanation comes from Lucien Miller (1975), who declares chapter 1 consists of nine episodes,

somehow highlights the designed ambiguity of the novel's beginning, the term "beginnings" dose runs a risk of juxtaposing the different narrative levels and confusing the narrative order. Here I mainly agree with Li Qing-xin (1995, pp1-25) and Wang Bin (1998, pp114-26) who put chapter 1 into "frame structure" analysis, but my analysis will be more in-depth and slightly different.

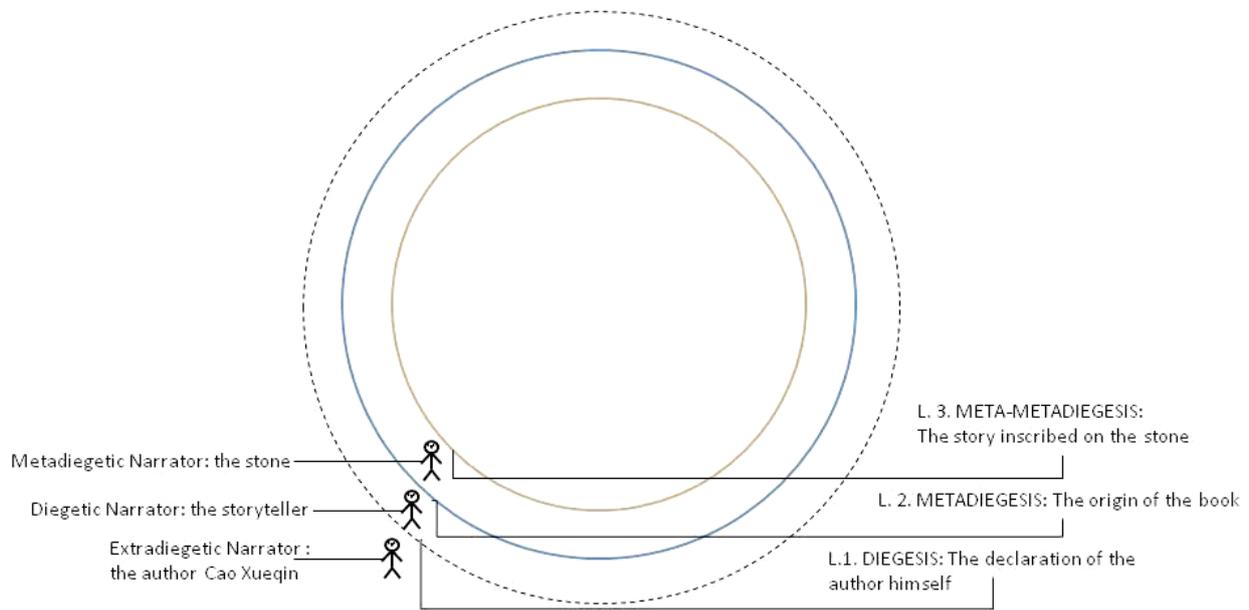


Fig. 2. First Three levels and Frame Tale.

No doubt that the author Cao Xueqin is extradiegetic narrator. The first narrative with its diegesis, as I propose, starts from:

This is the first chapter that begins the book, the author himself has declared that...²

and ends with:

Readers firmly remember this.³

This part is called the "Preface" or the "Entry" of the novel. Although it has aroused questions of

that "each episode in the first chapter, whether it be about a goddess, a divine Buddhist, a mundane Taoist, a gentleman, or a scholar, is a beginning. Each piece of the narrative represents another starting thread. Taken together, they constitute the start of the novel, so that we have to talk about the 'beginnings' of Dream of the Red Chamber, rather than about 'beginning'". (p.35)

² Cao Xueqin & Gao E 曹雪芹 (1982), 高鹗. *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢. Beijing: Renmin wenzue. Vol.1, p.1. my translation.

³ *ibid.*

its authorship and whether it forms part of the intended novel,⁴ it is indeed incorporated into the main narrative in the printed editions, and accepted as the beginning of the first chapter by contemporary Chinese readers. In a sense, the way this preface weaving into the main narrative precisely verifies Linda Hutcheon's (1984) argument: "With metafiction, the distinction between literary and critical texts begins to fade. (p.15)" Just as Cervantes reflects his fabrication in the preface of *Don Quixote*, the author confesses in this outermost narrative balloon that he "deliberately had the true events concealed", that the work is overall a fiction. At this level, he also presents the inventing principle of two characters, Zhen Shi-yin as "true events concealed", and Jia Yu-cun as "false language enduring". As their double and opposite meanings indicate, they are two important functional characters.

The second level, the narrator of which is a storyteller, begins with the line:

Gentle reader, what, you may ask, was the origin of this book?⁵

The story at this level begins with goddess Nǚ-wa creation myth which introduces the story of the stone. Being rejected in the repairment of sky, the stone is helped by a Buddhist monk and a Taoist immortal to be reborn on earth to experience the pleasures of the earthly life. After countless aeons, a Taoist called Vanitas encounters the returned stone, seeing the words inscribed upon its surface, which is a record of its earthly adventures. Vanitas reads and copies the stone record for other readers. The record, passed down by a series of editors, is finalized by Cao Xueqin in the end.

Different from the extradiegetic author Cao Xueqin, the "Cao Xueqin" here at this level is a metadiegetic character. The way the narrative at this level engages the reader in reading and interacting with the fiction itself is something quite unprecedented in Chinese fiction. It invents a reading history of the story itself and structures this reading into its own plot. In other words, it is narcissistically self-reflexive and meanwhile focused outward, oriented toward the reader. Such a technique, which addresses the two major focuses of metafiction (one on its linguistic and narrative structures, the other on the role of the reader), is exactly what Linda Hutcheon (1984) called "metafictional paradox" (p.7). Through making the reading history, the sense of fictionality of the novel is intensified in a way. It is first emphasized by Vanitas, the first reader, that the narrative text has no dynastic period, no statesmanship, and no social message of any kind. Afterwards the book gets multiple titles when it is re-edited by multiple readers: *The Story of the Stone*, *The Passionate Monk's Tale*, *A Mirror for the Romantic*, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, *Twelve Ladies of Jinling*. As there is no established title, the extradiegetic reader may doubt whether the book truly exists.

The ending of the novel, which repeats the story episode that Vanitas copies and spreads the stone record, is also at this metadiegetic level. The episode is repeated in a slight different version. The copy is first passed to Zhen Shi-yin, who, as a witness of the whole story, confirms

⁴ See Chen Yupi, "Hongloumeng shi zenyang kaitou de?" Chen considers the entry to be a product of Red Inkstone, which is designed to explain away the novel's subversive features and shield it from political censorship.

⁵ Cao Xueqin & Gao E (1973-1986). *The Story of the Stone*. David Hawkes & John Minford (Trans.) Harmondsworth: Penguin.P.47.

the authenticity of that copy, subsequently to Cao Xueqin, who quite oppositely, considers it as an explication of absurdity. However, we could also recognize his words as “playful pretense”.

The third level is narrated by the metadiegetic narrator, the stone. Its first line is:

Gentle reader, have patience! This is how the inscription began: ⁶

This level is where the main narrative of the novel unfolds. The stone is reborn in the mouth of the protagonist Jia Bao-yu (also “Precious Stone”) to experience an earthly life for nineteen years. A detailed, episodic narrative represents the daily life of Jia clan and the fates of huge cast of characters.

The second level narrative, namely, the story about the origin of the book, is also called “frame tale”⁷ which brackets the main narrative proper—the story of the stone. Figure 3 depicts the spatiotemporal relation between the two. We could see that at both levels, the narrative speed is in inverse proportion to the duration of the story time. The origin of the book tale which covers countless aeons (from Nü-wa to Cao Xueqin) is only narrated in several paragraphs. The short earthly life of the stone, negligible to this infinite time span, is skipped in this frame (called *ellipsis* referring to narrative speed) and moved to the next narrative level, where it is narrated in an extremely slow speed. In terms of narrative order, the main narrative is retrospective to the frame tale.

⁶ *ibid.*, P.51.

⁷ “If the tale is conceptualized as subsidiary to the primary story frame, a relationship of embedding obtains; if the primary story serves as a mere introduction to the narrative proper, it will be perceived as a framing device” (Fludernik, 1996, 343)

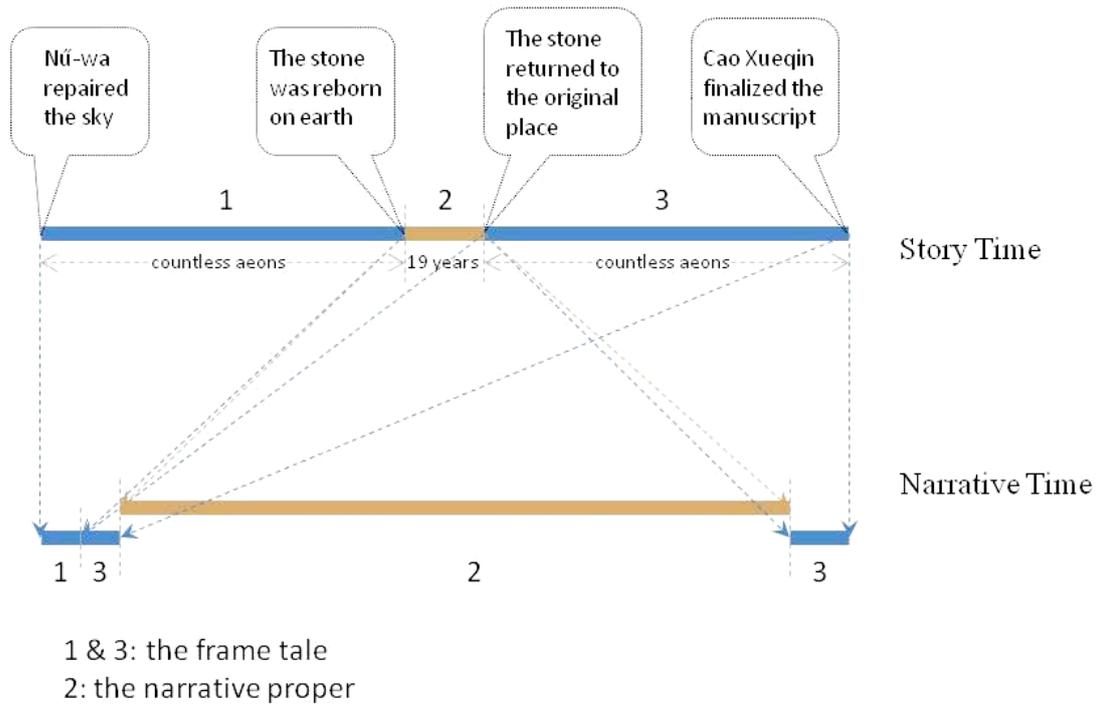


Fig. 3. Story Time and Narrative Time

3. Dream, *mise en abyme* and Different Universes (Figure 4)

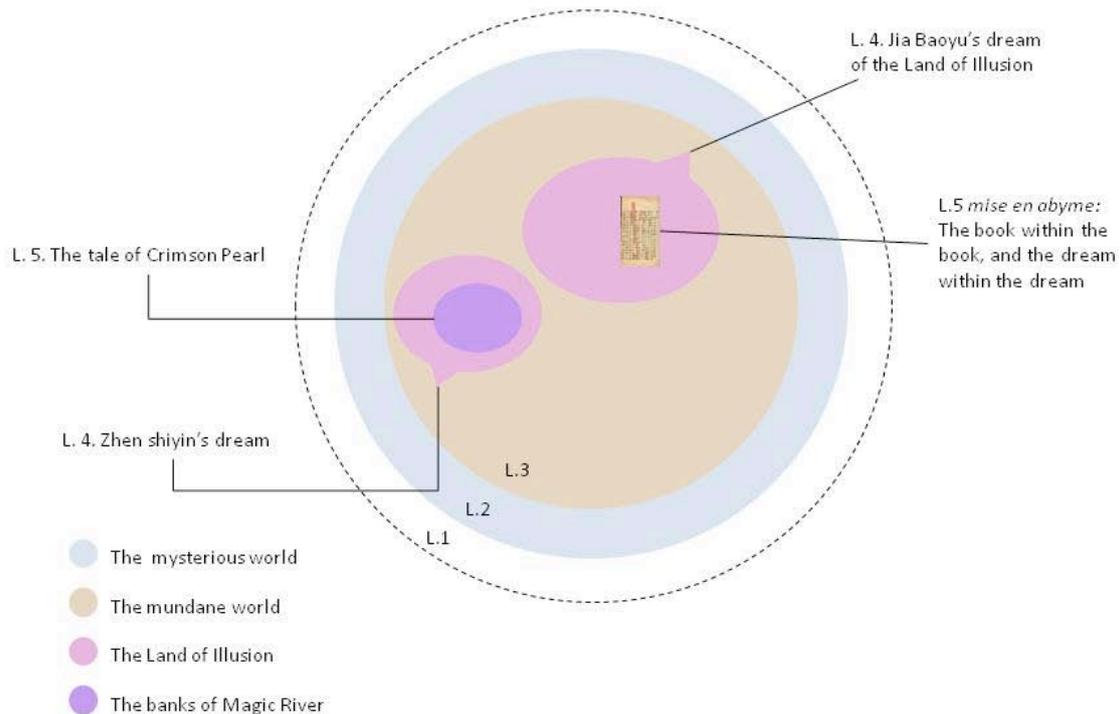


Fig. 4. Narrative Levels and Different Universes

According to Genette ([1983] 1988), narrative level marks a threshold in the transition from one diegesis (spatiotemporal universe within which the action takes place) to another (p.84). In other words, it is to introduce a new spatiotemporal universe and serve as a boundary between the new and the old. However, not only can narrative level, all embedding narratives, which demonstrate the importance of boundary but not necessarily require a shift of voice, can also play such a function, e.g. a painting, a memory, a fantasy, a dream...

3.1 Dream and *mise en abyme*

Hongloumeng is absolutely an important work of dream literature. The prominence of the dream metaphor is not only displayed in its title, but also through the repetition of the words dream and illusion in the entire work. And statistically, there are thirty-two dreams in total throughout the novel, serving multiple narrative functions to confound reader's sense of reality, among which two dreams are significantly related to the novel's structural development: Zhen Shi-yin's dream in chapter 1, and Jia Bao-yu's dream in chapter 5. They are imbedded in the main narrative proper and transit the narrative to another universe, a world where the Land of Illusion locates. Based on the preceding three narrative levels, I will mark them as "Level 4", even though this level is introduced by dream rather than by narration.

Zhen Shi-yin's dream is placed at the very beginning of the third level narrative. As soon as the reader enters the earthly world to make acquaintance of a new character, he is driven into an otherworldly space by the character's dream. It is somewhere in a dream impossible to identify the location. The monk and the Taoist, who have appeared on the stage in second level narrative,

show up again, taking the stone in their hands. A conversation carried on, the reader is soon brought into another story episode by the Buddhist monk, namely, the story of the pre-incarnate life of the protagonists Jia Bao-yu and Lin Dai-yu. This embedded story is at the fifth narrative level, with the monk as the narrator. It happens on the banks of the Magic River where the Crimson Pearl flower is growing. The stone, taking a figure as Divine Luminescent Stone-in-Waiting in the Court of Sunset Glow, waters the flower every day with sweet dew, thereby conferring on her the gift of life. This is the old bond between the stone and the plant which set up the tragic dilemma of the main plot. Following the two immortals, Zhen Shi-yin arrives at the archway of the Land of Illusion, but he wakes up in a sudden before entering into that land. What he has seen was a couplet inscribed on either side of the arch:

Truth becomes fiction when the fiction's true;

Real becomes not-real where the unreal's real.⁸

This couplet, perhaps the most important one in the entire work, consolidates the issue of truth and fiction which has preoccupied much of the scholarly investigation of *Honglouloumeng*. In the metaphorical sense, the couplet is not only an entry to the Land of Illusion, but also the right way for the reader to get to the narrative diegesis of the fiction. As soon as he has traversed multiple universes and gets a sense of the novel's circuitous narrative, he is warned of the trap of the narrative itself.

We soon meet this couplet on the archway again in chapter 5, when Jia Bao-yu visits the Land of Illusion in his dream. That the same location appears in different dreams creates a sense of illusion as a "short circuit" has occurred between the two dreams (I will discuss this phenomenon later). Bao-yu's journey to the Land of Illusion constitutes the second dream sequence in *Honglouloumeng*, and is also considered as "the last episode in the unusually elaborate prologue to the novel" (Shuen-fu Lin, 1992, p.97). The dream is conducted in the bedroom of Qin-shi, the wife of Jia Bao-yu's nephew. The Land of Illusion, which has only shown its archway in Zhen Shi-yin's dream, is depicted in detail in his own dream. When visiting the various departments of the Land of Illusion, Bao-yu browses in the book "Twelve Beauties of Jinling" (Main Register as well as the Supplementary Registers) which contains the information about the destinies of the women in his future life. He has also viewed a performance of a song-and-dance suite called "Dream of the Red Chamber", which intends to show his the future through a series of twelve songs that also hint at the fates of his female relatives and friends. After that, the fairy Disenchantment introduces her own little sister Ke-qing to be his bride. Ke-qing is also a name Qin-shi was called as a girl at her home, which nobody in the Jia household is supposed to know.

Inserted in Bao-yu's dream as a sort of embedded narrative, the book "Twelve Beauties of Jinling" and the song-and-dance suite "Dream of the Red Chamber" are at the fifth narrative level of the entire structure. The way either name reflects one of the five names of the book, and each narrative conducts as a miniature of the whole story, represents the characteristic of *mise en abyme*. According to Lucien Dallenbach ([1977] 1989), *mise en abyme* refers to "any internal

⁸ Cao Xueqin & Gao E (1973-1986). *The Story of the Stone*. David Hawkes & John Minford (Trans.) Harmondsworth: Penguin.P.55.

mirror that reflects the whole of the narrative in simple, repeated or specious (or paradoxical) duplication. (p.43)” It is a structural device of reflexivity widely used across art and media. The “book within the book” or the “dream within the dream” could easily remind us the “play within the play” in *Hamlet*, but it is more complicated than the latter. They are inserted into a much higher narrative level in *Honglouloumeng*, and the “book within the book” *mise en abyme* occurs twice, forming a fearful symmetry in the story timeline. In chapter 5 where the whole story just begins, Bao-yu is not able to understand the meaning of the book. In chapter 116, close to the ending of the story (120 chapters in all), Bao-yu rereads that book when he revisits the Land of Illusion in another dream. Then he realizes the book is all about the fates of women who are all related to him. Therefore the first *mise en abyme* reflects the story to come (prospective); the second reflects the story already completed (retrospective). With the double *mise en abyme* echoing each other, the development of the chronology of *Honglouloumeng* is challenged as well as enhanced.

3.2 Different universes

As the narrative levels in *Honglouloumeng* have been made clear, it is time to define the different universes in the novel, since narrative level marks a threshold in the transition from one diegesis to another. The multiple spatiotemporal universes in the narrative world of *Honglouloumeng* have attracted many critics’ attention. According to Richard Kunst (1969), there are three planes of illusion in the novel: the mythic, the mysterious, and the mundane, each referring to the legend of Nüwa, Zhen Shiyin’s dream, and the introduction of the human world represented by the conversation of Leng Zixing and Jia Yucun (p.31-32). Based on Lucien Miller’s three literary modes, Anthony Yu (1997) also proposes three levels of illusion: one is the myth of Nüwa and the myth of Crimson Pearl; another is the philosophical debate between the stone, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist; the third is the realistic, mundane world (p.47). Although they both put into “three” and use the same word “illusion”, their results diverge to a certain degree. Besides, there is a lack of clear definition of “illusion” in both of their arguments, as well as the “plane” or “level”. Therefore I may concern them as an attempt to articulate the orderly disorder of the diegetic world of the novel, but not rigorous analyses.

My differentiation of different universes in the novel is illustrated in Figure 4, marked by different colors. Principally, each narrative balloon may envelop its own universe. However, as there is no story happening in Level 1, and the *mise en abyme* is a sort of repetition of the whole narrative, I would simply count them out. And because the dream of Zhen Shi-yin and the dream of Jia Bao-yu are spatially overlapped, I would reduce them into one, namely, the universe of the Land of Illusion. Therefore the four spatiotemporal universes are:

- 1) The mysterious world (I borrow this term from Richard Kunst but use differently). It refers to the widest range of the space-time narrated by the storyteller. The time runs from Nü-wa to the character Cao Xue-qin. The locations are the Great Fable Mountains where Nü-wa repairs the sky and discards the stone, and the Nostalgia Studio where Cao Xue-qin edits the book. The characters are Nü-wa, the stone, Vanitas, and all the editors of the stone record.

- 2) The mundane world. It refers to the realistic life world narrated by the stone, covering nineteen years, and with the Grand View Garden and the house of Jia families as important

locations. Hundreds of characters are present in this world, including Zhen Shi-yin, Jia Yu-cun, and the inhabitants of the Ning mansion and the Rong mansion.

3) The Land of Illusion, a place to keep the registers in which are recorded the past, present, future of girls from all over the world. It is impossible to identify the time and location. One can only visit it in dream. The characters are the fairy Disenchantment and a bevy of fairy maidens.

4) The banks of Magic River, where the Stone-in-Waiting and the fairy Crimson Pearl make a relation. The time is before the incarnation of the two protagonists. Only two characters are involved.

As enveloped by narrative balloons, the diegetic realms are theoretically independent and ontologically distinct, which means each of the four universes sees itself as “reality”; each is real in its own term. But meanwhile, they are also hierarchically ordered by the levels: the universe in the outer balloon is more real than the one in the inner balloon. Therefore the mysterious world is more real than the mundane world theoretically. In this way, the author Cao Xue-qin turns the realistic and detailed narrative of daily life into a sort of illusion, and constructs a world magically embodying the paradoxical theme “real becomes not-real where the unreal is real”.

4. Metalepsis and Functional Characters (Figure 5)

In chapter 12, a mirror which comes from the Land of Illusion with A MIRROR FOR THE ROMANTIC inscribed on its back (another *mise en abyme* inserted in the novel), makes its appearance in the mundane world by the help of the Taoist to cure Jia Rui’s sickness. In fact, it is something impossible to happen in real world, as if the boundary between dream and reality had blurred. In the sense of narratology, such a paradoxical contamination between different universes is called “metalepsis”. This term is first identified by Genette:

Any intrusion by the extradiegetic narrator or narratee into the diegetic universe (or by diegetic characters into a metadiegetic universe, etc.), or the inverse, produces an effect of strangeness that is either comical or fantastic...We will extend the term narrative metalepsis to all these transgressions...e.g. characters escaped from a painting, a book, a press clipping, a photograph, a dream, a memory, a fantasy. All these games, by the intensity of their effects, demonstrate the importance of the boundary they tax their ingenuity to overstep, in defiance of verisimilitude---a boundary that is precisely the narrating (or the performance) itself: a shifting but sacred frontier between two worlds, the world in which one tells, the world of which one tells. ([1972] 1980, pp 234-35)

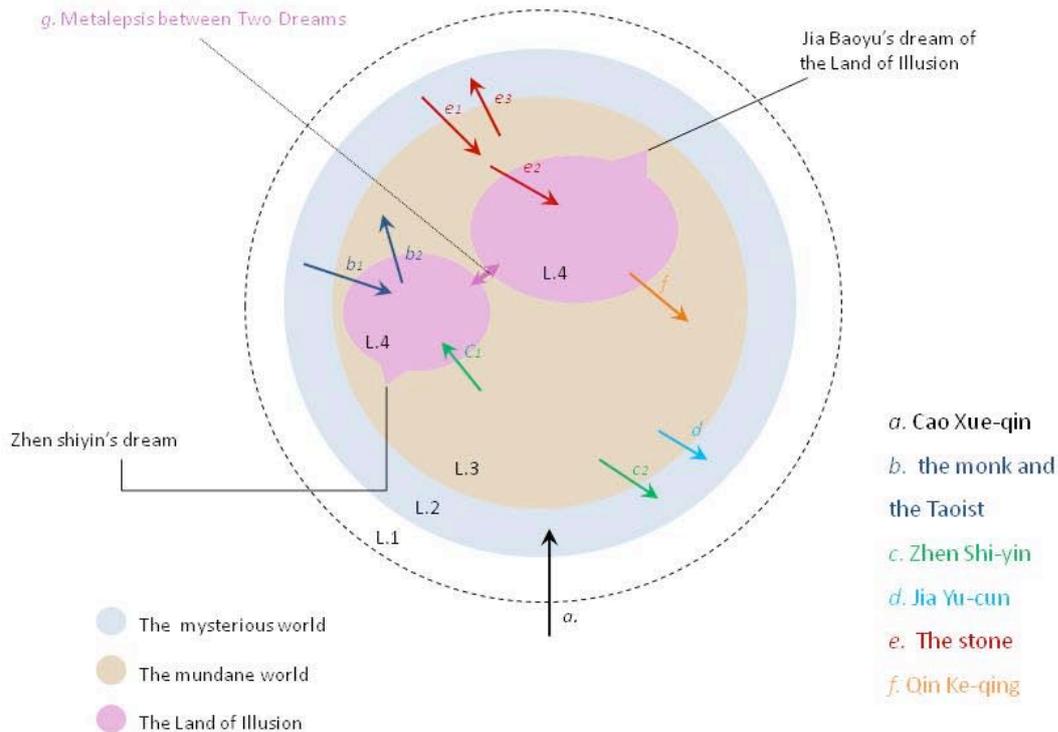


Fig. 5. Narrative Metalepsis:
 Trajectories of the Functional Characters

Metalepsis occurs quite often in *Honglouloumeng*. The collapsing or dissolution of boundaries does produce an effect of strangeness to entertain the reader. But meanwhile, just as Debra Malina (2002) argues that the rupturing of narrative by metalepsis encompasses both deconstructive and reconstructive tendencies (p.133), it also helps to redefine the relations between different universes. The characters who have transgressed boundaries are both symbolical and functional, that is to say, when they play a function of connecting different universes together and make the continuation of the narrative, they are qualified to conduct the transgression as symbolic figures. Following are the trajectories of those characters and many important narrative metalepses occurred in the novel:

a. The extradiegetic author Cao Xue-qin oversteps the diegetic level to be a character in the fictional world. This is an “authorial metalepsis”, “a metafictional strategy that undermines mimetic illusion, foregrounding the inventedness of the story.” (Fludernik, 2003, pp.382)

b. The Buddhist monk and the Taoist immortal first jump into Zhen Shi-yin’s dream from the mysterious world (*b*₁), and then jump out into the mundane world (*b*₂) where they disguise themselves as a monk scabby-headed and barefoot, and a Taoist tousle-haired and limping. Their appearance is narrated through the point of view of Zhen Shi-yin, who cannot remember what has happened in his dream when he awakes. Therefore the reader has to discern by himself that they are none other than the monk and the Taoist who have appeared in the dream. However, once the reader recognizes them, his sense of the reality of the novel will be challenged. The appearance of the monk and the Taoist occurs several times in the mundane world. In chapter 12 the Taoist

lends Jia Rui the mirror, which serves as a messenger between the Land of Illusion and the mundane world. In chapter 66, the Taoist takes Liu Xiang-lian away with him to retreat to the other world. In chapters 25 and 115, the monk meets the stone and enlightens Jia Bao-yu on the vanity of human existence. Through metalepsis, it is indicated that the two figures are omnipresent and omniscient, and as powerful as God.

c & d. Zhen Shi-yin jumps into his dream to be enlightened by the immortals (*c1*). In the end of chapter 1, Zhen Shi-yin vanishes with the Taoist (*c2*). He does not present again until the end of the novel, where he serves as a medium enlightenment for Jia Yu-cun, who, subsequently, retreats from the mundane world, and meets Vanitas in the mysterious world (*d*). These two symbolic figures (as their names reveal) show up together at the beginning in the novel to introduce the narrative of the mundane world. Zhen Shi-yin soon meets his ill fate while Jia Yu-cun experiences an alternating success and failure. But they arrive at the same end to link with the outer world.

e. The stone is reborn on earth, which makes the intrusion from the mysterious world into the mundane world (*e1*). Through a dream, his incarnation Bao-yu intrudes into the Land of Illusion to be enlightened by the Disenchantment (*e2*). In the end, the stone returns to its original place (*e3*). In a sense, the protagonist is designed as a three-in-one: in the mysterious world, he is the stone; in the mundane world, he is Jia Bao-yu; in the Land of Illusion, he is Divine Luminescent Stone-in-Waiting.

f. Qin Ke-qing. A sense of metalepsis occurs when a fairy girl in the Land of Illusion shares a same name with a lady from the Jia family. I would like to argue that Cao Xue-qin intends to make this coincidence not only for a source of confusion, but also to make her an important functional character in the narrative development. She dies mysteriously in chapter 13, and sends a dream to Xi-feng (who is in charge of the household matters of the family) to foretell the future of the family.

g. The short circuit between two dreams as I have mentioned earlier. It is a horizontal metalepsis occurs with “the juxtaposition of two communicative situations at the same level.”(John Pier, 2009, p.195)

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined various narrative devices in *Hongloumeng* – authorial commentary, frames, embedded stories, *mise en abyme*, metalepsis – all of which are deployed by Cao Xue-qin to draw the reader’s attention to the storytelling process and undermine the realism of the narrative, and in doing so, I have also displayed the structure of the work constructed by such devices. The well designed structure, I may say, proves that the literary strategy of metafiction is treated deliberately and systematically in this Chinese masterpiece. One may find the reason as Cao Xue-qin’s intention to conceal the truth to escape political censorship, but I would rather insist it is the novel’s theme –world and life as dream – that calls for a theory of fictional narrative, or from another perspective, it resonates with the assertion that “All great fiction, to a

large extent, is a reflection on itself rather than a reflection of reality.⁹” Last but not least, *Honglouloumeng* provides us an important case toward the theory of metafiction. As its captivating structure implies, metafiction is structurally inspired, and the art is made of devices.

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⁹ By Raymond Federman, provides the epigraph to Linda Hutcheon, *Narcissistic Narrative*.

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Frankenstein: The Offspring of Happy Days

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The topic of the submission is *Frankenstein's* inception,
reception and relevance to the modern world.

Frankenstein: The Offspring of Happy Days

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The creature of Frankenstein is well known to most people, including children, and this is so beyond the English-speaking world. Recently, the author of this paper observed a professor in Japan refer to a “Frankenstein” in an impeccable German accent when alluding to something he feared would become a monstrosity, and as Anne K. Mellor notes, the concept has become a “trope of everyday life. The condemners of genetically modified meats and vegetables now refer to them as ‘Frankenfoods’”.¹ In Pasadena, California, in January 2010, “a team of scientists hunkered down at the California Institute of Technology to work on a ‘Frankenstorm’ scenario: a mother lode wintry blast that could potentially sock the Golden State”.² According to Botting, “monsters abounded in eighteenth-century writing”,³ the point at which this novel was conceived, yet most of these monsters have faded from memory. Frankenstein, on the other hand, not only remains alive and well, but is deeply embedded in twenty-first century consciousness and has proven to be “famously reinterpretable”.⁴ This article will consider the historical circumstances that helped inspire Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley’s act of imagination and creation, followed by an examination of the novel’s reception, its rise in academic circles, and its innovative role in drama, comedy and film. M.W. Shelley’s unsurpassed capacity to foreshadow modern controversies which are pertinent to this novel’s dramatic impact on the human psyche will then be explored.

I. HISTORY OF THE NOVEL’S CREATION - MARY SHELLEY’S ACT OF IMAGINATION

During the summer of 1816, the Shelley party frequently sailed across Lake Geneva (also known as Lake Lemman) to Lord Byron’s Villa Diodati in the village of Cologny, “where Milton had once stayed”,⁵ as it was a short distance from Campagne Chapuis, their summer residence. Whenever possible, their time with Lord Byron was spent out on the lake, but during stormy weather they stayed inside by the fire. On one particular evening in mid-June they turned to reading ghost stories from a collection entitled *Fantasmagoriana, ou Recueil d’Histoires d’Apparitions, de Spectres, Revenants, etc*.⁶ These German ghost stories, which had been translated into French, captivated the party. Late that night, Lord Byron suggested a contest in which they each write a ghost story, and all agreed.

The expectations upon M.W. Shelley concerning her writing in general, and this endeavor in particular, were high. First of all, the contest was proposed by Lord Byron, “the most fascinating literary character in Europe”,⁷ who was in the middle of composing Canto III of *Childe Harold*, and would read sections aloud to them. Secondly, she was the child of Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, “two persons of distinguished literary celebrity”;⁸ and finally, Percy Bysshe Shelley encouraged her to write, so that, in her own words, “I should prove myself worthy of my parentage, and enrol myself on the page of fame”.⁹ But the idea for her ghost story would not come.

During subsequent evenings, “many and long were the conversations between Lord Byron and Shelley”,¹⁰ one of which turned to scientific pursuits:

They talked of the experiments of Dr. Darwin, (I speak not of what the Doctor really did, or said that he did, but, as more to my purpose, of what was then spoken of as having been done by him,) who preserved a piece of vermicelli in

a glass case, till by some extraordinary means it began to move with voluntary motion.¹¹

Desmond King-Hele confirms that this conversation “sprang from a mixed-up remembrance of the note on Spontaneous Generation in the *Temple of Nature*”,¹² in which Dr. Darwin conducted experiments on *vorticellae*,¹³ common microscopic animals of which approximately seventy species are known. Individual *vorticella* are invisible, but colonies can be seen during the summer when they multiply rapidly. Nevertheless, they are best observed under the microscope.¹⁴ Darwin noticed that these animals, after being dried out for a while and appearing completely lifeless, would come back to life when re-immersed in water.¹⁵

That night, M.W. Shelley had a vision which terrified her, and from which her creation and her creature sprang forth. At first, she did not realize that this could be the genesis of her ghost story, and was simply desperate to regain her senses and her composure. Slowly, it dawned upon her that she had undergone a precious moment of unsurpassed creative inspiration, terrifying though it was, and that this was the idea she had been waiting for. M.K. Joseph points out that Mary Shelley’s memory of this night, “written fourteen years later . . . is certainly inaccurate in some details”, but he wonders whether or not Dr. Polidori’s (Lord Byron’s personal physician’s) record is “any more reliable”. There is no guarantee that Dr. Polidori wrote his “brief and cryptic” diary entries on the day the events occurred, and he too was prone to make errors in dates.¹⁶ Therefore, as Mary Shelley is the ultimate author, even if her memory is slightly inaccurate, it is worth noting her thoughts concerning this matter. Of particular interest is that she did not have to “*think of a story*”,¹⁷ to the contrary, no amount of struggle or effort was required on her part:

Night waned upon this [scientific] talk, and even the witching hour had gone by, before we retired to rest. When I placed my head on my pillow, I did not sleep, nor could I be said to think. My imagination, unbidden, possessed and guided me, gifting the successive images that arose in my mind with a vividness far beyond the usual bounds of reverie. I saw – with shut eyes, but acute mental vision.¹⁸

From this emerged the beginnings of *Frankenstein*, crowning her as “the clear winner” of Lord Byron’s contest.¹⁹ Here is her opening (Chapter IV of the 1818 edition):

It was on a dreary night of November, that I beheld the accomplishment of my toils. With an anxiety that almost amounted to agony, I collected the instruments of life around me, that I might infuse a spark of being into the lifeless thing that lay at my feet. It was already one in the morning; the rain pattered dismally against the panes, and my candle was nearly burnt out, when, by the glimmer of the half-extinguished light, I saw the dull yellow eye of the creature open; it breathed hard, and a convulsive motion agitated its limbs.²⁰

P.B. Shelley encouraged her to expand her idea into a novel, and her diligent efforts enabled her to do so by late December of 1816. They went over her work together, during “happy days . . . [including] many a walk, many a drive, and many a conversation, when I was not alone”.²¹ In her brief journal entry for 14 May 1817, she recorded that the final corrections were completed, and that the preface had been written – “Read Pliny and Clarke – S. reads Hist of Fr. Rev. and corrects F. write Preface – Finis”.²² Later, in her introduction to the 1831 edition, she indicated that it was P.B. Shelley who wrote the preface – and only the preface –

to the original edition.²³ He subsequently began taking the manuscript to publishers, with the result that *Frankenstein* was first published (anonymously) in 1818, changing the face of the novel forever.

II. THE NOVEL'S RECEPTION - CREATION OF A GENRE

In one of the first reviews published anonymously in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in March 1818, and later learned to have been written by Sir Walter Scott, praise is offered for the "great vigour of language", the "uncommon powers of poetic imagination", and the fact that "the tale, though wild in incident, is written in plain and forcible English".²⁴ Moreover, *Frankenstein* is described as "a novel, or more properly a romantic fiction, of a nature so peculiar" that Scott finds it necessary to explain its nature before proceeding with the review.²⁵ This indicates that the author had created something which did not quite fit into the existing categories of literature at that time, and this uncertainty has been carried into the present, as scholars continue to disagree and debate over its nature.²⁶ For example, due to the scientific discussion on the night of M.W. Shelley's vision, Desmond King-Hele considers Erasmus Darwin to be a "father-figure over this first and most famous work of science fiction".²⁷ Anne K. Mellor agrees:

Mary Shelley grounded her fiction of the scientist who creates a monster he cannot control upon an extensive understanding of the most recent scientific developments of her day. She thereby initiated a new literary genre, what we now call science fiction.²⁸

Scott further notes "that this class of fiction has been sometimes applied to the purposes of political satire",²⁹ a statement with which Lee Sterrenburg concurs. Sterrenburg deems *Frankenstein* to be a "new form" of the monster novel, an apolitical form which "translates politics into psychology" by relying on "political symbols to depict a psychological struggle".³⁰ In terms of the goal of the class of novels to which *Frankenstein* belongs, Scott determines that:

The author's principal object . . . is less to produce an effect by means of the marvels of the narrations, than to open new trains and channels of thought, by placing men in supposed situations of an extraordinary and preternatural character, and then describing the mode of feeling and conduct which they are most likely to adopt.³¹

This concept of opening "new trains and channels of thought" is now *Frankenstein's* most fertile avenue of research; however, this was not always the case.

III. FRANKENSTEIN'S ROLE IN ACADEMIA

Up to the 1970s, O'Flinn drily notes that "*Frankenstein* may have been on TV but it wasn't on the syllabus". He credits this change to three major factors: a) theoretical criticism; b) the predominance of different forms of media; and c) history. In terms of literary criticism, O'Flinn finds that the lasting value and adaptability of *Frankenstein* is due to the way in which M.W. Shelley skillfully delved into issues of the day, in particular "the impact of technological developments on people's lives and the possibility of working-class revolution". He commends her capacity to address these themes which "remain central and unresolved in industrial society" via "oblique, imaginative terms".³² Yet her flexibility and ambiguity in addressing these issues made some contemporary reviewers nervous. For example, while the review from *Blackwood's* quoted above was positive, not all critics shared Scott's enthusiasm.

A review that appeared in Edinburgh (Scot's) Magazine in March 1818 found the novel to be lacking in "morality and piety". Moreover, its "radical political positions" were deemed disturbing. That *Frankenstein* was "published anonymously and dedicated to a renowned radical, William Godwin, [made] the novel's political stance [seem] clear enough".³³ Nevertheless, *Frankenstein* became an immediate success, and this perhaps also played a role in it being shunned by the intellectual community, for it was not taken seriously for more than 150 years.

Johanna M. Smith provides a detailed analysis of the novel's historical reception, with a burgeoning interest in critical studies of the novel first occurring in the 1970s, followed by renewed research in the 1990s.³⁴ At one time, *Frankenstein* was dismissed offhandedly in academia, but it is now considered "great literature".³⁵ *Frankenstein's* emergence from its second-rate status in the 1970s occurred partly because "critical attention interrogated both *Frankenstein's* fit in established literary traditions and the status of those traditions themselves".³⁶ Feminists sought the inclusion of female writers into the canon and this provided the first breakthrough. In the 1990s, evaluation of the novel in terms of issues of class and race were incorporated. By that time, apologies for studying the novel were no longer necessary, with critical approaches ranging from Marxist theory, Lacanian psychoanalysis to gender and postcolonial issues (Botting 1995, Shelley 2000). Another groundbreaking shift occurred in the 1990s, with popular culture being deemed worthy of serious academic study:

What is striking about post-1990 *Frankenstein* criticism is an increased attention from practitioners not only of haute critique, especially deconstruction, but also of cultural studies; in other words, the novel remains a fit in both high and low culture.³⁷

As a further proof of its vibrancy, in April 2009 the Romantic Circles website issued a new online edition of *Frankenstein*. The editor, Stuart Curran, explains the rich source of this edition:

It began from a campus-wide project at the University of Pennsylvania in 1993, where all incoming first-year students were asked to read *Frankenstein* over the summer and begin their college experience with a seminar on the novel taught by faculty members from a wide array of disciplines. With the various faculty involved meeting in advance to discuss approaches, we discovered a process akin to what can be observed in critical and theoretical approaches to the novel. Whatever the disciplinary interests – from philosophy to chemistry to law or medicine – the novel fit neatly within them, absorbing their discourses like a sponge.³⁸

IV. FACTORS THAT DEEM *FRANKENSTEIN* RELEVANT

A. OBSESSION

M.W. Shelley clearly demonstrates that Victor Frankenstein has an obsessive, compulsive and addictive personality. His pursuit of natural philosophy, in particular chemistry, in Ingolstadt became his "sole occupation" and he applied himself to the task "so closely" that he "improved rapidly" (p. 29). Yet, his obsession came with a price. First, he began to lose his health, as his "cheek [grew] pale with study, [and] his person [became] emaciated with confinement" (p. 32). In addition, he grew isolated, while "the moon gazed on [his] midnight labours . . . in a solitary chamber" (p. 32). The summer was resplendent but he did not enjoy it, nor did he stay in touch with his family in Geneva. In fact, several seasons passed to which

he was oblivious. His attempt to bring a creature to life took “an irresistible hold of [his] imagination” and precluded him from engaging in “feelings of affection” for others until he had attained his goal (p. 33). As time wore on, his health worsened. Every night he “was oppressed by a slow fever, and [he] became nervous to a most painful degree” (p. 33). This was in complete contrast to his earlier state of “excellent health” (p. 33). (See Table 1 to observe Victor’s transformation.)

Table 1
Consequences upon Victor prior to the birth of the Creature

<u>Original State</u>	<u>Transformed Into</u>
Excellent health	Poor health, sleep deprivation
Firmness of nerves	Nervous to a painful degree
Close to family and friends	Isolation
In touch with nature	Oblivious to his surroundings
Physically active	Inactive; keeping late hours
Mentally content	Obsessed

Source *Frankenstein (The 1818 Text)*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York: Norton, 1996, p. 33-34.

In addition, immediately after the birth of the creature, Victor took a dramatic turn for the worse, both mentally and physically. Although he had achieved his dream, it did not turn out the way he expected; quite the opposite, he was mortified by what he had done. That night, he suffered nightmares, cold sweats, teeth chattering and convulsions (p. 34). The creature came to his bedchamber, lifted the bed curtain, and attempted to communicate with him. However, Victor was repulsed, and could not offer any affection; instead, he “escaped, and rushed down stairs” where he spent the wet, cold night outside in the courtyard in agitation and fear (p. 35). In addition, he suffered from heart palpitations and a racing pulse followed at intervals by “languor and extreme weakness” (p. 35). At daybreak, he began to walk in a semi-conscious, zombie-like state, “without any clear conception of where [he] was, or what [he] was doing”; his heart “palpitated with the sickness of fear” (p. 35). (See Table 2 for a full listing of Victor’s symptoms.)

Table 2
Consequences upon Victor immediately following the birth of the Creature

<u>Physical</u>		<u>Mental/Emotional</u>	
breathlessness	sleeplessness	horror	disgust
pacing	cold sweats	agitation	bitterness
teeth chattering	convulsions	fear	disappointment
heart palpitations	racing pulse	nightmares	being in hell
languor	extreme weakness	wretchedness	desire to escape
aching eyes	irregular steps	hurrying	heartbroken

Source *Frankenstein (The 1818 Text)*. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York: Norton, 1996, pp.33-34.

For those familiar with the symptoms of addiction, such as occur in cases of alcoholism, Victor presents a striking example of the progressive nature of the disease. According to Doctor William D. Silkworth:

We believe, and so suggested a few years ago, that the action of alcohol on these chronic alcoholics is a manifestation of an allergy; ... These allergic types can never safely use alcohol in any form at all; and once having formed the habit and found they cannot break it. ... their problems pile up on them and become astonishingly difficult to solve. ... I do not hold with those who believe that alcoholism is entirely a problem of mental control.³⁹

The movement of Alcoholics Anonymous was founded in the 1930s and is based on a program of recovery following twelve steps.⁴⁰ These steps have since been used to help people with a variety of other obsessions, compulsions and addictions, leading Aldous Huxley to praise Bill W. (one of the co-founders of AA) as “the greatest social architect of our century”.⁴¹ According to Susan Zieger, the concept of addiction as a medical phenomenon did not emerge until approximately World War I,⁴² and although Victor is not addicted to any particular substance that the reader is aware of, his obsessive behavior can be accorded with Obsessive-compulsive Disorder, or OCD, making him very much a modern figure. (To offer a prominent example, David Beckham suffers from OCD.⁴³)

B. IDENTITY - WHO IS FRANKENSTEIN?

As LaValley has pointed out, film is the medium through which most people learn about the tale of Frankenstein,⁴⁴ however, the images portrayed in films frequently betray the novel, bearing little resemblance to it. As one reviewer in 1932 lamented in response to Universal Studio’s classic 1931 film adaptation starring Boris Karloff:

Mary Shelley’s story has artistic interest as an essay in German horrific romanticism and I think that if *Frankenstein* had been produced by a historically-minded German the result would have been much more interesting. ... What is the object of taking Mary Shelley’s story and then removing the whole point of it before starting to make the picture?⁴⁵

Yet this is precisely the point, according to O’Flinn. *Frankenstein* is highly adaptable and open to ambiguity, giving filmmakers plenty of opportunity to replace M.W. Shelley’s point of view with one which is more relevant to themselves and their times. This places film adaptations of *Frankenstein* in diametric opposition to adaptations of other texts from the same era. For example, films of Jane Austen’s novels aim to provide “a reasonably faithful reproduction of the text”,⁴⁶ with the latest releases taking pride in paying attention to the minutest details of costume, scenery, and historical accuracy. On the other hand, film versions of *Frankenstein*, with all of their differences from the novel, often become:

... so firmly imprinted on our minds that it is almost impossible not to filter the events and images of the book through the more familiar ones of the films.⁴⁷

The general public has never lost its fascination with this story, for “once published it became an instant success”.⁴⁸ Although the novel is serious and was written in earnest, M.W. Shelley has a light touch and a flair for the comedic. In the 1820s there were several productions on the London stage, and these highly successful plays immediately spawned parodies, including

Frankenstitch and *Frank-n-steam*.⁴⁹ Stevick asserts that Shelley demonstrates a great deal of diversity and subtlety in the range of her comic powers. He specifies three types of comedy: a) when the “intention is comic but the action is serious”; b) when the “intention is serious but the action is comic”; and c) when “both the intention and the action are serious”, but the audience finds the scene funny anyway. Stevick feels that *Frankenstein* “has affinities with all three of these modes”, but it also functions beyond them, for it manages to create a comic style all its own, “characterized by dream-like mechanisms and by much rather directly rendered psychic material”.⁵⁰

M.W. Shelley herself attended and enjoyed an adaptation of *Frankenstein* staged by Richard Brinsley Peake,⁵¹ as she recorded in a letter to Leigh Hunt written on 9 September 1823. Her sentiments are worth capturing, for she brings up the issue of identity:

But lo and behold! I found myself famous! – Frankenstein had prodigious success as a drama and was about to be repeated for the 23rd night at the English Opera House. The play bill amused me extremely, for in the list of dramatis personae came, ----- by Mr. T. Cooke: this nameless mode of naming the unnameable is rather good.⁵²

With the exception of The Living Theatre’s dramatization in the 1960s, in which even Paracelsus appeared as a character on stage,⁵³ film seems to be the main creative outlet for modern adaptations. Thus, the image of Boris Karloff as the creature inevitably comes to mind when Frankenstein is mentioned. Yet scholars are quick to point out the error of this assumption. J. Paul Hunter states in his preface to the Norton Critical Edition of *Frankenstein* that “you may not know whether Frankenstein is the monster or his scientist-creator (it’s the latter)”.⁵⁴ In a discussion of Eugene O’Neill’s *Long Day’s Journey Into Night*, Joseph Cordaro confirms that Jamie “makes a ghastly error” in the final act when he tells his younger brother, Edmund, “I made you! You’re my Frankenstein!”. Cordaro comments that instead “the logical conclusion for [Jamie’s] argument would be ‘I made you! *I’m your Frankenstein!*’”.⁵⁵ Yet is there a rationale which justifies and perhaps even necessitates the popular approach?

One possibility is that there is a widespread tradition throughout various world cultures to pass on a family name to children either through the mother (matronymy) or the father (patronymy).⁵⁶ As Victor’s first-born offspring, where Victor functions as both the father and mother (though he abrogates these positions in terms of nurture), it is a logical approach to seize upon the creature’s identity as a Frankenstein, like his father. Indeed, in an early review of the novel, John Croker refers to the creature as “Frankenstein’s hopeful son”, giving credence to this type of matronymy and patronymy for the creature.⁵⁷ Mary Shelley’s adamant resistance to giving her creature a name is one of the foremost reasons for his enduring attraction to the public and has cemented his extreme adaptability in meeting the needs of changing times; yet this very “namelessness” also created a gap which people are not comfortable with. Therefore, filling that gap by conferring his father’s name upon him not only gives the creature an identity and a sense of dignity, it also humanizes him, thereby mitigating to some degree the terrifying sensations imparted by the tale. In spite of Victor’s denials, clearly the creature is his in the eyes of the world.

C. BLURRING OF DISTINCTIONS AND ROLES

In the aftermath of the holocaust of World War II, the nature of evil has been a primary concern. At the same time, the capacity for human beings to destroy themselves and the

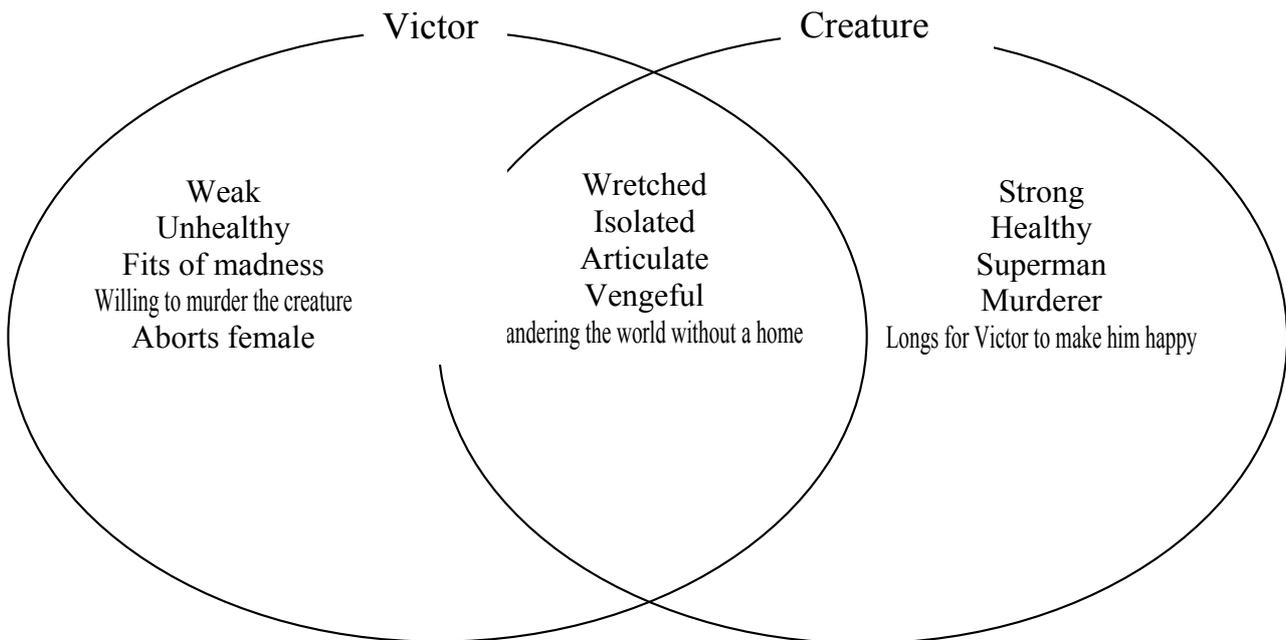
planet increased exponentially with the invention of the atomic bomb and its subsequent release upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This has led to a sense of malaise among young people, coupled with angst about the nature of existence. That which appears to be good, such as automotive transport, can often bring harmful consequences in its wake, including traffic jams which extend beyond the rush hour and destruction of air quality. Moreover, activities once deemed safe, such as eating certain foods, can raise one's cholesterol and increase the risk of stroke and heart disease. Chemicals abound in our modern world and along with them have come increased rates of cancer and infertility. *Frankenstein* is eerily in tune with these issues. For example, Victor's dream to create a human being was seen to be a positive endeavor. First, he discovered the "cause of generation and life; nay, more, I became myself capable of bestowing animation upon lifeless matter" (p. 30). Next, he contemplated how to use this gift:

I doubted at first whether I should attempt the creation of a being like myself or one of simpler organization; but my imagination was too much exalted by my first success to permit me to doubt of my ability to give life to an animal as complex and wonderful as man (p. 31).

Yet, at the instant that the being heaved with the breath of life, "the beauty of the dream vanished, and breathless horror and disgust filled my heart" (p. 34). "Unable to endure the aspect of the being I had created" (p. 34), Victor fled his laboratory and spent the night pacing, unable to sleep and longing for "forgetfulness" (p. 34). This describes the reaction to horror in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with chilling accuracy. Moreover, film adaptations often address fears brought about by current events, such as *Frankenfish*, a 2004 film based on a controversy in Crofton, Maryland and the Great Lakes in which Northern Snakeheads, a non-native species, were found in the waters.⁵⁸ These fish contained potential to severely harm the local habitat and were dubbed "Frankenfish" because of their "ability to survive, even after extreme measures [had been] taken to eradicate them".⁵⁹ Genetically-altered salmon, called "transgenic fish", have also been nicknamed "Frankenfish", and this issue impacted the film as well.⁶⁰

Throughout the novel, Victor and his creature change roles and vacillate in their conduct, making it difficult to distinguish between them. At first, Victor flees his creation and the creature follows him; later, the creature flees and Victor pursues. Both are driven by vengefulness. According to scriptures emanating from the Hindu tradition, "our own age is called *Kaliyuga*, the Age of Anger", and Victor and his creation demonstrate this clearly.⁶¹ Each one harbors a desire to exact revenge upon the other, and this becomes an overriding obsession to the detriment of all else, mirroring Victor's earlier obsession to bring the being into existence. Moreover, while Victor is described as articulate by Walton, ("He is so gentle, yet so wise; his mind is so cultivated; and when he speaks, although his words are culled with the choicest art, yet they flow with rapidity and unparalleled eloquence") (p. 15-16), in fact, throughout the novel it is the creature who demonstrates eloquence in his speech patterns more so than Victor. This further blurs the distinction between them, for Victor is often reduced to silence and speechlessness, as one would expect the creature to be. (See Figure 1 for a diagram of their distinct and overlapping qualities.)

Figure 1



Thus, it is difficult to ascertain who is good, who is evil, what is right and what is wrong as this plot unfolds, making it very modern in its prognostication.

V. CREATION OF A MYTH & CONCLUSION

History has shown that M.W. Shelley's novel has remained not only viable down through the centuries, but even more profoundly, *Frankenstein* has gained the stature of a myth. Sir Walter Scott did not mention mythology in his review because he wrote it immediately upon the novel's release, but Cantor considers *Frankenstein* to have "as much claim to mythic status as any story ever invented by a single author". However, Cantor feels that Shelley "did not create her story out of thin air" even though the ambiguities throughout the book do not lend themselves to easy identification with "traditional mythic archetypes".⁶² Mellor, on the other hand, feels that the "myth is unique, both in content and in origin" because "the idea of an entirely man-made monster is Mary Shelley's own".⁶³

The vacillations in interpretations of *Frankenstein* by academic critics, theatre producers, film directors and members of the populace demonstrate that there is no one "real", "true" approach to this powerful story.⁶⁴ Its adaptability confirms the fact that Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley struck a deep chord within the human psyche during the summer of 1816, and that her fears continue to play out in various ways as embodied by *Frankenstein's* guises and metamorphoses. In 1831, she bade her "hideous progeny go forth and prosper"⁶⁵ and it is clear that her wish is being fulfilled.

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**LESBIAN 'DESI'¹ IN DEEPA MEHTA'S *FIRE*: RE-DEFINING THE
BOUNDARIES OF THE (GLO)BAL AND THE LO(CAL)**

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¹ A term referring to the people, cultures and products of South Asia

Abstract

Globalisation has come to signify a whole new set of practices, ideas, and trends. Most scholars agree that globalization has been responsible for some of the major transformations in the structures of media production, representation and audience reception, hence creating strong demarcations between local and global, national and transnational cinemas. Where national cinema is believed to perpetuate hegemonic discourses in its narrative, global productions on the other hand are believed to contest those points of view and thus produce a new confrontational culture of cinema. My aim in this paper is to question and challenge the legitimacy of this strong oppositional relationship between the local and the global by illustrating how in the case of lesbian representation in *Fire*, there is in fact a constant interaction between the two forces making their relationship rather dialectic. I propose that instead of understanding Indian cinema as either local or global, a better way of interpreting sexual minority representation in Indian cinema is to read it as a Glocal enterprise.

This can be supported by the fact that even though diasporic films do present an attempt to go beyond mainstream characterisation and narrative techniques, they simultaneously incorporate a number of those very tools and ideas thus proving their high dependence on “pre-established networks of exchange” and local knowledge . I argue that despite a shift in the visualisation of gender and sexuality in global cinema, its core position and essence remain conservative and old making the dichotomy between the two genres highly debatable. In this paper, by conducting an in-depth textual and narrative analysis of Deepa Mehta’s popular global production, *Fire*, I argue that it is this consistent attenuation of the global forces by the local and the evident amalgamation of Indianness and Westernness in transnational cinema that makes it a marker of Glocalisation.

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Introduction: (New?) Queer Cinema vs. (Main)stream Cinema

Globalisation has come to signify a whole new set of practices and ideas. It is held responsible for some of the major transformations in the structures of media representation and audience reception (Rao 2008). The advent of a new wave of global independent productions proved that the Indian National cinema was not able to meet everybody's interests because of its mass and uni-dimensional approach (Desai 2004; Rao 2008). New Queer Cinema, a term coined and archived by film theorist Ruby Rich gives the marginalised homosexual community a voice of its own, a life of its own, despite the rigid strictures of society that define what is acceptable and what is not (Aaron, 2004). In the specific case of lesbianism, it seeks to question the sexual agency given to a woman with a queer sexuality by breaking the governing gendered and sexual perceptions like "chastity and virginity, intra-racial romance, male-female relationships and arranged marriages" (Desai 2004:176).

The binary models of the local and the global have always been in clear antithesis to each other which can be supported by what Appadurai says in his seminal essay *Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination*: "New global spatial relations and communities are seen to occur in the local spaces of culture ... each resisting the other" (2000:12).

In light of this, my paper will question the legitimacy of this strong oppositional relationship between the local and the global by illustrating how in the case of lesbian representation in a global diasporic production like *Fire*², there is in fact a constant interaction between the two forces making their relationship rather dialectic. I propose that instead of understanding Indian cinema as either local or global, a better way of interpreting sexual minority representation in Indian cinema is to read it as a Glocal enterprise.

Some of the questions that this paper will address are: To what extent do the aesthetics of representation change when films travel and cross boundaries in order to serve a larger audience? To what extent does the constructed dichotomy between national and transnational in so far as representation is concerned, stand justified? Are global Indian films really forging new identities for lesbians or does the representation see a repetition of 'indianness'? Do the textual and narrative strategies in the case of lesbian portrayal create a space for empowerment or do they further root them into tradition?

² Plot summary and characters can be found in the Appendix

Theoretical Framework

Glocalisation: “Think Global, Act Local”³

Globalisation is understood as a process that is making the world more uniform by integrating all local cultures to form a superior homogenous global community resulting in the destruction of the heterogeneous and “microsociological” (Robertson 1995:25) concerns and leading to a complete erasure of locality and history. In order to complicate this idea, sociologist Roland Robertson (1995) came up with the concept of Glocalisation which as the term suggests recognises the simultaneous existence of centralisation and decentralisation, of local and global processes.

What Robertson does in his seminal essay ‘*Glocalisation: Time-space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity*’ (1995) is reject the false oppositional relationship of global and local, of universality and particularity. He demonstrates how the local often reflects in the global and vice versa to suggest how this interplay of the two forces on the one hand constantly defends local histories and identities and on the other, allows for the entry of a resistant identity.

In this paper , by using Robertson's idea of Glocalisation, I break the antithesis between global and local Indian cinema and combine them into one single complex category of the glocal by showing how the former constantly adapts and redesigns its cinematic representation in order to bring back local cultural practices. Traditional Indian value systems and perceptions are constantly meshed with those of the west in order to appeal to both native as well as diasporic Indian audiences.

Feminist Theories: Judith Butler and Adrienne Rich

One of Judith Butler's biggest contributions to feminist and queer understandings is the idea of performativity. In her most influential book *Gender Trouble* (1990), she redefines gender relations by discarding the gendered dichotomy of male- female so as to open up new possibilities and new identities that can then be ‘chosen’ instead of being imposed by the society. Butler argues against the traditional idea of gender being determined by one’s sex and the genital organs that one bears and asserts how it is in fact a fluid and variable entity that is determined by one’s performance of it. She argues that “There is no gender identity behind the expressions of

³ This quote has been used by several theorists in several different contexts. The original use although first appeared in the book "Cities in Evolution" (1915) by town planner and social activist Patrick Geddes. (Wikipedia)

gender... identity is performatively constituted by the very expressions that are said to be its results” (1990:25). She uses this theory to justify the notion of drag by showing how gender can be mimicked and imitated when a man dresses up as a woman or vice versa.

Another important feminist theorist whose work influences my central thesis is Adrienne Rich (1980) who brings in the concept of ‘*Compulsory Heterosexuality*’ (1980). “It is certainly within the interests of patriarchy to keep women from examining their relationships to other women” (Zeck 1989: 143) for it poses a threat to male dominance. She states that people are typically divided into the categories of ‘Male’ and ‘Female’ making these socially institutionalised roles so powerful that they begin to be seen as natural and self-identified. When it comes to gender roles, what stands valid for years is for women to be inferior and subversive to men.

In this paper, I use the feminist theories of Judith Butler and Adrienne Rich to understand why the conventional idea of hetero-patriarchy surfaces in a global text like *Fire* through the use of strategies like cross dressing, male intermediaries, homophobia, paternalistic duty and eroticism to demonstrate how whether or not a filmic text is of global reach, normative hetero-patriarchal values take precedence and are often imposed by the dominant groups (men and heterosexuals) on those who fall below (women and homosexuals).

Postcolonial Theory: Gayatri Spivak

The last element that constitutes a big part of my theoretical framework is Gayatri Spivak’s seminal essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988). Spivak introduces a feminist perspective in order to critically examine the consequences of Imperialism on the colonised subaltern woman who she portrays to be a helpless and voiceless victim of an ‘epistemic violence’ with no recourse to any kind of agency.

By delving into the nineteenth century Hindu practice of widow immolation or the sati, she attempts to justify her argument that the subalterns really cannot speak and demonstrates how the subaltern woman is silenced by the violence and oppression inflicted upon her through the strictures of Hindu patriarchy. One of the most interesting points that she raises here is that of the “white men saving brown women from brown men” ([1988] 2006:33) and the idea of civilising and saving the women. The fact that British colonisers prohibited the indigenous practice of sati is seen by Spivak as a confirmation of how those in power often take the prerogative of speaking ‘for’ and saving the marginalised. She further argues that even if the woman is allowed to convey a message and speak ‘to’ those in power, her message is often misunderstood and interpreted in a way that fits within the boundaries of dominant ideologies depriving them of any kind of social or sexual agency.

My aim in this paper is to illustrate how the doubly marginalised subaltern group of lesbians is spoken for by those in power (men or heterosexuals). Even though, they are given a voice and are lent a kind of visibility in global Indian cinema, I argue that this is frequently done and interpreted within the boundaries of hegemonic hetero-normative and patriarchal discourses.

***Fire*: A Textual and Narrative Analysis**

I argue that where global films do allow for an injection of a lesbian narrative, they are also constantly supported by the traditional Indian structures of patriarchy and normative conceptualisations of female sexuality resulting in a perennial exchange between queer and Indian codes. In this section of my paper, with the help of an in-depth textual and narrative analysis of the film *Fire*, I will demonstrate how global queer texts are always ‘Indianised’ by infusing their narratives with constant reminders of Indian morals and practices like sexism, homophobia, patriarchy, chastity, female subordination and paternalistic duty. I believe that all Indian films, irrespective of the genre they belong to, provide a culturally grounded engagement of issues which makes me argue that the points of intersection between globalisation and cinematic representation create not only points of opposition between national and transnational cinema but also create points of concurrence, making the global-local nexus ridden with contradictions.

Compulsory Heterosexuality

In terms of sexuality, domination is practised by ‘natural’ and ‘healthy’ heterosexual relations that disallow homosexual ones (Rich 1980; Miller, 1994) from existing. In the Indian society, hetero-normativity functions as a strong marker of belonging. One of the most common ways of highlighting the importance of a man and thereby a heterosexual relationship is through the use of *male intermediaries*. Most lesbian movies have male intermediaries in the form of subtle references to men, husbands or lovers who act as reassuring devices to the male audience as an attempt to undermine the impact that women together can make (Sedgwick 1985). *Fire* is a story about two neglected housewives, Radha and Sita, who are falling apart under the patriarchal control of their husbands and eventually find in their love for each other, a reason to live. By setting the plot in a traditional Indian middle class family, Deepa Mehta forcefully brings in the presence of men in the house in the form of husbands and the servant, Mundu, who eventually reveals the secretive relationship between Radha and Sita to Ashok, thereby playing a significant role in the plot. Social messages conveyed continuously inform the audience of the existence of a conventional heterosexual family life so the attention is taken off the lesbian plot. Since heterosexual families attain social validation but lesbian connections do not, they are often made to fit inside a much larger heterosexual storyline.

The emphasis on a heterosexual lifestyle is also documented through the tool of *cross dressing and role playing* validating Mary Daly's (1978 cited in Radel 1994) idea that since women are

always understood as the 'Other' in the normative discourse, they sometimes try to achieve the identity of the male 'Self' and try to achieve acceptance by identifying themselves as men. This is primarily because it is the male heterosexual self that is the domain of sexual privilege and power and there is a cultural demand to witness the conventional male-female romance.

Fire, despite being a global movie, employs this technique on two occasions. The first scene is when Sita is by herself in her room, wearing a heavy gaudy saree. Looking at herself in the mirror she is disgusted and decides to get into one of Jatin's pants, lets her hair open, picks up one of his cigarettes and pretends to smoke. This enactment of a man by a woman in a way disregards the identity of woman as an independent and self-sustaining identity, making that of a lesbian's even more invalid. It also provides a brief distancing away from traditional Indianness shown in the way she dramatically shoves her saree down her shoulder and quickly puts on his trousers. However, considering the short span of time that the scene lasts and the immediate returning to her original Indian attire only proves how the narrative even though does present a bold female sexuality, also subtly stresses on the necessity to silence any kind of attempt for expression by women. The second scene is an interlude that has both Sita and Radha in a role playing sequence. Sita wears a pair of trousers, a coat, a shirt and a cap and plays the role of a bold, assertive man and Radha on the other hand, plays the role of a coy, docile, shy woman who is led and wooed by Sita.

These two scenes of cross gender identification and masquerade are perhaps employed in order to achieve distance from the text and to keep up with what is socially accepted so it's more palatable to any viewer who might otherwise be uncomfortable with a film that blatantly challenges the long held traditional views (Doane 2003). Also, such brief interludes of gender reversal and implied female homoeroticism seem to locate the film within Chris Straayer's definition of the 'Temporary Transvestite film' which offers spectators a momentary trespassing of society's accepted boundaries for gender and sexual behaviour but eventually goes back to a display of a traditional setup (1996).

The extreme emphasis laid on hetero-normativity in India makes the Indian society a highly homophobic one. This in turn results in an unconscious internalisation of it so much so that the injection of a homophobic discourse in queer cinema becomes inevitable. In *Fire*, this is mostly done through the characters of Biji and Ashok. It seems unacceptable to represent acts of homosexual expression but there exists no prohibition against depicting acts of homophobic violence. Towards the end of the movie, Radha, after the revelation of her secret lesbian relationship, is blatantly accused of how outrageous a sin she had committed after which her saree accidentally catches fire from the gas stove and her husband watches her struggle without doing anything to help her put it out. Even though it's not a direct infliction of pain but by acting like a bystander to the whole scene, the husband indirectly punishes her for crossing the line. Biji, owing to her inability to speak, expresses her disgust by spitting on Radha's face.

The common take on this scene that eventually results in her coming out of it unscathed is that she passes the test of purity (Negrea 2004; Arora 2000). Deepa Mehta borrows the trope of the ordeal of fire from the Indian epic of Ramayana when goddess Sita is rescued by her husband, Lord Rama, on being kidnapped by the demon Ravana. The society makes her go through a trial by fire to prove to the world that she is still in possession of her chastity and that she hasn't been sullied despite being in captivity by a stranger.

Even though I do agree with this inference, I would like to argue that this could in fact be seen as a symbolic death adding to the notion of the 'subaltern corpses' (Thomas Waugh cited in Goswami 2008). The fact that this leads to an ostracisation of the lesbians from the family and the community just goes to prove how Radha and Sita being Indian women are allowed to have visibility and a place in society only till the time they are faithful to the role of the devoted wife. Radha's sari catches fire and is left there alone by her husband so she can burn to death and Sita on the other hand, is abandoned by her husband and her family so she sits alone in a Muslim dargah (place of worship) being a Hindu woman herself. It is important to note here that as women are not allowed to enter the premises of a dargah, by doing so, she automatically assigns herself the position of the 'outsider'. In my opinion, this alienation seen on two levels, one at the familial level and the other at the societal level makes them both victims more than winners. The positive unison that some film critics (Negrea 2004; Arora, 2000) claim they achieve at the end of this film is in my opinion, predicated on seclusion, desolation and on a total lack of a support system making the ending far from empowering.

Compulsory Patriarchy

Indian cinema is a reflection of the Indian society making it work according to the postulates of a compulsorily patriarchal environment. The first strategy that re-iterates the idea of a compulsorily patriarchal society in film is that of *male gaze and female objectification*. Claire Johnston (1975 cited in Jackson 1998) claims that women's bodies are constantly projected as 'spectacles' within the film but the idea of a woman as a woman is essentially absent. Thus, the image of a female operates in the text as nothing more than a sign that suggests the desires and fantasies of men but not the reality of women's lives.

Visual pleasure according to Mulvey (1989) has two sides to it. One is mere 'Voyeurism' which refers to the active gaze at an erotised image of a woman and the other is 'Narcissism' which refers to the pleasure of identifying with one's more powerful and one's perfect version as shown in the film. But because of the sexual imbalance that exists in society and the split that exists between the active male and the passive female, this kind of fulfilment is offered only to the male spectator. Women are hardly ever assigned the position of the 'looker'.

In *Fire*, there is a constant use of the metaphors of food (in the form of the take away food stall that they own) and pornography (in the form of the side business that Jatin is secretly taking care of). Both represent “devouring, gobbling up, feasting ...a language that not only suggests a desire to eat but also to destroy the loved object” (Negrea 2004). This constant interplay or link between visual and bodily satisfaction, both that are provided by women to men, is again an essential way of perpetuating the oppressive strictures and the exploitative nature of a patriarchal society. Another scene that reinforces this idea is where Jatin is enticing three very young boys with a porn tape. The song in the background says “This is the place where you give love and take love”. It is ironic that the place to “give and take love” is actually a video store offering porn movies that normalise the objectification of women.

An extension of this strategy often used for the same purpose is the element of *eroticism and female bonding*. Even though lesbianism in the Indian society is understood as an unnatural sexual attraction, I argue that lesbian activity is often used as bait to the male audience. This is because lesbianism is an entity that is marked by sexuality whether or not she expresses it and behaves in a sexual manner (Heart 2007).

Fire is recognised for its bold employment of the practice of ‘Containment’ where homosexuality is ‘interiorised’ and is understood as part of one’s identity rather than a mere external behavioural pattern (Hantzis and Lehr 1994) by making the protagonists, Radha and Sita active agents of their love for each other instead of being objects that are consumed by the heterosexual male audience. However, I feel that it eventually does succumb to the heterosexual conventions of filmmaking by positioning itself firmly within the domains of national culture. The one scene that makes an explicit display of physical intimacy between the two women has Radha caressing Sita’s breast where Sita is out of the frame of the camera, giving the male viewer the freedom to fetishize her breast, forcing the audience to watch it from a man’s point of view and thus, taking it back to the idea of a necessary and compulsory heterosexual gaze upon women. I feel that this scene reinforces the convention of prostituting women in order to serve a male audience since the exclusion of a man from a totally satisfying and complete sexual relationship poses a threat to men, as it only makes them look unwanted.

On witnessing the sexual relationship between Sita and Radha, Ashok replays the whole scene in his head right after. I interpret this replaying as a way of incorporating the element of porn into a lesbian representation. I find it interesting that the first time when we are shown the scene in which the two women are making love; it is a long shot taking it further from the subjectivities of the filmmaker. But the same scene when replayed in Ashok’s head becomes a close up, lending a kind of voyeurism to it. I interpret it as Ashok’s subjective transformation of what he sees, into a pornographic activity, making him an audience to a lesbian performance. The use of the metaphor of porn not only objectifies women as tools for visual entertainment and gratification

but also makes up for the feared absence of men from a lesbian relationship and thus reassures men of their importance in the heterosexual world.

Indian cinema ordinarily focuses on family traditions and chastity and one of the ways of doing this is by projecting the ideals of a fulfilling heterosexual marriage and motherhood. By doing so, the structures of patriarchy are not just made visible but are also valorised by making a compulsory attachment of men to women (Negrea 2004). Mainstream Indian cinema certifies the traditional idea of hetero-patriarchy couched in an extremely misogynistic refusal of women's desire (Goswami 2008).

The first scene in *Fire* has Sita asking Jatin if he liked her indicative of how she acquires gender identification and acceptance through her husband, in a way internalising the process of self defining through the eyes of a man. Similarly, Radha recalls a saying that “the way to a man's heart is through his stomach”. In the economic structure of the Indian middle class family, women are the ones who have to cook and nourish and this aspect of their lives is often seen as an integral part of the definition of Indian womanhood, thus glorifying the idea of a woman's duty. Biji, the mother-in-law, assumedly fulfilled all her social and familial obligations also as she has two sons, is widowed and depends on her sons for survival now. Also, her muteness, her inability to communicate is a subtle indicator of the silencing of women which makes the system of male dominance even stronger.

The first time the two women are shown kissing, it is important to note that the posters in the room (from Kung Fu Movies) make it clear that it is a male space that they are transgressing and that lesbian characters need to be placed within the confines of a heterosexual storyline. In this way, the lesbian characters and what they stand for are often developed as being in contrast to the dominant characters in the narrative; heterosexual men (Gopinath 2000).

By using the private domestic chamber of the kitchen as a site of resistance and as an appropriation of the established doctrines into a space for the growth of their love for each other, Deepa Mehta has definitely initiated to present a positive and somewhat empowering image of the lesbian reality that was earlier labelled unrepresentable. But I argue that the positivity in the visual imaging of lesbianism is still couched under and determined by the existing local cultural debates around gender and sexuality in the Indian society causing a consistent interplay of the global and the local.

Representational Strategies

Stereotyping

I find that Indian cinema, both home and abroad, frequently succumbs to the traditional practice of stereotyping, resulting in an easy and convenient categorisation of individuals into specific groups making their identities fixed and rigid, also leading to a hasty generalisation of an individual's characteristics to the whole group's. What this kind of essentialist labelling does is simplify the inherent complexities of identity formation and label the 'differences' as abnormal and grotesque, thus widening the gap between those who follow the 'normal' behavioural patterns and the deviant 'others' referring to those who stand out (Mitra 1999). By doing so, films only legitimise the already existent misconceptions about homosexuality. "Stereotypes are vehicles for getting work done quickly, efficiently and with a lower risk of individual failure because they capitalise on what the audience can buy instantaneously" (Turow 1984: 169).

Fire depicts lesbianism as a commonly assumed *alternative choice*. Despite being a global production, it presents lesbianism as a result of the failure of their heterosexual marriages and the presence of another woman in the house. Lesbianism is offered as a solution to problems within a heterosexual relationship and not as a personal choice based on love. The gradual transition of both Radha and Sita from being in heterosexual relationships to transforming into lesbians due to the former's failure invalidates the independence of a lesbian sexual orientation suggesting that if sexual oppression didn't exist, lesbians as a group would not exist either. *Fire* confirms the need for the existence of men to give rise to a lesbian relationship.

Silence and Ambiguity

'Silence' is an important part of power relations since "Silence allows the lies about what it means to be a woman, to be a lesbian, to function as a form of societal control" (Miller, 1994: 211-212). It does not acknowledge the existence of difference and therefore allows the dominant ideals to take over as the sole ideals. In the case of lesbianism, silence is a way to affirm the power of the heterosexual 'Self' because when this silence is broken, it leads to the homosexual being labelled a deviant (Patton 2000). The inextricable link between silencing and power relations can be substantiated by how Indian cinema refuses to speak of female sexuality and instead works through suggestions and ambiguous representations. Throughout the movie, even though Sita being young and rebellious by nature seems forthright about her sexuality and prefers to be open about her relationship, Radha advises her to keep her identity hidden so as to avoid social rejection. Lesbianism is seen as a private activity throughout the movie as opposed to the love affair between Jatin and his Chinese mistress. There is an open display and acceptance of the illegitimate heterosexual relationship suggesting that it is rather acceptable for heterosexuals to show a public display of affection and to talk about their social lives even though it might be outside of the holy institution of marriage but if homosexuals did so, it would be a flaunting of their deviance. Heterosexual love making occurs without prohibitions of time and space which in a way normalises and endorses heterosexuality (Arora 2006).

Conclusion

Fire, to the naked eye, might seem to have ruptured many of the normative gender and sexual codes that are followed by the traditional Indian society but a deeper scrutiny of the movie can prove that for the most part, it is still not about two women who fall in love with each other but about two unsuccessful heterosexual relationships, the dynamics of a middle class Indian family and is a clear depiction of the sanctioned relationships appropriate to the joint family.

After an in-depth analysis of the films, I feel that at the end of the twentieth century, globalisation in film production and distribution has definitely reshaped the politics of Indian cinema as far as the market is concerned but I still find a great deal of historical, cultural and social attachment in its core aesthetics that somewhat limits the possibilities of a totally revolutionary and empowered depiction of a lesbian's journey.

Globalisation of cinema has always been considered to be a destroyer of tradition as it gave rise to new genres of cinema and a new wave of low budget, transgressive alternate Indian films that attempt to revise hegemonic ideologies (Gokulsing and Dissanayake 2004). In this paper, I contest the popular belief that Globalisation leads to 'Westernisation' and a subsequent destruction of Indian traditions by showing how 'traditional Indianness' in fact appears as a contemporary globalist construction owing to the diasporic Indian need to consume the best of both. Globalisation does not necessarily create two mutually exclusive entities but generates a fine balance between the old and the new, between tradition and modernity and I have taken the specific case of queer representation in *Fire* to show how this is possible. By illustrating the constant interplay of queer and Indian codes, I have thus shown why the local and the global must be seen as harmonious entities and not as antithetical formations and that Globalisation of Indian cinema has actually created a paradox in the representation of lesbianism. In my analysis, I have picked examples from the text that act as reminders of hetero-patriarchy, marriages, female subjugation and that re-use conventional mainstream aesthetic strategies like stereotyping and ambiguity in its portrayal of lesbian women in order to prove that there is certainly a complex interactive exchange between local and global pressures, making Indian cinema an example of the conventional clothed in a new visual language.

By doing so, my hope is to bring up the need to re-define boundaries. Almost everything in our society works according to the mechanism of a binary model. Every observation has been categorically made to fit into either this or that making the division both simplistic as well as unfair. My aim in this paper is to point out the grey areas that get overlooked in this process of polarisation. By taking the specific case of the intersection between globalisation and queer representation, I have shown how unstable the categories of mainstream and alternate cinema are

and thus proven the need to re-consider our frames of references. The overlaps and contradictions in the use of narrative and textual techniques in the two genres of cinema show why Glocalisation would be a better term for interpreting Indian cinema as it allows for a simultaneous accommodation of both local and global processes making the separation between the two obsolete.

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APPENDIX

FIRE (1996)

Directed by: Deepa Mehta

Release Details

Country	Date
Canada	6 September 1996 (Toronto Film Festival)
USA	2 October 1996 (New York Film Festival)
Singapore	17 April 1997 (Singapore International Film Festival)
South Korea	10 May 1997
Australia	14 August 1997
Germany	21 August 1997
Switzerland	22 August 1997 (German speaking region)
USA	22 August 1997
Spain	29 August 1997
Netherlands	30 October 1997
Sweden	24 July 1998
Brazil	18 September 1998 (São Paulo)
India	5 November 1998
UK	13 November 1998
Iceland	9 February 1999 (video premiere)
Japan	17 July 1999 (Gay and Lesbian Film Festival)
Portugal	17 September 1999

Plot: Biji is a widow, who is unable to walk, talk and look after herself, communicates with a bell and lives with two sons, Ashok and Jatin. Ashok is married to Radha who is unable to have children, and Jatin is married to Sita but is in love with a Chinese-Indian girl named Julie. When Julie refuses to marry him as she dislikes joint family life, he is compelled to marry Sita assumedly so she can bear a male child to carry on the family name. Ashok leads life celibacy after becoming a follower of a religious leader, Swamiji, and spends all his free time with him. Jatin has not given up on Julie and continues to have an extra-marital relationship with her. Radha and Sita, shown as neglected wives start spending time with each other and eventually fall in love. Mundu, the servant, passes his free time watching some of the porno movies secretly sold by Jatin to some of his 'special' clients and masturbating, much to Biji's dislike but he is the one who ultimately reveals their clandestine relationship to the head of the family, ashok.

List of names used:

Radha and Sita: protagonists

Jatin: Sita's husband

Ashok: Radha's Husband

Biji: Mother-in-law

Mundu: Servant

Cross-dressing as Cultural Critique: the Work of Morimura Yasumasa

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topics: contemporary Japan, postmodern appropriation art, aesthetics of impersonation

Cross-dressing as Cultural Critique: the Work of Morimura Yasumasa

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Since his debut in the middle of the 1980s, Morimura Yasumasa has amused audiences worldwide with his digitally manipulated self-portraits. In perhaps his most provocative guise, he poses as glamorous female movie stars from Marilyn Monroe to Greta Garbo, from Catherine Deneuve to Brigitte Bardot. In other work Morimura explores photographs of famous moments in postwar history (both American and Japanese), from Yukio Mishima's infamous speech to Self-Defense Forces before his staged suicide in 1970 to the assassination of Jack Ruby. His work makes the familiar strange, often with humorous results, and sets the stage for an interesting examination of self-portraiture committed to investigating the artistic past, parodying established conventions, and exploring the limits of what I propose to call the aesthetics of impersonation.

In conjunction with the East / West theme of this conference, I begin by examining the relation between East and West in Morimura's collection *Daughter of Art History*, in which Morimura restages and photographs famous works of Western art from Rembrandt to Velasquez by placing his face on those of the main characters. I will focus specifically on a reading of two of Morimura's remakes of Edouard Manet from this collection in order to elucidate the juxtaposition of gender, ethnicity, and geography.

Although Morimura's *Mona Lisa in its Origin* (1998) is perhaps the most familiar of his remakes of Western art, his relation to Manet is especially suggestive. Manet's formation as an artist included reproducing classic works of art from earlier ages, and consequently his works often refer to past masters as they express a modern sensibility. His *Dejeuner Sur L'Herbe* (1863) is famous for the juxtaposition of a nude woman looking provocatively at the onlooker amid fully clothed picnickers. In *Olympia* (1863), Manet remakes the reclining nude of Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538), deliberately accentuating the sexuality of the model through accessories (orchid in her hair, necklace, bracelet, slippers). The cat with arched back at the foot of the bed and the servant standing in attendance holding flowers also invoke traditional symbols of sexuality. Morimura restages the work in 1990 by putting his own body in place of the courtesan and the attendant. He maintains the flatness of the room in the original but renders the texture of the wallpaper and drapes a little more luxuriously. The sexually suggestive accoutrements are preserved, but Morimura replaces the courtesan's robe with a Japanese kimono in stand out gold, silver, and red with traditional Japanese themes. Finally, Manet's sexually suggestive cat is

transformed into a *maneki neko*, a porcelain cat placed at shop entrances reputed to bring in customers and good luck.

What does Morimura's remake do to Manet's classic? The two subjects in the artwork now bear Japanese facial features, rendering them twins of a kind. Morimura entitled his work *Twins* (*Futago*, 1990), likely for this reason. The courtesan is now male, unabashedly looking directly at the viewer. The fair-skinned female is now Asian. The symbol of Western art history has been, in a word, reoriented. The iconic oil painting has been reproduced as a photograph. As a self-portrait, the dramatically transformed work suggests Morimura seeing himself in and through the work of Manet. Morimura explains of another remake that "Various realms collide at different angles to create an ambiguous realm which is neither adult nor child, neither a contemporary image nor a historic painting, neither Asian nor Western, and neither woman nor man." (Morimura, *Daughter of Art History* 2003, 120)

Morimura's description of "collision" which is neither A nor B suggests the importance of both A and B, and the distance between the two. Manet's original is still recognizable, but strangely so. At the same time, the collision of Western nineteenth century and Japanese artist in the work is just as ambiguous here, presenting a model (and her attendant) who is neither male nor female (Morimura's covering hand preserves this ambiguity), neither Japanese nor Western, but an assemblage of both. Morimura's remake also transforms the gaze of the courtesan from a leisurely, self-assured, sexually provocative act into a leisurely, self-assured, but playful look. The overt sexuality has been represented as playful, much like the cat in the corner no longer reacts to provocation by the viewer but beckons him or her in to the field of view. Restaging the Manet calls attention to the staged quality already inherent in the oil painting. His own performative self-promotion aggressively drops Manet's work down from its elevated status in the museum in a manner likely to disturb fans of the work. At the same time, this distorted personalization renders the work more accessible. The estrangement experienced with regard to the work forces a second look, a reexamination of the original and its deformation.

A second example comes from Morimura's 1990 recasting of Manet's *Le Bar aux Folies-Bergère* (1882). Manet's original is a showpiece of nineteenth century consumption. A bar girl looks dejectedly out at the viewer, offering him or her to take in the atmosphere of the night club filled with Parisian patrons, aglow with light from chandelier and wall sconces, vibrant with the conversations of patrons, the clinking of glasses, and even the performance of acrobats, visible in the top left corner of the painting. The hostess looks ahead blankly, clearly out of sorts in contrast with the otherwise ebullient mood. Consumable items surround her—a brand of British

beer, a bowl of fruit, champagne—and suggest by association that she too is an object to be consumed. Her nosegay of flowers, already symbolic of sexuality, has been positioned centrally to call attention to her breast. The image behind her, sometimes described as an offset mirror image, may suggest a second moment earlier that evening when she was talking with gentleman to the right.

Morimura remakes this painting in two works entitled *Daughter of Art History (Theater A)* and *Daughter of Art History (Theater B)*, both from 1990. In the first, he puts his face on the three figures in the painting: the two women and the gentleman. He also adds a second pair of hands crossed at the barmaid's chest, as if shielding the bust from the view of the spectator or closing the open blouse of the barmaid.

In the further deconstructed second version of Manet's *Le Bar aux Folies-Bergère*, he swaps the body of the barmaid with his own nude body, reminiscent of the nude in the *Olympia*. The hands of the barmaid are left clinging to the counter, as if severed at the elbow, and wire protruding in place of veins suggests that the hands were artificial to begin with. Morimura accentuates the change in skin tone from the French barmaid to the Japanese photographer, painting his shoulders lily white and the rest of his body brown.

Manet's *Folies-Bergère* is clearly about putting consumption on display; Morimura's work, similarly, is predicated on an active process of consumption, most immediately as a consumption of Manet's painting. His remake of the work literalizes the visual metaphor of seeing oneself in a work of art. As an artist, and as a consumer in postmodern society, consumption of objects is closely linked to the act of seeing and to identity, to seeing oneself consume the object.

These self-portraits suggest a process of reading as consumption that calls attention to the circulation of Western icons in the global consumer marketplace and the commodity status of the work of art. Morimura grew up in Osaka, Japan interested in art in an atmosphere in which art training was equivalent to learning Western art technique. His early encounters with art were not with Japanese masters but with Western masters. He has described this lack of balance with respect to the Western tradition as a kind of deformation, and his own deconstructions of works with which he is intimately familiar is in part a literal expression of his personal engagement with Western art.

The history of consumption of Western art in Japan dates back to the Meiji period when academic instruction in the fine arts began by hiring Western artists to train generations of

Japanese artists. The Japanese artists were, however, always geographically quite distant from the works of art held up as models. Interaction with Western art, then, is itself based on the simulacrum of photographic representations of the canon. Reproductions were the only way to know the 'real' work. The literary magazine *White Birch* made its reputation in the 1910s in part for reproducing famous contemporary paintings of post-impressionists and cubists—in black and white. Japan was quite distant from the prewar Paris or postwar New York City that was the acknowledged center of the art world. It was not until the 1970s that art exhibitions in Japan brought real works to Japanese spectators. Morimura's devotion to the medium of photography reflects his own interests and recalls the particular history of mediation of artwork in Japan.

Morimura's discussion of identity through self-portraiture is also consistent with a more postmodern understanding of the self. In his own words, he prefers to think of identity as an ever-evolving "transformative self" (*henshin gata*) rather than a static interrogation or introspection familiar from romantic or modern eras: "I don't care for the essential investigation version of the self-portrait." (Morimura, *Kūsōteki geijutsuka sengen* 2000, 187)

Creation of the self-portrait is a performance, a dialogue among selves, much like the speaker in a lyric poem can be in dialogue with the writer. Imagining oneself in other guises makes one aware of oneself. Morimura's motto, winking at Descartes, might be "I dress, therefore I am." (*Ware yosou. Yueni, ware ari.*)

Morimura's aesthetics of impersonation (*monomane*) resonates closely with the contemporary moment, flush as it is with simulation of various kinds. Virtual performance has become part of daily life in the karaoke box, avatars are used to stand for real identities in the virtual world of chat and other social media, and games make possible close interaction with everything from pets to partners.

It is especially interesting that impersonation plays a significant role in traditional Japanese culture as well. Men have assumed the role of women in art since Ki no Tsurayuki's *Tosa Diary* (935), and in poetry men have rhetorically taken the persona of a woman lamenting their man who is preparing to go off to battle. The female roles played exclusively by men in Noh drama or the *onnagata* in kabuki also exemplify the specialized performance roles available to men. The long history of this tradition of role-playing suggests that the practice is less shocking in the Japanese context. Morimura's contemporary, ironic version of the mode offers a variant of the practice. That is to say, his impersonation suggests a model of coexistence, of cohabitation between the copy and the original, but this does not imply that the original is always superior. As Morimura himself explains, in many cases if the spectator sees an impersonation first before

learning of the original, it is temporally prior to, and in some ways more significant than, the original.

Impersonation accentuates specific features considered to be characteristic of the original and remakes them as representative of the original. Impersonation thus comments on the original and on how the original is perceived. Morimura gives the following example of this process using Japanese popular culture as a reference:

the television *talento* Korokke, known for his impersonations of Japanese stars and frequent participant in impersonation competitions, did an imitation of glamorous *enka* singer Mikawa Kenichi. The imitation was a great success. Mikawa Kenichi, whose career was experiencing a slack, then imitated Korokke's imitation of Mikawa Kenichi and experienced an upsurge in popularity. The copy was responsible for extending the life of the original. (Morimura, *Kūsōteki geijutsuka sengen* 2000, 84-88) As much might be said of Tina Fey's *Saturday Night Live* remake of American Vice-Presidential candidate Sarah Palin.

Morimura yokes old with new, East with West, and male with female, all with unusual results. In the final analysis, his ever-changing and parodic examination of self and identity through appropriation of famous works of art, film stars, or political events leaves spectators thinking, and often smiling. But it stands more chance of being remembered because his parodies maintain a dialogue with the original work, which often sheds light on the original, and contribute to their longevity through his efforts to visualize history: "In the approximately 500 years since Leonardo painted his *Gioconda* to the present, how many copies, homages, and forgeries have been made of it? One important aim, then, was to give visible form to this long built-up sedimentation of imagery—to wear this 500-year history layer on layer." (Morimura, *Daughter of Art History* 2003, 123)

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Alexithymia in relation to craving in an alcohol-dependent sample

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Alexithymia in relation to craving in an alcohol-dependent sample

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Abstract

Aim. Attachment and alcohol problems have been linked with alexithymia; a multifaceted personality trait associated with mood regulation difficulties. Other factors such as obsessive thoughts and compulsive drinking behaviours conceptualised as craving, are also considered key factors associated with the loss of control over drinking. The present study investigated the relationship between alexithymia, craving and attachment in an alcohol dependent population. **Method.** 254 patients with an age between 18 and 71 years undertaking outpatient Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy treatment for alcohol dependence were recruited. Participants with a diagnosis of a co-morbid major psychiatric disorder (for example Schizophrenia), organic brain syndrome, alcohol-related medical complications or heavy sedation were excluded. Participants were detoxified prior to assessment and completed the Toronto Alexithymia Scale (TAS-20), the Revised Adult Attachment Scale (RAAS) and the Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale (OCDS) as part of a larger study. **Results.** MANCOVA indicated that alexithymic alcoholics reported significantly higher levels of the total OCDS score, obsessive thoughts about alcohol scores as well as the compulsive drinking urges and behavior scores compared to non-alexithymic alcoholics. Path analysis showed that anxious attachment partially mediated the relationship between alexithymia and total OCDS score. **Conclusion.** These findings highlights the importance of alexithymia in relation to craving reporting significantly higher levels of obsessive thoughts and compulsive behaviours related to alcohol in those with combined alexithymia and alcohol dependence compared with alcohol dependence alone. Furthermore, attachment may be a potential treatment target in order to reduce alcohol consumption in those with alexithymia and alcohol dependence.

The term alexithymia was derived from the Greek alexithymos, meaning “no word for moods”. In the 1970s Nemiah and Sifneos (1970) began to investigate cognitive and affective styles in patients with psychosomatic diseases. In 1973 Sifneos introduced alexithymia and described it as a multifaceted construct characterized by difficulties identifying and communicating feelings, difficulties differentiating feelings and somatic sensations of emotional arousal, a diminution of fantasy and imagination and an externally oriented cognitive style (Nemiah, Freyberger, & Sifneos, 1976). Research on alexithymia using empirically validated measures such as the Toronto Alexithymia Scale (TAS-20; Bagby, Parker, & Taylor, 1994) has found significant positive associations between overall alexithymia scores and alcohol problems. Associations between alcohol problems and alexithymia subscale scores, such as Difficulties Identifying Feelings (DIF) and Difficulties Describing Feelings (DDF) have also been found. In general these associations show that alcohol-dependent patients have higher levels of alexithymia than controls (Thorberg, Young, Sullivan, & Lyvers, 2009; Thorberg, Young, Sullivan, Lyvers, Connor & Feeney, in press). Other evidence indicates that those with combined alexithymia and alcohol-dependence experience higher levels of suicidal ideation, longer duration of alcohol abuse, and more severe alcohol problems as measured by the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test (MAST; Selzer, 1971) compared to those with alcohol-dependence alone (Sakuraba, Kubo, Komoda, & Yamana, 2005; Uzun, Ates, Cansever, & Ozsahin, 2003). Thus, alcoholics with alexithymia appear to suffer from more severe dependency than alcoholics with lower levels of alexithymia or no alexithymia. Given that alexithymia also has the ability to interfere with alcohol treatment outcome (Loas, Fremaux, Otmani, Lecercle, & Delahousse, 1997; Ziolkowski, Gruss, & Rybakowski, 1995) it is important to get a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between alexithymia and other key factors that have been shown to be associated with the loss of control over drinking including obsessive thoughts and compulsive drinking behaviours conceptualised as craving (Addolorato, Leggio, Abenavoli, & Gasbarrini, 2005).

Until recently craving was considered a symptom of alcohol withdrawal; however, alcohol-related compulsion may still appear after long-term abstinence in the context of cues associated with drinking or having an initial drink (Addolorato et al., 2005; Cibin, 1993). One commonly used measure of craving is the Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale (OCDS; Anton, Moak, & Latham, 1995). The OCDS was designed to assess obsessive thoughts about alcohol use and compulsive behaviours toward drinking. To date, only one prospective study (Al Birt, Sandor, Vaida, & Birt, 2008) in a small alcohol-dependent sample ($N = 30$) has investigated alexithymia and used the OCDS as an outcome measure of abstinence. Participants were assessed at intake and at 2-week, 24-week and 48-week follow-up, and the findings indicated that 43.3% of the patients were abstinent at the 2-week and 48-week follow-up. Compared to baseline, at 48-week follow up significant mean differences were found on the TAS-20, DIF and EOT. While the OCDS was utilised as a measure of abstinence and alcohol misuse, the relationship between alexithymia and craving was not specifically examined. For example, differences in craving among those with and without alexithymia were not investigated. Such relationships warrant further investigation, particularly, as craving plays an important role in the pathogenesis of alcohol-dependence and relapse (Addolorato et al., 2005; Bottlender & Soyka, 2004; Kranzler, Mulgrew, Modesto-Lowe, & Bursleson, 1999)

The interpretation of such associations is made easier when these relationships are situated with the context of a broader theoretical framework. Attachment theory could provide such a framework. Attachment theory is an important framework for understanding emotion

regulation where the primary function of attachment is the interpersonal regulation of affective experiences (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2007; Sroufe, 1977). Early attachment theory has proposed that bonding with a caregiver is essential for the development of internal working models for communication, affect regulation and interpersonal functioning (Bowlby, 1973; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). These early attachment experiences are related to adult attachment styles and studies have reported relationships between insecure adult attachment and emotion regulation difficulties including alexithymia (Bekker, Bachrach, & Croon, 2007; Hazan, 1987), and between secure adult attachment and a higher capacity for empathy and emotional awareness (Feeney, 1996; Laible, 2007). Alcohol abuse has been hypothesised to be a consequence of alexithymia (Taylor, Bagby, & Parker, 1997) with individuals using alcohol to escape feelings of rejection and establish a “secure attachment base” (Hofler & Kooyman, 1996).

Individuals with a secure attachment style tend to seek social support to cope with emotional stress, whereas insecure individuals may seek other means of affective regulation, such as the use of alcohol (McNally, Palfai, Levine, & Moore, 2003; Thorberg & Lyvers, 2006). Previous cross-sectional research has reported that insecure attachment in adults has been associated with harmful drinking and alcohol use disorders (Cooper, Shaver, & Collins, 1998; McNally et al., 2003; Thorberg & Lyvers, 2006). In addition, attachment theory has been linked to the aetiology and development of alexithymia. Attachment theories have pointed out the importance of significant others in childhood for the development of alexithymia, hypothesising that childhood events such as traumatic experiences and/or a dysfunctional mother-infant relationship may cause alexithymia (Krystal & Krystal, 1988; Nemiah, 1977; Taylor et al., 1997). These hypotheses have been supported by empirical evidence indicating that higher levels of alexithymia were related to a perception of mother’s low care, feelings of being emotionally unsafe during childhood and diminished family expressiveness of emotion (Berenbaum & James, 1994; Fukunishi et al., 1997). A positive association between insecure attachment and alexithymia has also been reported in various samples (Farinelli, Ercolani, Trombini, & Bortolotti, 2007; Scheidt et al., 1999; Wearden, Lambertson, Crook, & Walsh, 2005) including alcohol use disorder populations (De Rick & Vanheule, 2006; 2007). Based on the key role of attachment posited for the development and aetiology of alexithymia and the empirical literature cited supporting this link, we expected that anxious attachment would mediate the relationship between alexithymia and alcohol craving.

Given that the assessment of alexithymia and craving may have clinical benefits such as assisting psychologists in evaluating a patient's alcohol-dependence severity, selecting appropriate treatment approaches, and monitoring behaviour changes throughout treatment (Drobes & Thomas, 1999) further research on these constructs are needed. Therefore the objectives of the present study were to examine the relationships between alexithymia, DIF, DDF, EOT, craving, RCI, OBS, INT, anxious attachment and alcohol problems. Differences on alexithymia, DIF, DDF, EOT, craving, RCI, OBS, INT, anxious attachment and alcohol problems were investigated between those with combined alexithymia and alcohol-dependence and those with alcohol-dependence alone. Finally, anxious attachment was investigated as a potential mediator of the relationship between alexithymia and craving.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and fifty four patients (176 males and 78 females) were recruited from a hospital outpatient Cognitive Behavioural Treatment (CBT) program for alcohol-dependence. Male and female participant mean ages were 36.84 years ($SD = 11.34$) and 39.03 years ($SD =$

9.25), respectively. No incentive for participation was provided. Most patients reported daily drinking (63.7%), 17.9% were binge drinkers and 18.4% drank at least twice a week. The study inclusion criteria included being diagnosed with an alcohol use disorder in accordance to DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000) criteria. Exclusion criteria included a co-morbid psychiatric disorder (e.g., Bipolar Disorder), organic brain syndrome or heavy sedation.

Measures

Toronto Alexithymia Scale (TAS-20).

The TAS-20 is a 20 item questionnaire that measures an overall alexithymia score as well as a three factor structure consisting of Difficulties Identifying Feelings (DIF), Difficulties Describing Feelings (DDF) and Externally Oriented Thinking (EOT) (Bagby, Parker et al., 1994). Each item is ranked on a 5-point Likert scale and five items are reversed scored with the total score ranging from 20 to 100. A higher score indicates higher levels of alexithymia. Cut-off scores have been established to categorise individuals as alexithymic if the total score was > 61, borderline alexithymic if 52-60, or non-alexithymic if < 51 (Bagby, Taylor, & Parker, 1994). The TAS-20 has shown adequate validity and reliability (Bagby, Taylor et al., 1994; Parker, Taylor, & Bagby, 2003). The Cronbach alphas in the present study were 0.84 for TAS-20 total score, 0.84 for DIF, 0.75 for DDF, and 0.57 for the EOT, respectively.

Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale (OCDS).

The OCDS is a 14 item scale that measures obsessive thoughts about alcohol use and compulsive behaviours toward drinking (Anton et al., 1995). To date, several factor structures have been tested in alcohol misusing populations (see Connor, Jack, Feeney, & Young, 2008). The present study utilised a three factor model (see Roberts, Anton, Latham & Moak, 1999) including an overall OCDS score as well as three subscales: Resistance/Control Impairment (RCI) assessing impaired resistance and control over drinking-related cognitions and impulses, Obsessions (OBS) measuring the frequency and impact of alcohol-related cognitions and drives, and Interference (INT) assessing how alcohol cognitions interfere with functional aspects of life. Each item is ranked on a 4-point Likert scale and higher scores indicate higher obsessions and compulsions with drinking alcohol. The OCDS has displayed acceptable psychometric properties (Anton et al., 1995; Connor et al., 2008). The Cronbach alphas in the present study were 0.92 for OCDS total score, 0.83 for RCI, 0.87 for OBS, and 0.78 for INT, respectively.

Revised Adult Attachment Scale (RAAS)-Anxiety.

The RAAS (Collins, 1996; Collins & Read, 1990) is an 18 item scale that was designed to measure adult attachment dimensions. It has three subscales, Close, Depend and Anxiety. However, given that the focus of the present study was on anxious attachment only the Anxiety subscale was utilised. Each item is scored on a 5-point Likert scale. The RAAS has shown adequate psychometric properties (Collins, 1996; Goldman & Anderson, 2007). The internal consistency of the Anxiety dimension in the present study was acceptable with a Cronbach alpha of 0.89.

Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (AUDIT).

The AUDIT is a 10 item measure developed to assess alcohol problems. The first seven items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale and the last two items on a 3-point Likert scale (Babor, Higgins-Biddle, Saunders, & Monteiro, 2001). The overall AUDIT score ranges from 0 to 40. A total score of 0-7 indicates low risk drinking, 8-15 hazardous drinking, 16-19 harmful drinking and 20 or higher dependent drinking. The AUDIT has shown sound reliability and

validity in various populations (see Reinert & Allen, 2007). The Cronbach alpha for AUDIT total score in the present study was 0.80.

Measure of Abstinence

Abstinence rate was assessed by the use of Alcohol Timeline Followback (TFLB; Sobell & Sobell, 1996), Breathalyzer (BAL), and monthly aspartate aminotransferase (AST), Gamma glutamyl transferase (GGT) and Carbohydrate deficient transferrin (CDT) levels (Allen, Sillamauke, & Anton, 1999).

Procedure

Participants were given information about the study, and if they wanted to participate were asked to complete a consent form and self-report questionnaires. Less than 10% of those offered a treatment program declined participation. All patients were abstinent for a minimum of seven days prior to assessment to avoid confounding the results due to acute alcohol or drug withdrawal effects. Participants were informed that their data would remain confidential and anonymous. The study took place outside scheduled treatment sessions, and clinical staff was available if any of the subjects required assistance in reading items or clarifying questions. The measures were completed as part of a larger study.

Data Analyses Methods

The first set of analyses included the calculation of Cronbach alphas and intercorrelations for the following scores: the TAS-20 total score and TAS-20 subscales (DIF, DDF, EOT), the OCDS total score and OCDS subscales (RCI, OBS, INT), the RAAS-Anxiety subscale and the AUDIT. The second set of analyses involved comparing TAS-defined alexithymia groups (alexithymic, non-alexithymic) on OCDS, OCDS subscales (RCI, OBS, INT), RAAS-Anxiety, and the AUDIT. A series of hierarchical regression analyses was conducted to establish the mediating effect of anxious attachment (RAAS-Anxiety) on the relationship between alexithymia (TAS-20 total score) and craving (OCDS total score) (dependent variable) in line with Baron and Kenny's (1986) mediational model.

In order to test for mediation, a series of criteria must be met. The predictor variable needs to be significantly correlated with the dependent variable and the predictor variable also has to be significantly correlated with the mediator. The mediator needs to be significantly related to the dependent variable even after controlling for the independent variable. If the predictor variable is no longer significantly correlated with the dependent variable after controlling for the mediator, a perfect mediation is established. If only the first three criteria are met this indicate a partial mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). To safeguard for the effect of measurement error, the Cronbach alphas of mediators was inspected to ensure adequate internal consistency (see Kenny, 2009).

Results

Intercorrelations

Relationships between the TAS-20 scales, OCDS scales, RAAS-Anxiety and AUDIT scale were examined by means of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients across all participants (see Table 1). With respect to alexithymia groups 32.4 % of the sample was categorized as alexithymic, 25.4% as borderline alexithymic and 42.3% as non-alexithymic.

Table 1. Intercorrelations between Toronto Alexithymia Scale (TAS-20) and subscales DIF, DDF, EOT, Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale (OCDS) and subscales RIC, OBS, INT, and Revised Adult Attachment Scale Anxiety subscale (RAAS-Anxiety) and Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test (AUDIT).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. TAS-TS	-	.82**	.87**	.66**	.36**	.29**	.33**	.33**	.43**	.21**
2. DIF		-	.60**	.20**	.45**	.37**	.44**	.39**	.50**	.27**
3. DDF			-	.47**	.25**	.23**	.20**	.21**	.30**	.13
4. EOT				-	.08	.04	.07	.12*	.16*	.08
5. OCDS-TS					-	.92**	.89**	.74**	.31**	.46**
6. RCI						-	.72**	.52**	.24**	.32**
7. OBS							-	.59**	.33**	.50**
8. INT								-	.25**	.43**
9. RAAS-Anxiety									-	.19**
10. AUDIT										-

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$. AUDIT=Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test, DDF=Difficulties Describing Feelings, DIF=Difficulties Identifying Feelings, EOT=Externally Oriented Thinking, INT=Interference, OBS=Obsessions, OCDS-TS=Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale-Total Score, RCI=Resistance/Control Impairment, RAAS-Anxiety=Revised Adult Attachment Scale-Anxiety.

Group Comparisons

A two-way multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was conducted with the independent variable of alexithymia group (alexithymic, non-alexithymic), the covariate of age, and the dependent variables TAS-20, OCDS, RIC, OBS, INT, RAAS Anxiety and AUDIT scores. The multivariate effect of TAS group was significant, $F(6, 225) = 60.69, p = .0001$, whereas the multivariate effect of age was not, $F(6, 224) = 1.08, p = .374$. Univariate effects of TAS group were significant for TAS-20 total score, $F(1, 232) = 355.53, p = .0001$; OCDS total score, $F(1, 232) = 14.27, p = .0001$; RCI, $F(1, 232) = 10.35, p = .001$; OBS, $F(1, 232) = 10.86, p = .001$; INT, $F(1, 232) = 11.61, p = .001$; RAAS-Anxiety, $F(1, 232) = 29.18, p = .0001$; and AUDIT, $F(1, 232) = 7.43, p = .007$. As shown in Table 2, compared to non-alexithymic alcoholics, alexithymic alcoholics scored significantly higher on TAS-20 total score, OCDS total score, RIC, OBS, INT, RAAS-Anxiety and AUDIT. Gender was excluded as an independent variable in the MANCOVA as a Chi-square test indicated that there was no significant gender difference between alexithymia groups ($\chi^2(1) = 3.02, p < .082$).

Table 2. Mean (*SD*) Toronto Alexithymia Scale (TAS-20), Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale Total Score (OCDS-TS) and subscales RIC, OBS and INT, Revised Adult Attachment Scale (RAAS-Anxiety) and Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test (AUDIT) scores in alexithymic versus non-alexithymic alcoholics.

	Alexithymic (<i>n</i> = 75)		Non-alexithymic (<i>n</i> = 157)
TAS-TS	67.80 (5.69)	****	47.45 (8.34)
OCDS-TS	26.13 (10.18)	****	20.53 (10.86)
RIC	12.11 (5.25)	***	9.63 (5.82)
OBS	9.04 (3.89)	***	7.17 (3.95)
INT	4.99 (2.92)	***	3.73 (2.58)
RAAS-Anxiety	21.27 (5.65)	****	16.57 (6.32)
AUDIT	30.21 (6.61)	**	27.57 (6.73)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, **** $p < .0001$. AUDIT=Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test, INT= Interference, OBS=Obsessions, OCDS-TS=Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale-Total Score, RCI= Resistance /Control Impairment, RAAS-Anxiety=Revised Adult Attachment Scale-Anxiety, TAS-TS=Toronto Alexithymia Scale-Total Score.

Mediational Analysis

To investigate the hypothesised path model a set of regression analyses were undertaken to examine the mediational effect of anxious attachment in the relationship between alexithymia and craving. Barron and Kenny's (1986) mediational analytic scheme was utilised (see Data Analyses Methods section). First, a single logistic regression analysis found a significant relationship between the predictor variable total TAS-20 and the dependent variable OCDS, $F(1, 250) = 36.18, p < .0001$, accounting for 12.6% of the variance ($R^2 = .126, p < .0001$). Second, a significant relationship was found between the predictor variable TAS-20 and the mediator RAAS-Anxiety, $F(1, 248) = 55.94, p < .0001$, accounting for 18.4% of the variance ($R^2 = .184, p < .0001$). Third a multiple regression analysis was performed with TAS-20 and RAAS-Anxiety to examine the mediational effect of RAAS-Anxiety, $F(2, 244) = 23.16, p < .0001$, indicating that both TAS-20 ($\beta = .28, t(2) = 4.26, p < .0001$) and RAAS-Anxiety ($\beta = .20, t(2) = 3.02, p < .003$) showed univariate significance (see Table 3). Given that the first three conditions of Barron and Kenny's model were met, but not the fourth criterion, these findings indicate that RAAS-Anxiety partially mediated the relationship between the TAS-20 and the OCDS.

Table 3. RAAS-Anxiety as a Mediator of TAS-20 Total Scale and OCDS Total Scale.

Variables	R^2	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	βz
<u>OCDS (DV)</u>				
Step 1	.126****			
TAS-Total Scale		.32	.05	.36
<u>RAAS-Anxiety (DV)</u>				
Step 1	.184****			
TAS-Total Scale		.23	.03	.43
<u>OCDS (DV)</u>				
Step 1	.160****			
TAS-Total Scale		.25	.05	.28
RAAS-Anxiety		.33	.11	.20

**** $P < .0001$. DV=Dependent variable, OCDS=Obsessive Compulsive Drinking Scale, RAAS-Anxiety=Revised Adult Attachment Scale-Anxiety, TAS=Toronto Alexithymia Scale.

Discussion

Our results yielded positive significant associations of alexithymia, DIF, DDF, with OCDS and its subcomponents; RCI, OBS and INT and highlight the importance of alexithymia and difficulties identifying and describing feelings in relation to the preoccupation, obsessions and compulsive behaviours regarding drinking in an alcohol-dependent sample of outpatients. By contrast, the TAS-20 EOT facet was only weakly positively correlated with the Interference factor of the OCDS suggesting that an externalised thinking style may not be as important for strong obsessions and intrusive thoughts about alcohol.

We also found that the prevalence rate of alexithymia in the present population was 32.4%, with 25.4% having sub-clinical levels of alexithymia and 42.3% no alexithymia. These prevalence rates are slightly lower than those reported in previous alcohol studies with prevalence rates of 48-67% if alcohol-dependent individuals classified as alexithymic (Loas et al., 1997; Uzun et al., 2003), but still concordant with other evidence among individuals with alcohol use disorders (see Thorberg et al., 2009). Furthermore, those with combined alexithymia and alcohol-dependence scored significantly higher on the OCDS and its sub-dimensions compared to those with alcohol-dependence alone. This finding suggests that alcoholics with clinical levels of alexithymia experience a significantly higher level of intrusive cognitions and drives about alcohol as well as an impaired ability to control these thoughts and impulses compared to non-alexithymic alcohol-dependent patients. This result extends present knowledge of alexithymia in alcohol use disorders and is consistent with

previous findings that have indicated that those with combined alexithymia and alcohol-dependence experience more severe alcohol problems than their non-alexithymic counterparts (Evren, Dalbudak, Durkaya, Cetin, & Evren, 2010; Sakuraba et al., 2005; Uzun et al., 2003). This claim was further substantiated by the present results showing that alexithymic alcoholics reported significantly higher levels of alcohol problems and dependence severity as measured by the AUDIT than non-alexithymic alcoholics. This study is the first investigation (to our knowledge) of potential differences in alcohol dependence severity among alcoholic alexithymia groups using the AUDIT, a well recognised measure of alcohol problems (see Reinert & Allen, 2007) and as such extends previous findings from other alcohol studies (Evren et al., 2010; Uzun et al., 2003).

Compared to those with no alexithymia, the alexithymic patients in this study also reported higher levels of OCDS-Interference (INT) in their daily functioning and activities due to alcohol-related thoughts, ideas, impulses and images related to drinking. This finding indicates that those with combined alexithymia and alcohol-dependence experience significantly more impairment in relation to social and work-related functioning, which may be associated with a lower quality of life (QoL). We thus speculate that OCDS-Interference might be a mechanism that partly explains the reported relationship between DIF and QoL in a recent study on QoL investigating alexithymia and the temperament and character inventory in an alcohol-dependent sample (Evren et al., 2010). The study by Evren and colleagues reported that the alexithymia facet; DIF was associated with impaired quality of life. Evren and colleagues concluded that potential factors that may mediate the relationship between DIF and QoL are at present unknown. We suggest that craving may be a viable candidate mediator of this relationship. Hence, research examining the OCDS-Interference factor as a mechanism of the relationship between DIF and QoL appears warranted.

As expected, positive moderate correlations were found between alcohol problems (AUDIT) and the OCDS, including all of the OCDS sub-scales. This finding is consistent with previous research that has reported significant positive associations between the OCDS, alcohol consumption and alcohol-dependence severity (Anton et al., 1995; Bohn, Barton, & Barron, 1996; Kranzler et al., 1999). Furthermore, significant positive associations of all OCDS scores and anxious attachment were evident. To date, there has been scarce research in relation to craving and attachment in alcoholic populations with the present results indicating that higher levels of insecure attachment are associated with more preoccupations and a stronger desire for alcohol. In addition, alexithymic alcoholics reported significantly higher levels of anxious attachment compared to their non-alexithymic counterparts in line with previous alcohol research (De Rick & Vanheule, 2006; 2007). However, unlike the studies by DeRick and Vanheule (2006; 2007) who utilised the Bermond Vorst Alexithymia Questionnaire (BVAQ; Vorst & Bermond, 2001), which is a questionnaire that was developed relatively recently and is regarded as needing further validation (see Lumley, Neeley, & Burger, 2007), we extended these previous findings and used the TAS-20, an extensively researched measure of alexithymia.

The present study also explored whether anxious attachment mediated the relationship of alexithymia with craving. The results suggested that higher levels of alexithymia lead to a stronger desire for alcohol that was partially mediated by anxious attachment. This result is an important finding, because it suggests that an underlying mechanism of impairment in affect regulation (alexithymia) is compromised attachment, which appears to lead to a craving for alcohol. Given that the Anxiety scale of the RAAS measures insecure attachment as related to a current or previous relationship and relationship quality, these findings suggest that worries

about being rejected, not cared for or unloved lead to an increased craving for alcohol. One explanation for this mediational relationship may involve the effect of stress that may significantly contribute to relapse in those with substance use disorders (Sinha & Li, 2007).

This study has several limitations. First, the cross-sectional design does not allow for an examination of cause and effect, thus whether alexithymia and craving are a consequence or cause of alcohol-dependence could not be elucidated; longitudinal research is required to address this issue. Second, previous evidence has attested to relationships of negative affect with alexithymia and craving (Sinha & Li, 2007; Thorberg et al., 2009) and some potential overlap between these constructs with anxiety and depression may have influenced the present results and should be included as covariates in future studies.

The results of the present investigation have highlighted potential important implications for clinical practice. Given the strong relationship between alexithymia and craving as well as the mediational effect of anxious attachment in the present study, we suggest pre-treatment assessment of alexithymia status, craving and attachment that may provide a more comprehensive overview of potential treatment targets in alcoholic patients. Targeting anxious attachment might potentially lead to lower levels of craving and help improve social and work related functioning and quality of life.

Taken together, the results of the present study have supported important relationships of alexithymia, DIF and DDF in relation to alcohol craving and found significantly higher levels of obsessive thoughts and compulsive behaviours related to alcohol, as well as alcoholism severity in those with combined alexithymia and alcohol-dependence compared with alcohol-dependence alone. In addition, this study has identified a key mechanism; anxious attachment that partially explained the relationship between alexithymia and alcohol craving. These findings lend support to the importance of anxious attachment in elucidating the effect of alexithymia on craving in those with combined alexithymia and alcohol-dependence. Future research should investigate whether interventions aimed at anxious attachment may reduce alcohol consumption and dependence severity.

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Cross-cultural Study between Japanese and Korean Office Workers on Self-disclosure

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Abstract

The present study is Study 2 of the research whose focus is a cross-cultural study between Japanese and Korean office workers about a social behavior called “self-disclosure”. An extensive literature review revealed that hierarchical interpersonal relationships and drinking situation are important cultural characteristics viewed in Japanese and Korean societies. Study 1 quantitatively investigated the effects of 4 factors, namely, topic, status difference of the target person of self-disclosure in the workplace, drinking situation and culture on the level of self-disclosure. The participants were 194 Japanese office workers and 102 Korean office workers. The result of the research indicated that the above four factors influenced the level of self-disclosure of both Japanese and Korean office workers in various manners. In general, a purpose of cross-cultural research in the field of psychology is to scientifically examine how various socio-cultural factors affect an individual’s behavior internally as well as externally. In order to achieve this goal, Study 2 explored the meanings of “self-disclosure,” “communication with coworkers” and “drinking situation” for the participants in Study 1. In Study 2 a qualitative approach was used, and the data were analyzed by content analysis method called “KJ method”. Through data analysis some common themes emerged from the Japanese and Korean participants. For example, categories named “Function and Purpose”, “Perception”, “Emotion”, “Attitude” and “Context and Actual Condition” emerged as themes, and many of the subcategories under each theme were commonly observed in two countries. However, the result revealed that there were some significant differences which reflected different socio-cultural characteristics between Japan and Korea.

1. Introduction

“Self-disclosure” is a psychological term which was introduced by clinical psychologist, Sydney Jourard (Jourard & Lasakow, 1958). It is defined as “the process of making oneself known to the other person; the other person is the target person to whom information about oneself is communicated”. In the early years of research self-disclosure was regarded as a personality trait, and the focus of research was to examine the relationship between self-disclosure and other personality traits. Here, a question is that although seeing self-disclosure as a personality trait emphasizes a function within the individual, it tends to ignore its interpersonal function, which eventually makes it difficult to understand self-disclosure behavior as a process of interpersonal relationships (Ando, 1995).

In order to understand self-disclosure as a process, focusing on the contexts surrounding individuals and their behavior is vitally important. As far as human beings are social

animals, individuals' behaviors will naturally change depending on the context they are in. Concerning the issue of context, Malinowski (1949) pointed out two kinds of context: one is called "context of situation" and the other is called "context of culture". The former indicates the context existing behind a certain behavior, and the latter indicates socio-political and historical backgrounds of that behavior.

Concerning "context of culture", what has to be noticed is that over the past few decades, a considerable number of cross-cultural studies have been made on self-disclosure between the U.S. and other countries in the world. However, little attention has been given to commonalities and differences in self-disclosure among Asian countries. Supporting the findings of the cross-cultural studies done in the past, Muramoto (2003) argues that in discussing cultural differences, it is important to give attention to the "relationship" of the people rather than a category, such as "Americans", "Japanese", etc. Moreover, Takai (1999) criticizes the tendency of the field of psychology which tends to look at interpersonal behavior as a personality trait. According to Takai, Japanese people generally make much of the context where their communication is occurring rather than the content of communication itself. Therefore, if context is not taken into consideration in conducting a research on Japanese people's behavior, it will be impossible to examine Japanese cultural characteristics which underlie their behaviors.

Under these circumstances, the present researcher conducted a cross-cultural study on self-disclosure between Japanese and Korean office workers (Nakagawa, 2003). "Contexts of culture" focused in this study were Japan and Korea, and "context of situation" were hierarchical interpersonal relationships in the company and drinking situation as an occasion of self-disclosure. The reason why these two contexts were focused is that an extensive review of literature revealed that these two factors were important socio-cultural characteristics seen in both Japanese and Korean societies. The result of Study 1 suggested that statuses of the target persons of self-disclosure in the participants' companies, namely, superior, colleague and subordinate of same sex in a friendly relationship, and drinking situation had a great influence on the content and level of their self-disclosure.

A purpose of cross-cultural study in the field of psychology is to examine the process of influence which various socio-cultural factors have on psychological aspects and behavior of the people with different cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, understanding various phenomenon obtained only by a quantitative study is not desirable because such an approach is likely to oversimplify the issue concerned (Kikuchi, 1979). Following this

rationale, a purpose of the present study is to investigate the meanings of “self-disclosure”, “conversation with coworkers” and “drinking situation” for Japanese and Korean office workers.

2. Method

2-1. Participants and Research Method

There were 296 participants overall. Among these, 194 (120 men & 74 women) were Japanese office workers working for the Japanese companies in Japan and 102 (92 men and 10 women) were Korean office workers working for the Korean companies in Korea. The average ages of the Japanese and Korean participants were 36.49 ($SD=9.98$) and 33.08 ($SD=4.78$), respectively. They were the same participants who participated in Study 1 conducted by the present researcher (Nakagawa, 2003). In Study 2 the participants were asked to complete a sentence by adding some words to each of the following 3 incomplete sentences: Item 1) “For me, talking about myself is ...” Item 2) “For me, conversation with my coworker is ...” and Item 3) “For me, drinking situation is” Here, the participants could write more than 2 sentences for each item. The questionnaire was constructed in Japanese and translated into Korean for the Korean participants.

2-2. Data Analysis

About Item 1, 188 out of 194 Japanese participants (96.9%) answered while 96 out of 102 Korean participants (94.1%) did. About Item 2, 189 Japanese (97.4%) answered while 98 Koreans (96.1%) did. About Item 3, 190 Japanese (97.9%) answered while 99 Koreans (97.1%) did. Back-translation technique was conducted for the Korean participants’ responses and the data were analyzed by a content analysis method called “KJ method” (Kawakita, 1967). First, all the obtained responses were divided into a meaningful phrase, and each phrase was written on a separate card. Then, all the phrases were categorized into small groups with a similar meaning. If one person gave more than two responses with similar meanings, they were counted as one answer. The number of effective responses for each item was follows: (Item 1) <Japan> 282, <Korea> 94; (Item 2) <Japan> 338, <Korea> 103; and (Item 3) <Japan> 322, <Korea> 93. Finally, the small groups obtained through this process were categorized into larger groups. Two graduate students were asked to classify all the cards into the categories created by the present researcher. In order to check reliability of classification, Cohen’s Kappa (Cohen, 1960) was conducted (Table 1). The result was discussed by the two raters and the researcher, and necessary adjustment was made about the item whose Kappa was under .600 .

Table 1

	Japan	Korea
Item 1	.591	1.00
Item 2	.919	.855
Item 3	.588	.512

3. Results and Discussion

3-1. Item 1: Meaning of Self-disclosure (Figs. 1 & 2)

First of all, Derlega and Grzelak (1979) presented 5 functions of self-disclosure as follows: (1) expression, (2) self-clarification, (3) social validation, (4) relationship development and (5) social control. On the other hand, Enomoto (1997) presented 6 motives of self-disclosure: (1) consultation, (2) emotional release, (3) pursuit of intimacy, (4) pursuit of understanding and empathy and (5) release from anxiety.

As indicated in Fig. 1, in the Japanese case most responses were aggregated into the category called “Function and Purpose of Self-disclosure”. In the Korean case most responses were aggregated into “Function and Purpose of Self-disclosure” as well as “Emotion for Self-disclosure”. It is worth noting that such subcategories as “promoting understanding and empathy”, “emotional release” and “self-clarification” were obtained in both Japan and Korea, and these were consistent with the concepts presented by Derlega and Grzelak (1979) and Enomoto (1997). Over 60 % of the responses in both Japan and Korea were about “promoting understanding and empathy” and among them more than 50 % were about “receiving understanding from others”. Through these results it became clear that the participants of the present study regarded self-disclosure as a function of promoting understanding from others.

Ando (1986) argues that among the 5 functions of self-disclosure “expressing emotion”, “self-clarification” and “social validation” play important roles in the inner process of an individual, while “social control” and “function of adjusting intimacy and privacy” play important roles in the process of interpersonal relationships. Based on this concept, it follows that in the Japanese case about 30 % of the responses was related to the inner process of an individual, while the rest of 70 % is concerned with the process of interpersonal relationships. On the other hand, Fig. 2 indicated that in the Korean case

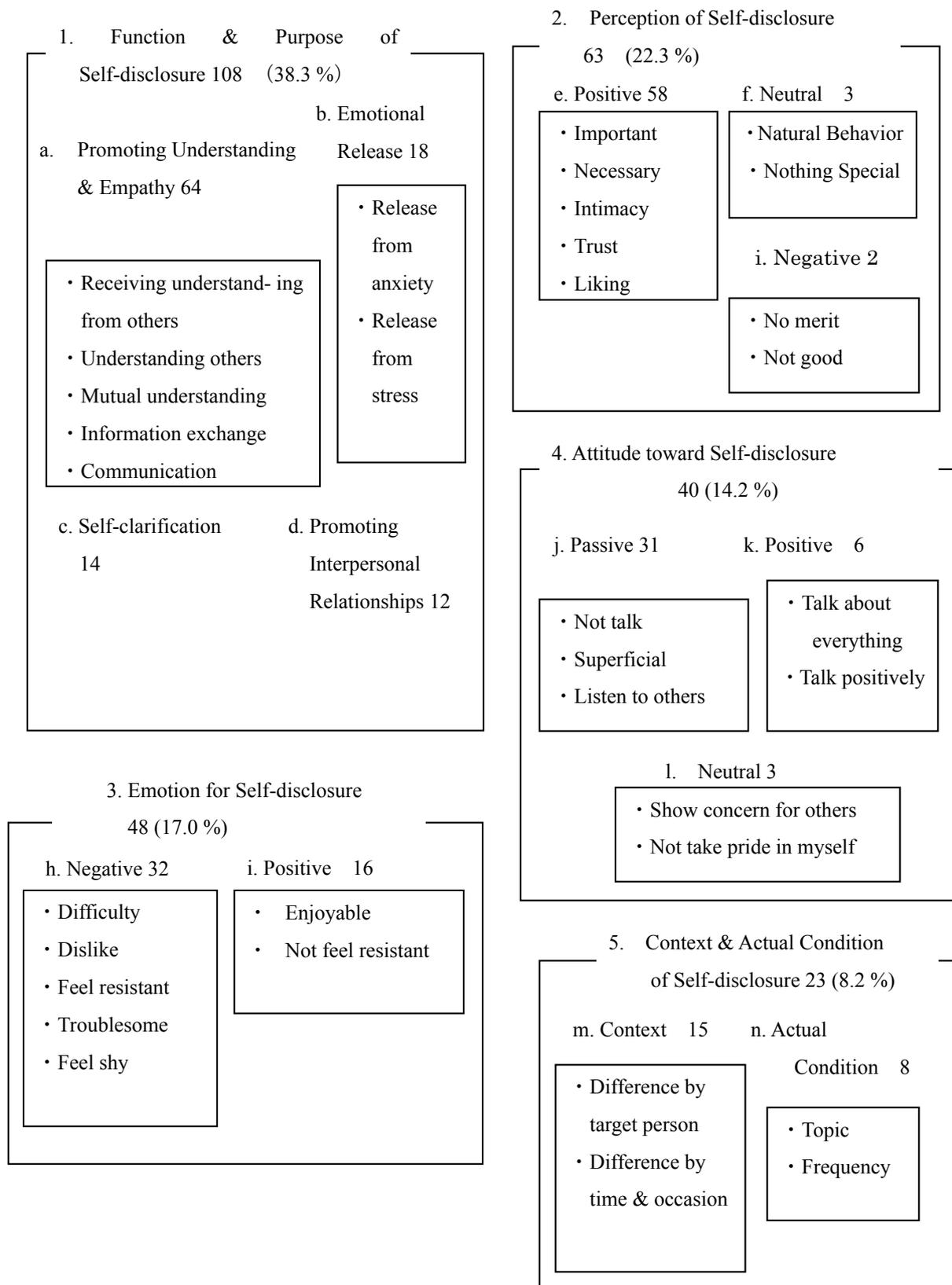
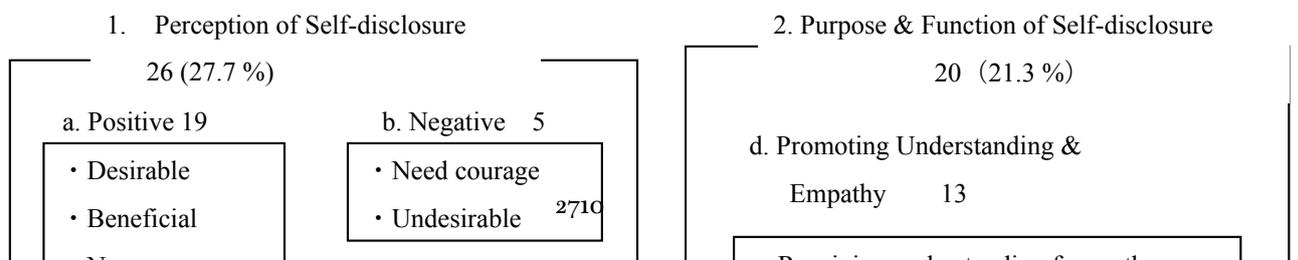


Fig. 1 : Result of Item 1 (Talking about Oneself) [Japan]



- Release from Anxiety
- Release from stress

4. Context & Actual Condition
of Self-disclosure 18 (19.1 %)

l. Actual Condition 11 m. Context 7

- Difference by target person
- Difference by time & occasion

about 35 % is related to the inner process of an individual, while the rest of 65 % is to the process of interpersonal relationships. From these results we can infer that on the whole

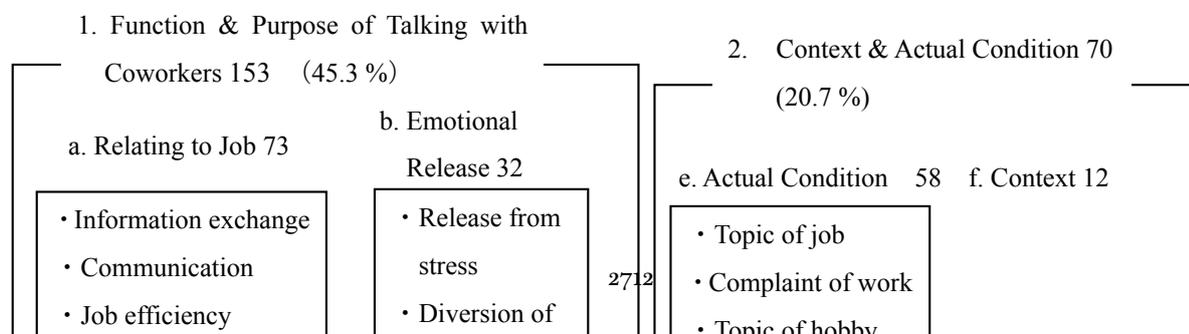
the participants in this study showed higher awareness of the interpersonal function of self-disclosure. The important point to note is that the responses concerning “promoting interpersonal relationships” appeared only in the Japanese case, and that the percentage of the subcategories which were related to the process of interpersonal relationships in Japan exceeded that of Korea. It follows from this that compared to the Korean participants, Japanese participants showed more concern for the function of interpersonal relationships in self-disclosure.

Concerning “Perception of Self-disclosure”, it became clear that both Japan and Korea had a positive perception of self-disclosure. To the contrary, a pattern for “Emotion for Self-disclosure” was opposite. In both Japan and Korea negative responses exceeded over 60% of the entire responses. Likewise, about “Attitude toward Self-disclosure” negative responses exceeded positive responses. These results lead to a conclusion that although the participants perceived self-disclosure positively, mostly they had a negative feeling and attitude for talking about themselves.

Finally, about “Context and Actual Condition of Self-disclosure” the Japanese participants gave more responses about “context”, while more responses about “actual condition” were given by the Korean counterparts. It was pointed out previously that the responses concerning “promoting interpersonal relationships” appeared only in the Japanese case. This result and the result that Japanese participants gave more responses about “context” seem to suggest that compared to the Koreans, Japanese people in this study had a stronger sense of interpersonal orientation and field-dependence.

3.2 Item 2: Meaning of Conversation with Fellow Workers (Figs. 3 & 4)

In both Japan and Korea, most responses were aggregated into “Function and Purpose”, and many of them belonged to the subcategory called “Relating to Job”. Because the participants were asked to imagine their coworkers as conversation partners, this result seems to be natural. One difference between Japan and Korea is that in the Japanese case responses concerning “Release from Stress” and “Diversion of Mind” occupied over 80% of the entire responses, but no such response was obtained from the Korean participants. On the other hand, in the Korean case all the responses consisted of “Soothing one’s troubled thoughts” and “Consulting one’s troubles”. On the other hand, there was no response about “Consulting one’s troubles” in the Japanese case. All these results made it



- Difference by conversation partner
- Difference by context & occasion
- After-five

- Do not complain
- Keeping same stance

h. Positive 10

- Talk about everything
- Listen & talk well

- Extension of work
 - No special meaning

1. Function & Purpose of Conversation

with Coworkers 25 (24.3 %)	
<p>a. Relating to Job 9</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information exchange • Job efficiency </div> <p>c. Emotional release 6 ²⁷¹³</p>	<p>b. Promoting interpersonal relationships 8</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual understanding • Constructing interpersonal Relationships • Friendship </div>

clear that conversation with coworkers had a catalysis function for the Japanese participants, while it had a counseling function for the Korean counterparts. Such functions as “Promoting Understanding and Empathy”, “Promoting Interpersonal Relationships” and “Emotional Release”, which were seen in the result of Item 1, also emerged here. Concerning “Perception of Conversation with Coworkers”, it became clear

that as seen in the result of Item 1, both Japanese and Korean participants had a positive perception. A similar pattern was seen in “Emotion for Self-disclosure”. To the contrary, concerning “Attitude toward Self-disclosure” about 70% of the Japanese responses and about 60% of the Korean responses showed negative attitude toward conversation with coworkers. Here, “Being Harmless” and “Being Formal” were key words. In addition, responses relating to “Being a good listener” emerged only from the Japanese participants. This result appear to reflect Ishii’s “*Enryo · Sasshi Model*” (Ishii, 1987). According to Ishii, when they talk, Japanese people adopt a communication style called “*Enryo* (being reserved)”, and when they listen to the other person, they use a style called “*Sasshi* (reading between the lines)”.

Finally, in “Context and Actual Condition” both Japanese and Koreans gave comments on job-related topics. Again, as conversation partners in this study were participants’ coworkers, this result seems to be quite natural. Another difference between Japan and Korea was reflected in the other topics they talked with their coworkers. For example, “health” and “love” were the topics pointed out only by the Japanese participants. On the other hand, “politics” was the topic pointed out only by the Korean participants. In Study 1, among the 7 topical categories, such as “Hobby and Tastes”, “Job”, “Family”, “Attitude and Opinions”, “Money” and “Body”, “Attitude and Opinion”, “Attitude and Opinion” including the topic of “politics” was the topical category talked about well by the Korean participants. The result of the present study supported the above finding of Study 1.

As one of the common points, both Japanese and Korean participants stated that their self-disclosure would change depending on the target person. Such key words as “friend”, “fellow” and “intimacy” emerged here. In Study 1, the levels of self-disclosure for 3 target persons in different rank in their work place were examined, and the total average obtained by 5 Likert type scale was not so high (Japan= 2.44, Korea =2.71)^{*1)}. It should be concluded, from what has been said above, that the participants understood the functions and importance of communicating with their coworkers and had a positive feeling when talking; however, even if they have a friendly relationship with their coworkers, they do not engage in a deep level of conversation with their partners.

3-3. Item 3: Meaning of Drinking Situation (Figs. 5 & 6)

As seen in the results of Items 1 & 2, most responses of both Japanese and Koreans were aggregated into “Function and Purpose”, and many of them belonged to the subcategory named “Emotional Release” which included “Release from stress”, “Diversion of mind”,

“Soothing one’s troubled thoughts”, etc. The result of the survey conducted by the Ministry of Labor of Japan indicated that 48% of the Japanese male subjects reported “drinking” as a way of releasing fatigue and stress (Hirao, 1993). However, an important point to note is that as seen in “release from stress” and “soothing one’s troubled thoughts”, besides the effect of alcohol, talking about oneself in a drinking situation has a function of counseling. In general, “money”, “personality” and “body” are regarded as the topics of high privacy. The result of Study 1 showed that the levels of self-disclosure about these private topics were higher in a drinking situation for all 3 target persons in their work place. It may be possible to say that the finding of the present study may help account for this result of Study 1.

Let us consider differences between Japan and Korea concerning “Function and Purpose of Drinking Situation”. First of all, concerning “Emotional Release”, some Japanese participants said, “A drinking situation gives me a chance to do anything. It also gives me the time for relaxation” or “I can express myself and my personality more freely in a drinking situation”. As one example of “Positive Attitude” in “Attitude toward Drinking”, the Japanese expression, “*bureiko* (being allowed to be rude)” emerged from the Japanese participants. This kind of response could not be seen in the Korean participants’ responses. On the other hand, a response, such as “We should observe manners even when drinking” was obtained only from the Korean participants.

Moreover, concerning “Promoting Understanding and Empathy” in “Function and Purpose of Drinking Situation”, the Japanese expression, “*honne*” emerged only from the Japanese participants’ responses, which occupied 34 % of the entire responses. “*Honne*” means “true feeling” and it indicates “our honest opinion or feeling which is usually hidden in daily life”. Some Japanese participants said, “In a sense, drinking situation is a place to open our mind”, or “It is an occasion where we can see privacy of our coworkers and their *honne*”. A point to note is that a similar response was not given by the Korean participants. The result of Study 1 showed a higher level of the Korean participants’ self-disclosure than the Japanese counterparts. Therefore, it was expected that the responses concerning “*honne*” would also emerge from the Korean participants, but it did

1. Function & Purpose of Drinking		2. Attitude toward Drinking	
167 (51.7 %)		58 (18.0 %)	
a. Emotional Release 66	b. Promoting Understanding & Empathy 64	f. Positive 32 • Liking • Enjoyable	g. Negative 26 • Painful • Disliking

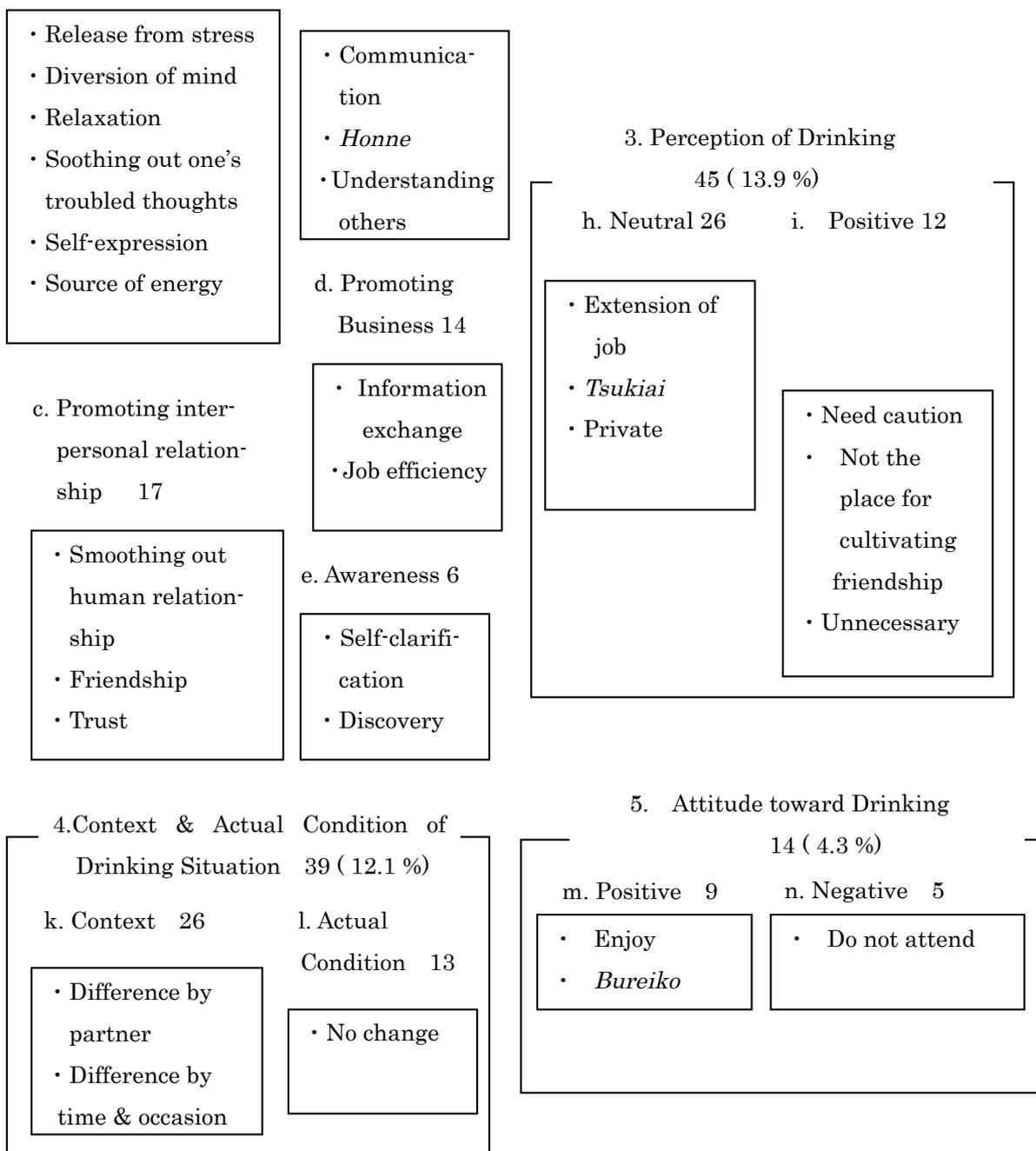
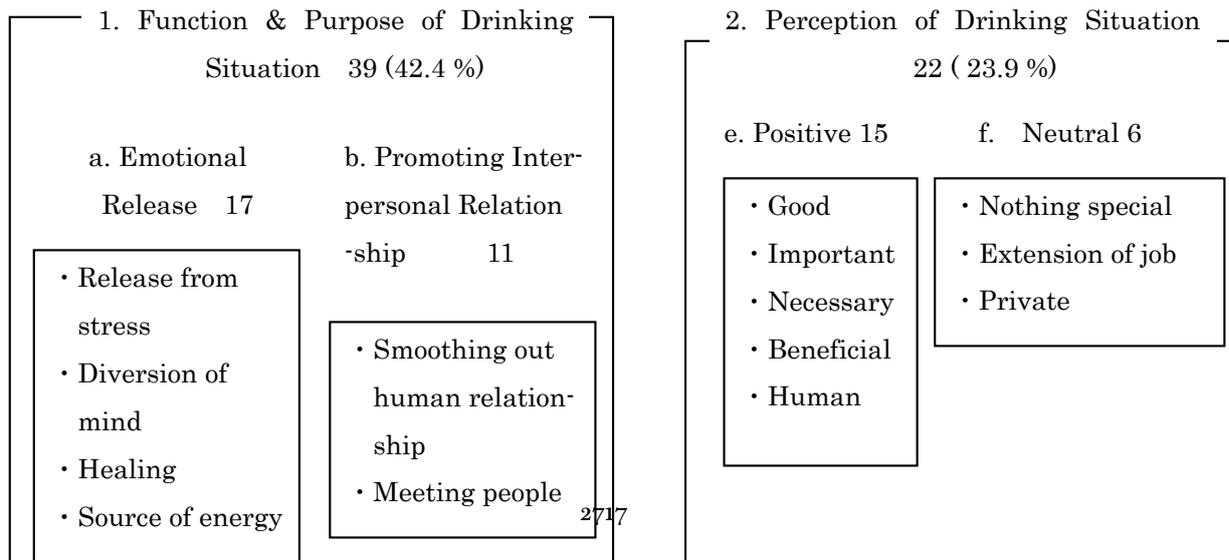


Fig. 5: Result of Item 3 (Meanings of Drinking Situation) (Japan)



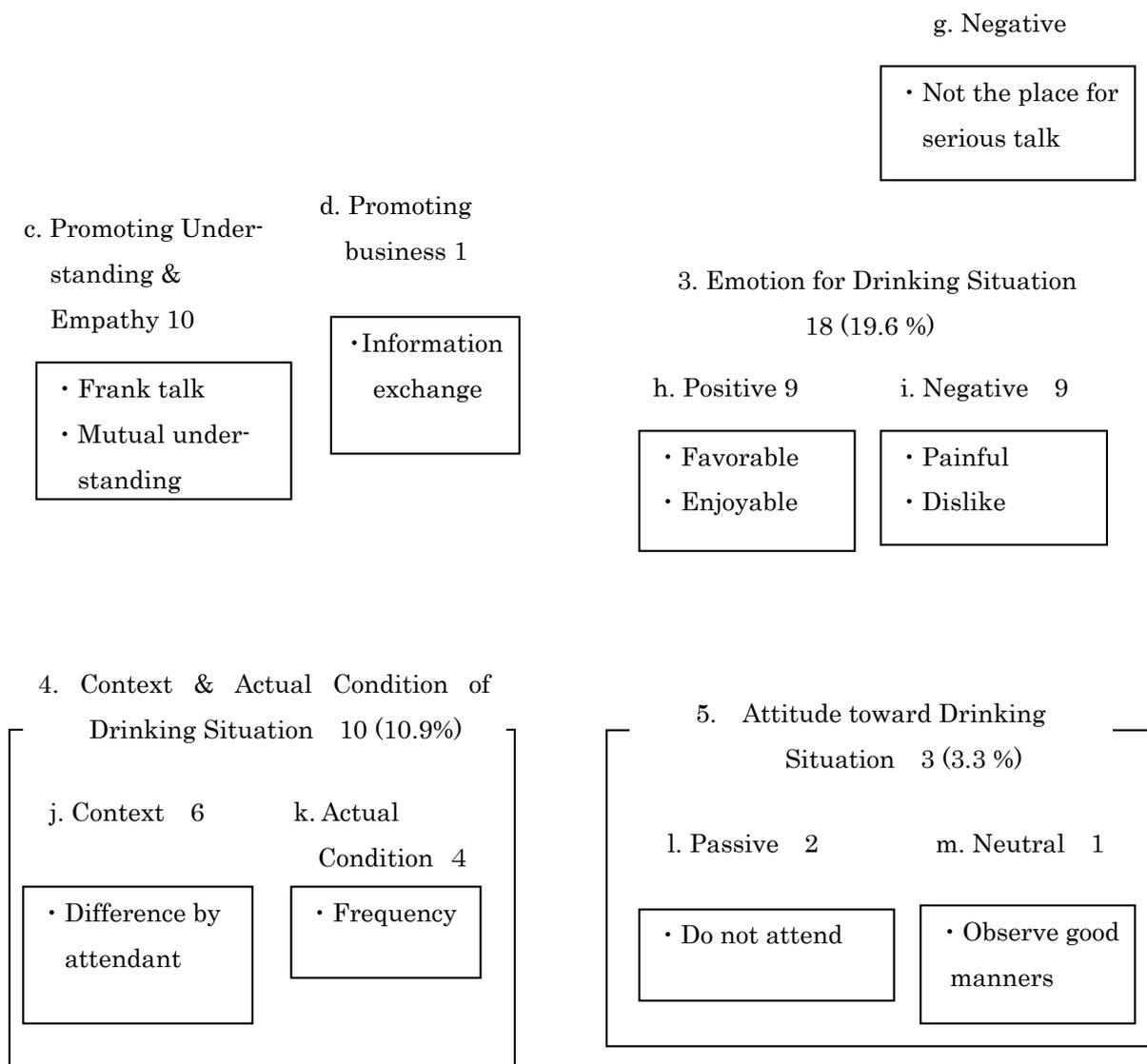


Fig. 6: Result of Item 3 (Drinking Situation) [Korea]

not. Concerning this, Osaki (1998) points out that Koreans, in general, depend highly on verbal expressions. He further argues that they are self-assertive, like debating and seeing things in black and white. There is a Japanese expression called “*tatemae* (external pretense). In Japan, “*honne*” and “*tatemae*” are often used as a set in daily conversation. “Song-Maum” and “Bon-Sim” are Hangul which are equivalent to “*honne*”, but it is said that there is no expression which is equivalent to “*tatemae*” in Hangul. For Koreans it is considered natural to express their opinions and feelings freely in public. Thus, “talking about one’s *honne*” means that he/she had hidden his/her true voice until then, which tends to give a negative image to their communication partner (J. Kim, personal communication,

Nov. 10, 2009).

It became clear from the result of Study 1 that for both Japanese and Koreans the level of self-disclosure was higher in a drinking situation and that in both drinking and non-drinking situations, the Koreans' levels of self-disclosure were significantly higher than those of the Japanese. From this result and the findings of the present study, it is possible to interpret that Koreans tend to depend on verbal communication more than Japanese. Hall (1976) presented the concepts of high context culture (HC) and low context culture (LC). Verbal communication and other explicit codes are more prevalent in LC cultures such as the United States and northern Europe. On the other hand people from HC cultures are more affected by contextual cues. According to Hall, both Japan and Korea belong to high context culture. However, from the result of this study it seems reasonable to say that the level of HC of the Korean participants was lower than that of the Japanese counterparts. Moreover, the fact that responses concerning "*honne*" were obtained only from the Japanese participants may mean that compared to the Korean participants, the impact of drinking situation which will give on verbal communication is greater for the Japanese participants.

Another difference between Japanese and Koreans was how they perceive drinking situation. In the category called "Perception of Drinking Situation" about 60% of the Japanese responses was neutral, while close to 70% of the Korean responses was positive. Also, 65% of the Japanese responses showed that the Japanese participants regarded drinking situation as "extension of work" or "*tsukiai* (obligatory occasion which office workers are encouraged to have with their coworkers after work)". There was only one similar response given by the Korean participant. From this result it follows that compared to the Koreans, the Japanese in this study regarded drinking situation as a more job-related event.

3-4. Examination of the Relationships between Levels of Drinking and Participants' Responses

In the present study 86.6% of the Japanese participants (168) and 98% of the Korean participants (100) reported that they had a chance to go out for drinking with their coworkers after work. For the demographic information the participants were asked to report their level of drinking by 4 Likert type scale, namely, "do not drink at all", "drink a little", "drink" and "drink a lot".

In the beginning, the relationship between the level of drinking and the participants' positive and/or negative responses obtained in "Perception of Drinking", "Attitude toward

Drinking” and “Emotion for Drinking” was examined. In the Japanese case, 60.4% of the participants who gave positive responses reported that they “drink” or “drink a lot”, while 61.1% of the participants who gave negative responses reported that they “drink a little” or “do not drink at all”. On the other hand, 60% of the Korean participants who gave positive responses reported that they “drink” or “drink a lot”, while 50.0% of the participants who gave negative responses reported that they “drink a little” or “do not drink at all”. From these results it became clear that the participants who drink to a certain extent showed a positive perception, attitude and feeling for drinking situation.

Next, the relationship between the level of drinking and the subcategory called “Emotional Release” obtained in “Function and Purpose of Drinking Situation” was examined. The result of the analysis showed that 89.4% of the Japanese participants who gave the responses concerning “Emotional Release” reported that they “drink a little” or “drink.” Also, all of the Korean participants who gave the responses concerning “Emotional Release” reported that they “drink a little” or “drink.” From these results it became clear that a moderate drinking would bring a catalysis effect.

4. Conclusions

The present study investigated meanings of “self-disclosure”, “conversation with coworkers in their workplace” and “drinking situation” for the Japanese and Korean office workers. As a result of the data analysis, such categories as “Function and Purpose”, “Perception”, “Emotion”, “Attitude” and “Context and Actual Condition” emerged in all three items asked in the questionnaire. As a commonality between Japan and Korea, the subcategories obtained in “Function and Purpose of Self-disclosure”, namely, “Promoting Understanding and Empathy”, “Emotional Release” and “Self-clarification” were consistent with the functions and motives of self-disclosure pointed out in the literature. In addition, it was found out that both Japanese and Koreans had a positive perception, a negative emotion and a negative attitude for talking about themselves. They had a positive perception, a positive emotion and a negative attitude for conversation with coworkers. Finally, common subcategories, such as “Promoting Understanding and Empathy”, “Emotional Release”, “Relating to Job” and “Promoting Interpersonal Relationships” emerged as function and purpose of drinking situation. They also had a positive perception of drinking situation. On the other hand, concerning “Function and Purpose of Self-disclosure”, such response as “Promoting Interpersonal Relationships” was obtained only from Japanese. Also, concerning “Context and Actual Condition”, the responses pointing out the relationship between self-disclosure and context were seen only in the Japanese case. From these results the possibility that Japanese are more

interpersonally-oriented and field dependent was suggested. The result of Study 1 done by the present researcher suggested that the Korean participant's level of self-disclosure was significantly higher than that of the Japanese counterparts, and in Study 2 the response relating to "honne" was found only in the Japanese case. From these results it was suggested that the Japanese people's level of high context is larger than that of the Koreans. About the topic of self-disclosure, "politics" was pointed out only by the Koreans, and this result supported the tendency seen in the result of Study 1. Finally, the analysis of the relationship between the participants' level of drinking and their responses revealed that a certain amount of drinking yielded positive responses from the participants, and a moderate amount of drinking brought them a catalysis effect. Miyahara (2002) pointed out that till now Japanese and Koreans had been categorized into the same category of "Asians", and their commonalties and differences in social behavior had not been clearly identified so far. It is hoped that the present study will serve a help to a better understanding of the characteristics of Japan and Korea, and more detailed cross-cultural studies will be conducted about the social behavior specifically of the people in Asian countries.

*Note:

1) Because of a small number of Korean female participants, only male data were analyzed in Study 1. However, the average scores of the entire participants were not high, either (Japan: 2.41, Korea: 2.68).

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Title:

Difference in Probabilistic Judgment Processes between Children and Adults

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Difference in Probabilistic Judgment Processes between Children and Adults

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Abstract

Few researchers have investigated the developmental processes of probabilistic judgment with a wide range of age groups. This study analyzes differences in the processes of probabilistic judgment between children and adults.

In this study, 22 kindergartners, 26 second-year elementary school students, 35 fifth-year elementary school students, 47 third-year junior high school students, and 47 university students in Japan answered the following question: “Taro and Hanako play at dice. They throw their own normal six-sided die. If Taro throws a one, he will win. If Hanako throws a six, she will win. Who is more likely to win when they throw a die, or is it the same?” The correct answer is the same.

The proportion of correct answers was 18%, 27%, 91%, 87%, and 100%, respectively. It generally increased with age, and the differences were significant between participants. Fewer kindergartners and second-year elementary school students answered correctly, while the proportion of correct answers reached approximately 100% by the fifth grade. Characteristic answers among the kindergartners and second-year elementary school students included “I thought it is the same since both of them (Taro and Hanako) just lost” and “Hanako is more likely to win because six is larger than one,” respectively.

Kindergartners and second-year elementary school students tend to judge the result on the basis of the results of actual dice-throwing and the number of dice, respectively, and not probability, while fifth-year elementary school students, third-year junior high school students, and university students can judge probabilistically. These results are consistent with Piaget and Inhelder’s study (1951/1975), that claimed that by age eleven or so, children understand the characteristics of probability systematically.

Keywords: Probabilistic judgment; Children; Adults; Cognitive processes; Development

1. Introduction

Piaget and Inhelder (1951/1975) reported the existence of the following three successive periods in the origin of the idea of chance in children:

During the first period, the pre-operational stage (up to approximately seven years of age), there is neither an idea of chance nor of probability. In the second period, the concrete operational stage (seven to eleven years), ideas appear in concrete operations. In the third period, the formal

operational stage (from eleven years), the idea becomes organized in formal operations.

Piaget and Inhelder (1951/1975) focused on clarifying the developmental processes of the idea of chance mainly in the first and second periods. Therefore, it is important to conduct studies to investigate the developmental processes of mental operations, which are essential to quantify probability, after the idea of probability is acquired at the formal operational stage.

Itoh (2009a) focused on the developmental processes of mental operations in the third period. She discovered that the attained level of mental operations to quantify probability differed between third-year junior high school and university students. She identified the developmental stages of the students' quantification operations for probability as follows:

Stage IA: Basic first-order quantification of probability

Stage IB: First-order quantification of probability with additive composition

Stage IIA: Basic second-order quantification of probability

Stage IIB: Second-order quantification of probability with additive composition

Stage IIIA: Quantification of basic conditional probability

Stage IIIB: Quantification of Bayesian conditional probability (p.263)

According to Itoh (2009a), many third-year junior high school students remain at stage IA, while many university students reach stage IIA.

One of the most active topics in recent researches on probabilistic reasoning is the rationality of human beings. Judgments under uncertainty had been believed to be rational (e.g., Phillips & Edwards, 1966). However, the view of humans' rationality has been reversed since the 1970s. Tversky and Kahneman (e.g., 1974), in research on judgment under uncertainty, introduced a major approach known as the heuristics-and-biases approach. According to this approach, predictions under uncertainty are often mediated by cognitive heuristics that violate the laws of probability such as Bayes' Theorem. Bayesian reasoning, using the theorem, is a kind of conditional probabilistic reasoning, which has been found to be extremely difficult even for adults. Many researchers have discussed how people make judgments under uncertainty. However, most of them appear to focus on adults' probabilistic reasoning, and there seem to be few researches conducted from a developmental perspective. In other words, it seems that few researchers have investigated the developmental processes of probabilistic judgment with a wide range of age groups.

This study, therefore, reveals how children and adults judge probability. Situations that are familiar to both adults and children are required to investigate the developmental processes of probabilistic judgment with a wide range of age groups. Thus, a situation where two children play with dice was used in this study. This is because not only adults but also young children appear to be familiar with dice.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Kindergartners, second-year elementary school students, fifth-year elementary school students, third-year junior high school students, and university students in Japan were chosen as participants to investigate the developmental processes of probabilistic judgment with a wide range of age groups. The participants included

22 kindergartners (mean age = 5 years 7 months, $SD = 7$ months), 26 second-year elementary school students (mean age = 8 years 0 months, $SD = 3$ months), 35 fifth-year elementary school students (mean age = 10 years 11 months, $SD = 3$ months), and 47 university students (mean age = 19.6 years, $SD = 3.2$ years) who responded to two problems—Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem (in a playing-with-dice situation) and Probability Conservation Problem (in a playing-with-lots situation)—as noted in section 2.2.

47 third-year junior high school students (mean age = 14.3 years, $SD = 0.5$ years) answered the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, while 44 third-year junior high school students (mean age = 14.3 years, $SD = 0.5$ years) answered the Probability Conservation Problem.

In Japan, students learn probability in the second year of junior high school¹. Therefore, in general, the kindergartners, second-year elementary school students, and fifth-year elementary school students had never learned probability as part of their formal education, while the third-year junior high school students and the university students had already learned it.

2.2. Problems

The results of the two problems are discussed in this study. One problem is the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem (in a playing-with-dice situation), while the other is the Probability Conservation Problem (in a playing-with-lots situation) (Itoh, 2009b). The problems were presented to the participants as parts of a series of reasoning problems. The results of the Probability Conservation Problem are referred to compare with those of the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem.

2.2.1. Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) problem (in a playing-with-dice situation)

The participants answered the following question:

“Taro and Hanako play at dice. They throw their own normal six-sided die. If Taro throws a one, he will win. If Hanako throws a six, she will win. Who is more likely to win when they throw a die, or is it the same?”

The correct answer is the same. The reason is $P(1) = P(6) = 1/6$, that is, the probability of getting each side is $1/6$ regardless of the number of die.

¹ The course of study for junior high school mathematics in the Education Ministry curriculum guidelines, retrieved on January 15, 2010, from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shuppan/sonota/990301/03122602/004.htm

2.2.2. Probability conservation problem (in a playing-with-lots situation)

The participants answered the following question (Itoh, 2009b):

“Taro and Hanako are to draw lots. Taro has a bag that contains one large winning chip and two large losing chips. (The size of Taro’s chips is the same.) Hanako has a bag that contains one small winning chip and two small losing chips. (The size of Hanako’s chips is the same.) Who is more likely to draw a winning chip, or is it the same?”

The correct answer is the same. The reason is that although the size of the chips differed between Taro’s and Hanako’s bags, the chip size is an irrelevant factor to the probabilistic judgment in this situation. In other words, the chip size has no effect on the probability of drawing a winning chip.

2.3. Procedure

A series of probability problems were presented to the kindergartners, the second-year elementary school students, and the fifth-year elementary school students in a survey interview, and to the third-year junior high school students and the university students in a written format. They were instructed to answer questions.

3. Results

In the following sections, the responses of more than one participant from at least one age group are discussed.

3.1. Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem (in a Playing-with-Dice Situation)

The proportion of correct answers was 18%, 27%, 91%, 87%, and 100%, respectively (Table 1). It generally increased with age, and the differences were significant between participants, $\chi^2(4, N = 177) = 91.92, p = .00$. Fewer kindergartners and second-year elementary school students answered correctly, while more fifth-year elementary school students, third-year junior high school students, and university students answered correctly, $p < .05$.

The most frequent wrong response type among the kindergartners was “others”; the second one was “actual trial.” This response is based on the results of actual dice-throwing, which was based on the reasoning that “I thought it is the same since both of them (Taro and Hanako) just lost.”

The most frequent wrong response type among the second-year elementary school students was “number of dice.” It is a response that is based on the number of dice. It included “Hanako is more likely to win because six is larger than one” and “Taro is more likely to win because one is the first number.” The second most frequent wrong response type among the second-year elementary school students was the “actual trial.” It included “I threw a two in throwing the die at first, and the two is closer to the one; so, Taro is more likely to win.”

The most frequent response type among the fifth-year elementary school students and

third-year junior high school students was the correct answer. The proportion of correct answers reached approximately 100% by the fifth grade; all the university students answered correctly.

Other response types that have not been mentioned above are explained as follows:

Three second-year elementary school students answered on the basis of the features of the dice, which included the reasoning that “Hanako is more likely to win because the side of a one is red. Its color is different from that of the other sides because the other sides are black. So, it is easy to find the side of a one. The die thinks that it is red, and it is able to stop rolling.”

Two kindergartners and one second-year elementary school student answered on the basis of the features of the throwers. It included “Taro is more likely to win because he is a boy” (a kindergartner) and “Taro is more likely to win because he is a boy and powerful.” (a second-year elementary school student)

Two kindergartners, one second-year elementary school student, and one fifth-year elementary school student appeared to have guessed the result. For example, one kindergartner judged that “Taro is more likely to win” but could not explain the reason behind this judgment.

Table 1

Distribution of Response Types in Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem *N (%)

	Kindergart- ners	Second-year elementary school students	Fifth-year elementary school students	Third-year junior high school students	University students
Correct (“The same”)	4(18)	7(27)	32(91)	41(87)	47(100)
Number of dice	2(9)	7(27)	2(6)	0(0)	0(0)
Features of dice	0(0)	3(12)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Features of throwers	2(9)	1(4)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Guess	2(9)	1(4)	1(3)	4(9)	0(0)
Actual trial	4(18)	6(23)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Others	5(23)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
“I don’t know,” No answers	3(14)	1(4)	0(0)	2(4)	0(0)
Sum	22(100)	26(100)	35(100)	47(100)	47(100)

3.2. Probability Conservation Problem (in a Playing-with-Lots Situation)

In this section, the results of the Probability Conservation Problem are compared with those of the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem. The data, excluding that of the university students, are derived from Itoh (2009b).

The proportion of correct answers was 18%, 35%, 74%, 84%, and 98%, respectively (Table 2). It increased with age, and the differences were significant between participants, $\chi^2(4, N = 174) = 65.63, p = .00$. Fewer kindergartners and second-year elementary school students answered correctly, while more third-year junior high school students and university students answered correctly, $p < .05$.

The most frequent wrong response types among kindergartners were “others” and “size of chips.” The “size of chips” is a response based on the chip size. It included “Taro is more likely to draw a winning chip because his winning chip is larger.”

The most frequent wrong response type among the second-year elementary school students was the “size of chips.”

The most frequent response type among the fifth-year elementary school students, third-year junior high school students, and university students was the correct answer.

Other response types that have not been mentioned above are explained as follows:

Two kindergartners, two second-year elementary school students, and one fifth-year elementary school student answered on the basis of the features of the drawers, that is, the features of the persons who drew a chip from the bag. It included “Both Taro and Hanako because both of them look wise” and “Taro because Hanako is a crybaby.” As these examples illustrate, the features of the drawers are sometimes not mentioned in the problem and are often imagined by children.

Table 2

Distribution of Response Types in Probability Conservation Problem *N (%)

	Kindergartners	Second-year elementary school students	Fifth-year elementary school students	Third-year junior high school students	University students
Correct (“The same”)	4(18)	9(35)	26(74)	37(84)	46(98)
Size of chips	8(36)	15(58)	8(23)	2(5)	0(0)
Features of drawers	2(9)	2(8)	1(3)	0(0)	0(0)
Others	8(36)	0(0)	0(0)	5(11)	1(2)
Sum	22(100)	26(100)	35(100)	44(100)	47(100)

Note. The number and percentage of responses, excluding that of the university students, are from “Developmental study on principle of conservation: Conservation of probability,” by T. Itoh, 2009b, *Proceedings of the poster session presented at the 20th annual meeting of the Japan Society of Developmental Psychology*, p.618.

3.3. Cross Analysis between Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem and Probability Conservation Problem

With regard to the kindergartners, the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, 18% (4 out of 22), was not significantly different from the proportion of correct answers for the Probability Conservation Problem, 18% (4 out of 22), $p = 1.00$ (Table 3).

Table 3

*Cross Analysis between Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem and Probability Conservation Problem (Kindergartners) *N*

		Probability Conservation Problem		
		Correct ("The same")	Wrong	Sum
Comparison-of-P(1) -and-P(6) Problem	Correct ("The same")	3	1	4
	Wrong	1	17	18
	Sum	4	18	22

With regard to the second-year elementary school students, the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, 27% (7 out of 26), was not significantly different from the proportion of correct answers for the Probability Conservation Problem, 35% (9 out of 26), $p = .69$ (Table 4).

Further, 71% (5 out of 7) of the second-year elementary school students who answered on the basis of the number of dice in the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem responded on the basis of the chip size in the Probability Conservation Problem.

In other words, they answered on the basis of factors irrelevant to probabilistic judgment—the appearance of dice and chips in both problems.

Table 4

*Cross Analysis between Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem and Probability Conservation Problem (Second-year Elementary School Students) *N*

		Probability Conservation Problem		
		Correct ("The same")	Wrong	Sum
Comparison-of-P(1) -and-P(6) Problem	Correct ("The same")	5	2	7
	Wrong	4	15	19
	Sum	9	17	26

With regard to the fifth-year elementary school students, the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, 91% (32 out of 35), was not significantly different from the proportion of correct answers for the Probability Conservation Problem, 74% (26 out of

35), $p = .07$ (Table 5).

Table 5

*Cross Analysis between Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem and Probability Conservation Problem (Fifth-year Elementary School Students) *N*

		Probability Conservation Problem		
		Correct ("The same")	Wrong	Sum
Comparison-of-P(1) -and-P(6) Problem	Correct ("The same")	25	7	32
	Wrong	1	2	3
	Sum	26	9	35

With regard to the third-year junior high school students, the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, 87% (41 out of 47), was not significantly different from the proportion of correct answers for the Probability Conservation Problem, 84% (37 out of 44), $\chi^2(1, N = 91) = 0.18, p = .67$ (Table 6).

Table 6

*Cross Analysis between Problems and the Correct-wrong (Third-year Junior High School Students) *N*

		Correct-wrong		
		Correct ("The same")	Wrong	Sum
Problems	Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem	41	6	47
	Probability Conservation Problem	37	7	44
	Sum	78	13	91

With regard to the university students, the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, 100% (47 out of 47), was not significantly different from the proportion of correct answers for the Probability Conservation Problem, 98% (46 out of 47), $p = 1.00$ (Table 7).

Table 7

*Cross Analysis between Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem and Probability Conservation Problem (University Students) *N*

		Probability Conservation Problem		
		Correct ("The same")	Wrong	Sum
Comparison-of-P(1) -and-P(6) Problem	Correct ("The same")	46	1	47
	Wrong	0	0	0
	Sum	46	1	47

4. Discussion

4.1. Correct Answers

The proportion of correct answers generally increased with age in the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem. This demonstrates that the same probabilistic problem does not always pose the same difficulty for children and adults. The difficulty of a problem depends on the age—cognitive development of the participants. In addition, the results indicating that the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem was not significantly different from the proportion of correct answers for the Probability Conservation Problem in all age groups reveal that the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem is as difficult as the Probability Conservation Problem.

4.2. Features of Processes of Probabilistic Judgment

4.2.1. Kindergartners

The most frequent wrong response type among the kindergartners was the “others,” responses that appeared in the case of one participant in the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem. However, no “others” appeared in the case of the second-year elementary school students, fifth-year elementary school students, third-year junior high school students, or university students. This suggests that responses among young children tend to be chaotic and diverse, but such responses converge into the correct answers as age increases. In addition, the second most frequent wrong response type among the kindergartners was the “actual trial.” It suggests that although they are required to judge the probability (likelihood) that events will happen in the future, they tend to judge them on the basis of observed experiences that happened in the past and not on the basis of probability. Judgment based on actual trials is not probabilistic because probability is a possibility that something “will” happen.

4.2.2. Second-year elementary school students

The most frequent wrong response type among second-year elementary school students was the “number of dice.” It shows that second-year elementary school students tend to judge on the basis of factors irrelevant to probabilistic judgment—the appearance. The results suggest that children around this age begin to judge probability (likelihood). However, the fact that the second most frequent wrong response type among second-year elementary school students was the “actual trial” suggests that their probabilistic judgment is still primitive and incomplete.

4.2.3. Fifth-year elementary school students

The most frequent response type among fifth-year elementary school students was the correct answer. The proportion of correct answers reached approximately 100% by the fifth grade. This suggests that children around this age can judge probability in simple situations. The results are consistent with Piaget and Inhelder’s study (1951/1975), that claimed that by age eleven or so,

children understand the characteristics of probability systematically.

4.2.4. Third-year junior high school students

The most frequent response type among third-year junior high school students was the correct answer. The proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, 87%, was not significantly different from 72%, the proportion of correct answer for P(2) problem (Itoh, 2009a), where the probability of getting a two in dice-throwing situations is to be judged, $\chi^2(1, N = 79) = 2.92, p = .09$. In other words, the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem is consistent with that of P(2) problem, where the quantification of probability, $P = 1/6$, is directly required.

4.2.5. University students

The most frequent response type among university students was the correct answer because all the university students answered correctly. The proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem, 100%, was not significantly different from 98%, the proportion of correct answer for the P(2) problem (Itoh, 2009a), $p = 1.00$. In other words, the proportion of correct answers for the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem is consistent with that of the P(2) problem, where quantification of probability, $P = 1/6$, is required directly.

Although there were not many differences in the results of the Comparison-of-P(1)-and-P(6) Problem between the third-year junior high school students and university students, the attained level of mental operations to quantify probability differs between third-year junior high school students and university students (Itoh, 2009a) as noted in the introduction.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the processes of probabilistic judgment differed between young children and adults. Responses among young children tend to be chaotic and diverse, but such responses converge into the correct answers as age increases. Kindergartners and second-year elementary school students tend to judge on the basis of the results of the actual dice-throwing and the number of dice, respectively, not probability, while the fifth-year elementary school students, third-year junior high school students, and university students can judge probabilistically.

Most of the recent researches on probabilistic reasoning appear to focus on adults' cognitive processes, and there seem to be few researches conducted from a developmental perspective. This study suggests the importance of a developmental perspective in researches on probabilistic judgment. Developmental studies may illuminate the fundamental properties of cognitive processes in probabilistic judgment.

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Mapping the Geographical Distribution of Duanfen Markets

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Sociology and Geography

Mapping the Geographical Distribution of Duanfen Markets

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Introduction

This essay is originated from the study on the vernacular architecture in South China. However, a cross-disciplinary approach composed of spatial studies (architecture, urban morphology, and geography) and anthropological studies (society, culture, and economy) is adopted. Buildings compose the urban fabric of a settlement, and the settlements further form the urban geographical pattern of a region. Any ordering structure on these levels of space, if existing, is the reorganization of environment according to the social, cultural, and economic forms of the people. This study intends to search for the spatial order on geographical level and its transformation in response to the changes in human organizations.

Urban morphology emphasizes the form of market in terms of its urban fabric (market layout). Nitz discusses on the distribution of different types of market place and town in terms of layout in East-Central Europe.¹ This approach also regards market as an origin of town. Conzen accounts one of the pre-urban nucleus forms of the Havel towns in Germany as rural farmers' market sites, developed gradually with the trade and agricultural activity of their population, exhibited no sharp outer boundary.²

On the other hand, anthropologist Skinner is interested in the distribution of markets and the patterning of marketing behavior. Specialized in the rural marketing in China, he states that marketing structures inevitably shape local social organization and provide one of the crucial modes for integrating myriad peasant communities into the single social system. (Skinner 1964, 6) Applying Christaller's economic geographical approach regarding market as central place, he also assumes that the economic function of a settlement is consistently associated with its position in marketing systems which are themselves arranged in a regular hierarchy. (Skinner 1964, 8-9) Based on Skinner, Baker further regards market as a locus for rural lineages by linking up the spatial hierarchy of marketing system with the social structure of extended kinship organizations.³ Following all these approaches, "rural market", usually as the core of a town surrounded by villages, is defined as a spatial form in terms of its distribution (marketing system), fabric (market layout), and architecture (market building) representing the social and economic structures.

This essay, by mapping the geographical distribution of markets before 1940s, aims at understanding how the rural markets in Duanfen were founded during the period when the state gave way to civil power to dominate the economic order and town planning in the rural part of South China. The focus

¹ The two types of market place constituting the town layout as discussed by Nitz are a market street as its axis, and a grid plan or chequerboard plan with a central market place. (2001, 81)

² Another origin of the Havel towns stated by Conzen is the local lord putting his castle precinct at the disposal of church. (2004, 84)

³ See, "therefore, we should expect that the strongest lineages would have been found at the lower end of the rural-urban continuum, that is, at the level of the village and the standard marketing community. ... It is above the level of the standard marketing community that we are likely to find the higher-order lineage and the clan." (Baker 1997, 509)

is to understand the founding of markets in different periods and locations which reflects the competition between the clans.

The findings upon the study can be categorized into two main aspects. Firstly, the decline of some original markets during the modern times is found, mainly due to the development of infrastructures. Secondly, a deeper understanding of the factors behind the distribution of markets is obtained. Other than the natural geography, economy, and transportation usually recognized, the “order of distance” maintained by clanship power in association with local government in Qing period was found to be also influential to the micro-distribution of markets.

Methodology

This essay in general employs Skinner’s method of market mapping developed from Christaller’s Central Place Theory. Each town is regarded as a central place with similar accessibility with its neighbours; hence travelling distance forms the most crucial factor of market locations. Any point with closer distance from a market than another falls within its “marketing area”. (Skinner 1964, 1965a, 1965b) However, minor population occupying such hilly regions is assumed. Therefore, after setting the extent of study as Duanfen, regions with altitude higher than 50m PD are excluded due to the density of villages there dropping substantially. With the use of “marketing area”, the changes in power among the clans in the region can be quantified. This forms an objective tool to understand the reasons behind the distribution of markets.

Such mapping in different periods is carried out in order to understand the changing economic and urban structures through time since the 17th century (Qing Dynasty), Republican period, until 1940s (Japanese Occupation and the later Communist period). However, the search for market hierarchy from central market, intermediate market, standard market, to minor markets emphasized by Skinner (1964, 1965a, 1965b) is out of the scope of this study. As the focus is the dynamic evolution of the marketing areas through time, this study starts with assuming all markets on the same level.

Geography of Duanfen

The current Duanfen Town, Taishan County Level City, Guangdong Province in South China is set as the geographical extent of this study. Duanfen is often mentioned in different local records as a town with high density of markets, that is 11 markets in 149km², during the Republican period.⁴ It shares many typical characteristics of the Siyi Region.

Regarding natural geography, Duanfen is surrounded by hilly areas mainly at its north, west, and south. Two valleys of Duanfen River and Datong River run in south-north and east-west directions respectively. Regarding water transportation, the rivers exit its southeast boundary and further link to the nearby South China Sea. Highway systems were built throughout the town during the Republican period, and Sunning Railway with the closest station Doushan at its eastern neighbouring town was also built to link up Duanfen with northern part of Taishan County. Regarding the population, according to the map of ROC, the density of villages matched with the distribution of markets. The density of villages in the areas far from the markets was obviously sparse. Most of the villages have been resided by clans of a single surname. Among these clans, the Meis and the Chens share about 1/5 and 1/9 of the total population of Duanfen respectively.

⁴ Like other regions in South China, the markets in Duanfen are called “xu 墟”, “shi 市”, or “bu 埠” in Chinese.

RANKS	SURNAMES	POPULATION	MARKETS OWNED	REMARKS
1	MEI梅	10442	SHANDI XU 山底墟 HAIKOU BU 海口埠 TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	
2	CHEN□	6610	SHANGJE XU 上□墟	
3	HUANG□	3894	DUNZHAI XU □寨墟	
4	LIANG梁	3740	XIKUO XU 西廓墟	
5	LAI黎	3580	NIL	
6	YUAN阮	3579	TANGTOU SHI 塘□市 DATONG SHI 大同市	
7	WU伍	2871	CHENGWU SHI 成□市	
8	LEI李	1676	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
9	JIANG江	1518	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
10	QIU丘	1283	NATAI SHI 那泰市	
11	WENG翁	1260	MIAOBIAN XU □□墟	
12	LIU□	1120	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
13	CAO曹	1101	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
...				
18	TAN□	707	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
...				
27	WEN温	364	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
...				
33	LIN林	234	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
...				
48	XU□	99	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET
...				
51	OU□	80	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MINOR SHAREHOLDER OF MARKET

Table 1. Population of different surnames in Duanfen (based on the census by Duanfen Town Government in 2000).⁵

Note: Total population of Duanfen Town = 50200.



Figure 1. Location of Siyi Region.

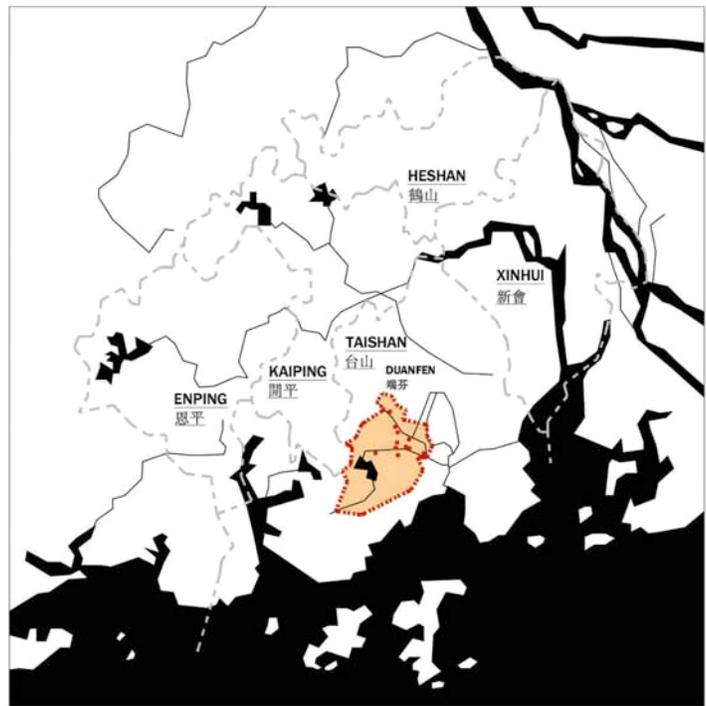


Figure 2. Location of Duanfen.

⁵ The data are recorded in the unpublished manuscripts of *Duanfen Zhen Zhi* [The Records of Duanfen Town] (2003).

	MARKETS	FOUNDING CLANS	FOUNDING YEARS	ADJOINING RIVER (SUFFICIENTLY WIDE & W/ PIER FOR WATER TRANSPORTATION)	CENTRAL SQUARE LAYOUT (STREET-FRONT TYPE OF MOST BUILDINGS)	LINEAR STREET LAYOUT (STREET-FRONT TYPE OF MOST BUILDINGS)	EXISTING MARKET CANOPY IN SQUARE	ORTHOGONAL LAYOUT
a	SHANGJE XU 上□墟	CHEN□	BEFORE 1545 (MING)	NO	YES (ROC QILOU)	YES (PRC QILOU)	YES	NO
b	SHANDI XU 山底墟	MEI梅	1771 (QING)	YES	YES (ROC NON-QILOU)	YES (ROC QILOU)	NO	YES
c	XIKUO XU 西廓墟	LIANG梁	1820 (QING)	YES	YES (ROC QILOU)	YES (ROC QILOU)	NO	YES
d	HAIKOU BU 海口埠	MEI梅	1851 (QING) - 1855 (QING)	YES	NO	YES (ROC QILOU)	NO	YES
e	DUNZHAI XU □寨墟	HUANG□	1882 (QING)	YES	YES (ROC QILOU)	YES (PRC NON-QILOU)	YES	YES
f	NATAI SHI 那泰市	QIU丘	BEFORE 1893 (QING)	NO	NO	YES (PRC NON-QILOU)	NO	NO
g	TANGTOU SHI 塘□市	YUAN阮	BEFORE 1893 (QING)	NO	NO	YES (PRC NON-QILOU)	NO	NO
h	MIAOBIAN XU □□墟	WENG翁	1908(QING)	NO	YES (ROC QILOU)	YES (PRC QILOU)	YES	YES
i	CHENGWU SHI 成□市	WU伍	1893 (QING) - 1922 (ROC)	NO	YES (ROC QILOU)	YES (ROC QILOU)	NO	YES
j	DATONG SHI 大同市	YUAN阮 & OTHERS	1922 (ROC)	YES	YES (ROC QILOU)	YES (ROC QILOU)	NO	YES
k	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	MEI梅 & OTHERS	1932 (ROC)	YES	YES (ROC QILOU)	NO	NO	YES

Table 2. Summary of Duanfen Markets.

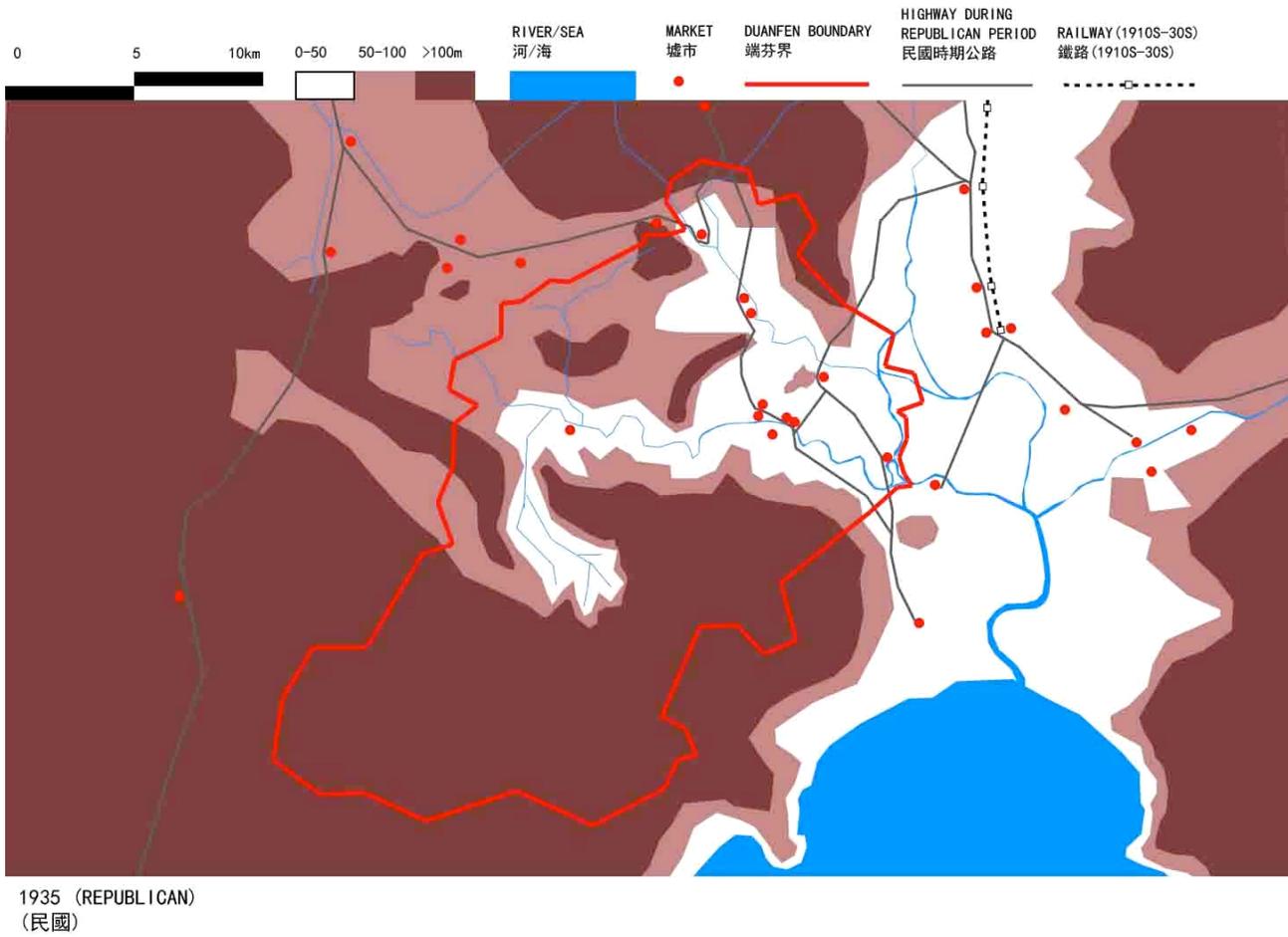


Figure 3. Geography of Duanfen.

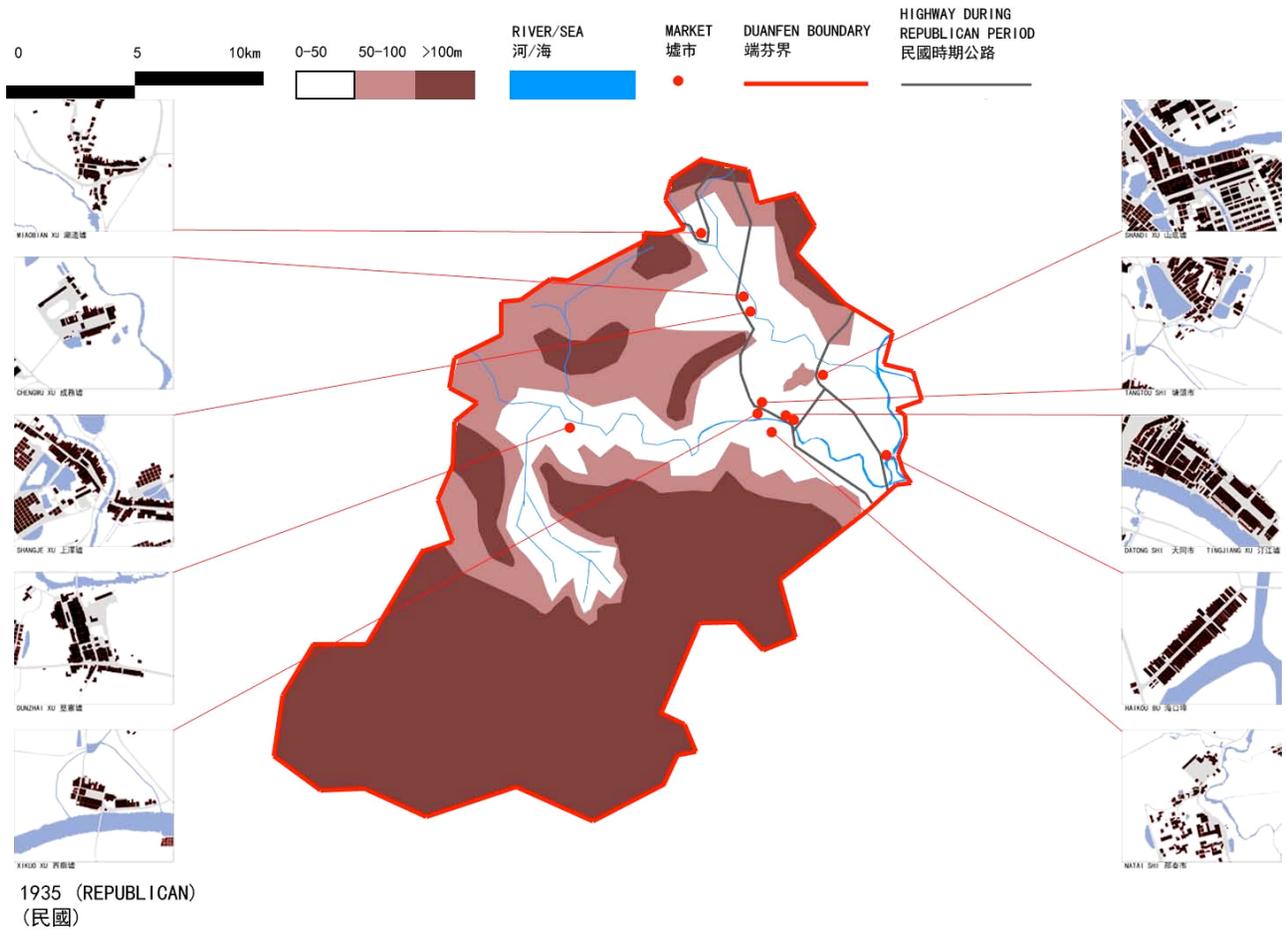
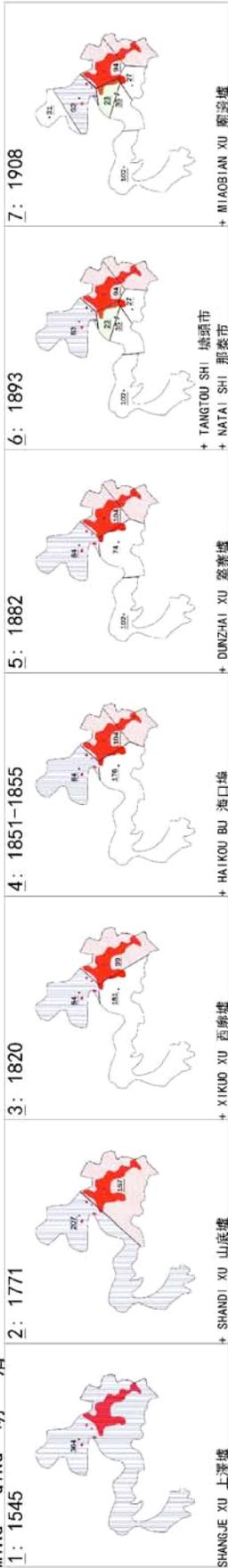


Figure 4. Layouts and locations of Duanfen markets during the Republican period.

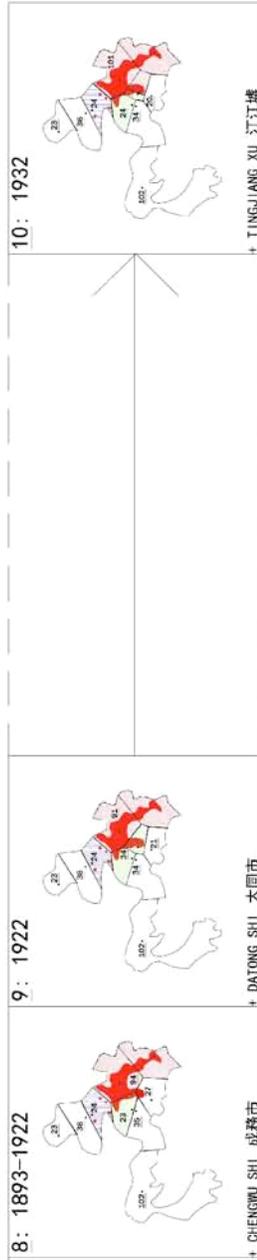
TRANSFORMATION OF THE MARKETING AREAS IN DUANFEN 端芬市場區域之演變

MING - QING 明 - 清

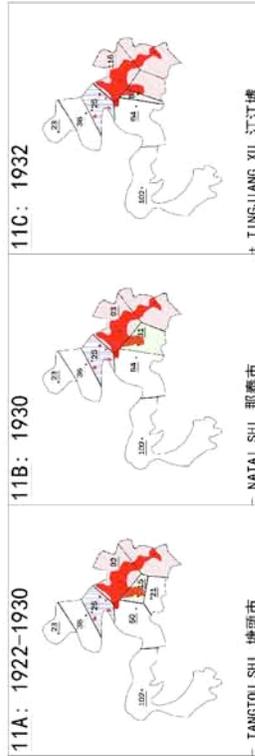


REPUBLICAN 民國

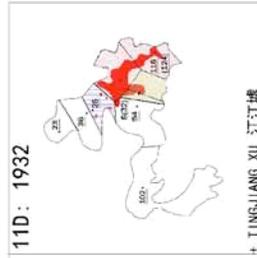
ASSUMING NO DELCINE OF MARKET
假設無墟市衰落



ASSUMING DELCINE OF SOME MARKETS
假設部份墟市衰落



ASSUMING SHARED MARKETING AREA OF TWIN-MARKET & DELCINE OF SOME MARKETS
假設雙墟市共享市場區域及部份墟市衰落



118 MARKETING AREA OF A CLAN (SQ. KM.) 全族市場區域面積 (平方公里)

1246 MARKETING AREA OF A CLAN (INCLUDING SHARED AREA) (SQ. KM.)
全族市場區域面積 (包括共享區域) (平方公里)

WEI'S MARKETING AREA 梅族市場區域

CHENS' MARKETING AREA 陳族市場區域

YUANS' MARKETING AREA 阮族市場區域

SHARED MARKETING AREA MEI & YUNA CLANS 梅阮兩族共享市場區域

WEI'S SETTLEMENTS 梅族聚落

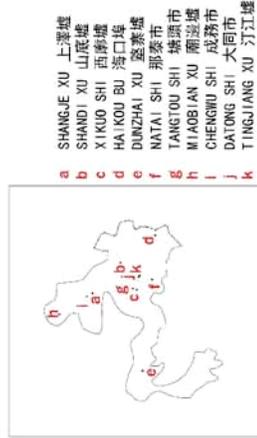


Figure 5. Transformation of the marketing areas in Duanfen.

Transformation of the Geographical Distribution of Markets⁶

1. Shangje Xu of Chens founded before 1545

This essay assumes that Shangje Xu was founded before 1545 (Ming Dynasty).⁷ The founder was Chen clan, who is the currently second largest surname in the town. It is assumed that the Chens were also one of the several largest surnames in the 16th century. It is estimated that the market was located close to the existing Chens' villages at that time.

2. Shandi Xu of Meis founded in 1771

Shandi Xu is currently the town centre of Duanfen where the government is located. The founder was Mei clan, and their earliest recorded ancestor was Mei Yunqing, who first came to Duanfen in the 14th century (Ming Dynasty). As he and some of his descendants were the regional officials of Ming or Qing dynasties, it is believed that Mei clan has been quite powerful and prosperous in Duanfen since then. It is currently the largest surname in Duanfen. Since Mei Yongqing's residence in Fengshan (the mount next to Shandi Xu) in 1372, this area became the base of Mei clan where their villages, ancestral halls, and graves were built. From this base they have further spread with villages, ancestral halls, and graves spanning over the region among the current Shandi Xu, Haikou Bu, Tangtou Shi, and Shangje Xu. Possibly the Meis have already been the strongest clan of Duanfen overwhelming the Chens since the 17th century, so they tried to found a new market after Chen clan. This might also have resulted in the conflict with the Chens.

There was a local rumour that the first market of Mei clan was originally called Jangshan Xu and was planned near Shangje Xu of Chens. However, for some reasons, it was relocated to the current Shandi Xu further southeast and closer to the clan's base in 1771. Local resident Mei Youchun (1983, 62) says that such relocation was due to fengshui reason, but Mei Yimin (1984, 71) says that this was because of the expulsion by Chen clan.⁸ Shangje Xu residents Wu Bingwang and Mei Changzhi, and Shandi Xu-born local historian Mei Weichang further say that this was because of the Chens' complaint to the local government.⁹ The original intention of establishing Jiangshan Xu closer to the existing Shangje Xu rather than the base villages of Meis can be interpreted as utilization of the existing economic demand and network. However, the later change of location of market to Shandi Xu closer to the clan's centre of origin was due to cultural factor rather than economic factor.

Regarding the change of marketing area and clanship power, the founding of Shandi Xu took over almost half of the original Chen's marketing area (43%), concentrating at the lower courses of

⁶ Numbering of sub-headings under this heading follows the numbering of diagrams in Figure 5.

⁷ Shangje Xu was recorded in *Xinning Xianzhi* [The Records of Xinning County] (1545). In the same book there recorded another market called Tangmei Xu 塘尾墟 in the same region of Cuotong Du, but no longer existed in 1893 when another county record book was issued. As there is a village called Tangmei 塘美 (the same pronunciation but different Chinese character with “塘尾”) now located south of Shangje Xu between Natai Shi and Duanzhai Xu, this market is possibly located nearby. However, due to the uncertainty of the exact location of this market, it is not included in the discussion in this study.

⁸ Both residents' points of view were recorded in their articles in a Duanfen local magazine *Yunan Zhi Hua* [The Flower of Yunan].

⁹ Wu Bingwang and Mei Changzhi, interviewed by the author, 7 September 2006; and Mei Weichang, interviewed by the author, 17 August 2008.

Duanfen River and Datong River. On the contrary, Chen's marketing area stretched over the upper courses of both rivers forming an L-shape with its western part far from market.

3. Xikuo Xu of Liangs founded in 1820

Xikuo Xu was founded in 1820 by Liang clan, currently the 4th largest surname of Duanfen, and assumed the same when it was founded. Regarding the change of marketing area and clanship power, the founding of Xikuo Xu took over the whole western marketing area in Duanfen along Datong River. As a result, the area of both Shangje Xu and Shandi Xu substantially decreased; especially Shangje lost 60% of area, mainly at the south-western region far from the market.

4. Haikou Bu of Meis founded in 1851-1855

Haikou Bu was founded in 1851-1855 by Mei clan and located at the convergence of Datong River and Duanfen River. It is also the water outlet connected to the nearby Doushan and Guanghai towns, then further to South China Sea. Its location marks the southeast-end of Mei's lands. At the north of the market is the grandest existing ancestral hall structure (vacant) of the Meis in Duanfen. This market can be interpreted as the further economic development of Mei clan when it expanded to the state that one market could not sufficiently correspond to its power.

Most of the marketing area of Haikou Bu was taken over from Shandi Xu of the same clan. If we count both markets as one combined market group of the Meis, the founding of Haikou Bu only invaded a small portion of the marketing area of another clan – the Liang's Xikuo Xu (decreased by 3%). However, its location could strategically occupy the water transportation outlet of Duanfen. Therefore, though a closer location to Xikuo Xu could take over more marketing area from it, the location of Haikou Bu was still sensible in terms of the external connection outside Duanfen.

5. Duanzhai Xu of Huangs founded in 1882

Duanzhai Xu was founded in 1882 by Huang clan, the 3rd largest surname of Duanfen. Since then, the 4 largest surnames all have had their own markets. It is located at the western dead end of Duanfen near the Dalongdong hilly region. Acting as the sole regional centre of the western part of Duanfen, Duanzhai Xu took over more than half of the marketing area (58%) of Xikuo Xu. Although surrounded by highlands over 50m PD on north, west, and south sides, it still got the inland transportation outlet of Duanfen to the western neighbouring Kaiping County. In other words, it became the in-between market of Duanfen central economic region and Kaiping, similar with the strategic location of Haikou Bu to Doushan Town.

6. Natai Shi of Qius and Tangtou Shi of Yuans founded before 1893

Although it is not certain when Natai Shi and Tangtou Shi were exactly founded, this essay assumes that they were founded before 1893.¹⁰ These two markets share some similarities. Firstly, both are very close to Xikuo Xu, and located near narrow rivers without any pier facilities. Secondly, based on the small quantity of market buildings, especially the lack of ROC colonnaded buildings, both markets are regarded as very small scale. Thirdly, they are in irregular street pattern without central

¹⁰ The earliest record about Natai Shi and Tangtou Shi was *Xinning Xian Zhi* [Records of Xinning County] (1893). Therefore, it is assumed in this essay that the dates were close to that year after the founding of Duanzhai Xu.

square, and even no traces of any planning can be found. These lead us to estimate that they possibly belonged to a level lower than other markets in Duanfen.

Natai Shi was founded by Qiu clan, the 10th largest surname of Duanfen. Regarding the change of marketing area and clanship power due to Natai Shi founded at the south of Xikuo Xu, it took over the southern portion of the latter's marketing area, plus a little portion from Haikou Bu.

Tangtou Shi was founded by Yuan clan, the 6th largest surname of Duanfen. Later in early 20th century, Yuan clan founded another market and challenged the status of Mei clan directly. Founded at the north of Xikuo Xu, the founding of Tangtou Shi took over the northern portion of Xikuo Xu's marketing area. In other words, the original marketing area of Xikuo Xu was trisected into 3 portions belonging to Tangtou Shi, Natai Shi, and Xikuo Xu itself, respectively. Possibly the central economic region of Duanfen was at its eastern part radiated from Shandi Xu and Shangje Xu. However, in order to avoid directly challenging the two strongest clans – Meis with 20% and Chens with 13% of Duanfen's population, the Liangs of Xikuo Xu (near the central economic region) with only 8% might be the only option for the Yuans to challenge during that period.

7. Miaobian Xu of Wengs founded in 1908

Miaobian Xu was founded in 1908 by Weng clan. It is located far from the central economic region of Duanfen. However, it is closer to another centre Sanhe, and very close to another market Xin'an Xu of Yu clan just outside the current boundary of Duanfen. As the Wengs were only the 11th largest surname (3%), and the smallest one among all the surnames owning their own markets in Duanfen, they probably did not have sufficient power to challenge the strong Chens. This may be the reason why a distance from Chens' Shangje Xu was kept. On the contrary, Miaobian Xu could be benefited by its northern location near the "gate" to Sanhe Town at its north, just similar with the situations of Haikou Bu and Duanzhai Xu.

Regarding the change of marketing area and clanship power, Miaobian Xu took over more than 1/3 of the marketing area (37%) of Shangje Xu. This might be the reason why the Chens no longer had the power to establish another market in northern Duanfen.

8. Chengwu Shi of Wus founded in 1893-1922

The founding year of Chengwu Shi by Wu clan is uncertain. This essay assumes that it was founded between 1893 and 1922.¹¹ It is located between Miaobian Xu and Shangje Xu, but closer to the latter at its south. In fact, Chengwu Shi's proximity with Shangje Xu can be regarded as a direct challenge to it. In fact, Wu clan of Chengwu Shi might have the power to do so. By population, it is the 7th largest surname in Duanfen (6%). Although their population was only 43% of the Chens of Shangje Xu, it was almost 2.3 times of the Wengs of Miaobian Xu, who kept a certain distance from Shangje Xu when they founded their market. The Wus also owned a decorative 2-storey ancestral hall cum school and a 5-storey high watch tower in the village Dilin Li near the market. They were all built around the period they founded the market, and proved the clan's wealth. Unlike Qing Dynasty before 1912, there were no longer any laws and governmental authorities restricting the proximity of markets in ROC.

¹¹ As Chengwu Shi was not on the list of markets in *Xinning Xian Zhi* [Records of Xinning County] (1893), we can certain that it was not founded before that year. However, as its name appeared in *Xinning Magazine* 25 (1922): 20, we are sure that it was founded before that year.

Chengwu Shi, after Miaobian Xu, further invaded more than half of the marketing area (54%) of Shangje Xu. The power of Chen clan in Duanfen was further weakened. Counting the marketing area of the clans in Duanfen, the Chens dropped from the 3rd largest to the 6th, after the clans of Huang, Mei, Wu, Liang, and Qiu. Therefore, the main competitor of the Meis shifted from the Chens in Qing Dynasty to the rising Yuans in ROC.

9. Datong Shi of Yuans founded in 1925

With the original base at Tangtou Shi, Yuan clan expanded their power and founded Datong Shi in 1925. The new market, in the name of multi-surname, was in fact dominated by the Yuans. It is located at the east of Tangtou Shi, Xikuo Xu, and Natai Shi, abutting the villages of the Meis. Considering the large extent of ROC colonnaded buildings, the construction of Datong Bridge for vehicular traffic across the wide river in 1930, and the existence of a theatre and a volleyball court at the square before 1949 as mentioned by the residents there, it is assumed that the market was quite prosperous during ROC.

The prosperous Datong Shi did not only directly compete with the existing Tangtou Shi of Yuans, Xikuo Xu of Liangs, and Natai Shi of Qius, but also took over some marketing area of Shandi Xu and Haikou Bu of the Meis. Despite the Yuan's villages were built around the base ancestral hall and market at Tangtou Shi, they still chose the location at the southeast for their market due to firstly the direct interface with river for water transportation, and secondly closer to the economic centre near Shandi Xu. Confronting the western side of Mei's villages, Datong Shi can be regarded as a direct challenge to the largest surname, the Meis, in Duanfen. Subsequently, the conflict between the two clans really happened.

10. Tingjiang Xu of Meis founded in 1932

In the early 20th century, Mei clan's sphere of influence was mainly in the eastern part of Duanfen, in the region between the two markets Shandi Xu and Haikou Bu founded by them. Just opposite to the eastern side of Yuan's Datong Shi were the Mei's villages. Established in the name of multi-clan, the Meis also shared the business of that market. However, it was criticized in the different aspects, i.e. i) old layout; ii) insufficient facilities; and iii) administrative organization dominated by single clan under patriarchal style and lack of freedom for other clans.¹² No matter such criticism was fair or not, there was surely a sense of discontent of the Meis and other surnames to the administration by the Yuans. Finally, the Meis led other clans to withdraw from Datong Shi. With the farmlands purchased from the Meis, the withdrawn clans founded a new market, Tingjiang Xu, immediately next to the east of Datong Shi. Another bridge for vehicular traffic across the wide Datong River was built by the Meis in 1936, probably in order to be independent from Datong Bridge owned by the Yuans. The layout, facilities, and administrative style of the market were all brand new, such as standardized building lots and dimensions, provision of security guards, allocation of mobile vendor's zone, setting up of hygienic rules, etc.¹³

The establishment of Tingjiang Xu could be regarded as a direct challenge or fighting back to the Yuans. Choosing a location closer to the existing Datong Shi meant maximizing the marketing area

¹² See "Tingjiang Xu Gufen Bu" [Tingjiang Xu Founding Share Book] (1933).

¹³ Ibid.

directly taken from the Yuans. Moreover, this could be benefited from the existing network already set by Datong Shi. As the east of Tingjiang Xu was also the Meis' lands, shifting the location of new market towards the east was also possible. However, this would take over more Meis' marketing area from Shandi Xu and Haikou Bu rather than from the Yuans'. Finally, Datong Shi's marketing area was greatly reduced by 1/3 approximately. The Yuans' marketing area (Tangtou Shi plus Datong Shi) was reduced by 30%, but the Meis' marketing area was increased by 11%. If we compare the marketing area owned by the Meis with those of their directly competing clans of Chen and Yuan, the proportion of the marketing areas at the last stage of the Republican period was 101:24:24 (measured in km²).

Discussion on the Decline of Markets since the Republican Period and the Shared Marketing Area of Twin-market¹⁴

Anyone visiting Tangtou Shi and Natai Shi today can easily discover that they are very different from other markets in Duanfen. Firstly, they are particularly smaller in scale regarding the number of market building lots by accounting those in row pattern, and excluding all gridiron villages and detached buildings. Secondly, they are in irregular street layout, different from all the other markets with regular patterned central square or straight street. We can assume that central square is an obvious feature accommodating market canopies and mobile vendors during market days, and regular pattern is a sign of central planning and organization. Thirdly, the remaining ROC colonnaded buildings in these two markets are extremely few. This can be differentiated from other markets all with this type of buildings as the majority.¹⁵

Therefore, we can come up with two initial assumptions: i) they are classified as lower level markets with an informal character serving a small extent of marketing area (similar with "minor markets" as defined by Skinner); and ii) their business has further declined since the Republican period. In other words, these assumptions can be regarded as the factors limiting their development of the architecture and urban fabric similar with other markets.

11A. Decline of Tangtou Shi in 1922-1930

Firstly, the decline of Tangtou Shi was probably because of the construction of highways and wider use of automobiles in the 1920s. Most of the more mobile people nearby tended to go directly to the farther but higher level Xikuo Xu, and some to Datong Shi.

11B. Decline of Natai Shi since 1930

Probably due to a large portion of the original western marketing area of Tangtou Shi was lost, the Yuans built a modern vehicular bridge in Duanfen, Datong Bridge across the wide Datong River at the south of Datong Shi in 1930. This resulted in the further elimination of Natai Shi and southward expansion of Datong Shi's marketing area.

¹⁴ Numbering of sub-headings under this heading follows the numbering of diagrams in Figure 5.

¹⁵ See Table 2. Summary of Duanfen Markets.

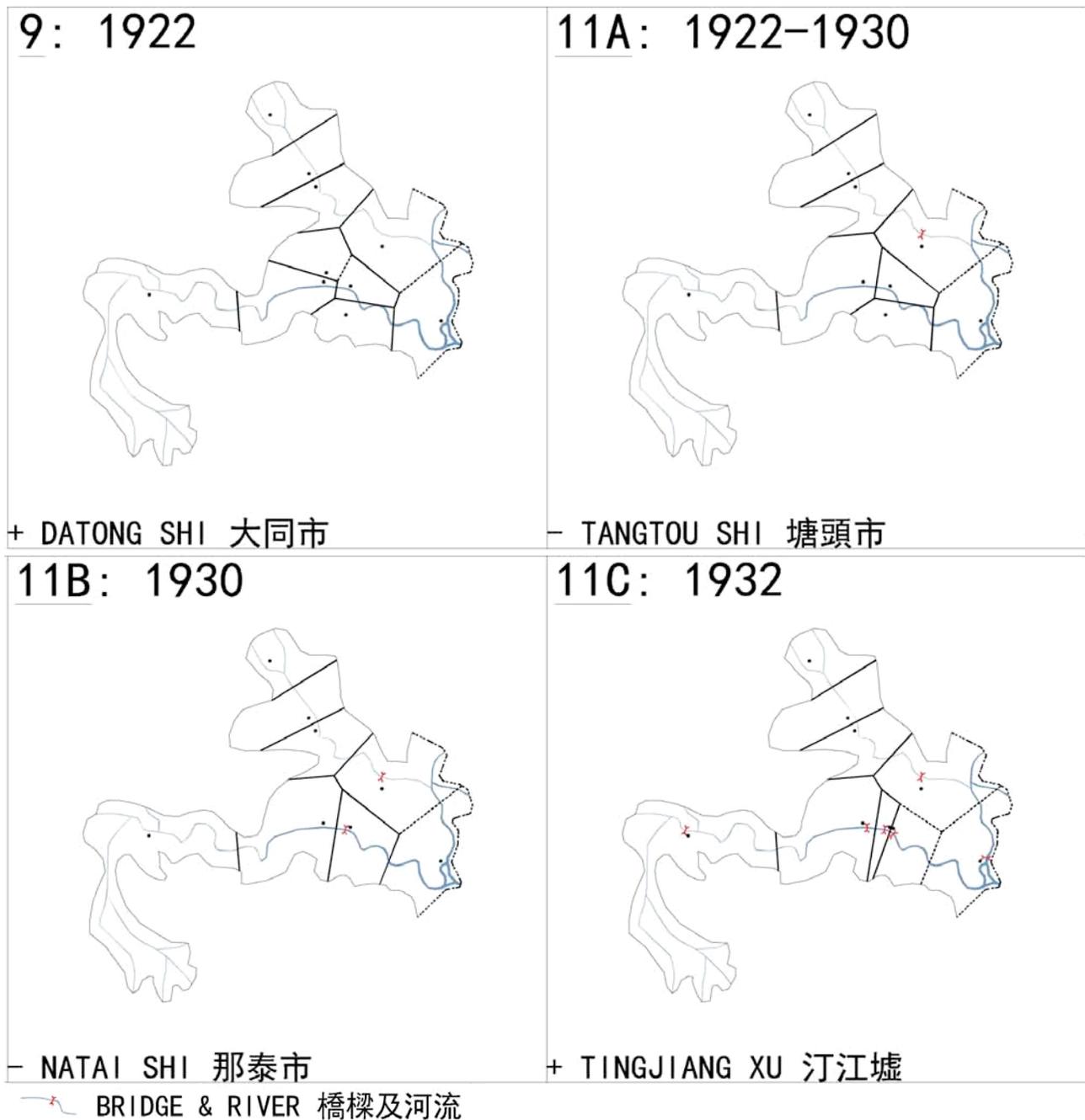


Figure 6. Modern vehicular bridges of Duanfen built in the Republican period.

11C. Tingjiang Xu and Other Bridges in 1932-1936

The benefits of bridge were believed obvious. This can be proved by the similar actions of other markets in Duanfen, such as Duanfen Bridge (at Shandi Xu) built in 1929, Haikou Bridge in 1931, Xikuo Bridge and Tingjiang Bridge in 1936. The merchants related to Tingjiang Xu, regarded as directly challenging Datong Shi, were possibly restricted in some way to use Datong Bridge constructed by the Yuans. This might be the reason why the Meis of Tingjiang Xu initiated the capitalization of bridge construction in 1936.

In conclusion, the assumption of the decline of some lower level markets and the development of infrastructures in fact matches with what Skinner suggested. More important is that he regards such closing down of some lower level markets and the subsequently general increase in the size of marketing area of each remaining market as the indications of the modern transformation from the traditional times with contradictory tendencies. (Skinner 1965a, 211–215) This also resulted in the more even distribution of marketing areas in Duanfen.

Based on the assumption of the decline of Tangtou Shi and Natai Shi, the last stage of marketing areas transformation during the Republican period in this essay is amended. The proportion of the marketing area owned by Mei, Chen, and Yuan clans was 116:25:8 (measured in km²).

BRIDGES	YEARS BUILT
DUANFEN BRIDGE 端芬□ (AT SHANDI XU 山底墟)	1929
DATONG BRIDGE 大同市□	1930
HAIKOU BRIDGE 海口□	1931
XIKUO BRIDGE 西廓□	1936
TINGJIANG BRIDGE 汀江□	1936

Table 3. Modern vehicular bridges of Duanfen built in the Republican period.

11D. Shared Marketing Area of Twin-market

In fact, due to the extreme proximity of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu, the difference in travelling distances from the surrounding villages to this pair of markets, also known as a twin-market, was no longer substantial. Therefore, the marketing areas of them can be regarded as overlapping. Sharing the similar marketing areas, they had to compete by other means, such as better management and facilities, clanship support, etc. Hence, including the assumption of a shared marketing area for this twin-market, the marketing areas at the last stage during the Republican period in this essay is further amended, with the proportion of Mei, Chen, and Yuan clans as 124:25:32 (measured in km²).

Discussion on the Factors Affecting the Distribution of Markets

1. Macro-distribution of Markets: Geography and Clanship

By mapping the distribution of markets in Duanfen during the Republican period, we can discover that most of them were concentrated in the south-eastern region. We can summarize the factors affecting such macro-distribution as i) the geographical conditions in Duanfen, ii) the geographical conditions in its neighbouring regions, and iii) clanship.

Firstly, the availability of more flat land and wider rivers pushed the concentration of markets at its south-eastern region. Secondly without the obstruction by hills, the connections with its eastern neighbouring markets and villages were far easier than the other sides. The available sea transport in its south-eastern neighbour Guanghai and the railway system linked with the whole county in its north-eastern neighbour Doushan also attracted the concentration of markets in south-eastern Duanfen.

Assuming that there were more than one clan in the general region demanding a market, there was usually only one clan, the most powerful one, coming out to found or leading other less powerful clans to found a market at the specific location, usually located at the land owned by that leading clan. Then, the leading clan would be further strengthened by the benefits brought by the market.

2. Micro-distribution of Markets: Order of Distance

Zooming in to the micro-distribution of markets in Duanfen, we can find a tendency of shorter distance between markets from the second market founded in 1771 to the last one in 1932. Was this simply due to the tendency of higher demand for markets? In theory, if the demand is sufficiently high in the marketing area, a new market would be founded nearby to compete with the existing market. The extremely high demand would result in the twin-market of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu abutting each other. However, the generally longer distance between markets in the earlier stage before the Republican period also shows an order highly related to the politics utilized by clanship. Such order is hereunder known as the “order of distance”.

During Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), from the case of the establishment of Shandi Xu, we can see that the market demand originally called for the agglomeration of markets near the existing Shangje Xu and almost resulting in the twin-market. If this had really happened, we could foresee the subsequent bisecting of marketing area, and then invasion to the benefits of the old market. As a result, the clan of old market complained to the local government, and then the clan of the new market was forced to relocate it further away from the old one. Finally, the distance between the two markets, Shangje Xu and Shandi Xu, is approximately 3.5km.

We can find such order of distance due to the linkage of politics and clanship was not unique in Duanfen. Similar case happened in Tai Po Hui (Xu) and Tai Wo Shi in another South China region, Hong Kong (Xin'an County during Qing Dynasty). During the reign of Emperor Jiaxing (1796-1820), the failure of Man clan to found a new market 0.6 km away from the existing Tai Po Hui of Tang clan was due to the complaint from the Tangs to Xin'an government. Later in 1874, an informal market nearby was allowed due to the Mans' alliance with other clans to form the “League of Seven”. With the efforts for another 20 years, in 1893, the formal market of Tai Wo Shi was finally founded next to the old market.

Back to Duanfen, another problematic case seems weakening the hypothesis of the order of distance. Why could Tangtou Shi be established before 1893 only 0.3km away from the existing Xikuo Xu? From both cases of Duanfen and Hong Kong, the establishment of markets during Qing Dynasty required the approval from the government. However, no formal statutory regulations stipulating the minimum distance between markets is found. The order of distance was usually initiated by the affected clans. Therefore, this can be regarded as a social custom rather than a clear legal enforcement. In other words, it was not absolute, but depending on the power of the clans and their relation with the government. Based on the fact of the Yuans' power to establish another market in addition to Tangtou Shi later, the phenomenon can be possibly interpreted as “power overwhelming social custom”.

The situation changed after the fall of Qing Dynasty in 1911. During the Republican period, Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu were two abutting markets founded by two “hostile” clans. If we regard rural market as analogy of department store or shopping mall in city, where the demand is sufficiently high, such direct competition between the agglomerated stores is very reasonable in the modern free market economy. The clans are similar to the corporations controlling different stores. For instance, Tingjiang Xu was established with quasi-modern business system.¹⁶ Surely, the governmental

¹⁶ See “Tingjiang Xu Gufen Bu” [Tingjiang Xu Founding Share Book] (1933).

intervention to the founding of rural markets no longer existed since the Republican period. At least, a phenomenon of relatively modernized economy appeared.

Similar cases of twin-market controlled by different clans mainly happened after the cease of Qing's sovereignty. For example in Hong Kong, we can find Yuen Long New Market of Man and other clans (founded in 1915) near the existing Yuen Long Old Market of Tang clan (with a distance 0.2km), and Luen Wo Hui of Pang and other clans (1951) near the existing Shek Wu Hui of Liu clan (distance 1.7km). Therefore, we can summarize that not only due to the tendency of higher demand, but also because of the weaker governmental intervention ceasing the order of distance, the spacing of markets was closer, and finally the pattern of twin-market was developed.

FOUNDING YEARS OF NEW MARKET	NEW MARKETS	ORIGINAL MARKETS	LOCATIONS	DISTANCES (KM)
1771 (QING)	SHANDI XU 山底墟	SHANGJE XU 上□墟	DUANFEN 端芬	3.5
1893 (QING)	TAI WO SHI 太和市	TAI PO HUI 大埔墟	XIN'AN / HONG KONG 新安/香港	0.6
BEFORE 1893 (QING)	TANGTOU SHI 塘□市	XIKUO XU 西廓墟	DUANFEN 端芬	0.3
1915 (BRITISH COLONY)	YUEN LONG NEW MARKET 元朗新墟	YUEN LONG OLD MARKET 元朗□墟	XIN'AN / HONG KONG 新安/香港	0.2
1932 (ROC)	TINGJIANG XU 汀江墟	DATONG SHI 大同市	DUANFEN 端芬	ABUTTING
1951 (BRITISH COLONY)	LUEN WO HUI □和墟	SHEK WU HUI 石湖墟	XIN'AN / HONG KONG 新安/香港	1.7

Table 4. Selected cases of the distance between markets in South China.

Conclusion

Despite the tool adopted by this essay inspired from Christaller's Central Place Theory seems focusing on the aspects of economy and infrastructure, the cultural aspects, especially clanship, are found vital in the transformation of marketing geography. On the other hand, the mapping method derived from Skinner in fact helps to quantify the interrelationship between clanship and markets.

Finally, it is found that understanding of market distribution cannot be only achieved by investigating the macro-scale geography, but also requires analysis of the urban fabric and architecture of market. In other words, architecture, urban fabric, and geography should be combined to understand the urban morphology of rural markets.

Abbreviations

ROC = The Republic of China

PRC = The People's Republic of China

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Spatial Transformations in Istanbul

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Abstract

Istanbul metropolitan area is undergoing a rapid process of spatial transformation in accordance with Turkey's active role in integration with global economy. Witnessing a process of rapid growth and change under the influence of internal and external dynamics, Istanbul bears powerful potentialities due to its historical, cultural, economic and geopolitical situation, which are not necessarily free of serious urban problems. The planned and unplanned expansion areas of Istanbul have reached the boundaries of natural resource areas. As a result of dense and unhealthy residential areas, quality of life is gradually falling.

The affects of the social and spatial changes caused by globalization experienced worldwide are also seen within the Istanbul metropolitan area. With this rapid transformation process, foreign capital companies are investing in Turkey, especially in Istanbul. There have appeared in it shopping centers, multi-national headquarters, and high-class residential houses.

The uncontrolled urban growth in Istanbul in the last 25 years, which has been provoked by political expectations, has become beneficial for immovable investments that depend on annuity expectations. Growth dynamics depending on annuity not only leads to an uncontrolled sprawl in the city but also represents a fragmentary structure in which resources are distributed unevenly. Within this fragmentary structure, some urban areas become attractive domains for investment along with the market conditions; on the other hand, the spatial decomposition among unplanned growth areas, which lack sufficient substructure facilities, is accompanied by social decomposition.

In order to determine the extent of spatial sprawling residential areas and rise of metropolitan land use fragmentation which at the same time threatens the forested areas and drinking water basins in Istanbul.

Key words: social and spatial transformations, globalization, Istanbul.

Spatial Transformations in Istanbul

Introduction: Changes of Population and Density in Istanbul

Situated on the crossroads of historically significant trade routes, the city of Istanbul, capital of three mighty empires, has played an important role throughout the history of mankind. Istanbul had tremendous economic, natural, and cultural significance on the country as a whole and decisions concerning its planning and its development have been at a nation wide level.

The Istanbul metropolitan area is an essential center of focus within the changing world balances in the region formed by the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Turkic Republics. There are also economical potentials in addition to the natural and geopolitical location of Istanbul. These are the advantages of being a large market, the presence of a qualified and cheap workforce, and a dynamic liberal economy.

Istanbul is the biggest city of Turkey in terms of its economic development and urban population growth. With slightly more than 12 million population, Istanbul metropolitan area is in the list of 10th largest populated city of the World (TSI 2007 Census Data).

Urban lands in Istanbul have always been subject to the highest pressure and received the highest demand. Table 1 conveys population and density distributions caused by the pressure between the Eastern and Western sides of the city. The surface area of the province with a size of 5196 km² covers 0.7% of Turkey. 65.50% of this surface area is on the European side, while 34.50% is on the Asian side.

Cross-demographic rates of the two sides in Istanbul demonstrated an increase from the West to the East between the years 1970 and 2000. In 1970 75.56% of the population was settled in the European side, whereas this rate went down to 65.29% in 2000. In other words, while 22.44% of the population was living in the Asian side in 1970, this rate increased to 34.53% in 30 years. When the rate and changes of population growth are investigated, it is observed that the acceleration of population growth in the Western side of the city was very high between the years 1970 and 1980. The opening of the first Bosphorus Bridge in 1973 and the constructions of new highways, as well as an increase in the rate of private vehicle ownership contributed to the population expansion towards the Eastern parts of the city during this period.

When we look at the density changes across the eastern and the western sides of Istanbul in the last thirty years, the eastern side, with a population density below the average of Istanbul in the 1970's and 1980's, has risen to the population density values twice as much as the average of Istanbul after 1990 due to political concessions and the increased conditions of construction. The highest density increase occurred in the period of 1990-2000, which can be observed in Table 1, and 2 depicting the change of population density.

During the ten-year period between 1990-2000, within globalization process, the form and extent of spatial changes and transformations in metropolitan cities have differed in central and peripheral areas (Figure 1 and 2). Istanbul received the highest amount of interregional migration. When the national total rate of economically active population is considered, Istanbul's share increased from 10.86% in 1990 to 6.03% in 2000. In 1990 Istanbul held

22.24% of nonagricultural employment in Turkey, this rate slightly decreased to 22% in 2000, roughly corresponding to one fifth of Turkey's nonagricultural employment. In the same year, 32.2% of Turkey's labor force in manufacturing industry, and 53.3% of in-service industry was employed in Istanbul.

The population of Istanbul reached 10,018.735 in 2000, which had formerly been 7,309.190 in 1990, and thus recorded a growth of 39.23%. When we look at the demographic change in Istanbul with respect to zones, we see that in central districts there is a decrease in population with a rate of 29.38%, but in peripheral areas there is an increase of 107.97% (Figure 1, Table 3).

Table 1. Changes of Population and Densities between Istanbul's Asian and European Sides

POPULATION

	1970	1980	1990	2000
European Side	2281249	3264393	4734857	6541593
%	75.56	68.84	64.78	65.29
Asian Side	677494	1383478	2441503	3459382
%	22.44	29.18	33.40	34.53

RATE OF POPULATION INCREASES (%o)

	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
European Side	35.84	37.19	32.32
Asian Side	71.40	56.80	34.85

CHANGES OF POPULATION (%)

	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
European Side	43.10	45.05	38.16
Asian Side	104.21	76.48	41.69

DENSITY (person/km²)

	1970	1980	1990	2000
European Side	673	953	1382	1922
Asian Side	373	775	1369	3681
ISTANBUL	528	830	1280	1928

CHANGES OF DENSITY (%)

	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
European Side	41.64	45.05	39.13
Asian Side	107.86	76.77	168.84
ISTANBUL	57.20	54.22	50.63

Table 2. The distribution of population, population growth and workforce between 1990-2000 within the districts of İstanbul

	Population 1990	Labor force	Services	Industry	University graduates (%)	Population 2000	Growth rate ‰	Labor force	Services	Industry	University graduates (%)
Central districts											
Beyoglu	229000	83426	45111	30585	3.1	231900	1.26	76941	46245	26063	5.9
Eminonu	83444	40400	24259	12674	5.3	55635	-40.53	25458	17895	6298	11.3
Fatih	462464	153671	93949	50380	5.4	403508	-13.63	127298	84963	36155	8.6
Sisli	250478	90566	49921	28372	7.9	270674	7.75	103351	71221	26415	13.4
Besiktas	192210	70961	49807	13364	16.8	190813	-0.73	78253	62958	12227	28.6
Kadikoy	648282	212179	145989	43112	14.6	663299	2.29	228469	172798	43061	22.3
Bakirkoy	1328276	452992	226378	177778	5.0	208398	-36.98	77497	59387	15782	22.4
Uskudar	395623	127613	81049	31101	6.7	495118	22.43	160129	114143	34645	12.0
Peripheral districts											
Zeytinburnu	165679	63411	27154	30877	2.2	267669	40.19	84278	41364	39251	4.3
Kagithane	269042	90957	43388	36073	1.9	345239	24.93	116224	65438	41818	4.2
Bayrampasa	212570	72459	30840	36338	2.0	246006	14.60	79592	39664	36535	3.5
Beykoz	142075	43421	22237	15825	2.8	172891	19.28	51071	32513	14288	5.9
K.Cekmece	469431	163698	71974	70998	0.3	593520	52.19	189344	89462	86105	4.6
Silivri	26049	9085	5032	1595	1.8	44530	53.60	14469	8547	3318	6.7
Pendik	289380	86127	39988	30028	3.4	384668	66.32	107703	54631	38872	4.1
Kartal	506477	160571	88302	50524	4.9	337390	29.09	104527	62986	32780	7.0
B.Cekmece	22394	9107	4800	1472	5.3	35860	47.07	11767	7503	3039	9.9
Sariyer	160075	52693	32258	13066	5.2	219032	31.35	76558	55415	14766	10.4
Eyup	200045	68168	31856	31043	2.0	235116	16.15	73926	40867	28861	4.3
Umraniye	242091	72622	37152	22189	2.0	440859	59.92	128666	73765	39245	4.3
Gaziosmanpasa	354186	117706	47851	56812	1.6	658756	64.76	200019	86870	99790	2.4
Catalca	11550	3923	2099	996	1.8	15779	31.19	5203	3076	1427	6.1
Gungoren	-	-	-	-	-	272950	24.74	87721	47625	35614	6.5
Avcilar	-	-	-	-	-	233749	61.39	77143	43403	27698	7.1
Bagcilar	-	-	-	-	-	556519	64.66	167428	70472	84188	2.5
Bahcelievler	-	-	-	-	-	478623	47.30	153293	89205	62793	7.3
Maltepe	-	-	-	-	-	355384	33.48	119262	83167	25963	11.0
Esenler	-	-	-	-	-	380709	53.10	115537	49322	59226	2.0
Tuzla	-	-	-	-	-	107883	16.76	33766	17904	12132	5.7

Table 3. Changes of Annual Growth of Rate, Increases of Population, Densities and Number of Buildings Between 1990-2000

		Annual Growth of Rate of Population (%)	Rates of Increases of Populations of Districts (%)	Rate of Changes of Densities of Districts (%)	Rate of Changes of Number of Buildings of Districts (%)
DISTRICTS		1990-2000	1990-2000	1990-2000	1990-2000
Central Districts	Beyoglu	0,13	1,27	1,27	18,28
	Eminomu	-4,05	-33,33	-58,33	4,63
	Bakirkoy	-3,70	-30,92	8,79	28,07
	Besiktas	-0,07	-0,73	-48,00	18,73
	Fatih	-1,36	-12,75	-32,88	8,03
	Kadikoy	0,23	2,32	-15,59	25,13
	Sisli	0,78	8,06	-7,37	25,67
	Uskudar	2,24	25,15	-4,79	47,38
	CENTRAL DISTRICTS	-3,54	-29,38	-9,18	23,15
Peripheral Districts	Adalar	-0,89	-8,51	-42,81	14,45
	Avcilar	6,14	84,79	94,29	163,19
	Bagcilar	6,47	90,94	108,88	71,94
	Bahcelievler	4,73	60,50	58,17	71,11
	Bayrampasa	1,46	15,73	32,26	29,53
	Beykoz	2,66	30,46	114,01	30,37
	Esenler	5,31	70,09	68,60	57,33
	Eyup	1,88	20,72	37,10	26,96
	Gaziosmanpasa	6,48	91,12	43,56	94,97
	Gungoren	2,47	28,08	44,09	50,99
	Kagithane	2,49	28,32	46,65	32,16
	Kartal	3,99	49,09	100,67	65,35
	Kucukcekmece	5,21	68,46	74,72	98,43
	Maltepe	3,35	39,77	91,77	56,63
	Pendik	6,62	93,95	45,14	81,70
	Sariyer	3,44	41,12	27,19	32,44
	Tuzla	2,48	28,16	82,85	121,81
	Umraniye	6,91	99,67	97,21	148,80
	Buyukcekmece	9,88	168,76	160,21	200,81
	Catalca	2,39	27,00	44,19	44,33
Silivri	3,32	39,38	21,00	71,18	
Sultanbeyli	7,58	113,49	193,54	392,02	
Sile	2,46	27,89	5,88	110,84	
Zeytinburnu	4,01	49,49	37,03	68,52	
PERIPHERAL DISTRICTS	7,32	107,97	106,47	78,46	
PROVINCE TOTAL	3,31	39,23	50,63	61,67	

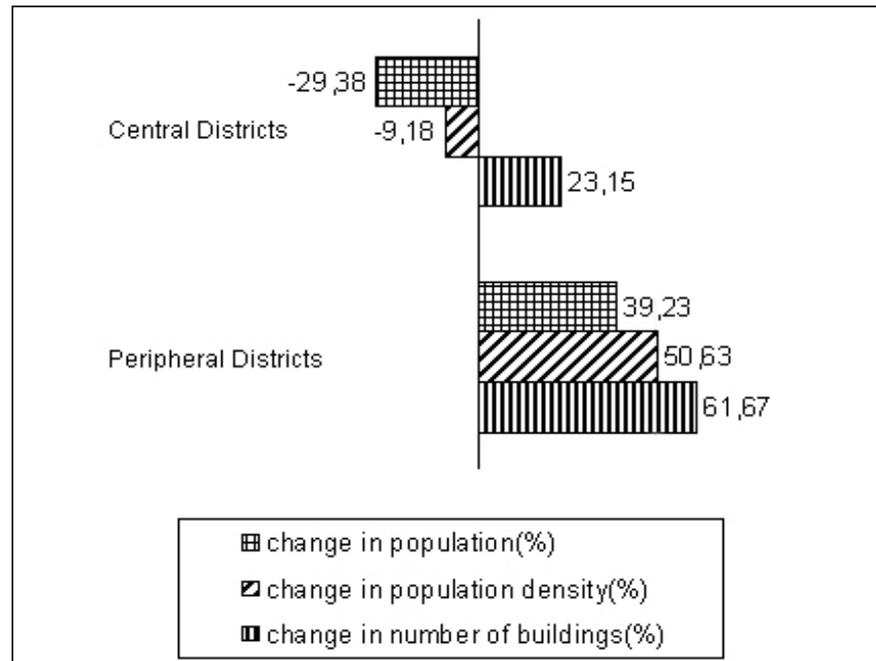


Figure 1. Changes of Population and Densities between 1990-2000, source: Berköz, 2008.

Between 1990 and 2000 the annual growth rate of population in Istanbul was 3.31%. When we consider the annual growth of population rate among the zones of Istanbul between the same years, it is seen that the average annual growth rate in central districts recorded a decrease with -3.54, while in peripheral districts the average annual growth rate of population reached 7.32, which was above the average of Istanbul with 3.31. In this period, central districts did not show an average annual growth rate of population above the annual growth average of Istanbul (Table 3 and Figure 3).

While the average population density in Istanbul was 1,280 persons/km² in 1990, this figure raised to 1,928 persons/km² in 2000. The density change in Istanbul between the years 1990 and 2000 was 50.63%. When the density change in Istanbul between 1990 and 2000 is examined, it is seen that there is a decrease in central districts with a rate of 9.18%, but an increase in peripheral areas with a rate of 106.47%, which results in a density twice as much as the density change of Istanbul (50.63%) (Table 3, Figure 4).

Assessing the number of buildings in Istanbul in terms of increase rates, we see that between 1990 and 2000 there was a 25.15% increase in the central districts, while in the peripheral districts the average of the increase rate was 78.46%. It is seen that the increase rate in peripheral districts is above the average of Istanbul (61.67%) (Figure 5).

In summary, between 1990 and 2000 the population change in Istanbul demonstrated an increase by 39.23%, and the growth rate of population was found out to be 39.9%. Thus, population change and the change in population density occurred in the same rate. In core districts, the average population change decreased by 29.38%, resulting in a density change rate of -9.18%. This outcome may be related to the increase in number of buildings in core districts (23.15%). Average population change and density change rates in peripheral districts

have been found out to be very close to each other, the first one with 107.87% and the second with 106.46%.

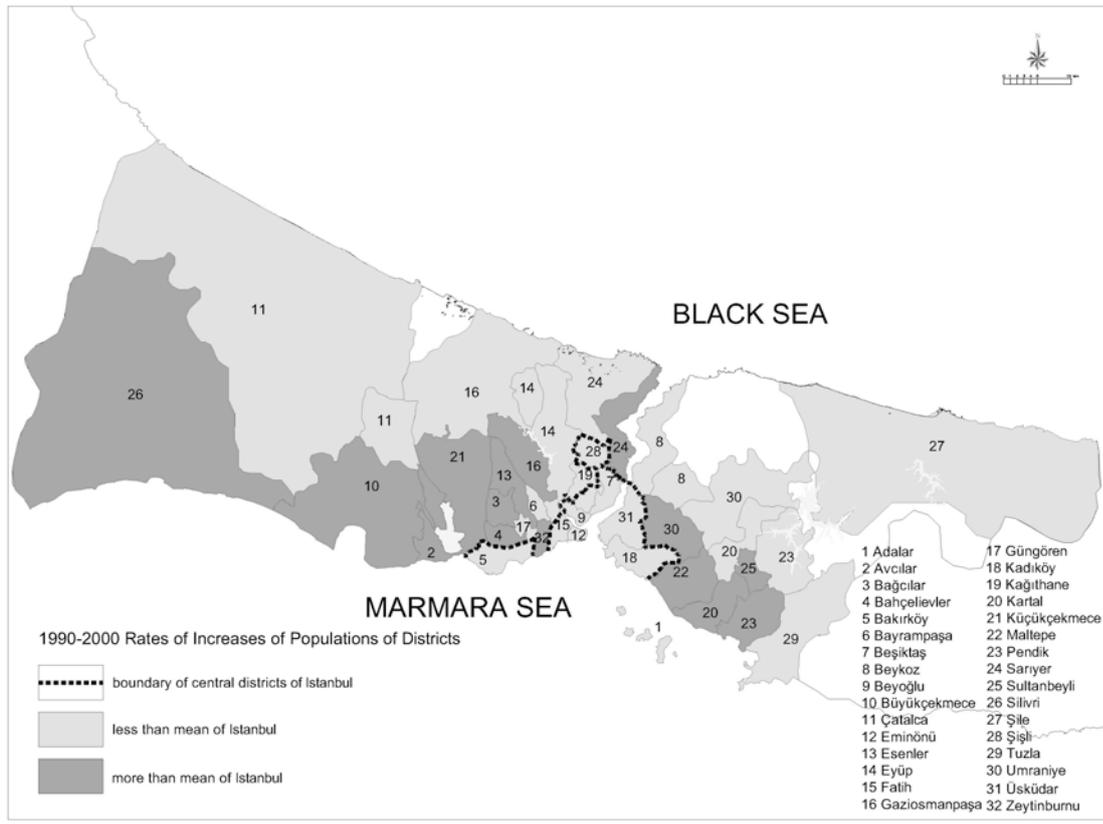


Figure 2 . Rates of Increase of Population According to Districts (1990 – 2000)

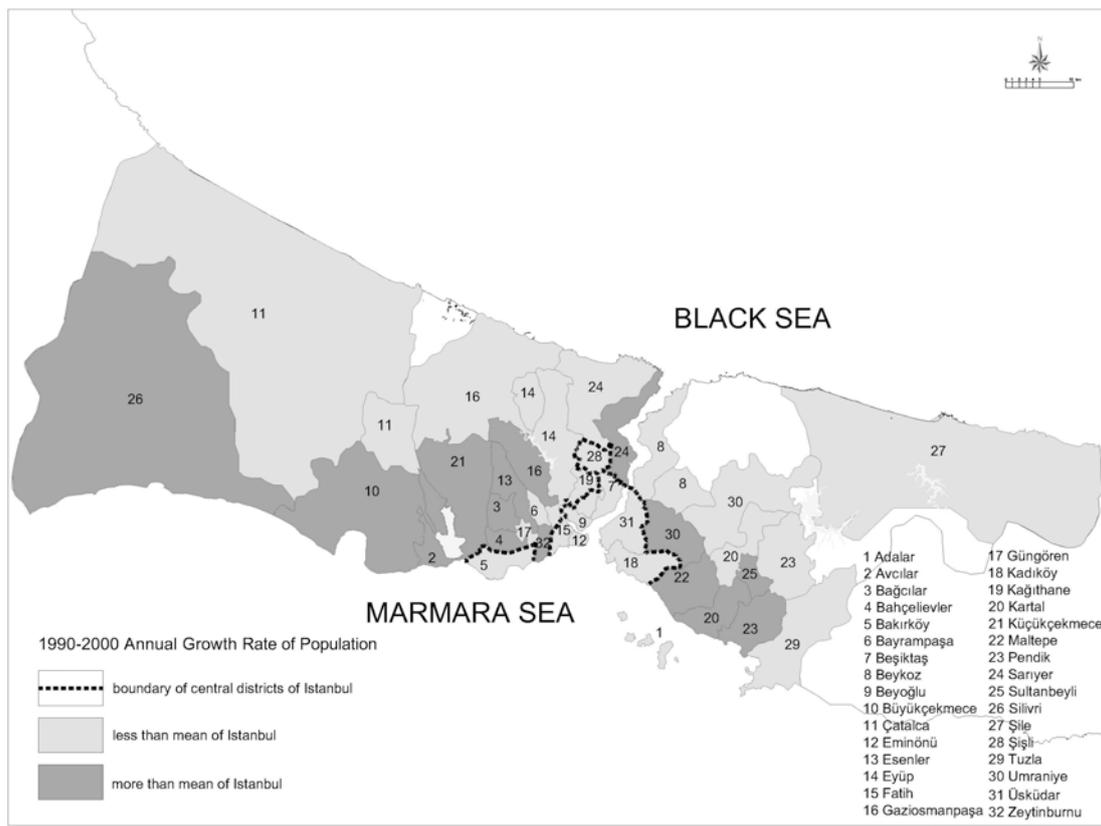


Figure 3 Annual Growth Rate of Population (1990 - 2000)

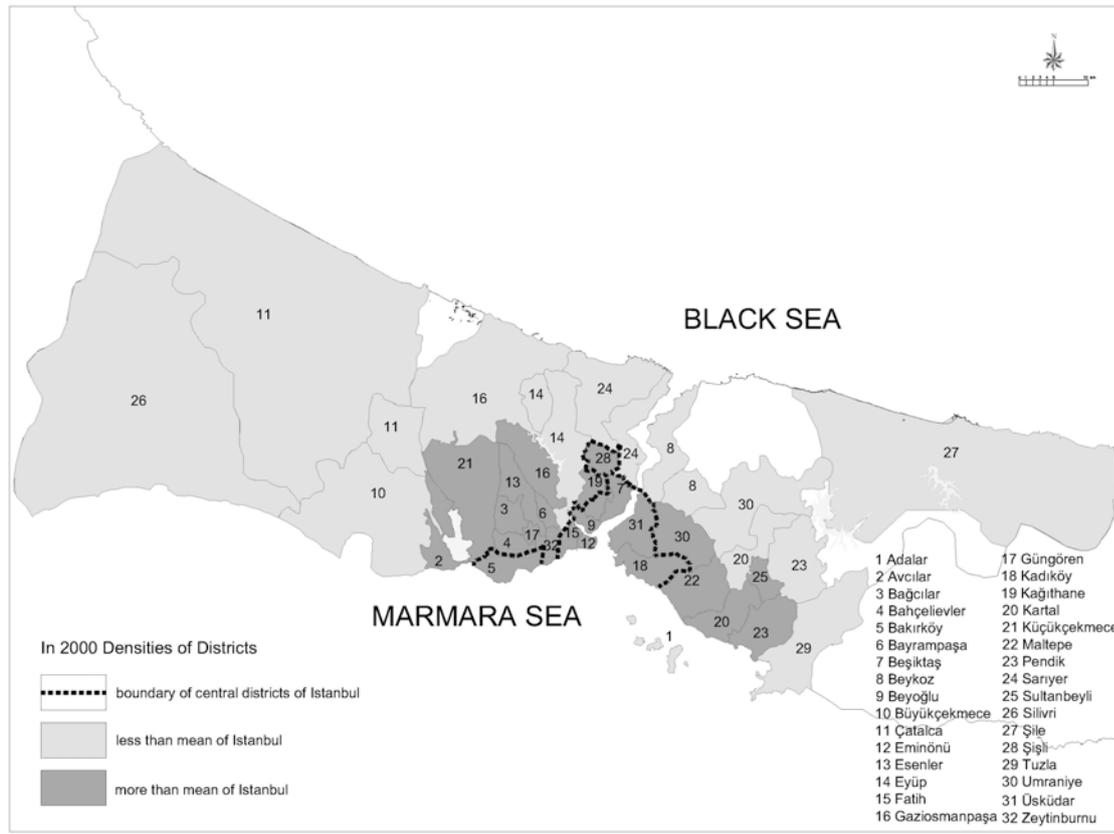


Figure 4. Densities of Districts (2000)

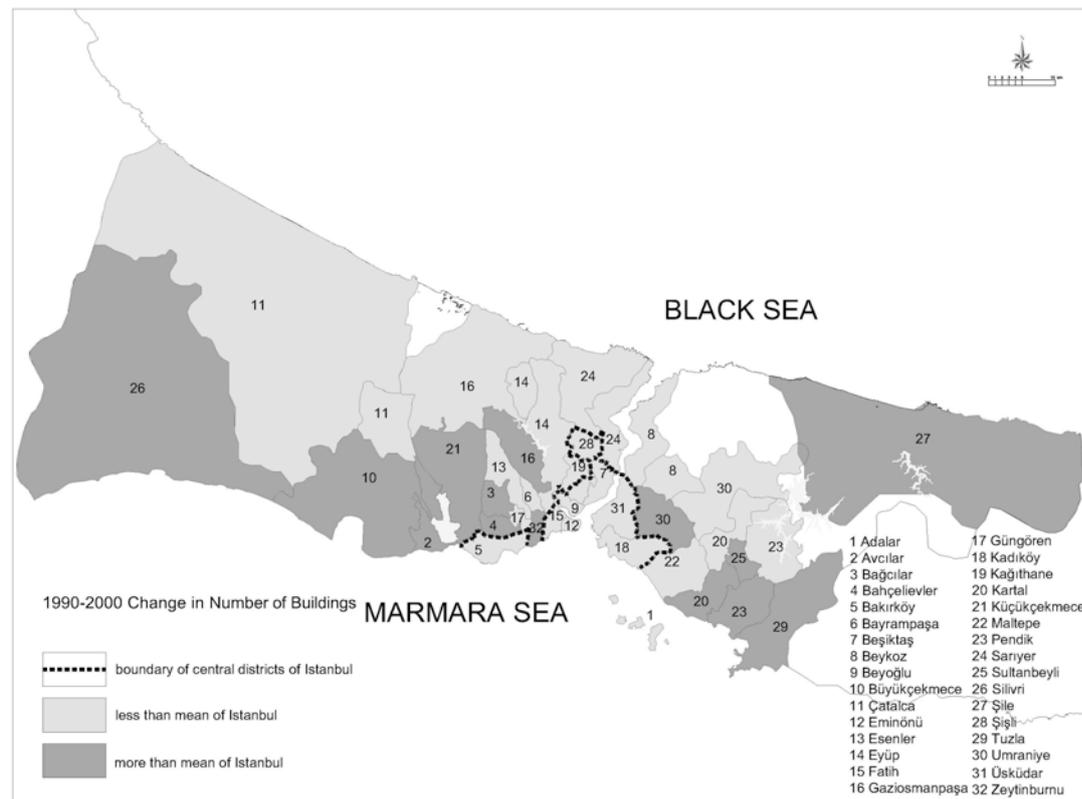


Figure 5. Change in Number of Buildings (1990 - 2000)

Between 1990 and 2000, a decline in population is observed in the core of Istanbul (Beyoglu, Eminonu and Fatih districts), while the population increased in other central districts and peripheral districts. A similar tendency is seen in work force. Between 1990 and 2000, the core of Istanbul (Beyoglu, Eminonu and Fatih districts) underwent a decrease in terms of work force, which increased in other central districts and peripheral districts. Especially the increase in work force in peripheral districts is higher with respect to that in central districts. When the sectoral distribution of work force is considered, the rate of service sector is higher in central districts, as opposed to the lower rate of industry sector. The sectoral distribution of work force in peripheral areas is different from the central districts. In peripheral districts, the shares of service and industry sectors are quite close to one another (Table 1).

Spatial Transformation of Istanbul's CBD and Residential Areas

Istanbul's CBD had preserved its monocentric structure until the fundamental effect of the Bosphorus Bridge and highways on the city's spatial transformation; that is from the 19th century to the end of the 1970's. At that time, Istanbul's CBD deployed on a bi-structured monocentric core with the traditional market arrangement in the historical peninsula and the modern center of external trade concentrated in Galata-Beyoğlu.

The concentration of office activities in Eminonu and Karakoy centers lasted until 1960's. In the 1970's, however, trade and other central activities accumulated between Ataturk and Galata Bridges in Eminonu, and in Beyoglu. In those years Eminonu district held 34%, and Beyoglu district 21% of service employment. In Beyoglu banking and insurance activities and in Eminonu retail and wholesale trade activities were in majority. Therefore in terms of both the number of employees and the employment density, Eminonu and Beyoglu centers together constituted the CBD (BINPBB, 1976). In Eminonu district the first foreign trade investment company was established in 1973. Prior to this, a hotel opened in 1966 in Beyoglu was the first foreign investment after the foundation of Turkish Republic.

After 1975, the CBD functions began to spread from the vast portion of Eminonu and a small part of Fatih district in the historical peninsula, and the center of Beyoglu district to Sisli, Zincirlikuyu, and Barbaros Boulevard. The developments pertaining to the Intermediate Zone central features have been observed in the regions such as Fatih, Kadikoy, Bakirkoy, Bayrampasa, and Gaziosmanpasa.

The opening of the first bridge on both sides of the Bosphorus Strait (1973), built in conjunction with a network of beltways, and the start of domestic automobile manufacture transformed the city into a city of cars (Kılınçaslan,1981). With the highways, and the opening of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, accessibility between the European and the Asian sides of the city was facilitated, allowing Kadıköy to develop into a central zone. Another influence of highways on the urban transformation in Istanbul is the rapid increase in the number of offices opened along the main arteries in Sisli and Besiktas districts (Berkoz, 1994). The establishment of foreign capital investment firms in Sisli began in 1967. In this district, the first foreign investment bank was established in 1975.

Bosporus Bridges and ring roads of access have lead to spatial transformations in Istanbul, which resulted in the shift of the CBD of the city from Eminonu and Beyoglu towards Sisli and Besiktas, as well as the development of Kadikoy on the Asian side and Bakirkoy on the European side as the first-tier sub-centers. With new highways, which followed the

construction of the above mentioned roads, the borders of the metropolitan area have also extended towards north. In addition to these, low land prices in suburban districts and the increase in private vehicle ownership accelerated the process of decentralization in the city's structure (Dokmeci and Berköz, 1994).

The first Bosphorus Bridge and its beltways were not part of the city plan but were approved in an extra-legal fashion as part of a localized plan that included highways. The bridge and road project totally change the morphology of the city and this resulted in decentralization in Istanbul. Both industry and services became decentralized and Istanbul's geographical centre developed in the northerly direction. Istanbul gained a triple spatial structure. This rapid transformation made the implementation of the city plan very difficult and localized efforts were made to control erratic settlements.

The 80's were marked by the economical alterations that Turkey underwent. Small and medium-size entrepreneurs were discarded, which had its reverberations in the construction sector with increasing capital and technological means. The Mass Housing Law, forced in 1984, accelerated the construction of big-size projects, encouraging cooperatives and private sector housing entrepreneurs to construct new mass housing areas. According to the statistics, in 1980, 60.21% of Istanbul's population inhabited the first segment over a radius of 0-10 km, 31.76% inhabited the second segment of 10-20 km, while 2.63% lived in the final segment of 30-60 km. (Aysu, 1984).

In 1984, the government identified its urban policies, one of which was to make Istanbul a center of international trade, culture and finance throughout the Middle East and Europe. By doing so, the government aimed to attract international capital to Istanbul (Keyder, 2000). The liberal policies adopted by the government in this period lead to an increase in the number of international banks and trade companies. Within the scope of new liberal policies, the government applied three basic spatial policies in order to attract international capital. First of all, Sisli – Maslak axis on the European side, and Altunizade – Kozyatagi on the Asian side became the new international centers of the city, which directly shaped urban planning decisions in Istanbul. In these urban plans Sisli-Maslak central axis was demarcated for skyscrapers. There are several reasons why this axis was determined as the new business center in Istanbul, which include: the pressure by large capital groups, who are at the same time the landowners in the area, the demand for buildings well-equipped with advanced technology in accordance with the development of finance sector, the suitability of land sizes in this area for such development, the economic power of affluent capital groups, who are also the landowners, to meet the above-mentioned building demands, the need to gather dispersed headquarters in one area, and easy accessibility to different parts of the city (Oktem, 2005). During this period, many landowners on the central axis started to construct skyscrapers. While one aspect of the urban policies involved the accumulation of business centers around Sisli-Maslak and Altunizade-Kozyatagi axes, the other aspect of these policies were concerned with decisions to make Istanbul a tourism centre. This was reinforced by the Tourism Incentive Law forced in 1982, which aimed to reinforce tourism in the country. As a result, many five-star hotel constructions were initiated in Istanbul (Dokmeci, Balta, 1999). Finally, necessary decisions were taken to provide sufficient infrastructure in order to attract international capital to Istanbul. To this purpose, the infrastructure projects such as the construction of the highways and the 2nd Bosphorus Bridge, as well as the extension of narrow roads were carried out (Kocabas, 2006). These basic policies triggered substantial changes in the profile of the city centre. Many large shopping centers were opened as new venues of consumption. Industrial facilities, which had been located within the city centre

until the 1980s, dispersed to the peripheral districts due to the increased prices in the city centre (Erkip, 2000).

The transformations experienced by the city of Istanbul during the eighties and its growth over a wide area led to demands for a second bridge over the Bosphorus Strait. This bridge and its beltways were opened to traffic during the Mayor Bedrettin Dalan period. During this same period the city's sewage system was also renovated and a project was put into practice to clean the polluted Golden Horn. Projects designed to ease the transportation problems being experienced by the city were started and they included a railed transportation system i.e. a semi-underground system and a hydrofoil maritime transportation system. Various demolitions were carried out in historic quarters of the city and the Tarlabası Boulevard was opened to traffic. These demolitions aroused -much public criticism and debate. Skyscrapers were also built in the city centre during this same time period. The construction permitted in the areas near the Bosphorus Strait led to heavy population concentrations and had a very negative effect on the city. The period between 1980 and 1990 witnessed a significant growth of unplanned housing areas in the vacant fields between Thracian and Anatolian Highways and in the northern parts on either side of the Bosphorus (Aysu, 1984). Introvert housing areas have become dominant since the beginning of the 1980's as a reflection of the social decomposition of high-middle classes on physical space. The development of enterprises constructing such communities as a sub-sector of construction sector was triggered by the economic decisions taken at the beginning of the 1980's and the potential business due to the allocation of unearned income to urban lands as a result of the economic crises in the second half of the 1970's (Karaoren, 1992).

With the second Bosphorus Bridge in 1988, the gradual increase in access connections on both sides of Istanbul also increased the mobility of high-income groups, who had the highest level of private car ownership in the metropolitan area. Thus, the housing area choices of these groups shifted to prestigious areas in Kadikoy district. Besides, the increase in accessibility between the two sides of the city led to the mobility of not only high-income groups but also low-income groups.

The predominance of services sector in Istanbul also brought about changes about employment, for the development of finance sector generated a rich social segment. In order to meet the needs of this segment, luxurious community housings were constructed on the outskirts of the city.

In nine years between 1981 and 1990, various decrees and plans were put into realization so as to make Istanbul a center of culture and finance so that the city could attract international capital. During this period, the Turkish government and the administration of Istanbul Municipality belonged to the same political party, which played an important role in the realization of these decisions. The decisions increased the appeal of central districts in Istanbul for FDI investors. The statistics regarding the distribution of the number of FDI firms in each district per year support this suggestion. In 1954-1980, 74% of foreign capital firms in Istanbul had been situated in the central districts and 26% in the peripheral districts, while these figures became 82% and 18% respectively in the period between 1981 and 1990 (Berkoz, Turk, 2008).

The decentralization trend, which started in the 1980s, continued in the 1991-2000 period. As Table 1 indicates, while the traditional central business district (Beyoglu, Eminonu and Fatih) underwent a population loss, the other central and peripheral districts witnessed an increase in

population between 1990 and 2000 (Figure 2, 3). Similarly, workforce also revealed changes. During the same period between 1990 and 2000, the density of workforce population shifted from the traditional central business districts (CBD) (Beyoglu, Eminonu and Fatih) to the other districts of Istanbul. Especially, the rise in the workforce population in peripheral districts is relatively higher than that in central districts. When the sectoral distribution of workforce is considered, central districts witnessed an increase in services sector, and a decrease in industrial sector. The sectoral distribution of workforce in peripheral districts yielded a different transformation from that in central districts. In peripheral districts the shares of services and industrial sectors are fairly close to each other. The Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan in 1995 initiated the decentralization of industrial sector from central districts towards peripheral districts. However, this plan was not implemented by the central government in Turkey. In the absence of an approved plan, the city continued to develop on the basis of informal local investment plans, a process that 'guided' the development of the new commercial districts (Kocabaş, 2006). In this process that spanned between 1991 and 2000, 76% of foreign capital firms were situated in the central districts and 24% in the peripheral districts (Berkoz and Turk, 2008).

The political and economical instabilities at national level between 1991 and 2000 called off the implementation of spatial policies regarding FDIs in Istanbul. Moreover, even the idea of making Istanbul an international city was also suppressed. As a result, the development of transportation and telecommunication infrastructures was given any priority although these facilities were essential to international capital (Keyder, 2000).

Since 1990 residential areas have expanded toward the land side of the city, following the highways connected to the first and the second Bosphorus Bridges. Therefore, sprawling primarily began in the areas between this route and the coastline, gradually spreading toward drinking water basins in the north. According to the study results by Kaya&Curran (2006), the rate of green areas on the European side of Istanbul decreased by 12% from 1987 to 2001 becoming 66,000 ha which initially stretched to 75,000 ha. Moreover, agricultural areas decreased by 23%, and also urban sprawl on water basins rapidly increased.

During the 14-year period, forest and green areas decreased by 9,134 ha (12.13%) and the agricultural and bare soil class by 19,656 ha (24.79%). In contrast, the urban and industrial areas increased by 17,290 ha (128.45%) due to dense immigration (Kaya and Curran, 2006). According to the results of this study, the highest increase rate in the European side was observed in the period of 1992-1997.

When we come to the period of 1990-2000, the change of population density increase in Istanbul's peripheral districts reached to 73.2%, surpassing the change rate of population density in Istanbul (%50.6). On the other hand, the change rate of the number of buildings was 83.1%. However, the change rate of the number of buildings in Istanbul was 61.7% during the period 1990-2000 (See Figure 1 and Figure 5). Therefore, as it can be seen on the attached maps, in the period of 1990-2000 the peripheral districts of Istanbul displayed an increase in population density and number of buildings above the average of Istanbul (See Figure 4 and Figure 5).

With legal arrangements to encourage the investment of foreign capital in Turkey, the number of foreign investments especially in Istanbul has increased since the 1990's (Berkoz, 2005). As a result of foreign capital investment in Istanbul, it could be stated that a new group of luxury housing consumers, formed by high-income people working at top administrative

positions, has also articulated into the cluster of high-income group. This user mass has always chosen the housing typology of introvert and gated communities because of being safe and thus suitable to the surrounding they have been accustomed to (Berkoz, 2007).

The major water basins in Istanbul are Omerli, Elmali, Kucukcekmece, Buyukcekmece, Alibeykoy, Terkos, Sazlidere, and Darlik. These basins constitute 60% of the city's area. During the transition of municipalities built on the basins from village status to urban status, very limited urban sprawl was anticipated to meet the requirement of new settlement areas. However, as in the cases of Sultanbeyli and Sarigazi, the basins underwent an intense sprawl. A settlement area of 7,000 ha spans throughout the basins. These areas have generally developed in an unplanned and unlicensed way.

Some of the settlements in the drinking water basins of the Istanbul metropolitan area were within the borders of district municipalities connected to the Metropolitan city and their adjacent area; while others resided within the borders of independent first tier municipalities. The fact that administrative borders do not intersect with basin borders affects planning approaches. Fragmentary zoning plans or regulations in the basins and related developments in these fields occur independently of the main decisions of superior physical plans. Moreover, illegal unlicensed constructions have occurred, which fall outside the scope of law and regulations in these fields. Zoning plans covering these areas have encouraged rapid construction.

In this respect, a significant problem related to the city's sprawl was out of question from the 1930s to 1990s because access to the city centre was not convenient then. Constructions of the Second Bosphorus Bridge and the highways at the beginning of the 1990s increased accessibility. The areas became centers of attraction due to the demand of those escaping from urban life to dwell in the urban peripheries, the convenient accessibility of these areas to the city centre, and the low prices of land. As a result, construction pressure on first tier municipalities increased. Gated residences that developed within the borders of first tier municipalities had the municipality confirm the partial masters involving the sprawl conditions that they determined themselves. Consequently, these first tier municipalities developed especially on basins and forests independent of the development principles of Istanbul's superior master plan.

The legal status of Metropolitan Municipalities was rearranged by the Metropolitan Municipality Law No 5216 in July 23rd, 2007. With this Law, Metropolitan Municipality was authorized to inspect the zoning implementations of district and first tier municipalities.

As a result of agricultural mechanization and industrialization efforts, Istanbul attracted a high amount of rural-urban migration during 1950s. Istanbul is located at the centre of transportation networks extending into several countries and regions, offers a great variety of job opportunities and provides social and technical means of infrastructure at high levels. These have all affected the mass migration from rural-to-urban. The net migration rate of Istanbul has been accelerating. This percentage was 79 %0 in the period between 1975-80 and 99%0 in the period between 1985-90. While the population increase rate was 4,09% in 1960, it raised by 4,48% in 1990 (DİE, 1998). Istanbul's population increase rate is at high levels due to the reason that there is a high level of rural-urban migration.

Squatter settlements have been developed rapidly and formed around industrial areas. Newcomers live those areas and are employed in the industrial firms. Today 27% of Istanbul's population inhabit in the squatter areas (İ.B.B.P.İ.D.B.Ş.P.M., 1995). The main

reasons of the uncontrolled residential development of Istanbul are migration from rural areas and the increase of squatters promoted by continuous reconstruction pardons.

The increase in house demand, parallel to the rapid population growth, has augmented the pressure on local and central authorities. Private entrepreneurs provide a lot of alternatives in order to solve this problem: Mass housing areas (single-family and multi-family gated communities) and residents.

Since 1990 residential areas have expanded toward the land side of the city, following the highways connected to the first and the second Bosphorus Bridges. Therefore, sprawling primarily began in the areas between this route and the coastline, gradually spreading toward drinking water basins in the north (Berkoz, 2008). In the 1990's, heterogeneous housing areas inside the city started losing popularity among the urban elite class, who instead showed a tendency towards isolated and homogenous areas far from Istanbul's density. This tendency has resulted in the rapid growth of mass housing areas in the urban peripheries, which include a life style enabling the expectations of living with families at the same cultural and income level and which consist of less dense single-family housings (Berkoz, 2008).

Big pieces of land on the urban peripheries that enable the development of such homogenous housing areas and low prices of land are the reasons for the desirability of these areas in the bosom of nature, which meet the demands of high-income groups. The demand on the northern and north-eastern parts of the city in the aftermath of the 1999 earthquake in Istanbul has also enhanced this phenomenon. Safety, social comfort and villa-type walls are the general characteristics of these communities.

As a result, new residences started to spread around the peripheries in Istanbul, whose developmental features complied with the expectations of life shared by families of the same cultural background and income level. These communities were equipped with special amenities such as large variety of leisure activities, higher building standards and high-quality neighbourhood environmental infrastructures. Neighbourhood environmental structures include high-quality roads, walkways and landscapes, false-gated entrance pillars, luxurious street furniture, pocket open spaces. Encouraging car-ownership and use, gated communities have various consequences: congestion and pollution at considerable levels, and a decrease in a sustainable public transport system are two examples of these consequences. They also increase the appearance of suburban car-based residential sprawl, leading to longer commute and congestion (Berkoz, 2006).

In his "The Process of Spatial Segmentation" Perouse, J.P. (2003) highlights that there are about 4000 gated residential areas in Istanbul inhabited by 60-70 thousand people. Gated residential areas constructed after 2000 have expanded to 30-million m² area (Coliers Rescoe, 2003). Gated communities are implemented by 5 institutions: Cooperatives, Mass Housing Administration, Local Administrations, Private Entrepreneurs, and Türkiye Emlak Bank (specialized in real estate).

99 single-family gated communities have been detected within the scope of this study. There are 10.366 housing units in these communities. Most of the GCs in Istanbul (83.8 %) were constructed after 1990. The highest number of GCs is in Sariyer, Beykoz and B.Cekmece districts which bear communities constructed after 1990. 19.2% of 99 single family GCs are in central districts, while 80.8% are in the peripheral ones. In terms of housing units, 8.5% are in central districts and 91.5% in the peripheral ones (Berkoz, 2008 and 2009). The single-family housings were settled in the vacant fields in the central districts before the 80's, the

saturation of city centers with growth, and related to this, the increase in the value of lands have lead GCs to settle in the empty and inexpensive lands in urban peripheries (Berkoz, 2008).

48.5% of GCs in Istanbul accumulate around the districts of Sariyer, Beykoz and B.Cekmece, which bear the highest number of such communities. Sariyer and Beykoz districts are situated in the north-western and north-eastern parts of Istanbul, which have the most expensive land prices in Istanbul. Moreover, compared to other districts, the total number of housing units in the above-mentioned ones is very high. 78.2% of the total housing units of GCs in Istanbul are in these districts (Berkoz, 2009).

Retail trade facilities of Istanbul are facing a rapid transformation due to tremendous population increase, incomes and car ownership growth, restructuring of urban structure, changes from central to free market economy, global forces and changing life styles. In consequence, population decentralization, the rapid growth of peripheral zone with modern housing projects, construction of highways and bridges between Asia and Europe and globalization have been the chief forces changing the nature of the retail market (Ertekin et al., 2008).



Figure 6. Distribution of Shopping Malls in Istanbul (2010)

Table. 4. The Spatial Distribution of Shopping Malls between 1986-2009 within the districts of İstanbul

DISTRICTS	1986 - 1990	1991 - 1995	1996 - 2000	2001 - 2005	AFTER 2005	TOTAL
CENTRAL DISTRICTS						
BEYOGLU						0
EMIİNONU						0
FATİH					1	1
SISLI			1	3	5	9
BESİKTAS		1		3	3	7
KADIKOY			1	1	2	4
BAKIRKOY	2	1		2	3	8
USKUDAR		1		1		2
SUBTOTAL	2	3	2	10	14	31

PERIPHERAL DISTRICTS						
ZEYTINBURNU			1			1
KAGITHANE						0
BAYRAMPASA				2	1	3
BEYKOZ						0
KUÇUKCEKME				2	9	11
SİLİVRİ			1			1
PENDİK					4	4
KARTAL			1			1
BÜYÜKCEKME			1	4	10	15
SARIYER						0
EYUP				1	2	3
UMRANIYE			1		2	3
GAZİOSMANP			1			1
CATALCA						0
GUNGOREN					2	2
AVCILAR						0
BAGCILAR					2	2
BAHCELİEVLE				1	3	4
MALTEPE		1	1	1		3
ESENLER					1	1
TUZLA						0
SUBTOTAL		1	7	11	36	55

TOTAL	2	4	9	21	50	86
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The spatial distribution of shopping malls is analyzed according to zones of the city. Between 1990 and 2000, a decline in population is observed in the core of Istanbul (Beyoglu, Eminonu and Fatih districts), while the population increased in other central districts and peripheral districts. The core zone of Istanbul has only one shopping mall. When we look at the demographic change in Istanbul with respect to zones, we see that in central districts there is a decrease in population with a rate of 29.38%, but in peripheral areas there is an increase of 107.97%. The central districts zone has 36% of the number of shopping malls. The peripheral districts has 67% of the city's population, peripheral districts zone has 64% of the number of shopping malls (Table 4 and Figure 6).

When we come to the period of 1990-2000, the change of population density increase in Istanbul's peripheral districts reached to 73.2%, surpassing the change rate of population density in Istanbul (%50.6). On the other hand, the change rate of the number of buildings was 83.1%. However, the change rate of the number of buildings in Istanbul was 61.7% during the period 1990-2000 (See Figure 1). Figure 6 indicates that the rise of gated community sprawl is observed in peripheral districts of Istanbul, which bear an increase above the population density and the rise in the number of buildings in Istanbul.

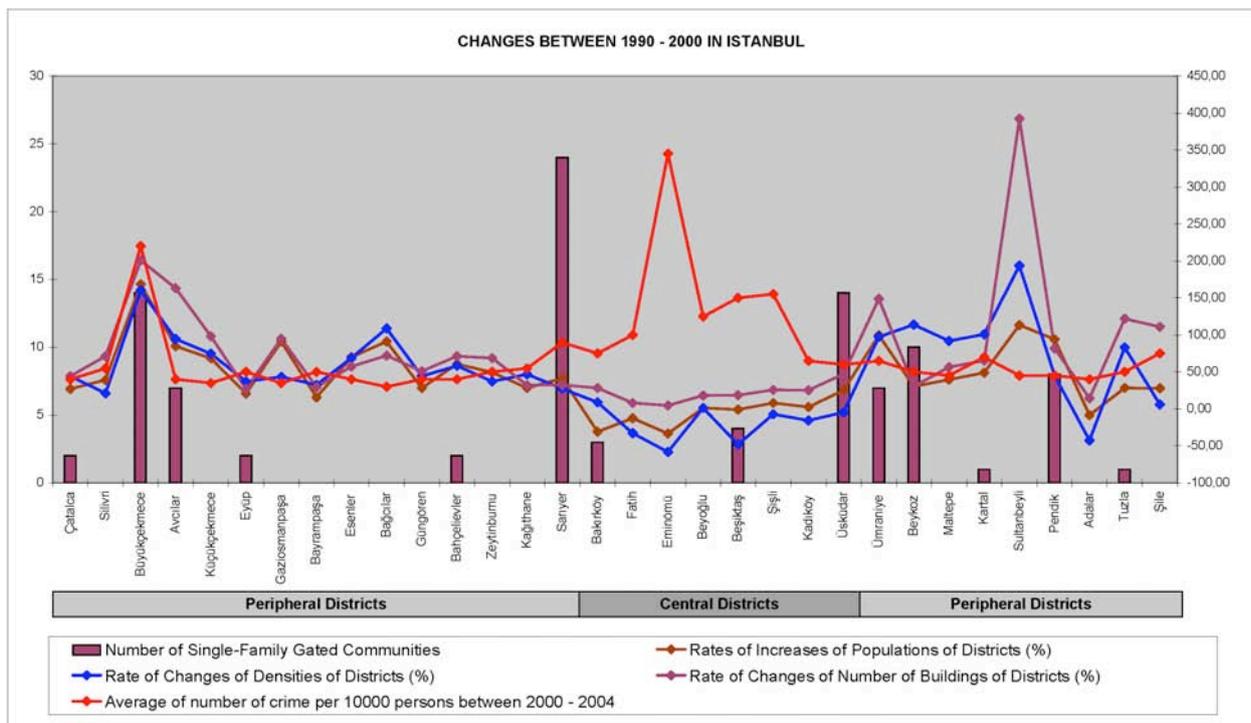


Figure 6. Changes of Population and Densities between 1990-2000 according to districts of Istanbul (Berköz, 2008)

CONCLUSION

It has been seen that during its 165 years' planning process, the city of Istanbul, similar to many other large cities, has not been able to create an institution strong enough to control the rapid urbanization process being experienced and thus many events that are not in the scope of plans have been occurring at an increasingly fast pace.

Istanbul has attracted millions of immigrants from the other regions of Turkey. The immigrated inhabitants have created a heterogeneous and scattered urban structure. The reflections of this structure are spontaneously developed, unplanned and uncontrolled settlements adjacent to planned development areas.

Plans have been also very difficult to implement as there has been a sharp increase in the values of the areas and the city and other public agencies do not have a large stock of available land. In addition, existing government lands have been appropriated by squatters and building codes have proven to have been inadequate to solve the problem in the way they did not define the procedures of construction of new buildings in a detailed way. It has been documented that the continual pardoning of land and building violators have led local authorities to accept the negative condition as the status quo. Rather than the plans being used as tools guiding the development of the city, the plans have trailed the actual developments that did occur.

The process of globalization occurring today in Turkey and throughout the world means that the creation of a telecommunication infrastructure capable of providing services at an international level is essential for Istanbul's future-directed planning and development into a regional service centre which is internationally well-known. The advancement of its transportation and communications systems will give Istanbul the opportunity of competing in global market places.

Throughout much of its long history Istanbul was one of the world's most influential cities. Currently, parallel to the rapid developments occurring around the globe, Istanbul's ability to once again develop into a leading city is dependent on the efforts to increase its competitive strength in relation to other leading cities and on its economic integration with the rest of the world. Istanbul will become a metropolis giving international services provided that the services are given at high standards, the workforce to give these services are trained in the best way and the policies are made accordingly.

The affects of the social and spatial changes caused by globalization experienced worldwide are also seen within the Istanbul metropolitan area. With this rapid transformation process, foreign capital companies are investing in Turkey, especially in Istanbul. There have appeared in it shopping centers, multi-national headquarters, and high-class residential houses.

Economic restructuring policies have also brought a rapid economic growth with an increasing income gap in the hands of a new-upper class, elitist in its living looking for a higher degree of status. People from high-income groups show a tendency to live in urban peripheries, because these communities provide high-standard urban services to their residents. Moreover, the availability of lands big enough for the development of such communities, lower land prices with respect to the city center, and the green belts surrounding these lands are among the reasons why peripheral areas are desirable spaces to fulfill the requirements of high-income groups.

The rise of GCs has gained significance due to the demand for the northern and north-eastern districts of the city since the 1999 earthquake in the Marmora Region. They also increase the appearance of suburban car-based residential sprawl, leading to longer commute and congestion.

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**Examining the roles of risk and protective factors in the presence or absence of problem
behavior among Chinese Male Adolescents**

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Examining the roles of risk and protective factors in the presence or absence of problem behavior among Chinese Male Adolescents

Abstract

The main aim of the present study was to identify the risk and protective factors relevant to the problem behaviors of Chinese male adolescents. 376 Grade 11 male adolescents were recruited from 4 high schools from Jiangsu province, eastern China. These students were asked to complete a self-report questionnaire, which was designed to measure risk factors, protective factors, and problem behaviors. Results from regression analysis showed that poor parental supervision and discipline was a significant predictor of problem behavior. Although the combined protective factors offset the negative effect from the poor parental supervision and discipline, only two of six protective factors (e.g., family attachment and recognition for prosocial involvement by school) made significant contributions to the prediction of male adolescents' adaptive behavior. Findings of the present investigation have theoretical and practical implications for the design of prevention and intervention programs.

Key words: Problem Behavior; Chinese male adolescents; Risk; Protection

Examining the roles of risk and protective factors in the presence or absence of problem behavior among Chinese Male Adolescents

1. Introduction

Adolescence is a critical developmental stage because during this period, problematic behavior peaks in onset, prevalence, and incidence (Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001). In the literature, boys have long been demonstrated by criminologists (e.g., Kruttschnitt, 1994) and psychologists (e.g., Bettencourt & Miller, 1996) to be more problematic than girls at every age. Thus, it is no doubt a great challenge for those working with young people to prevent the problem behaviors of adolescents, especially males.

Two main prevention approaches, risk-focused and protection-focused, have been suggested to decrease the prevalence of problem behavior. These require the identification of risk factors contributing to problem behavior and/or the identification of those protective factors that can reduce the negative effects of risk factors.

Researchers have been investigating risk factors that influence problem behavior for some time. Many western studies have reported that poor family management practices are significantly associated with problematic behaviors in adolescents, especially male adolescents. Additionally, this association has been shown to be stable over time (Caldwell, Beutler, Ross, & Silver, 2006; Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Kandel & Andrews, 1987; Rutter, et al., 2004).

Research also has suggested that a range of protective factors may provide a buffer to decrease the likelihood of engaging in problem behavior (Armstrong, et al., 2005; Hawkins, et al., 1992; Jessor, Bos, Vanderryn, Costa, & Turbin, 1995), but some inconsistent findings have emerged. Early efforts were primarily focused on characteristics of the individual such as intelligence, gender, autonomy, self-esteem, and internal coping skills (e.g., Masten & Garmezy, 1985). Research also has focused on the role of factors external to the individual such as care and support from family, school and community (e.g., Anthony, 1987; Gore & Eckenrode, 1994; Howard, Dryden, & Johnson, 1999).

Hawkins and Catalano (1992) proposed that in developing an intervention strategy, in order to better reduce the negative effects of risk factors, the protective factors should have a theoretical basis. According to this perspective, social development theory (Hawkins & Catalano, 1992; Hawkins, et al., 1992) is chosen as the theoretical framework for the current investigation.

In the Social Development Model, bonding is viewed as a key protective factor against the development of problematic behaviors (e.g., conduct problems, truancy, and drug use). Hawkins and colleagues (1992) claim that positive bonds include four important components: (1) attachment to parents; (2) commitment to schooling; (3) regular involvement in activities; and (4) belief in the expectations. Research employing this framework has documented that three distinct domains of bonding (family, school and community) need to be taken into consideration. Through bonding to affectionate parents or prosocial adults from school and community, children's motivation is strengthened to conform to positive values and behavioral norms.

However, whether social bonding represents a distinct protective factor capable of buffering the effects of risk (e.g., poor parental supervision and discipline) has not yet been determined (Hawkins, et al., 1992). Besides, according to Kirby and Fraser (1997), some risk and protective factors are likely to be culturally specific.

This study aimed to examine the effect of poor parental supervision and discipline on behavior problems, and to evaluate the social development theory as a framework for understanding such behavior in a Chinese context. The current study utilizes protective factors, drawn from the Communities that Care (CtC) instrument (Arthur, Hawkins, Pollard, Catalano, & Baglioni Jr., 2002; CtC, 2002), and operationalized through six constructs (Armstrong et al., 2005; CtC, 2002): family attachment; positive relationship with parents; positive relationships with adults; opportunities for pro-social involvement in school; recognition for pro-social involvement from school; and high school expectations of behavior.

The current research addresses the following questions: 1) Is poor parental supervision and discipline a predictor of problematic behavior among Chinese male adolescents? 2) Which protective factor is the best predictor of the absence of problem behavior? 3) To what extent can the protective factors offset the effect of the risk on problem behavior?

2. Method

2.1 Participants and procedure

Permission and ethical review were provided by the University of Sydney Human Ethics Committee. Participants in the study were 376 Grade 11 male students recruited from 4 high schools from a rural area, a small city, and a big city within Jiangsu province, eastern China. They were aged from 15 to 19 years. These students were asked to complete a self-report questionnaire, which was designed to measure risk factors, protective factors, and problem behaviors. The original English version was translated into Chinese by two bilingual translators.

2.2 Measures

All items used in the study were drawn from Armstrong et al.'s (2005) On Track Youth Lifestyles Survey (for secondary school students). Poor parental supervision and discipline in the study was measured by 8 items and protection, consisting of 6 factors, was measured by 26 items. All indicators for the risk and protective factors were measured with a 4-point response scale (e.g., from 1 'strongly agree', to 4 'strongly disagree'). These factors in the On Track Youth Lifestyles Survey have been shown to be internally consistent, with high alpha coefficients ($\geq .70$).

Student's problem behaviors were measured by 12 items based on the frequency of occurrence in the previous year. Problem behaviors cover three categories, namely truancy, use of substances (alcohol and cigarettes), and antisocial acts (stealing, receiving stolen goods, attacking, vandalizing). Responses from the questions were coded into a binary response such that "0" was coded if the respondent had never committed the problem behavior, and "1" was coded if the student had behaved in this way once or more.

3. Results

Prior to regression analyses, Pearson correlations among these risk and protective factors were tested. Inter-correlations among factors are presented in Table 1, with coefficients (absolute value) ranging from .14 to .54. The low to moderate inter-correlations provided support for multidimensional factor distinctiveness. The internal consistency of each factor is presented in Table 1 (in the diagonal). Cronbach's alphas (all ≥ 0.70) indicated that these measured items were reliable for all proposed risk and protective factors.

Based on the results, one single regression was conducted to test the hypothesized linkage between poor parental supervision/ discipline and problem behavior. Table 2 shows that poor parental supervision/ discipline was a significant predictor of problem behavior with a

standardized regression coefficient 0.37.

Table 1

Pearson correlations among these risk and protective factors

	<i>R1</i>	<i>P1</i>	<i>P2</i>	<i>P3</i>	<i>P4</i>	<i>P5</i>	<i>P6</i>
R1:Poor Parental Supervision and Discipline	.72						
P1:Family Attachment	-0.35	.89					
P2:Positive Relationship with Parents	-0.35	0.51	.70				
P3:Positive Relationship with Adults	-0.14	0.33	0.40	.72			
P4:Opportunities for Prosocial Involvement (school)	-0.21	0.23	0.40	0.31	.79		
P5:Recognition for Prosocial Involvement (school)	-0.26	0.29	0.39	0.36	0.54	.81	
P6:High School Expectation of Behavior	-0.34	0.26	0.31	0.16	0.33	0.45	.75

Note. Reliabilities (Cronbach's alphas) for factors are presented in the diagonal

Next, one multiple regression was used to explore protective factors included in the model which contributed to the prediction of behavior competence. Overall, the six protective factors explained 14% of the variance in problem behavior. As shown in Table 2, family attachment and recognition for prosocial involvement by school significantly negatively predicted these male students' problem behavior, while other factors did not make significant contributions to the prediction of male adolescents' adaptive behavior.

Table 2

Regression results predicting behavioral outcomes (standardized betas)

	Problem Behavior
Risk Factors	
(R1) Poor parental Supervision and Discipline	0.37**
Protective Factors	
(P1) Family Attachment	-0.17*
(P2) Positive Relationship with Parents	0.07ns
(P3) Positive relationship with adult	0.20†
(P4) Opportunities for prosocial involvement in school	-0.03ns
(P5) Recognition for prosocial involvement by school	-0.32**
(P6) High school expectation of behavior	-0.06ns
Total R ²	0.14

*p<.05 **p<.01

† This is a suspected suppression effect with a reversal of the direction in standardized beta. When tested in a single linear regression, it was non-significant

4. Discussion

The main purpose of the current research was to explore the roles of risk and protective factors in the presence or absence of problem behavior among Chinese male adolescents using Social Development Model as the theoretical basis. Our analyses showed that poor parental supervision and discipline was related to problem behavior. Less parental supervision and discipline puts

adolescents at a much greater risk of engaging in problem behaviors. The findings were similar to findings from western studies (e.g., Caldwell, et al., 2006).

Findings indicated that not all of the protective factors investigated are important for the development of adaptive behavior for male adolescents. The roles that family attachment and recognition for pro-social involvement in school had in modifying the impact of poor parent supervision and discipline on problem behavior were underscored. However, overall, the negative effect of poor parental supervision and discipline was offset by these protective factors.

The findings have the potential to make a broader contribution to the Social Development Model. Social Development theory emphasizes bonding as a key protective factor to moderate the negative effect of risk in the process of an individual's development. This is because it claims positive bonding to parents or prosocial adults can enhance children's motivation to obey behavioral norms. Positive bonding can be developed through such components as attachment to parents; commitment to schooling; regular involvement in activities; and belief in the expectations. The results provided evidence that bonding can still be regarded as a protective factor against the development of problematic behaviors in the Chinese context. However, not all of the factors in this study are capable of buffering the effects of the risk factor. It leaves a question unanswered: can these components (e.g., attachment to parents; commitment to schooling; regular involvement in activities; and belief in the expectations) really develop positive bonds? Further research on this question is needed.

Findings of the present investigation provide some guidance for the design of prevention and intervention programs. To prevent the prevalence of problem behavior for Chinese male adolescents, an effective strategy is to enhance the child-parent attachment and to provide recognition for pro-social involvement by schools. Furthermore, parents should be encouraged to supervise and discipline their children.

In interpreting the results of this study and attempting to apply findings to other populations, some points need to be recognized. Firstly, there is a need to extend the sample to other grades and other parts of China – and then to other parts of Asia. Secondly, data from longitudinal designs, from multiple methods and multiple sources should be considered in future research.

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Bringing robotic education into a Girls' Senior High School in Taiwan: Probing into the problem solving model of creative project work from BLOG

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Abstract

Ushering K12 in engineering education is of little importance and rarely put into practice in Taiwan. The research intended to emphasize robotics is an excellent tool for teaching science and engineering, and it is a compelling topic for students of all ages. This study recorded and analyzed 24 secondary-level students and 2 teachers by adopting evaluation case study. During the process of creative project work (CPW) in robotic curriculum, we adopted ICT environment, discussed the process and contents among Blogs, and assisted with analysis of semi-structure interview record of students/teachers and the final report of CPW by students. Eventually, we probed into the impact on students between problem solving model of CPW in robotic curriculum and the effect of ICT tools when undertaking project. According to the final analysis, we drew two stages and six steps of the problem solving model from the creation of students' project work. Besides, we also found that there is no time and space limitation to communicate the questions and proceed the evaluations and feedbacks of designated topic among students/students and students/teachers by applying Blogs. Furthermore, the instant search function of Internet resource, Blogs discussion and instant messages will promote a better learning efficiency when students made. However, they also indicated some shortcomings.

Index Terms: problem-solving, creative project work, ICT, blog

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1. INTRODUCTION

The senior high school curriculum guidelines in Taiwan stated that the life technology and computer science curriculums should develop students' abilities in independent thinking and problem-solving as well as stimulate their creativity and potential (Chao, et al., 2009; Ministry of Education, 2008). Secondary education in Taiwan fostering students' abilities in solving real-world problems is pointed out as one of the most important goals in life technology curriculum. In addition, the six criteria of Nets (National Educational Technology Standards) for students in 2007 involve creativity and innovation, problem solving, and decision making. In order to foster students' abilities of problem solving and hands-on exploration of science, the study aims creative project work (CPW) activity, which was the 3rd stage experiment curriculum of the High-scope three years program, pushed by NSC Taiwan, to inspire students to study science and technology. The present study investigates how the schoolgirls construct their creative problem-solving model .

First of all, the researcher will describe the tasks and assessment criteria of CPW activities then group the students by the score of previous problem-solving orientation scale 24 students were divided into 6 groups, with two groups of each level, according to high, middle and low scores. Next, the teacher will define the problem situation, on open-end and real-world problem such as "design a robot or auto-control device used by Lego NXT which can be used in the real-life and help people to solve some problem". According to problem situation, each group proposes a solution to the real-life problem which is defined in their group CPW activity, based on previously learned knowledge and relevant real-life experience, through the group discussion, brainstorming, information search and analysis, defining problems, and generating ideas.

In accordance with students' group discussion, the researcher closely observed participants' verbal and nonverbal behaviors, and teachers provide appropriate counseling for each group during the study and conduct 3 semi-structure interviews at the time point of three major CPS components (Isaksen, Dorval, and Treffinger, 1994).

According to the suggestion of using ICT tools to make or present learning portfolio by the students in the first year experimental curriculum (Chao et al., 2009). A lot of studies have focused on the use of network systems such as blogs, Wikis, and Twitter in educational settings (Ellison, & Wu, 2008 ; Huffaker, 2005; Lin et al., 2006). Students were asked to use the Blog as a platform of group discussion and results exhibition in their CPW activity, and the researcher achieved a triangulation of qualitative data and verify the correctness of the results through the content of blog, final report, data of semi-structure interviews.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Problem and Problem-solving

Various scholars have different views on the definition of problem. From the cognitive psychology, the problem is defined as something that has a clear solution path, which can be divided into two major categories (Sternberg, 1999).

1. Well-structured problem: The problem which can clearly give a clear status, solution method and clear goal will be referred to as a "Well-structural problem".

2. Ill-structured problem: Ill-structured problems possess multiple solutions, solution paths, no definite answer and contain uncertainty about which concepts, rules, and principles are necessary for the solution or how they are organized and which solution is best. On the dissertation of Cognitive Psychology, the problem is difficult to establish patterns and answer the mental representation, and multiple solutions. There are plenty of solutions to problems, whose appropriateness is different due to the cognition of reasons for the problems.

Chang & Weng (2005) stated that " the science curriculum should develop students' abilities in independent thinking and problem-solving as well as stimulate their creativity and potential". ISTE, according to the science and technology international standards for education (National

Educational Technology Standards For student(2007), proposed that "problem solving and collaborative learning" were the science and technology education standards for students. In addition, studies from a number of researches revealed that "creative development" is highly correlated with "problem solving". Torrance (1966) described four components of creativity, viz. fluency, flexibility, elaboration and originality, as well as emphasized that "creativity is a process involved how to detect problem, defect, knowledge gaps" and "seek answers, make assumptions, test hypotheses, and repeatedly revised assumptions and verification, and propose results". Guliford (1977) advocated it is closely related to problem solving and creative thinking. Davis (1986) indicates that the creative process is a series of steps or stages to solve problem. Cooper and Press (1995) further elaborated that the design is art, and also problem-solving; it is a creative act.

The most recent curriculum guidelines in Taiwan repeatedly stressed that "creative thinking" and "problem solving" were the key objectives of secondary education (Ministry of Education, 2008). And the development and cultivation of creativity has been the important educational goal of gifted education.

2.2 Project work

Project work (PW), from the constructivist theory, holds that traditional teaching activities are required to construct an active learning environment, which provides learners with opportunities to choose explorative topics with truth and value. In the process of exploring the problem, learner try to find the answer, cooperate with others, and use technology tools to produce learning outcomes or works(Giilbahar & Tinmaz, 2006 ; Luehmann, 2001 ; Papastergiou, 2005). In other words, PW is a teaching activity, which guides students to learn actively and try to explore and solve problems and transfers students from acceptors of knowledge to active knowledge explorers.

PW especially aims students to conduct cognitive, skill, emotional learning for interesting or controversial issues of teaching-related topics, explore the key point of problem in depth and bring up cognitive thinking, inquiry skills to achieve high-level problem-solving learning(Gubacs, 2004 ; Grant & Branch, 2005).

The basic steps of project work in general can be summarized as follows: preparation stage, problem solving stage, evaluation and feedback stage. Collaborative learning allows learners to develop an open-mind and understand that knowledge is co-constructed (Torp and Sage, 1998). Collaborative learning process of CPW is popularized by the majority of students is deemed to enhance such abilities as the cognition, skills, affection and creativity (Giilbahar & Tinmaz, 2006) .

Therefore, the implementation of PW is an important teaching activity in science or engineering education. Although many studies use statistical analysis through the questionnaire to discuss the importance of PW, but little research has been done to explore "bring engineering education into high school level" in Taiwan, and which pedagogy strategies or method, example as PW activity, creative problem-solving, can arise high school student interest in engineering. The reason may be that down-rooting engineering education was not taken seriously before, but now is really an important topic.

2.3 Creative Problem-Solving (CPS)

Some related researches state that creativity can be developed and is in the process of problem solving. Creativity in many daily activities is quite common (Runco & Richard,1998). Osborn in his book "Applied Imagination" proposed seven stages of creativity: orientation, preparation, analysis, hypothesis, incubation, synthesis and verification. Then Parnes in 1967, integrated creative thinking strategies with the brainstorming (Osborn, 1953) and came up with five stages of CPS: fact-finding, problem-finding, idea-finding, solution-finding and

acceptance-finding.

Isaksen and Treffinger (1985) expanded the CPS model by describing six stages (adding a Mess-Finding stage), rather than five, and redefined " fact finding " as " data finding ", and stressed divergent thinking and convergent thinking in various stages. Divergent thinking can stimulate the expansion of different creativity. Convergent thinking can summarize creativity and be used interchangeably with divergent thinking. Treffinger and Isaksen (1992) further refined the six stages of CPS into three general components, described as Understanding the Problem, Generating Ideas, and Planning for Action.

CPS involves the integration of both creative and critical thinking skills. Different from traditional problem-solving, CPS advocates that thinking as more flexible options as possible before selection and implementation of solutions to obtain a better idea.

The most powerful applications of CPS for students are that they can carry out their solutions in real life, involving students in dealing with real opportunities and challenges rather than with hypothetical solutions to contrived problems (Treffinger, 1994). Engineering education bridges classroom lessons to real-world experiences.

Engineering tend is one of life-technology curriculum reform direction in Taiwan senior high school (Lee & Lai, 2004). But there is a lack of study on engineering learning using problem-solving approach in senior high schools' CPW in Taiwan. Down-rooting engineering education to K12 is a global trend, Robotics curriculum is a very suitable project for development.., and implementing the robotics curriculum into senior high schools could inspire students' interests in engineering learning (Chen et al., 2009). However less research mention, can CPS teaching strategies be implemented in high school engineering education?

3. PURPOSE

This study would try to answer the following research questions based on the analysis from group Blogs, semi-structure interviews and final report of CPW:

- (a). to probe a problem solving model from the students' CPW of robot curriculum, and
- (b) what differences were between different groups of students in problem-solving process?

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Qualitative methods

The qualitative methods used in the study were observation, semi-interview and documents analysis from blogs. For both teachers and researchers involved in this study, the most important task has been to report and document the research experiments and findings as thoroughly as possible by providing detailed descriptions of problem solving processes and concepts developed by the schoolgirls. The purpose of data collection has been to successively create a problem solving model of the way schoolgirls develop their creative project work.

4.2 Participants

Participants were 24 schoolgirls, who were assigned into 6 groups (involved 2 high problem solving ability, 2 low problem solving ability and 2 middle problem solving ability groups), from High-Scope Science and Technology classes in Taichung Girls' Senior High School, Taiwan, R.O.C.. Each group contained approximately four students, and the collaborative creative project work lasted for sixteen weeks (two hours per week). The thirty-two hour experiment involved working in pairs to solve an open-end problem, from which students raised the subject of CPW after discussion. These students were tenth graders registered in TCGS in August, 2008, and their average age was 17. They had basic computer skills and robotics learning experience. Two teachers carrying out the teaching instructions for this CPW are from TCGS and they have 12 years teaching experience on computer and technology course.

4.3 Research procedure

Aimed to explore the schoolgirl's problem solving process in group creative project-work, and to further explore their problem-solving model, this study started with defining the relevant issues and the purpose of research from related literature, and then adopted inductive analysis of qualitative methods to elicit the result and made the recommendation. Procedure of the study was as follows.

1. Describe the content of CPW activity and group students. Students were asked to implement CPW at each prearranged time point, referring to the three major components and six specific CPS stages proposed by Isaksen, Dorval, and Treffinger (1994). Besides, in the research process, students were asked to record all group discussions in blogs.
2. In each stage, semi-structured interview was carried out by the researcher, and two tutors were involved in the CPW process to discuss and make observations.
3. Transcribe collected interview data into verbatim draft, compile and encode the information, and then inducted specific and reliable research results.

4.4 Data collection and analysis

The qualitative data were collected by the researcher from semi-structured interview, records of their blogs, final report of project work and teacher's field observation note. By following Yin's (1984) proposition "replication strategy" in the case study method, first the researcher must identify unique patterns within the data for the single case (group) and then conducted cross-case thematic analysis to categorize the differences and similarities across the participants of group in responses and activities. For example, in this study the researcher used the data collected from blogs, interviews, field observation to compare with Isaken's CPS model, with the goal of finding the recurring themes and organizing the data into systematic categories of analysis. Then the researcher refined these themes by removing overlapping ones and capturing the main thrust of the meaning of each theme (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). General themes or patterns emerged and were integrated through this data coding process.

4.5 Data reliability and validity

In order to promote the quality and credibility of the study, the indicators—credibility, migration, reliability and verifiability—that were proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to increase reliability were adopted. In-field observation, analysis of participants' blog records, six times semi-structure interviews and final report of each group' project work were employed in the study to achieve a triangulation of qualitative data. Direct observation of the participants was conducted during every stage of CPW.

5. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

After comparing the problem-solving process in CPW with Isaken' CPS model, we applied inductive analysis method of qualitative research to emerge this case study' problem-solving model was two components (Seeking the Problem, Planning for Action) and five stages (Mess-Finding, Data-Finding, Problem and Idea Finding, Solution-Finding and Acceptance-Finding). Aiming to the problem solving progress of developing the designated topic, we came up with the findings and discussed all stages as follows:

5.1 Seeking the Problem (Understanding the Problem and Generating Ideas)

5.1.1. Students can look for problems in daily life, matching the "mass-finding" stage, and the difference in numbers of questions arose between high and low level problem-solving ability groups.

In this study, students were guided by "On the basis of previous learning experience, students

design a robot or auto-control device used by Lego NXT to help solve human problems in daily life, both of which can be related to the concept of energy-saving or green energy". Each group students at this stage had good performance in "divergent thinking".

"we can think about the question: can your shampoos, shower gels can be used to the last drop? From the perspective of energy resources, we should make an automatic device to improve this problem." [HG2-W2-R]

"The stores on the streets carry automatic vacuum cleaner; actually, we also need automatic mop, it can clear up the floor." [HG1-W2-R]

"The car roof can be refitted with solar energy, especially the buses. It can provide power for cars, we think it is enough for our discussion problem, and there are no further ideas." [LG1-W2-S]

However, in the discussion among high score groups and low score ones, two groups from high score group had more problem proposals, and two groups from low score group had only 1-2 discussed challenge problems, and then no more further challenge problems. We can find out students from low score group in challengeable problems are less positive and progressive than high score ones.

In addition, in the interview of second week, three groups of students mentioned simultaneously:

"The problem offered by the teacher was quite broad without absolute solution. How to set up the problem confused us so much, and it really made us discuss for a longer time without coming up with any solutions." [HG1-W2-S, HG2-W2-S, MG-W2-S]

"We only can rely on the daily things that we ever see. After taking a deep look and observe, we categorized the problem, and then compared it with previous learning, and finally we could know whether we can do it or not." [HG2-W2-S, MG-W2-S]

Therefore, we could know when students start doing project, they usually cannot make sure the problem immediately, but find out the challengeable problem from previous learning experience in their divergent thinking.

5.1.2 The "data-finding" stage occurred in every group from the interview, but presented difference in "convergent thinking" process.

From students' interview records and Blog, we can discover that there is significant differences between the students of high problem solving capacity and those of low problem solving capacity. The students from low score group did not have a consistence of data convergence. That means after they proposed the problem, they right away started problem exploring after Internet surfing and data-finding from books. However, the students from high score were different. After they listed their challengeable problems, at once they discussed their findings and searched for related information from Internet, and then proposed their discussion. Finally, they deleted those problems that cannot be done or have been done by others before, and then analyzed the data to start extending the sub-problem of problem. After the interview with the students from low score group, they thought that:

"We should search for the data according to the problems found in the challengeable problem, and try again what others had already done before. Try it!" [LG2-W4-S]

I do believe the problem is quite simple from our current project, that is, the robot that can close the window automatically. And it should be used in the daily life. [LG2-W4-S]

It is found that while the students from low score groups were operating, their performance about the positive and progressive attitude of problem solving was poorer than the students from high score groups, which means low score group students' self-learning management was poorer than high score group ones.

5.1.3 "Problem-Finding" and "Idea-Finding" arise dependently

The main purpose of the finding problem process of prepared problem step was "thinking of possible problem, and then verified the key point of problem". From the interview between students and teachers, we found that the specification of context in this step was not significant; however, there is a simultaneous circular relationship between "Idea-Finding" and "Problem-Finding".

“Wow! I don’t know still have this problem “how does the energy store?” Why we haven’t considered it before? We must confirm the problem again.” [LG1-W4-R]

“In fact, when we collect the Walking-robot information from Internet or library, we started the design concept. The design idea is “Biped Robot” to help human, but it need gyro to keep body balance. But we can’t get gyro, it will be a problem.” [MG1-W4-S]

In addition, from interviews, we found two high score groups students discuss 3-times on the back and forth between the two phases "problem-finding" and "Idea-finding".

During the stage, these two groups of students hold meeting about 7 times, showing that these two groups of students think deeply in the problem.

5.1.4 Facilitate group cooperative learning through problem solving

In the fourth week of the case study, there are 3 groups of students in the interview said that *“They feel good in group cooperative learning. From the process they found the problem to be solved, not as easy as subjects learning.”* It also vaguely said the program through problem solving and thinking could increase students’ active and self learning.

5.2 Planning for Action Component

The Component includes “Solution finding” and “Acceptance finding” two stages. “Solution finding” stage mainly chooses the best solution after assessing the advantages and disadvantages of various methods from Idea-finding. “Acceptance finding” stage mainly come to a resolution after consider the feasibility and implementation plan in the choice of solution method.

5.2.1. “Solutions finding” was recorded in each group’s blog, but in the assessment of the solution, high score students can better describe the content while low score students in the interviews only said that, “We think it is fine.”

“Using infrared sensors can detect rain, just do it no problem.” [LG2-W5-S]

“In fact, we have been thinking about where the problem may occur, but in the project work process we still find out several problems. Does we assess wrong? I think so, but I believe that because our discussing is not perfect, induce the question can’t clearly define.” [HG1-W5-S]

From blog and interview recording or report, it is not difficult to find out a phenomenon: the high score group students can analyze and discuss the problem in depth, and verify the problem imagination. However, lower-score-group students take easier problems to be study project title when they begin.

5.2.2 “Find out every evaluation standard” was difficult for each group of students.

For this level, students seemed to feel difficult in various problem evaluation standards. From the interviews and record of blog discussion, we could find out students only aimed at “feasible” or “unfeasible” to proceed the discussion about evaluation standard of problem. They were rarely using the detailed content of problem to proceed effect factor analysis. In the process, we only found out students from high score group had aimed at few problems, proposed discussion in blog, and recorded in executive achievement report.

“S1: The planning of moping route was not so easy, I thought that it should be proceeded by using infrared rays detector to detect the barriers in the rim; S2: I agree with you. However, from the aspect of mathematics probability, would it reduplicate or omit? Therefore, when we evaluate its moving route, we should aim at route planning, random route planning, barrier plus straight line planning and so on, so that eventually we would receive an accurate result of evaluation. So, shall we proceed the paper simulation of evaluation?” [HG1-W5-R]

For the standards of problem evaluation, we deemed that there was only one standard “As long as it could complete our setup to close the window when it detected the rain”. [LG2-W5-R]

In fact, it was very easy. For the second group of low score, we should mince the evaluation standards into when we should close the window, window should be closed entirely, half opened or leave an aperture, the speed when we closed the window and drive mechanism. However, students said that “we did not consider that much”, and it showed that student’s cognition of

problem solving tended to subject learning which has a single answer that accompanied with a problem solving thinking of a good structure problem. For unstructured problem, in consideration of cognition, it is called “incapable to qualification.”

6. CONCLUSIONS

Different from Isaken’ (1987) CPS model, two major components and six specific stages were proposed as this case’ CPS model, caused by the difficulty to separate between Understanding the Problem and Generating Ideas components. Problem-solving processes in each stage are non-linear and involved data-search and group-discussion. To achieve the goal of problem solving, the group members through discussion, reflection and feedback operated problem-solving circulation between each stage, and if component two can not be met within the inner-amendment, it will directly jump back to the component one to explore and confirm again and again. The view of CPS should be focused on internal behavior and thinking of individuals or groups, but not just on how to solve problems, monitor, and manage specific decisions regarding the stages and techniques to be used. As Treffinger (1995) indicated “Today's CPS calls on individuals and groups to invest a substantial degree of thought or reflection, imagination, judgment, and energy in their creative problem solving efforts”. Future research should explore the group members’ reflection activity or the benefit assessment of imagination and critical-thinking in the CPS process of project work.

The problem-solving model of project work (fig.1) was dynamic, flexible and nonlinear in this study. An approach to CPS recognizes that an effective process framework must be flexible and dynamic (Treffinger, 1995). Each stage in problem-solving involves group discussion process, the information search process, the course teachers participating and mentoring process, and also includes assessment and reflection elements. Traditional views of steps and stages for students to follow in solving problems must be re-testing because the CPS’ problem is an open-end and ambiguous situation for which one wants to successfully carry out a new method to solve. Problems for CPS were described as opportunities and challenges for successful change and constructive action (Treffinger, 1995). An inspired individual or small group could accomplish creative task, but not with formal methods. Creative problem solving would contribute students to learning and help them realize meaningful learning (Kandemir and Gür, 2009). In addition to student participation, teacher guidance, cooperative learning and information search are essential in the process of CPS. Future study may examine these three factors in quantitative research.

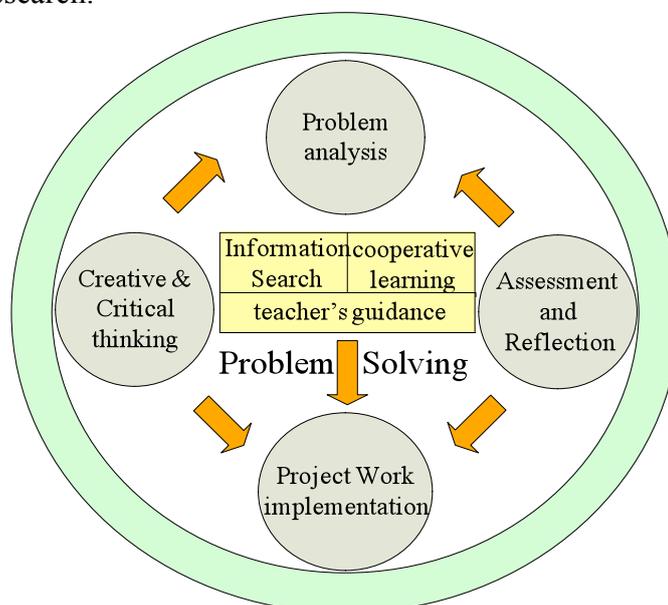


Figure1. Problem-solving dynamic model of CPW in this case

The difference exists between high and low level ability of problem-solving groups in creativity problem-solving process of project work, especially at the three stages, "discovery challenges", "seeking ideas" and "solution finding". High level ability of problem-solving group, in the "initiative, enthusiasm, thoroughness," performed better than the others, but it was the content analysis results of group blogs and field observations by qualitative method. Future study should investigate and discuss the three factors quantitatively.

Finally, it is important to note that our case study is limited because the sample may be considered as too small to draw a general conclusion. Although this study concluded the case's CPS model but it can not clearly identify the similarities and differences between the various stages, because it is difficult to measure and meaningless at this stage of the CPS study. It is important to discuss how CPS offers a powerful set of tools for productive thinking and the flexible, dynamic, descriptive uses of CPS. Accordingly, future research is needed to study the interaction between group feedback and reflection on the impact of creativity and critical thinking.

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Introduction

In terms of pre-sale housing system, it is quite common to see real-estate industry display the true proportion of a sample housing units so that homebuyers can immediately experience the pre-sale housing space, structure, atmosphere and also decor as well as the future configuration for reference. Be that as it may, such designs often have to spend considerable decor and furniture purchase costs, and real-estate industry owners need to deal with the interior demolition and display furniture, which also give rise to some problems and waste after the business case is over. The way for displaying pre-sale house often directly loads the fake furnishing into the house for consumers visiting. However, after sales activities over, those decor and furniture usually directly sell to the homebuyers. That is a problem that construction industry owners can only show the configuration of one single style or pattern of the sample housing to homebuyers and have no idea to meet different consumer's need. In addition, some real-estate industry owners take non-proportional sample of the model house to show the pattern of the room and furniture configuration situation which cannot allow consumers to experience the indeed physical space. That might be an essential factor which affects consumers' purchasing inclination.

Therefore, in addition to the real décor and furniture which be displayed in the real-estate house, what will be another choice for experience the house while consumers visiting. The goal of this study aims to probe into the users' configuration behavior and satisfaction while they using Augmented Reality based configuration system in the condition of pre-sale house. Therefore, in order to conclude the goal of the study, the writer plans to offer the AR furniture configuration system in the pre-sale house for users to experience. This kind of configuration system could be a new experiential service for consumers. In addition to observe users behavior and take

their feedback as essential basis, this kind of service can be applied on construction industry is another hypothesis for this study.

As the Augmented Reality (AR) have been developed much more matured in recent years, and the technology has already been applied on vary fields. For example, military training, engineering design, and manufacturing, etc. In this study, the AR can be seen as the tool for supporting a new type of service for the real-estate industry in the pretest. AR is used to present the visual furniture model and make them combine with the real environment. In that way, the study would like to make an assumption if consumers prefer this kind of innovative service for displaying the visual furniture in the real environment and to see what their configuring behaviors are in order to make the open innovation to get the better way for improve the using condition. In the following passage, the AR technology and how the experiment works will be explained in detail.

With the increased consuming awareness in recent years, consumers' demand of home environment quality is also heightened. For consumers, they not only ask for superior geographical home conditions, but also take a great consideration of interior design like furniture configuration or interior decor. Some people might rely on the help of interior designer, but the majority of consumers still like to arrange by themselves because of their unique habits and preferences. According to the Pollster online market survey, the data reveals that 24.5% consumers buying new furniture due to buying another house (Pollster Online). Generally speaking, consumers need to go to the furniture malls while they want to buy some furniture goods nowadays. Unfortunately, consumers do not certainly understand whether the product appropriate for their house in the process of purchase, or the size of the product suit for demand. Furthermore, furniture products are mostly in the large volume and weight, they are not easy to be moved, so it is properly that plan where to place before furnishing and decorating. So if the buying new house and buying new furniture can be combined as one event and this is the so called potential service business.

User-Centric-Open Innovation

In fact, one traditional view of user needs in user-centered processes is based epistemologically on the assumption of an individual user who has needs and wants for a particular piece of technology.

In the past two decades the design of products and services has been largely driven by customers. After all, the customer buys a product or uses a service. The “customer-as-the-king” model was preceded by the “engineer-as-the king” (often designer) model, where the technical experts made the decisions for the customer. The customer was expected to accept the offered product or service (Kusiak, 2007). Through integrating users’ feedbacks and various reactions, the open innovation would come out and the improvement of the product and service will be generated into the miniature stage.

Innovation

Innovation is defined as an iterative process initiated by the perception of a new market or new service opportunity for a technology based invention which lead to the development, production, and marketing, all aiming at the commercial success of the invention (Kusiak, 2007).

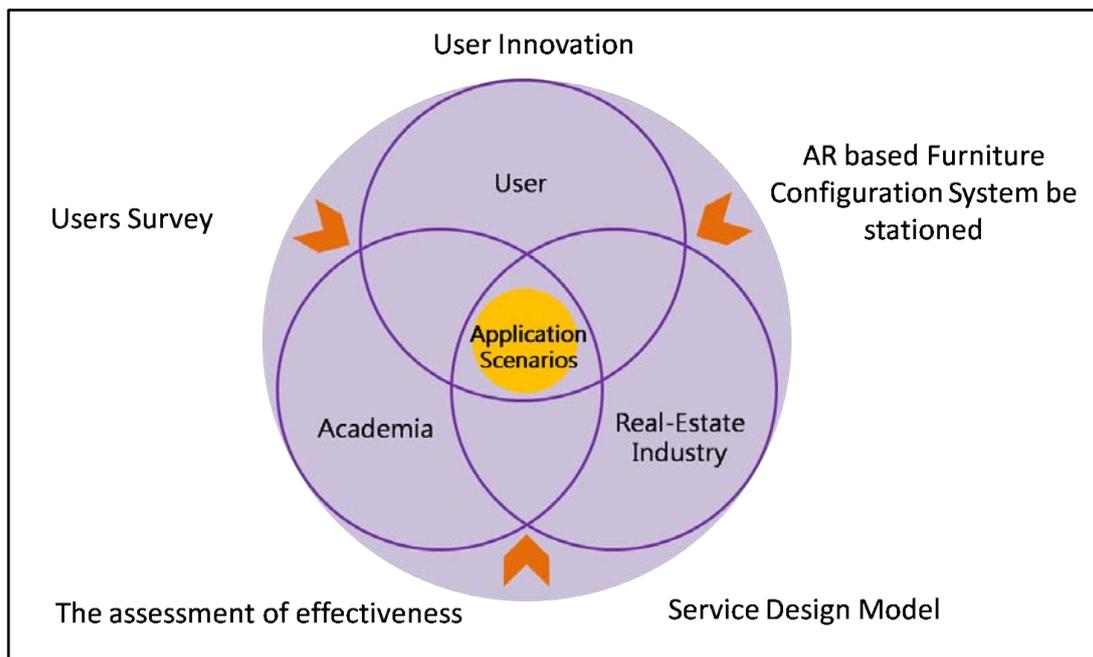


Figure 1: The relationship works among Users, Academia, and Construction Industry in this study

Research Methods:

1) Living Labs

Traditionally, while discussing where to execute the field experiment for knowing the

participants' using condition, we may think of the laboratory. In recent years, to do the experiment in real world becomes a trend to realize much more about user considerations. The living world provides the setting for the practice of participatory ergonomics. By addressing the salient issues of complexity, context, distributed cognition, and team situational awareness in this world, however, the advocate of the Living Laboratory concept is presented. The pilot projects follow a Living Lab (LL) approach. This main position of study is derived from the concept of Living Lab. The Living Lab concept originates from MIT, Boston, Prof William Mitchell, Media Lab and School of Architecture and city planning.

Living Lab is a new research paradigm integrating both:

- a. A user-centric multidisciplinary research approach
- b. A user community driven innovation based on real life experiments.
- c.

Living Labs represents a research methodology for sensing, validating and refining complex solutions in multiple and evolving real life contexts. The user experience focus involves areas of user interface design and ergonomics as well as user acceptance, extending to user co-design process, finally leading to service or product creation (Schumacher and Feuerstein, 2007). To conclude, this thesis contributes to the understanding of how data about user needs can be collected, generated, and understood through a Living Lab way of user involvement processes.

The key principles that were considered as crucial in Living Lab operations are: Continuity, Openness, Realism, Empowerment of Users, and Spontaneity (CORES), and these are described as follows (CoreLabs 2007a)

Continuity: This principle is important since good cross-border collaboration, which strengthens creativity and innovation, builds on trust, which takes time to develop.

Openness: The innovation process should be gathering of many perspectives and bringing enough power to achieve rapid progress is important. The open process also makes it possible to support the process of user-driven innovation, including users wherever and whoever they are.

Realism: To generate facilitate as realistic use situations and behavior as possible.

This principle also is relevant since focusing on real users, in real-life situations, is what distinguishes Living Labs from other kinds of open co-creation environments, such as Second Life.

Empowerment of users: The engagement of users is fundamental in order to bring the innovation process in a desired direction based on human needs and desires. Living Labs efficiency is based on the creative power of user communities; hence, it becomes important to motivate and empower the users to engage in these processes.

Spontaneity: In order to succeed with new innovations, it is important to inspire usage, meet personal desires, and both fit and contribute to societal and social needs. Here, it becomes important to have the ability to detect, aggregate, and analyze spontaneous users' reactions and ideas over time.

2) **Observation**

Observation is used as a research method in two distinct ways- structure and unstructured (Pretzlik, 1994). Certainly, there are two ways to carry out the study by observation, one is the experimental observation, and the other is a natural observation. The situations and conditions of the experiments must be strictly controlled in Experimental observation, and then observe the results. Generally speaking, the most essential advantage of observation study is that the phenomenon and user behavior can be observed immediately. Researchers can record and account the response, advice perception and expectation from the users in the experimental operation in order to understand users' acceptance and responses of the experimental system. On the other hand, researchers can also analyze the advantages and disadvantages of the system in the same time.

The real-estate house includes two conditions, both of them have the same layout, first is the house with real furniture and décor, and the other one is none of it. The former one mainly presents consumers normal house icon, even though consumers may not like the specific kind of the furniture and the décor. However, as what mentioned before, real-estate industry owners need to deal with the interior demolition and display furniture, which give rise to some problems and waste after the business case is over.

Literature Review

1) House Situation Information for Consumers

Reception Center and pre-sale model house not only sketch the contours of imaging Home for the house buyer, but also grant the extreme symbol value for the future shape of building. That is the main reason why the real-estate industry does not hesitate to spend large sums of money lay out a reception center and model house, and then the payment from the purchasers who had absolutely recovered. For consumers, the housing of goods purchased is high involvement in the purchasing behavior. Therefore, consumers will be very rational on collection production information. That is why highly-decorated reception center and pre-sale model house become a courteous reception for consumers. Sheth also pointed out that between consumer intentions and their expectations, there exists situational factors of non-interference, and the consumers will be affected by them (Jagdish N., 1974). As we know that Housing is a high-involved product. The decision-making process of consumers is extremely complicated. The consuming behavior also includes a number of elements. In factors that affect purchase intention, brand is a distinct indicator besides house features that consumers prefer. However, for consumers, model houses' roles gradually transformed from fabricated representations into reality, replacing the previous leading character of constructing housings. Consumers conceived model houses as the product. On the other words, there is an epistemological competition between simulacra and reality due to belated production of reality.

2) Augmented Reality

What is "Augmented Reality?" Augmented reality (AR) is a newly emerging type of digital content that combines real imagery (usually captured by video cameras) with virtual 3D graphic objects. Augmented Reality is the fusion of real and virtual reality, where computer graphics objects are blended into real footage in real-time. AR creates the illusion that virtual, computer-generated objects exist in the real world. All you need is a computer and a webcam. Augmented reality involves the overlay of virtual images on the real world. As computers become more and more invisible, it is becoming an increasingly important application area for computer graphics and user-interface design. Augmented Reality is virtual reality added to real imagery; imagine a camcorder where as you look through the viewfinder, you see some computer generated 3D objects drawn on top of the video picture (Azuma, 1997).

Additionally, Paul Milgram and Fumio Kishino defined Milgram's "Reality-Virtuality Continuum" (Figure 2.) in 1994. They describe a continuum that spans from the real environment to a pure virtual environment. In between there are Augmented Reality (closer to the real environment) and Augmented Virtuality (is closer to the virtual environment). Thus, AR means the overlay of virtual objects on the real environment. The .real world is enhanced with virtual information by the means of 3D objects, text, graphics, etc. AR can be seen as the inversion of Virtual Reality (VR). While VR pretends a complete virtual world, AR inserts only specific virtual objects into the .real world.

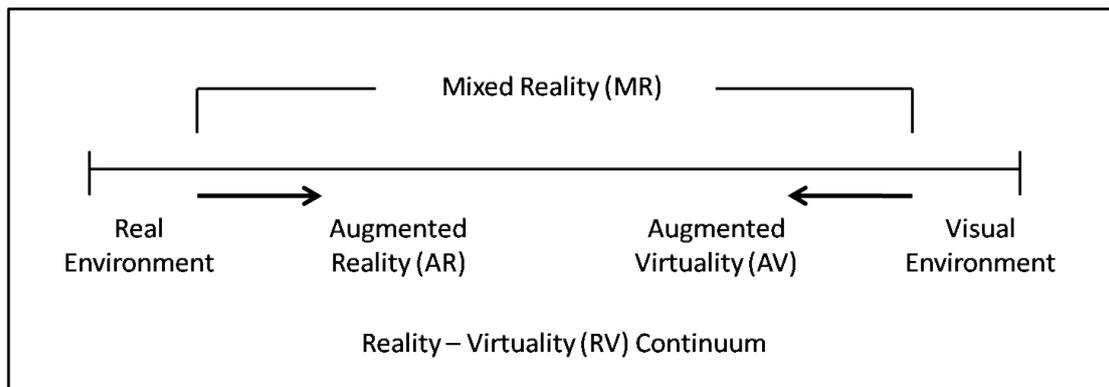


Figure 2: Simplified representation of an RV Continuum.

Experiment Design

In this study, the writer proposes the Augmented Reality (AR) system could be applied on furniture configuring service while consumers visiting the real-estate for two reasons. The first one, the possibility of replacing the physical model house, and the other one is the possibility of carrying out the innovative service combined the novel technology in this industry.

In this study, the experiments are separated into two parts: the Pretest and the Main Experiment. In the pretest, the users' habitual behaviors are needed to be collected in order to verify the essentiality of the Main experiment. In the pretest, the writer offer a list of questions in order to realize what users need while they are visiting the real-estate house. Then, users will be invited to join with the main experiment using the marker to dispose the furniture marker in which they prefer.

Since the writer would like to find what consumers consider while the visiting the real-state, the pretest questionnaire is needed since it proves essentiality of executing

the main experiment. The result of pretest questionnaire is analyzed as follow. There are twelve groups of subjects. One group represents a couple. The writer finds most of consumers ask for visiting the model house first that while visiting the real-estate house. Since they consider model house helps they realize the space condition and the model house even influences the interior design after they buy the house. On the other hand, they almost have thought of getting the new set of furniture before they buy the new house and they indeed almost agree with making the furniture configuring condition visualized while visiting the pre-sale house is quite good rather than just visiting the model house.

The information of users is as follow:

Total: 12 couples (12 female / 12 male)

Age: 21-30 year-old: 3 persons / 31-40 year-old: 6 persons / 41-50 year-old: 8 persons
/ 51-60 year-old 3 persons

Level of education: Senior high graduated: 10 persons / University graduated: 14 persons.

The frequency of visiting real-estate: 1-3 times: 14 persons / 4-6 times: 6 persons
Above 6 times: 4 persons.

1. While visiting real-estate, I will ask for visiting model house first. (Agree: 24/ No comment:0/ Disagree: 0)
2. As above, the model house helps me realize the space condition. (Agree: 22/ No comment: 2 / Disagree: 0)
3. The interior condition of model house will influence the interior design of my house after I buy it. (Agree: 18/ No comment: 4/ Disagree: 2)
4. The style of furniture in the model house is close to my preference. (Agree: 13/ No comment: 5/ Disagree: 6)
5. The layout of pre-sale house is the main reference for consideration. (Agree: 21/ No comment: 3/ Disagree: 0)
6. Before I buy the house, I have already expected to get the new set of furniture. (Agree: 20/ No comment: 1/ Disagree: 3)
7. While visiting the pre-sale house, I will think of the furniture configuring condition in the house. (Agree: 24/ No comment: 0/ Disagree: 0)

Main Experiment

When it mention to user integration in Living Labs, the participation not only of the potential customers but also of all other participator along the value-chain can be seen as the foremost required element for the successful operation of a Living Lab.



Figure 3. The equipment of experiment

To invite those who already make a visit to the model house. Then, the writer elucidates the process of experiment on using the system. The detail of process is as follow (Figure 4): (According to the concept of Living Lab, during the experiment, users can address their questions, feedback and preference whenever they like, and the writer needs to collect them as the basis data).

1. Users may choose the furniture which they like first on the category.
2. Then, take the card (figure) which fit with the furniture he chooses.
3. Users can place the cards anywhere they prefer in the room.
4. Users can see the configuring condition visual furniture combined with the real environment) in the monitor.



Figure 4. Main experiment

Normally you see your 3D designs on a computer screen, or printed. Most likely, you don't see them on a 1:1 scale; your screen is not big enough for that. With augmented reality you can project your designs in their real size in a room. You can freely walk around them and see them from different angles.

Result

The study defines “User Satisfaction with an Augmented Reality Furniture Configuration System” as a user’s overall evaluation of an AR Furniture Configuration System. According to the related literature review includes User Information Satisfaction, UIS, (Ives et al., 1983), Theoretical Integration of User Satisfaction and Technology Acceptance, TIUSTA, (Wixom and Todd, 2005), etc. Comprehensively sum up the impact of user satisfaction with essential aspects. The aspects of influencing users’ satisfaction while using AR configuring system are as follow:

1. Information Quality
2. System Quality
3. Service Quality
4. Usefulness
5. Ease of use

After the experiment was done, the writer offered another questionnaire for the users in order to definitely realize their acceptance and satisfaction.

1. It is an interesting experience for using the Augmented Reality (AR) system. (Agree: 24/ No comment: 0/ Disagree: 0)
2. I try to display the code cards according to my own preference while using the system. (Agree: 24/ No comment: 0/ Disagree:0)
3. I think the using procedure is uncomplicated and the steps are easy to be learned while using the system. (Agree: 15/ No comment:5/ Disagree: 4)
4. The route of using the system is quite appropriate. (Agree: 11/ No comment: 2/ Disagree: 11)
5. I can interact with the virtual furniture without any help by using the cards. (Agree: 15/ No comment: 1/ Disagree: 8)
6. I totally realize the corresponding relations between the cards and the virtual furniture. (Agree: 10 / No comment: 8/ Disagree: 6)
7. Through displaying the cards in the room, I can easily realize the relative location of furniture. (Agree: 14 / No comment: 6/ Disagree: 4)
8. I can put the marker in a right place where I want in the very first time while using the system. (Agree: 8 / No comment: 6/ Disagree: 10)
9. It is convenient and easy choosing the markers and adjusting them while using the system. (Agree: 12/ No comment: 6/ Disagree: 6)
10. There is no big difference while seeing the virtual furniture on the monitor comparing to the see the physical furniture. (Agree: 4/ No comment: 8/ Disagree: 12)
11. I can see the furniture configuring condition while using the system. (Agree: 10/ No comment: 8/ Disagree: 6)
12. The system helps me have the imagination of furniture allocation in advance. (Agree: 14/ No comment: 4/ Disagree: 6)
13. I think the system may reduce the mistake (size) while purchasing the real furniture. (Agree: 8/ No comment: 8/ Disagree: 8)
14. Comparing to the physical furniture, I think configuring furniture through the Augmented Reality system is much more convenient. (Agree: 8/ No comment: 10/ Disagree: 6)
15. Comparing to the model house, I think the configuring service make me more realized the space condition of pre-sale house. (Agree: 10/ No comment: 6/ Disagree: 8)
16. The furniture which display in the experiment rise my interest. (Agree: 6/ No comment: 8/ Disagree: 10)

17. I think the Augmented Reality system may facilitate and highlight the present of physical model house. (Agree: 10/ No comment: 8/ Disagree: 6)
18. While I visiting the real-estate, I hope the industry owner can offer the furniture configuring service for me. (Agree: 12/ No comment: 8/ Disagree: 4)

During the experiment, the writer also collect users' feedback as basis to make a purpose and explore how will the system being revised and how the service being adjusted. There are five points which be mentioned by users several times during the experiment.

1. The choice of futures is not enough. User wants a set of furniture. (15 times)
2. The vision of furniture is not steady. (13 times)
3. It is quite troublesome confirming the appropriate place where users put the makers. They need to put the maker and then take a look on the monitor to see if the markers be displayed on where they want. (12 times)
4. It is hard to make a relation between markers and furniture. (14 times)
5. Even if users like the furniture pattern, they want to switch another color of it. (15 times)

Through the experiment, consumers (users) received an innovation experience that they have never met. On the other hand, their feedback contributes to the Augmented Reality system applied on furniture configuration, which makes the research become more evolved. According to user feedback, the writer purposes a kind of interface which integrated users' feedback in terms of usefulness. There are three buttons on the interface (Figure 5). Each marker represents a set of furniture which includes sofa, tea table, etc. Therefore, users will not be confused by several makers. Once they choose one marker which means they choose a style set of furniture. The first buttons represents the model switcher, and it can switch to single sit, couple sits, tea table, etc. The second and the third button both represent the texture switch, and the former one presents the sofa texture switched, and the latter one presents the framework texture switch (Figure 6).

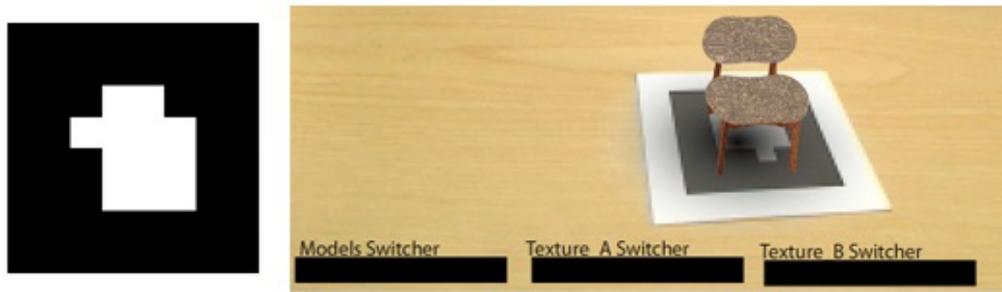


Figure 5. The user interface design

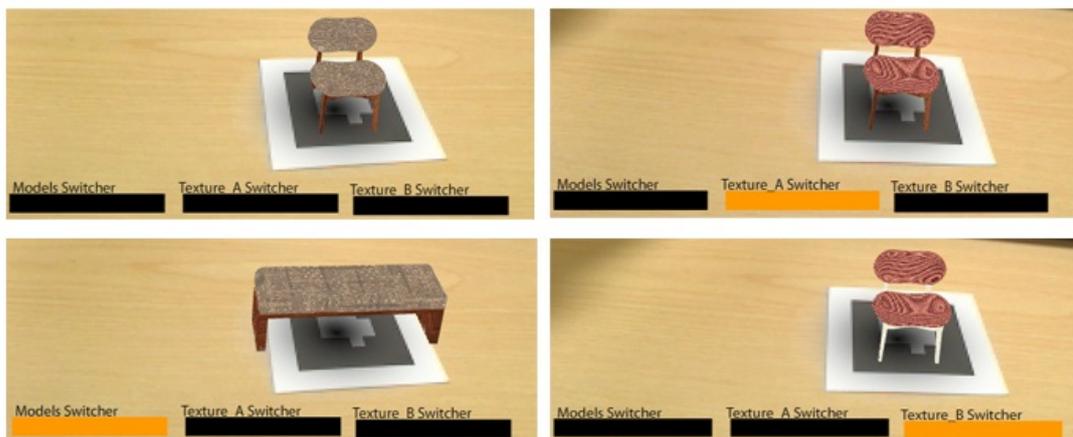


Figure 6. The user interface design

Future Study

During my research, I have identified some aspects that I consider are essential to do more research about. These aspects are related to the need of technological support for user interaction, and to assist an open user involvement process. In the study, apparently, user's acceptance is conspicuous, which means users do not exclude the new tech involved, even half of users hope industry owners offer the kind of configuring service while they visiting the pre-sale house, Even though it is a user study, the potential value cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, Living Labs will allow the better and faster development of new services and products. Due to the user need and feedback, in the following research, not only the user interface but the collaboration with furniture industry, those possible developments are needed to be contemplated in the future in order to create the possible beneficial result among industries, and also make a preferable service for users.

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Save Our Languages: Act Now!

Save Our Languages: Act Now!

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It is a critical issue to discuss today what kind of society we want to have for tomorrow. Should East meet West or there should be One East or One West? The question is not rhetorical and expects the apostle of world leadership to answer it delicately. The conference theme “**East Meets West**’ is apt to the new global order and inspires the intelligentsia to search for similarities of ideas that may enhance international understanding on the one hand and for differences in culture that may have to be accepted as irreconcilable on the other. More than 60 percent of the world's population lives in the region called Asia, where different civilizations, cultures, religions, social institutions, economic systems, and ethnicities co-exist. Our rich diversity also invites a wide variety of problems. There is violence against human life and dignity in the form of socio-economic disparity, environmental deterioration, and racial, religious and cultural conflicts. While globalization apparently offers the potential for broader unity across borders, there are certain sensitive issues that states or the market is unable to cope with it.

Fading Voices

I have a disturbing question today for the audiences: Are we in a process to have a world with one international understandable language English for all of us or should we have a unique world with our own voices and languages, a world encompassing the marvels of all dialects, and languages of different communities and nationalities?

Languages are an essential part of the cultural diversity of our planet. Languages and dialects are not only expressions of the human culture and the human mind, they are also the means by which we communicate with others and seek ways of explaining the world we live in. At the same time, languages are a very vulnerable part of our cultural heritage. Language diversity is one of humanity's most precious commodities. The paper raises some of issues relating to the preservation of indigenous languages of India, the way we practice them, the compulsions and frustrations of saving our identity and culture with our local languages and, what we may offer as recourse to this dying languages. It also features the linguistic setting of NE states of India, uniquely distinct for their tribal culture, customs and dialects. The foremost drive to write this paper to ignite the 'language teaching fraternity' to take it up seriously and stir a movement to save their local languages through academic discourse and with proper implementation of action plan involving local people and administration. The challenge is huge but should be and can be articulated, understood and addressed from the perspectives of sustainable planet.

An Immediate Call

The news came shocking when Boa Senior, the last woman speaker of an ancient language in India's Andaman Islands had died at the age of about 85 on 26 January 2010. The death of Boa Senior was highly significant because one of the world's oldest languages, Bo, had come to an end, and lost an irreplaceable part of its heritage, according to linguist Professor Anvita Abbi of Jawaharlal Nehru University, who has worked among Andamanese languages and knew Boa Senior. The islands are often called an "anthropologist's dream" and are one of the most linguistically diverse areas of the world. "Boa's loss is a heartless tragedy that we must not

allow this to happen to the other tribes of the Andaman Islands,” said Stephan Corry, director of the NGO Survival International, which works in the area of tribal rights. (Lawson 2010) Every time we lose a language we lose human experience, creativity, and a unique perspective of ourselves and the world. All through history, languages have naturally ebbed and flowed, rising to prominence before gradually falling from use. Unfortunately, Boa Senior was the last speaker of her tribal language but there are many like her. Experts believe that more than half of the world's roughly 7,000 languages will vanish by the end of this century alone, at the rate of one language every two weeks. (Basu 2009)

World at a Glance

Interestingly, languages do not usually disappear because all its speakers die a sudden death, but rather because of the decision of its speakers to prefer the usage of another language. The compulsion to switch over to another language could be umpteen: annexation, migration, military acts, access to new language, the phenomenon of acculturation, political decisions, the ongoing destruction of environment, habitats and living space. There's an interesting experience that David Crystal shows as a flip side: engaging a Johannesburg driver in conversation, it transpired that he was conversant with all 11 of his country's official languages – an ability which he did not think at all unusual. However, his main ambition was to earn enough to enable all his children to learn English. None of the other languages ranked highly in his esteem. (David Crystal 2000) It is estimated that more than half of the world's population communicates in only 8 languages: English and Mandarin Chinese, Hindi (with Urdu), Spanish, Russian, Arabic and Bengali and finally Portuguese. (UNESCO 2004) If we

continued the analysis downwards, we would eventually find that just 4% of the world's languages are spoken by 96% of the population. Turning this statistic on its head: 96% of the world's languages are spoken by just 4% of the population. That is the perspective within which any discussion of language death must be seen. (David Crystal 2000) The Johannesburg driver's concern holds true to some extent as some languages are disappearing because their native speakers don't regard them as quite so precious. They view linguistic adaptation--especially for their kids--as a key to getting ahead. This is understandable when about half the world's population speaks one of only 10 languages and when speaking English in particular is a profitable skill. (Arthur Miller)

Indian Linguistic Panorama

India is a diverse country, a fact that is visibly prominent in its people, culture and climate. India had always been known as the land that portrayed cultural and traditional vibrancy through its conventional arts, crafts, festivals, religions, languages and customs. The Indian literary tradition is the oldest in the world. India has 22 officially recognized languages, and a huge variety of literature has been produced in these languages over the years. With its extraordinary linguistic and cultural diversity, it is quite challenging for the speakers to resist the temptation of the mainstream languages which have the social, political and economic backing. These dominant languages attract and facilitate the easy switching over for the speakers of relatively minor languages. In this case, parents of children in the "weaker" culture may encourage their children (and themselves) to use the language of the stronger culture rather than their own language. Soon enough the young generation would lose the interest in the mother tongue and would not any longer

speak the original language. (UNESCO 2004) The Indian society is revered world over because of its unique virtue of *Unity in Diversity*. To consolidate its cultural and social heritage, it is pertinent to protect and preserve its several minor languages and dialects. Linguistic oneness is an antithesis to Indian civilization and it dampens the vibrancy of our existence for the society as a whole and the individual. According to official estimates, the country is home to at least 400 distinct tongues, but many experts believe the actual number is probably around 700. But, in a scenario replicated around the globe, many of India's languages are at risk of dying out. (Paroma Basu 2009)

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

The paper depicts the linguistic diversity and cultural vibrancy of Arunachal Pradesh, one of the North eastern states of India. It remains a beautiful hilly state with a great network of clean rivers and evergreen tropical forests. Arunachal occupies a very crucial and strategic position in the political and cultural map of India. The state offers a rich heritage of tribal culture and their age long indigenous survival practices. It is predominately a tribal populated area inhabited by several tribes with their unique set of dialects, customs, festivals and arts. The cultural practices and linguistic patterns are very exotic and unrivaled and reflect originality, cultural opulence and artistry of the people. In fact, these dialects are the great reservoir of human knowledge about tribal customs, laws, local medical practices, environmental patterns, religious sermons, artistic talents and folk literatures.

Unfortunately, the complete tribal world is dominated by the oral traditions. The domain of oral traditions and expressions encompasses an enormous variety of forms including

proverbs, riddles, tales, nursery rhymes, legends, myths, epic songs and poems, charms, prayers, sacred chants, songs, dramatic performances and so on. They transmit knowledge, values and collective memory and play an essential role in cultural vitality; many forms have always been a popular pastime. Oral traditions and expressions are typically passed on by word of mouth from generation to generation. The everyday usage of local dialects is essential to protect and consolidate the rich oral literature in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history. These dialects further provide communities and groups with a sense of identity and continuity and promote respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

As per the UNESCO 2003 Convention, all these practices are the integral part of Intangible Cultural Heritage of a group. The Convention defines ICH as the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills, that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. Arunachal is not an exception and many elements of the ICH are in a state of endanger, due to effects of globalization, uniformization policies, and lack of means, appreciation and understanding which – taken together – may lead to the erosion of functions and values of such elements and to lack of interest among the younger generations. The potent argument is, therefore, to preserve and protect the age-long oral traditions, performing arts, social rituals, festive events and traditional craftsmanship.

A Sojourn in dialectal galaxy

In Arunachal, the name of every dialect is same as the name of its tribe. A good number of tribes tracing their descendance from the Mongoloids inhabit in this hilly state.

The principal tribes are Adi or Abor, Nishi or Dafla, Aptani, Tagin, Mishmi, Khampti, Nocte, Wanchoo, Tangsa, Singpho, Monpa, Sherdukpen, Aka etc. They speak distinct dialects, derived from the North Assam branch of Tibeto-Burman Sub-family of the Sino-Tibetan stock. Among these Nocte & Wanchoo are said to have affinities with Bodo-Naga languages. Wanchoo is said to bear resemblance with konyak of Naga Branch. Again Sulung is known to be closer to Nishi. Miju- and Aka bear mutual resemblances. But Monpa speech is said to have similarity with Tibetan. One can see influence of Kuki-Chin and Shan upon Singpho. Though there are about twenty five tribes speaking about seventy dialects, the question of distinguishing language from dialects does not arise at this stage. None of the tribes have any script except Khampti which has a variety of Shan script. The Monpas use Tibetan script for religious scriptures.

In a multilingual society like Arunachal, English has a set of roles to play. It begins as a subject and is taught at all levels. From the primary school onwards, it is officially the only medium of instruction. It is used for inter-personal and inter-institution communication in a wide range of contexts. It is extensively practiced in schools, colleges, university, offices, secretariats, courts, etc. Despite increasing literacy and spread of education, English is not yet the language of common man. But it does enjoy mass attitudinal support and is seen as a tool for promoting unity and gaining prestige. The linguistic diversity of the place is appealing. In my research, I came across a poster as a part of national campaign for Family Planning in three different, popular and acceptable languages of the East Siang district. It is amazing to read the poster in three languages, i.e. Hindi, English and local dialect (Adi). Interestingly, the local dialects do not

have script for writing, so the dialectal speech is converted into Roman form in order to enable the local people to understand the ad in their own dialects. For example the following poster is a popular means of communication and it is interesting to know that it is not for a huge population but a few thousand people in area.

English

Delay The First

Space The Second

Stop The Third

Hindi

Pehla Jaldi Nahi

Doosra Abhi Nahi

Teesra Kabhi Nahi

Adi Lg.

Kerong Kem Ogor Mapeka

Annyi Nanem otom Langka

Angum Nape Oku Mapeka.

Still there is a sizeable population that does not understand Hindi & English, multilingual campaigns can help them to understand the essence of such ads. The Govt. advertisements or information of public interest need wide publicity and mass support in propagating its message effectively. The publicity of such multilingual advertisements is a symbol of great compassion and effective administration towards the people of the state. It immensely affects the public awareness and social mobility of the masses. Such ad campaigns make task more easy and

widespread. It is a better way of reaching one and all irrespective of linguistic barriers. It further makes people aware of their social welfare and political rights. (Chauhan 2010)

Predicament of Progress

Arunachal is inimitable in many ways. Its distinctiveness can be comprehended with the provision of Inner Line Permit specially given to the Arunachal along with Nagaland and Mizoram. Being a protected area, the Inner Line Permits are required by Indians other than natives of Arunachal Pradesh for entering into any place in Arunachal Pradesh. There could be an endless debate whether or not it is good for society? But change is inevitable. No society can afford to live in its cocoon, cloistered from the rest of the world. The notion of 'secluded' and 'protected' tribal community needs to be redefined in the wake of better tomorrow and aspirations of young generation that is moving out for the higher studies and mingling with the new sets of social cultural values of a bigger world.

Arunachal has the incredible wealth of oral literature but many things have not been documented at a basic level, In Arunachal, Hindi and English are in vogue with younger generations, and Bollywood, popular Indian cinema also attracts the masses to switch over their local preferences. It is a huge confluence of Hindi, English Assamese, Bengali, Nepali and many tribal dialects. Probably this rich linguistic diversity put the local tongues at the risk of disappearing. In Arunachal, Hindi, English and Assamese are used as the alternative means for inter-cultural and cross cultural communication. In a situation like Arunachal, more than one language is needed for social mobility and cultural integration. As there are many tribes in the state, it seems

difficult to interact with one another using one of the indigenous languages as each tribe has its own language. It is merely a day dream to establish intra-tribe communication because one tribe may have more than one dialect. In my study, it was a striking fact to acknowledge that one tribe has more than two or three languages and they all are used separately for social and ceremonial purposes. (Chauhan2010)

A new wind of change is sweeping across the Arunachal. The various aspects that we witness today deter the people from protecting the sanctity of indigenous culture. It doesn't mean that it is getting culturally impoverished rather it is adapting gradually to new culture and new practices. The political instability, the influence of Christianity, rise of material well being, large influx of people from other states and modern mass media are some of the disturbing issues concerning the local culture and dialects.

Hope for Tomorrow

The journey of mankind is progressive only when it maintains its goodness and identity in the process of change. Amidst this transition, there is some good news for tomorrow. Most tribal groups realise that their dialects are their cultural identity and it is essential part of their community heritage. With help from the government and local social organizations, some of the tribes are in a search of methodology for developing a writing system for oral languages, and in this way support and facilitate wider use of such languages in their communities.

As a part of my project, I had noticed that the Adis of Siang districts are a vibrant group of forward looking people committed to development with age long tribal practices. They promote and participate in many activities for revival

of traditional culture. The district administration promotes major tribal festivals to develop the folk dance, music, literature and arts. The Adis and other tribes have rich folk literature but unfortunately it is still in the oral form. One generation keeps it passing to the next generation by word of mouth in the absence of script, for written communication. By now the Roman Script has been accepted to some extent by all the Sub-sections of Adi community for reading and writing. The existence of roman script dates back to the British times, when it was introduced for the smooth functioning of governance in the area. Even during British rule, Christian missionaries also promoted the Roman script in Adi area as part of teaching of English. Roman Script has the advantage of typing facility. Even All India Radio station of this area did a remarkable job in promoting the Roman Script by broadcasting talks, stories, folk tales/lores, folk songs, etc. in the Adi language. As it is mandatory at AIR to submit the script of the programme before it is to be aired. (Koley 2000) Now efforts are made by local bodies to record *Aabangas* (The sacred Adi literature) in the Roman Script. To encourage writing in local language, many literary and cultural competitions take place during the tribal festivals. Till Adis and other Tribes develop their own script, the Roman form serves many practical purposes and tries to fill the vacuum of written script.

There is a strong feeling among the major tribal groups to have their own written script. Recently, Galos, one of the largest tribal group in the state, inhabiting Upper Siang, West Siang, East Siang and Lower Subansiri districts — celebrated their new-found script power and their traditional rituals. An Australian linguist Post, a professor of linguistics at La Trobe University, has helped the tribe in Arunachal Pradesh revive a nearly lost dialect, after toiling for four

years to ink a script and compile a lexicon. The efforts of the Galo Language Development Committee soon got a thumbs-up from the state government, which approved the dialect as the third language in Galo inhabited-areas of the state through a notification. The Galo dialect that was facing extinction has certainly got a new lease of life as the tribesmen can now read and write in Galo. The state government has already asked the society to despatch printed books written in the dialect to schools in Galo-inhabited areas in the state. (Telegraph 2007)

A 'Just Do It' Approach

My linguistic study with local people in Arunachal Pradesh helps me suggest A 'Just Do It' approach with some new initiatives in order to preserve the traditional culture and local dialects:

1. More government support in documentation may prevent the dialects from becoming extinct. As in Arunachal, there is a need to make Research and Cultural departments more effective, accountable and people friendly at district and block level. The digital technologies provide many tools to preserve the oral traditions in all their richness.
2. Young learners can be trained in documentation of oral traditions under the tutelage of veteran community members. In family, veterans can share folk tales, poems and anecdotes with children in which traditional creativity finds new expression.
3. All India Radio, Doordarshan and local private TV networks can be efficiently exploited to strengthen and promote various tribal art forms. Earlier leisure activities were dominated by the folk songs, and dances but now-a-days, the popular media replace those moments and consequently there are fewer occasions for the exposure of tribal favourite pastimes.

4. The most remarkable way in which a language can continue to manage its relevance is to use it in everyday situations. It is crucial to acknowledge its social role in all the aspects of tribal life.

5. Like Galos, the other tribal groups should also strive to develop their own script. The script gives the speakers a sense of identity and attachment to their local practices. And the next step is to create favourable conditions for its speakers to speak the language and teach it to their children as Galos are doing in their areas

6. It has been proven that children learn best when they are instructed in their mother language during their first years at school. The concept of mother language complements that of multilingualism, which UNESCO strives to promote, by encouraging the acquisition of at least three levels of language proficiency: a mother language, a national language and a language of communication, said Irina Bokova, director-general of UNESCO, in a statement on the occasion of International Mother Day Language 2010. (Barun 2010)

7. Governments must initiate an award policy for local writers, poets and artists and sponsor local language promotion programs and open up new language centres to study the endangered dialects.

8. A political stand on language issues may have a huge impact on preservation of linguistic diversity in a society. An effective language policy of the state can be instrumental to provide linguistic security and equality to minor languages and promote the enrichment of linguistic diversity in the state.

9. Dignify the self-image of subordinated, non majority language groups (Bastardas-Boada, Albert). There should be

social and political ambience that promotes minor languages so that people feel sense of pride and belonging to their less known tongues. Tribal speakers need to change the attitude of their community towards their own languages.

Conclusion

If we can save our kids from Pulse Polio, our youngsters from AIDS, our tigers from hunters, our new houses from earthquake and our nation from terrorist, why shouldn't we save and protect our linguistic diversity that is the part of our Indianess and our tribute to the globalised flat world? But the success of any such initiatives depends on the willingness of the communities to protect and enrich their cultural heritage.

Hope we may stand the test of time and overcome the global tussle that goes on between the indigenous and homogeneous patterns of life by being more vibrant, unique and committed to our own ageless traditions and values.

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Beyond East and West: Coevolution of a Globally Shared Language in the 21st
Century.

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Beyond East and West: Coevolution of a Globally Shared Language in the 21st
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Coevolution of a globally shared language (GSL) may have a symbiotic and synergistic relationship with the arts and humanities throughout the 21st century and beyond. GSL coevolution may provide unprecedented means to search for similar attitudes, concepts, perceptions, and sentiments, thereby enhancing international understanding, a goal of the inaugural Asian Conference on the Arts and Humanities. Shared mental/emotional constructs, expressed differently in myriad tongues, finding voice in an emergent GSL, may allow native speakers of earth's thousands of diverse language communities to communicate on more equal terms, with greater intellectual, emotional, and spiritual resonance.

Despite the globally acknowledged importance of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), there is no equally shared human language among the world's nearly 7,000,000,000 (seven thousand million) children, women, and men. This number is to increase by several thousand million more in the next few decades, mostly in non-English-speaking countries. Furthermore, the long-term prospects for "Global English" are very unclear. (Walraff 2000; Graddol 2006). Even if some variety of simplified English were to spread considerably beyond the 1,000,000,000 or so putative users, the language still would not be shared equally by all persons.

The current and future status of English is too involved to deal with here, but the well-established study of World Englishes (WE) is sufficient to establish that even the label "English" is increasingly untenable. Fifteen years after having attended the

second International Association of World Englishes (IAWE 2010) conference in Nagoya, I wonder whether the work of WE scholars will one day be seen as a harbinger of GSL coevolution. In any event, we can observe in WE a complex, global mixing, merging, and transformation of language, a process that could eventually expand to include many more languages. The IAWE call for papers in 2005 (no longer listed online) listed the following suitable topics, many of which parallel topics relevant to GSL Coevolution:

- Studies of world Englishes, such as anthropological, critical, 'features-based', and sociolinguistic studies
- The history of world Englishes
- Issues in the linguistic description and analysis of Englishes
- Corpus linguistics and world Englishes
- Contact linguistics - the interface between Englishes and other languages
- English-based pidgins and creoles
- Code-switching, code-mixing and linguistic borrowing
- Discourse analysis, genre analysis, and discourse strategies
- English in media and advertising
- Language planning and politics
- Power, ideology and identity
- Evaluation, testing, and intelligibility
- Second and foreign language acquisition and pedagogy
- Bilingual creativity in English literatures
- World Englishes in the classroom.

To reiterate, despite its powerful lingua franca status, we cannot consider English – or any other major world language -- the globally shared language. Nor is there any reason to expect any present or future constructed language to become the GSL. Nevertheless, the GSL concept is, initially, often wrongly associated with Esperanto. In fact it is entirely different, with good reason: constructed languages such as Esperanto are of little relevance to mainstream research and language policy.

Esperantists and related researchers in the International Auxiliary Language (IAL)

movement could, of course, exert some influence on GSL coevolution; the history of the IAL movement is long and remarkable. The salient point, however, is this: in contrast to constructed or invented languages, coevolution of a GSL is a process rather than a program. It proceeds on the edge of chaos, between the realms of chaos and control

Coevolution of a GSL proceeds, if at all, only from the desires and needs of children, women, and men throughout the world, facilitated by modern information and communication technologies (ICT). Coevolution – conscious, collaborative evolution – exploits powerful advances in ICT to redefine or even transcend cultural boundaries. If realized, the GSL would profoundly influence the arts and humanities, and in turn be influenced by them. Thus the concept of GSL coevolution provides a novel and potentially seminal framework for 21st century social change.

The process of GSL coevolution would likely be chaordic, creating subtle, evolving order on the edge of chaos. This process might gradually result in thousands of the world's mutually incomprehensible languages interacting, shaping reshaping, and creolizing the GSL, and exploring many shared as well as incompatible concepts and emotions. This process corresponds with the mission statement of the Chaordic Commons: “To develop, disseminate, and implement new concepts of organization that result in more equitable sharing of power and wealth, improved health, and greater compatibility with the human spirit and biosphere. Projects listed on the home page, of the Chaordic Commons are of obvious interest to GSL Coevolution, and indeed to educators throughout the spectrum of Arts and Humanities:

- New forms of governance
- Innovative models of business
- Emerging concepts of citizenship
- New models for ownership, investment, and philanthropy
- New approaches to public-private partnerships and multi-stakeholder alliances
- Dynamic approaches to collaboration
- New forms of leadership
- Generative models of organizational learning and change

- New, more global architectures of relationship in every field.”
(Chaordic Commons 2010)

One example of such a community is the World Language Process (WLP), an international non-governmental organization dedicated to supporting the movement toward a world language shared equally by all persons on earth. (WLP 2010) Although GSL Coevolution certainly benefits from such support. In time, the concept may find additional advocates and facilitators among educators, researchers, journalists and other writers, politicians, and leaders in fields too diverse to list.

Such support may come readily once it becomes apparent that modern ICT, now increasingly available even to children, women, and men worldwide, truly make this process imaginable. Marshall McLuhan’s vision the global village is becoming a reality, in ways even he could not have foreseen. (McLuhan 1964). Powerful tools once unavailable at any price are now in the hands of financially impoverished children via the One Laptop Per Child (OLPC) program. (OLPC 2010). OLPC, or related programs with similar goals, may be among the seminal early contributors to GSL coevolution.

For the remainder of this essay, the term “Process” will replace “GSL coevolution.” “Process” refers to the chaordic coevolution itself and to the emergent GSL at all stages of development. Process may already be inchoate but unrecognized, as some examples in this essay will suggest. Multi-lingual users of ICT are likely to be among the pioneers of Process, which may amount to a fantastically rich global creole language. Indeed, this field of linguistics – pidgins and creoles – has experts who could greatly contribute to Process. The American Comparative Literature Association’s (ACLA) recent conference on “Creoles, Diasporas, Cosmopolitanisms” gives a sense of the relevance and the possibilities.

The ACLA’s 2010 meeting in New Orleans—a city that has long prided itself on its exceptional linguistic, legal and cultural statuses—gives an occasion for reflecting on and extending the concept of the “creole.” Creole languages appropriate pieces of other

languages to make new composite grammars and vocabularies; creole societies enroll, originally by force, bodies from diverse places and tribes. The incorporation that might be singled out as the defining feature of the “creole” interacts with the diffusion and memory characteristic of the diaspora and with the attempt to construct or hold open a cosmopolitan cultural space. For much of its history New Orleans has been, simultaneously and in distinct ways, a place of creolization, of diaspora and of cosmopolitanism. These dynamics also inform much of comparative literary research. Topics of particular relevance to this theme include: translation and transliteration; embodiment and quotation; “passing,” mimesis and parody; the “broken” or “bad” versions of national languages that arise from contact situations; the mixing of genres; relations among media seen in the light of translation versus creolization; gesture and sign languages; competing mental geographies; memory and catastrophe; legal statuses of the person in relation to those of the race, the nation, the species; and the many meanings of jazz. Venez jaser! (emphasis added) (ACLA2010)

If we extend this description of creolization to the global concept of Process – GSL coevolution from a scaffolding of world languages connected by Internet social networks, (Britten 2009 B) we get a sense of the exciting potential. In terms of the ACAH Osaka conference theme, the mention of "competing mental geographies" (“East” and “West”) is highly relevant. Process, by definition, emerges from a scaffolding of world languages. A stated goal of Process is maximal inclusion of world languages, promotion of multilingualism, and protection of minority and endangered languages (Britten 2008; 2009 A). ELF and other dominant regional *linguae francae* are certain to provide prominent, oft-used scaffolding elements, but theoretically, even the most endangered minority languages can become part of the scaffolding.

We can think of Process, then, as a conscious, collaborative, global creolization.

This is a far more compelling manifestation of intercultural communication than the notion of English being *the* Global Language. Moreover, if we appreciate Process as a wide-open new territory, relevant to the entire field of Arts and Humanities, we can see extraordinary potential for diverse and divergent contributions.

Defining Arts and Humanities may be difficult, but a partial list of topics from the web site of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in the UK, strikes me as quite useful:

History, philosophy, religious studies and law; contemporary arts practice, theory in art, design and media, architecture, visual arts, creative writing, music, dance, drama and theatre studies; art history, conservation of art and textiles, dictionaries and databases, cultural geography, archaeology, classics and library, information and museum studies; journalism, media and communication studies, American studies, cultural studies and popular culture, gender and sexuality, lifewriting, literary and cultural theory, post-colonial studies, text editing and bibliography, English language and literature, linguistics and modern languages.

(AHRC 2010)

This list, incidentally, is followed by a nine-page PDF download providing elaboration and clarification of the categories above.

Process, by definition, emerges from a scaffolding of world languages (Britten, 2009). . A stated goal of Process is maximal inclusion of world languages, promotion of multilingualism, and protection of minority and endangered languages. ELF and other dominant regional *linguae francae* are certain to provide prominent, oft-used scaffolding elements, but theoretically, even the most endangered minority languages can become part of the scaffolding. The primary reason for this is the rapid spread of powerful, low-cost Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), which are now reaching children, women, and men throughout the world. The widely publicized One Laptop Per Child (OPC) program is one example of this powerful, low-cost ICT.

(Britten 2009 WR 3rd). Other examples are powerful Internet social networks such as Facebook – more visited than even the mighty Google, the remarkable, free Skype service, virtual realities such as Second Life, and augmented/mediated reality.

(Britten 2010)

In addition to bottom-up use of ICT, top-down “Fourth Paradigm” science and the applications of complexity theory could also provide powerful new tools to facilitate Process (Hey, 2009). Emergent fourth-paradigm approaches, the science of complexity, and more familiar approaches such as corpus linguistics (Britten 2005), could allow us to observe the coevolution of what we might consider a highly inclusive global creole. For linguists, this observation of Process in progress might even provide answers to various disputed theories of language development, learning and change. (Britten 2009 B)

Process, if fully realized, potentially would influence every nation, neighborhood, family, friendship, and individual mind. This influence need not and most likely would not involve any utopian or universalist notions. The potential pragmatic advantages are reason enough to examine the concept, but because ICT makes possible global creolization and creativity heretofore impossible, it would be appallingly unimaginative to ignore the potential for fascinating and beautiful developments. The initial stages of Process, of course, may be relatively prosaic, but very interesting all the same.

Let’s consider an example of multi-lingual, cross-cultural communication that arguably represents the beginnings of Process. The scenario is modeled on a real-world situation known to the author. A young international couple communicates daily via the latest ICT. Keiko is a Japanese citizen, a college junior who studied Mandarin as foreign language for one semester at a Chinese university. Pao is a young Laotian man who has been living in China for two years, studying computer science, in both English and Mandarin, and Mandarin as a second language. He wants to work in Japan in future, and plans to take up that language as well.

During Keiko’s semester abroad, she and Pao fell in love. After she returned to Japan, the two started communicating several times a day, mostly by email but, whenever

possible, by Skype. This free, face-to-face online communication allows for simultaneous “texting” and Internet content sharing.

Neither is fluent in English, or particularly attracted to that language, but it is the tongue that each has studied longest, and it thus serves as a lingua franca (ELF) and as the dominant scaffolding language between four languages, three major regional languages and a relatively small national language. Over the course of several years, the two multilingual students routinely “code switch” between four languages, often exploiting handheld electronic dictionaries, various Internet language-learning websites, and Google Translate. Both also sporadically contribute as volunteers to improve the corpus-based Google translation service, which sharpens their awareness of language differences and similarities.

Occasionally, through the years, the couple find themselves communicating in a kind of hybrid language, complete with idiosyncratic neologisms. They sometimes make fun of their mixed-up creation, but at other times they feel that they've actually cooked up a strange kind of creole for two. This perception, vague though it may be, arguably manifests the early stages of Process.

Millions of multilingual students worldwide share similar experiences, as shown in the popular movie *L’auberge Espanole* (The Spanish Garden, 2002) (“L’auberge Espanole” 2010) It is therefore not difficult to imagine Process accelerating, if facilitated by a chaordic community of such persons. This community could include students, amateur and professional linguists, hardware and software experts, educators, language policy planners, politicians and bureaucrats, writers, directors, other creative persons, and countless other volunteers. Because Process by definition encourages and grows from multilingualism and language preservation, the global chaordic community of Process volunteers could free several birds from one cage.

Let’s consider another example, this one strictly hypothetical, and set sometime in the coming decade or so. Consider a high-school student, a young woman who not only speaks a threatened language, but also lives on a small, gradually submerging island. Her people are faced with forced relocation within the decade, and anxiety and

depression are widespread. Globally, the plight of her people has attracted very little attention, so little that the young woman wonders whether there might be people in the world who actually take pleasure in the suffering of others. In her community, this would be an almost unimaginable mental state, given the extensive cooperation needed for survival in this subsistence community. Still, she wonders.

Using a "Process Search Engine," an imaginary, specialized uber-corpora created by global volunteers, she writes, in her own language, "taking pleasure in the suffering of others." At the top of the list, extracted from steadily expanding global corpora, is the German word "schadenfreude." A single word for such a feeling! She's impressed, both with the word and the apparent need for it in another culture. (She's also impressed with the ease and speed of the search, and that her language is empowered in this manner.

She wants to tell someone else about this, and, using her powerful, low-cost laptop computer, logs into a virtual reality site, Second Life. (Second Life, 2010) In Second Life, she enters a bright, beautiful fantasy world in which everyone "plays Process," an expression emblematic of the cooperative, creative attitude toward GSL coevolution. Speaking to a young man from a fishing village in Thailand, using a blend of simple English and emergent Process, the young woman uses her remarkable word. This kind of exchange is going on all the time, between thousands and then millions of children, women, and men all around the world, in uncountable and generally un-moderated exchanges, situated in the zone where evolving order emerges from chaos and sustainable change -- chaords -- are possible. (Hock 2000)

Another example of ICT potential to facilitate Process could be an adaptation of the recent "ChatRoulette" social network. Adapted for Process, such a system could connect willing participants in GSL coevolution, matching them according to various criteria including location, self-generated profiles, and other factors. Here the "chat" involves the kind of complex, cooperative negotiation of meaning well known to international people these days. (ChatRoulette 2010)

Process absolutely depends on ICT, and is almost unimaginable without them.

However, ICT are not sufficient. Process must be able to carry on in the unmediated world, not only in virtual life, not only through Internet communication and with augmented reality, and perhaps not primarily in either medium, but rather in ordinary face-to-face conversation. No matter how powerful or ubiquitous the ICT may be, we are eventually and ultimately brought back to our ordinary human senses and our individual thoughts and voices.

For Process to fulfill its full potential, there must evolve a globally shared internal voice, initially rather limited, perhaps, but perhaps eventually stunningly sophisticated and complex and beautiful in ways we cannot begin to fathom now, just setting off from the shores of multilingualism. Probably Process will exert a strong influence on literature, and literature will strongly influence Process. Music and lyrics would have a similar reciprocal relationship on Process, and arguably has already left signs of such influence, perhaps through the global spread of Reggae, rap, and other popular forms.

No one can predict the progress of Process, but it seems to me that literature, lyrics, cinema, and other art forms would be situated somewhere between the “top down” and “bottom up” levels (Britten 2005). The arts would be, so to speak, in the heart of Process. Artists of all ages would have seminal creative influence at all stages of Process. Children, by nature linguistically creative, will also likely play a protean role in this hypothetical language change. (Britten 2007; Lightfoot 2006)

In literature, artistic languages are a well-known phenomenon. J. R. R. Tolkien’s euphonious Elvish tongues are much studied, and Anthony Burgess’s repellent character Alex was notorious for his idiosyncratic, ultra-violent argot in *A Clockwork Orange*. These languages, however, live almost exclusively within their respective books. In contrast, Process literature could be both a mirror, reflecting Process, and a lamp, lighting the way toward inclusive global creolization. The opportunities for genius in this inchoate global literature abound.

Evidence of such work would likely alter the landscape not only of linguistics, but literature and literary studies as well, exploring and expanding the boundaries between the world’s thousands of languages, and expanding and deepening the human literary

heritage. The term “world literature,” these days associated with second language learning and/or translation, would take on a new resonance, and philologists and other scholars would have work enough for generations to come.

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Friend or Enemy: The Role of Japanese in Chinese War Films

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Friend or Enemy: The Role of Japanese in Chinese War Films

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Introduction

The Sino-Japanese relation, a delicate relationship stretching over centuries, continues to experience fluctuations of varying magnitude. Undoubtedly, the countries' relationship hit an all time low during the War of Resistance against Japan, when the image of Japanese in Chinese war films, as Ni Jun and Zhang Chao (2005) observe, is strictly limited to that of "an invader, colloquially called 'guizi' [devil] and officially known as 'huangjun' [Imperial Army]". In the 21st century, however, such extreme or biased depiction of the Japanese race is undergoing profound transformation, where presentation of coldblooded killing machines is gradually replaced by multi-layered portrayal of Japanese as human. As China becomes increasingly influential in the global arena, the promotion of nationalism in her cinema, which frequently involves the use of Japanese figures, is definitely a topic that deserves immediate attention. With reference to three of the Chinese biographical movies, namely *Huo Yuanjia* (Fearless) (2006/Ronny Yu), *Mei Lanfang* (Forever Enthralled) (2008/Chen Kaige) and *Ye Wen* (Ip Man) (2008/Wilson Yip), this paper examines how Japanese people are presented in Chinese war films in the 21st century. These films are chosen primarily because of their depictions of real-life characters who were masters of Chinese quintessential culture during China's "century of national humiliation". In the movies, Huo Yuanjia, Ip Man (masters of Chinese martial arts) and Mei Lanfang (Peking opera master) are praised as national heroes who refuse to bow to foreign (mainly Japanese) powers in protection of their country's dignity. Secondly, the distinction between "good" and "bad" Japanese is clearly drawn in the three movies, providing meaningful insights into China's master narrative of history, which arguably frames the country's future outlook. Through exploring the role of Japanese in Chinese war films, this paper aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how this part of history is re-presented in China and the logic behind the selected presentation style.

Japanese view on violence

In a sense, the spirit of *bushidō* (way of the warrior) plays critical role in shaping Japanese view on violence. As *samurai* constituted the top socioeconomic class in

ancient Japan, it is of little surprise that *bushidō* penetrated different generations and still governs Japanese behavior today. Nitobe Inazō (1899; 2004) explained *bushidō*'s view on the subject as follows:

“A dastard or a braggart was he who brandished his weapon on undeserved occasions. A self-possessed man knows the right time to use it, and such times come but rarely” (77).

It should however, be noted that Japanese view on violence has two sides. While *bushidō* promotes the righteous use of force, violence is also viewed as manifestation of power and strength. Such seemingly contradicting views, according to Dower (1986), originated from Japanese folklore where powerful demons “always had two faces, being not only a destructive presence but also potentially protective and tutelary being” (13).

American view on violence

In the Western society, human rights are generally emphasized and upheld. Taking Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence as example, George H. Faust (1994) summaries the spirit of equality and its implication on use of force:

“Equal rights exist for all, and government cannot take them away. The government must rest on the consent of the governed. Whenever any government violates the rights of its subjects, that government may be altered or abolished and another institute to replace it” (27).

In addition, American view on violence is explicitly stated in documentary *Bowling for Columbine* (2002/Michael Moore), where many of the American people consider firearms a necessary tool of self-defense. As they explain, the use of guns is for the protection of their families and as such is legitimate and in fact a citizen's responsibility.

Chinese view on violence

Few would disagree that Chinese life and thought have first and foremost been shaped by two sets of influential teachings, that is, Buddhism and Confucianism. Referred to as

religion or philosophy, both teaching systems disapprove the use to violence. Buddhism stresses the importance of compassion and the need to cherish all lives; which implies violence should be avoided at all costs. In fact, a quick browse through Zen master Thich Nhat Hanh's book *Creating True Peace: Ending violence in yourself, your family, your community, and the World* will certainly provide one with insight into the value of nonviolence.¹

According to Confucius thinking, the most important quality of a ruler is *de* (virtue), meaning a "political and spiritual quality or ability, which was the 'power' or 'charisma' by which a king could rule the state without resorting to force or violence" (Yao 2000: 155). At individual level, the ideal person (*junzi* or gentleman) who Confucians strive to become should be "someone whose actions are free from violence, whose bearing is completely sincere and whose speech lacks vulgarity" (Yao 2000: 214). As much as Confucians reject the use of violence, however, noted Confucianism scholar Yao Xinzhong made an incisive summary of Confucius view on violence, he writes:

"Confucians were not pacifists in a strict sense. Brutal reality forced them to seek effective ways to end war, and the conception of 'just war' was upheld. A just war is the one waged by righteous people, for good cause and for 'punishing the tyranny and consoling the people' (*diaomin fazui*). However, Confucianism is generally more in favor of influence through virtue than violence." (2000: 187).

Indeed, the three protagonists in *Fearless*, *Ip Man* and *Forever Enthralled* have been placed in the "brutal reality", yet they resolutely refuse to surrender. Given the "unjust" situation and presence of evil, these "righteous people" or national heroes have good reasons to fight back, that is, to employ violence legitimately. This in turn explains why heroes in Chinese productions always endure extended period of agony before launching their lethal attack. Such tendency is apparent in Bruce Lee's *Tangshan daxiong* (The Big Boss) (1971/Lo Wei), *Jingwu men* (Fist of Fury) (1972/Lo Wei), Jackie Chan's *A jihua* (Project A) (1983/Jackie Chan) and *Jingcha gushi* (Police Story) (1985/Jackie Chan). In *Fearless*, *Ip Man* and *Forever Enthralled*, such injustice is mainly represented by Chinese heroes being persecuted by evil Japanese. In other words,

a major function of Japanese characters is to justify violent acts by national heroes.

Japanese characters in *Fearless*

Set in China during the period of 1870 to 1910 (from Huo Yuanjia's childhood to his death), *Fearless* depicts the life story of Huo Yuanjia (Jet Li) at three different stages: A child deeply engrossed in martial arts, an arrogant fighter striving to be the best in Tianjian, a humble martial artist defending China's dignity.² Japanese characters, however, do not appear until the last stage when the Eight-Nation Alliance invades China. Of relevance to this paper is the apparent difference between "good" and "bad" Japanese, which in this case is played by Tanaka (Nakamura Shidō) and Mita (Harada Masato) respectively.

Tanaka, a Japanese martial arts master, is the last challenger to fight with Huo in a tournament organized by the Foreign Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai where Huo had to pit against four foreigners. Unlike Huo, Tanaka sees different classes in martial arts, just as he considers tea can be categorized as inferior or superior. As a proud fighter, however, Tanaka is willing to learn from and to a certain extent, admires Huo who says to him that, "There is no superior or inferior martial arts, only strong or weak martial artists. Through competitions, we can discover and learn about the real us because our real rival could possibly be ourselves". Infuriated after discovering that Huo is to fight against four challengers at the tournament, he offers reschedule the fight. An image of honorable Japanese is presented repetitively at the fighting scenes, showing Tanaka as a man of integrity who refuses to take advantage of the poisoned Huo. Furthermore, Tanaka did not claim victory but instead declared Huo the winner at the end of the tournament. His sense of justice is reinforced when Mita (who poisoned Huo) questions whether he is Japanese, he grabs Mita by the throat and shouts, "You are the shame of Japanese people". The statement, spoken by the "good" Japanese, demonstrates the director's intention to underline the message: There are decent Japanese who, like Chinese, are irritated by what some of the wicked Japanese did.

By contrast, Mita is a despicable, immoral and violent villain who would do anything to ensure Tanaka's victory, including killing Huo.³ The "bad" Japanese, along with other foreign fighters symbolizing imperial invasion, inflict humiliation on China, act as the

trigger for Huo's fight back. He is determined to prove that Chinese people are not "Sick Man of East Asia". Having experienced prolonged period of suffering (brought upon by the "bad"), Huo regards constant self-strengthening as imperative task for his countrymen. When nearing his death, he reminds his disciples, "What you have to do is not to take revenge. Hatred only generates more hatred. What's most important is to strengthen ourselves".⁴ Although a martial artist himself, it is apparent that Huo, like the Confucians, does not consider violence as the preferred solution to any problem. Like many other national heroes in Chinese war films, including *Ip Man*, Huo has been forced by the villains to defend his country. Without the "extreme evil" or "ultimate crisis", therefore, the use of violence by a modest martial arts master would be illegitimate. In fact, the intention to use demonized Japanese as justification for a hero's strike back is most prominent in *Ip Man*.

Japanese characters in *Ip Man*

In comparison, depictions of the Japanese in *Ip Man* tend to convey negative impression, although differences between "good" and "evil" Japanese have been acknowledged. *Ip Man* tells the story of an accomplished martial artist, Ip Man (Donnie Yen), who remains low-profile during peaceful times yet stands up for his country without hesitation in turbulent days, that is, when Ip's hometown Fo Shan fell under Japanese occupation in late 1930s.⁵ Like Huo, Ip also believes the purpose of practicing martial arts is to build up one's strength rather than to show off or bully others. Chinese audience in general would have no problem accepting the mentality, as the Wong Fei-hung series starring "Master Wong" icon Kwan Tak-hing repeatedly reinforce such thinking. If it was not for his family and country, Ip, a peaceful man, would be most reluctant to engage in violent behavior. Again, the presence of "bad" Japanese leaves the national hero with no choice but to become involved in fierce battle with the enemy.

In the film, the enemy again takes the form of Japanese soldiers who devastated China with no mercy. Here, the ultimate devil is played by Satō (Shibuya Tenma), a colonel who sees no value in Chinese lives. As a matter of fact, Satō represents the stereotype of Japanese soldier in Chinese films, that is, brutal and sadistic. These qualities are reflected in numerous scenes, for example: merciless shooting of Master Liao (Chen Zhihui) at the arena, ferocious beating of interpreter Li Zhao (Lam Ka-tung) and attempt

to hurt Ip's beloved family. When Ip eventually defeats Miura in the arena, Satō engages in yet another disgraceful act, shooting at the unarmed Ip.

Another Japanese character, Miura (Ikeuchi Hiroyuki), although not exactly a "good" Japanese, is depicted as a disciplined soldier. Compared to Satō, Miura is not a coldblooded monster; he has principles and observes them. When Satō killed Master Liao who was fighting in the arena, Miura becomes furious and he warns Satō with a gun, "This place is for competition, don't you dare open fire again". Similarly, he takes up the challenge proposed by Ip regardless of the authority he has to kill the hero, living up to the spirit of *bushidō*. Departing from the typical image of a Japanese soldier, Miura is portrayed as a man with depth and respect for Chinese culture.

Japanese characters in *Ip Man*, although not as clearly divided into "good" and "bad" as in *Fearless*, still reflect the existence of different types of Japanese. What remains unchanged, nonetheless, is the use of evil Japanese to justify a national hero's violent acts. As Ip punches the Japanese soldiers like sandbags and breaks their limbs furiously, he does so for the sake of a friend killed by monstrous Japanese. When Ip attacks Satō who comes to his house, he is only trying to protect his family.⁶ Ip's transformation from a low-profile martial artist to a national hero is thus made possible by prolonged suffering and humiliation he endured.

Japanese characters in *Forever Enthralled*

Unlike *Fearless* and *Ip Man*, *Forever Enthralled* captures the story of Peking opera master Mei Lanfang (Leon Lai) who defies invaders of his country and refuses to perform in Japanese propaganda.⁷ While brutal attacks on Chinese people by Japanese soldiers cannot be found in the film; there is no shortage of scenes portraying the supposed "evil" or the "good" Japanese for that matter.

Tanaka Ryūichi (Ando Masanobu), for example, is a Japanese soldier deeply fascinated by Mei ever since he saw the master's performance for the first time as a boy. In order to preserve Peking opera during wartime, Tanaka puts aside his identity as Japanese soldier and requests a Chinese actor, whose occupation is generally lowly regarded, to

perform for his people. Disappointed by Mei's refusal, however, he still keeps his promise to Mei's wife that her husband will be well taken care of. Therefore, as his superior Yoshino (Musaka Naomasa) threatens Mei with a sword, Tanaka challenges him saying, "It is an insult to treat Mei Lanfang this way". Disobedience Japanese soldier is rarely seen in Chinese films as they are often portrayed as brutal fighters who blindly carry out killings ordered by their superior.⁸ Tanaka's love⁹ for and sound knowledge in Chinese culture hence make him a "good" Japanese in the eyes of the Chinese people.¹⁰ Notably, the "good" Japanese also appears in *Bawang bieji* (Farewell My Concubine) (1993/Chen Kaige) by the name of General Aoki (Zhi Yitong).

In contrast to Tanaka is Yoshino who sees discipline as important quality in soldier. He represents Japanese soldiers typically depicted in Chinese films, that is, one who is profoundly convinced by militarism. His violent nature is presented in a scene where he insults Mei, saying that, "He just prances around the stage playing stupid woman". As Mei talks back, "But off stage I'm a man", Yoshino immediately points his sword at Mei to show absolute superiority over the actor. Chinese audience will definitely find Yoshino familiar because the master narrative has always portrayed the Chinese race as one of endurance and perseverance in face of Japanese imperialism. It is therefore through unreasonable demands and harsh insults made by "evil" Japanese, Chinese virtues are glorified.¹¹

The "good" versus "bad" Japanese

In his book *Eiga ni miru Higashi Ajia no kindai* (Modern East Asia in Cinema), Tanaka Hideo (2002) argues that Chinese writers tend to portray and promote the Japanese army as outlaws, an image inspired by their very own bandits in Chinese history (110-111). Although most of the Chinese war films associate Japanese people as the symbol of wickedness, the early 1980s starts to see the frequent appearance of "good" Japanese in Chinese films, with *Yipan meiyou xiawan de qi* (The Unfinished Chess Game) (1982/Duan Jishun and Satō Junya), *Sun Zhongshan* (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) (1986/Ding Yinnan), *Qingliang Si zhongsheng* (Bell of Purity Temple) (1992/Xie Jin), and Hong Kong's *Touben nuhai* (Boat People) (1982/Ann Hui), as classic examples. However, it can be observed from the three biographical films that while Japanese characters are given more dimensions in Chinese films, they are still broadly divided into two extreme categories, that is, the "good" and the "bad". Arguably, the emergence of "guilty"

Japanese in Chinese films represents a kind of “victory in mind” as these characters signify some Japanese remorse towards the war of aggression. Notably, depiction of the Nanjing Massacre, one of the most frequently reconstructed incidents in the War of Resistance against Japan, has taken another angle in recent movie *Nanjing! Nanjing!* (City of Life and Death) (2009/Lu Chuan).¹² As Sino-Japanese relation improves, there arises the need to portray the Japanese counterparts in a more delicate manner.¹³ Such distinction, hence, subtly implies that only the “bad” Japanese are to be blamed for past atrocities.

The War of Resistance against Japan is perhaps the less controversial topic to deal with in Chinese cinema for there has been consensus among Chinese people in different generations that the Japanese were largely responsible for the sufferings of their ancestors and comrades. The invented “evil”, like those in *Fearless*, *Ip Man* and *Forever Enthralled* are not bounded by moral values and no contradiction hence exist even if they committed the most notorious crimes. Ironically enough, using Japanese characters as villains, Chinese people are free from moral burdens and can thus express the most primitive nature of human without reservation. It should, however, be noted that the role of villain in Chinese films, although often played by Japanese, is interchangeable and circumstantial. Subject to historical background, evil people take different forms in Chinese movies but they all serve the purpose of justifying use of violence by good people. In the Ming Dynasty, for example, *huanguan* or *taijian* (eunuch) would commonly be portrayed as treacherous individuals trying to seize power from the emperor; while in other times a villain may be represented by corrupted officials, hostile landlords or *waisheng ren* (person who are external-province natives). As Professor Karima Fumitoshi (2010) of the University of Tokyo points out that “anti-Japan” is the safest subject to shoot in nowadays Chinese TV series and films. This is because there is no better alternative for them to portray as the national enemy.¹⁴

Friend or Enemy?

Taking into consideration the fact that certain groups of Chinese people can also be singled out to play the role of villain, it is natural for one to ponder upon the “Friend or Enemy” question.¹⁵ Instead of the “good” and “bad” distinction, Jiang Wen’s *Guizi lai le* (Devils on the Doorstep) (2000) goes beyond the simple dichotomy of good and evil to demonstrate that the so-called evil traits thought to be uniquely Japanese may

actually be nature of every human being. What the film attempts to reveal is ignorance fostered by the force of collectivism. What the director seeks to criticize, therefore, is not a race or a specific group but the dark side of human nature.

The film exquisitely depicts the psychological development of Japanese soldier Hanaya Kosaburō (Kagawa Teruyuki)¹⁶ in order to present the unimaginable power of collectivism. The image of Hanaya developed in four stages. First, his obsession with the spirit of *bushidō*; he is ashamed of being captive because the Imperial Army can die in glory but never be insulted. In fact, he still shows disdain when Ma Dasan (Jiang Wen) and his girlfriend try to feed him. Second, his desire to live; despite being a Japanese soldier, Hanaya too fears death. He asks helplessly how he would be killed and even cries after learning that he would be put back into the sack. At this stage, however, he is still torn between human nature (fear for death) and rationality (being the “superior” Japanese soldier). Third, Hanaya eventually confesses his reluctance to die. To stay alive, he dares to insult the Japanese emperor. Furthermore, he is actually thankful to the Chinese peasants who offer him food despite short of provisions. The last stage sees militarism revitalized in Hanaya as he returns to the army. Violent acts carried by his superiors and comrades bring back the once fading militaristic ideology. Unable to resist the pressure to become a part of the group, Hanaya finally kills Ma Dasan, a Chinese he is deeply indebted to.

If ignorance is intrinsic, then perhaps the “Friend or Enemy” question may be fundamentally irrelevant. When the evil Japanese portrayed in Chinese films is replaced, for example, by a *hanjian* (traitor of the Han people), it becomes apparent that this quality may well be universal. Like Hanaya, Li Zhao the ex-police in *Ip Man* struggles to survive in wartime when he becomes interpreter for the Japanese army. Depicted as a national hero, Ip naturally despises such act of disloyalty. Yet Li defends, “I am only trying to scrape a living”. Hanaya turns into a merciless killer under the influence of militarism and Li becomes a perceived traitor, yet they may have done so because of this innate quality. In other words, if placed in the same situation, people of different nationalities or background could have responded in similar patterns.

Conclusion

The demonization of Japanese in Chinese cinema is no exceptional phenomenon. In *War without Mercy*, Dower (1986) notes that both the US and Japan made enormous attempts to demonize each other during WWII. He argues that racial stereotypes have always existed and propaganda of Japan's white enemies (e.g. apes, primitives, madam and "beings who possessed special powers") was in no way unique; since they all "have a pedigree in Western thought that can be traced back to Aristotle" (10). Despite their determination to destroy each other, however, the two sides paradoxically have many things in common, including "race hate, martial fury, battlefield courage and dreams of peace", as well as "the most basic attitudes towards life and death". However, these similarities were overlooked at war times as "the issue of atrocities [plays] an exceptionally large role in each side's perception of the other" (11-12).¹⁷

"Bad" Japanese created in Chinese cinema can perhaps be viewed as testimony of Dower's comments. They are used to complement national heroes, evoke nationalist sentiment and shape master narrative. A closer look at the so-called villains in Chinese films reveal that "baddies" can also be played by demonized and alienated group within the Chinese race. It is for this reason that the "Friend or Enemy" question contains little meaning in this context. Likewise, "good" Japanese are invented in response to improved Sino-Japanese relation possibly driven by the need to engage in closer economic cooperation; while "guilty" Japanese are imagined in a sense of self fulfillment with "victory in mind". These "Japanese", either considered friend or enemy in a "black and white" manner, do not necessarily represent Japanese people in reality.

As China has become one of the major powers in the global arena, the country's master narrative is becoming increasingly influential in myriad of aspects. Depictions of Japanese shape Chinese perception on their Asian neighbor and thus affect the attitude of the next generation towards the Sino-Japanese relation. Therefore, while it is important to use history as a mirror, we must be cautious not to fall into the never ending vicious cycle described by Dower, that is, "Race hate fed atrocities and atrocities in turn fanned the fires of race hate" (1986: 11).

¹ The Venerable Thich Nhat Hanh is a respected peace activist and was nominated by Martin Luther King Jr. in 1967 for the Nobel Peace Prize.

² Although Huo is a real-life character, most part of the movie, except the time of his death and him being the founder of Jing Wu Sports Federation is fictional. As

co-producer of the movie, Jet Li stated, “*Fearless* is not a biopic of Huo Yuanjia, it would be more accurate to label it the biography of [my] spiritual path” (Jin 2006).

³ Speculations on Huo’s cause of death remain divided, although most of them are linked to the Japanese. Apart from the version depicted in *Fearless*, it has also been said that Japanese people offered medicine to cure Huo suffering from cough but they actually gave him poison (Secretchina 2006). Some argued that Huo died from acute liver failure and the story of him being poisoned is merely an attempt to fuel nationalist sentiment and demonize the Japanese. It is said that the disease which led to jaundice, yellowish discoloring of skin and white of the eye, explains why he was called “yellow-faced tiger” (Lam 2010). Another version of the story, supported by one of the founding members of Jing Wu Sports Federation Chen Gongzhe, suggests that improper training leading to internal injury was what killed Huo (Hong 2005). In *Huo Yuanjia* (Huo Yuanjia: Legend of a Fighter) (1944/Wu Wenchao), a movie produced in the Japanese occupied Shanghai, however, Huo is poisoned by a British man, not Japanese.

⁴ Similarly, *Jingwu yingxiong* (Fist of Legend) (1994/Gordon Chan) starring Jet Li also conveys the message that the purpose of practicing martial arts is to strengthen one’s body and that Chinese people should not be hostile against the Japanese. In fact, protagonist Chen Zhen (Jet Li) receives enormous support from his Japanese girlfriend Mitsuko (Nakayama Shinobu) throughout the film.

⁵ *Ye Wen 2* (Ip Man 2) (2010/Wilson Yip) depicts Ip’s life after his migration to Hong Kong where he teaches martial arts for living. His first group of pupil includes boxer Wong Leung (Huang Xiaoming). The movie was released in Hong Kong in April 2010.

⁶ These acts of violence, in line with Confucian teachings, would be considered righteous. The influence of Confucianism on Ip is manifested in his reply to Miura’s request to learn Chinese martial arts, he says, “Although martial arts involve armed forces, Chinese martial arts is Confucian in spirit. The virtue of martial arts is benevolence. You Japanese will never understand the principle of treating other people as you would yourselves, because you abuse military power. You turned it into violence to oppress others. You don’t deserve to learn Chinese martial arts”.

⁷ The movie depicts three periods in Mei’s life: his rise to fame as a young man after defeating his mentor Shi Sanyan (Wang Xueqi); his affair with Peking opera diva Meng Xiaodong (Zhang Ziyi); his defiance against the Japanese army. Having won the Best Film Award at the Golden Rooster Award, however, *Forever Enthralled* has been criticized as inadequate in portraying Mei as patriotic artist since episodes such as him moving to Hong Kong to escape from Japanese intimidation in Shanghai, as well as his performance of patriotic opera in Hong Kong were excluded from the film (Qin 2008). Li Xianglan recalled that the Imperial Army was trying desperately to restore reputation shortly before Japanese surrender. As a result, they sent Kawakita Nagamasa who was highly trusted by the Chinese, to persuade Mei to perform for them. Mei declined the invitation, stating that he was too old and weak for the job. However, he performed in celebration of China’s victory immediately after the end of the war (Yau 2010: 126).

⁸ Few exceptions include the Hong Kong movie *Zuichang de yi ye* (The Longest Night) (1965/Yi Wen) shot at the peak time of Hong Kong-Japan’s collaboration, which depicts Japanese military reporter (Takarada Akira) as a well-educated young man and victim of imperialism, who is deeply thankful to Chinese people’s kindness.

⁹ When asked why he runs late for the meeting, Tanaka replies, “I went to town to see

Mei Lanfang's performance". His superior considers him late on account for work but he adds, "I also happen to like Mei Lanfang very much".

¹⁰ Tanaka demonstrates his understanding of Chinese culture when explaining the situation to other military personnel, he says, "All previous occupiers of China, consolidated their rule by assimilating Chinese culture. The ethnic minority rulers of the Qing Dynasty, identified with China by their love of Peking opera. Mei Lanfang is China's greatest actor...He represents the feelings of his people...If we can tame Mei Lanfang, we can conquer China". According to Yuan Jin of Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (2009), what the director tries to express is the nationalist idea that "culture strengthens a country". Yuan argues that the ultimate purpose of *Forever Enthralled* is to link Peking opera with nationalism. Such intention is apparent, as Qiu Rubai (Sun Honglei) says, "As long as Peking opera lives, China will live on". However, the episode of Mei being threatened or lured by the Japanese is said to be pure fabrication (Yuan 2009).

¹¹ In addition to insults made by the Japanese, the film also depicts Shi Sanyan being insulted by the audience in order to emphasize his high level of professionalism. *Forever Enthralled* is frequently compared to *Farewell My Concubine* for they depict stories of Peking opera actors. In *Farewell My Concubine*, as Tian Yizhou (2009) points out, "Confronted by the Red Guard's persecution, the unyielding Duan Xiaolou [Zhang Fengyi] not only gives in, he even publicly condemns his junior; whether it is molestation or insult from eunuch...Cheng Dieyi [Leslie Cheung] chooses to swallow humiliation and bear a heavy load [*renru fuzhong*]".

¹² While the movie depicts Chinese people's acts of bravery, it also sparked controversy over the director's attempt to portray Japanese soldier Kadokawa (Nakaizumi Hideo) as victim of Japanese imperialism. Both fictional and historical figures are included in the film, such as John Rabe, a Nazi businessman said to have saved thousands of Chinese during the massacre. His story was re-presented in German-French-China production *John Rabe* (2009/Florian Gallenberger).

¹³ From Koizumi Junichirō's Yasukuni visits to Hatoyama Yukio's call for an "East Asian Community", Sino-Japanese relation appears to sway to a friendlier direction in recent years. Abe Shinzō's "ice-breaking" visit to China in October 2006, Wen Jiabao's "ice-thawing" trip to Japan in April 2007, Fukuda Yasuo's "spring-herald" visit to China in December 2007 and Hu Jintao's "warm spring" visit to Japan in May 2008 are but few examples of closer tie between two countries. Despite warmer relationship, Chinese people are, in one way or the other, reminded to remember the humiliated history. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang, for instance, made the following comment three days before the 70th anniversary of July 7 Incident which marked the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japan: "At this point of time, we should keep in mind the spirit of 'taking history as mirror and looking to the future' and properly handle related issues so as to maintain the momentum of developing China-Japan relations". He also explained, "The reason why we choose not to forget the past is to cherish the hard-won peace and happy life and open up a better future" (Xinhua News Agency 2007).

¹⁴ In a lecture delivered at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Karima points out that Japan is the only option left for the following reasons: The US could no longer be portrayed as the evil enemy because the US Embassy protests as soon as such movie

appears (When asked why the Japanese Embassy not protest against production of anti-Japanese films, he replied there are simply excessive productions of such nature to complain about. Furthermore, it is generally agreed that Japanese people should face this part of history). The KMT is not on the list either since to the CCP, they are now the most trustworthy friend in the dispute of Taiwan Independence. Other “potential candidates” such as China’s ethnic minorities are deemed unsuitable because they are too sensitive for domestic consumption. Karima also observes that *Devils on the Doorstep* was in certain ways reminiscent of postwar Japanese movie *Akatsuki no dassō* (Desertion at Dawn) (1950/Taniguchi Senkichi) and *Aa kaigun* (Gateway to Glory) (1969/Murayama Mitsuo). However, he thinks that the last massacre scene in *Devils on Doorstep* was unconvincing and thus has failed to depict Japanese soldiers in real life, because it would be unreasonable for them to carry out mass killing after Japan surrendered as returning home safely, i.e. avoiding being accused as war criminals, should be their number one concern.

¹⁵ In *Ip Man* for example, not only does Ip fight for China’s dignity against the Japanese, he also protects Fo Shan’s reputation as the city of martial arts by defeating out-of-towner Jin Shan Zhao (Fan Siu-wong). Similarly in Kwan Tak-hing’s Wong Fei-hung series, Shek Kin played the role of villain from northern China.

¹⁶ Kagawa also starred in *John Rabe* as Prince Asaka Yasuhiko (uncle-in-law of Emperor Hirohito) who was never charged but responsible for the Nanjing Massacre. A number of Japanese actors have turned down the role due to sensitive themes depicted in the movie. After reading the script, Kagawa said he learnt that “Japanese people had done many brutal things in the past. This is extremely hard to accept but we must tell the story” (Searchina 2009).

¹⁷ Clint Eastwood’s *Letters from Iwo Jima* (2006) and *Flag’s of Our Fathers* (2006), however, strive to stay away from demonization of the enemy with attempts to project a less stereotyped picture of WWII. Lieutenant General Kuribayashi Tadamichi (Watanabe Ken) is even portrayed as the most respectable hero in the series.

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“Chinese Cheers”: Hou Hsiao-hsien and Transnational Homage
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Now it happens that in this country (Japan) the empire of signifiers is so immense, so in excess of speech, that the exchange of signs remains of a fascinating richness, mobility, and subtlety, despite the opacity of language, sometimes even as a consequence of that opacity.

—Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs* (9–10)

Actually, it is very difficult to cross national borders and shoot the film of a different culture. How many successful films have you seen? There are very few. The reason is very simple. For example, when we look at Asian-themed films made by foreign companies, it's not accurate. When we watch their films about Chinese people, it's not accurate. It's a very big challenge, because they don't know about the Chinese way of life, daily rituals, etc. But I feel this is interesting. It's a challenge; it's pretty interesting.

—Hou Hsiao-hsien interview in *Métro Lumière* (2004)

Transnational cinema offers unique opportunities for reflecting on globalization—in terms of co-production and reception¹—and the theme of “East Meets West.” Taiwanese director Hou Hsiao-hsien’s two recent cinematic tributes—to Japanese auteur Ozu Yasujiro in *Café Lumière* (2003), and to French director Albert Lamorisse in *Le Voyage du Ballon Rouge* (2007)—offer two versions of cross-cultural and intertextual reference: “East Meets East” (Taiwan/Japan) and “East Meet West” (Taiwan/France). For *Café Lumière*, Hou Hsiao-hsien was commissioned by Shochiku studios to create a film in homage to Ozu Yasujiro marking the centenary of Ozu’s birth. *Café Lumière* reveals both similarities and differences between the Tokyo of Ozu’s time and that of the present, and between Ozu’s cinema and that of Hou. *Ballon Rouge* bears some resemblance to fellow Taiwanese director Tsai Ming-liang’s film *What Time Is It There?* (2001) about a Taiwanese woman who goes to Paris and a young man in Taipei who becomes obsessed with Truffaut and the time difference between Taipei and Paris. Like Tsai’s film, *Ballon Rouge* suggests something beyond the “influence” of European cinema masterpieces and the reverence implied by the word “homage.” Rather, following Fran Martin’s reading of Tsai’s film, Hou’s work also “reflexively foregrounds the question of transcultural citation, drawing attention to the history of citations by Taiwan New Cinema and second wave directors of aspects of the European new wave cinemas,” and like Tsai’s film, “explores the question of postcolonial temporality” (par. 10). In *Ballon Rouge*, Hou foregrounds his role as a foreign director creating a portrait of Paris by including a directorial double in the character of Beijing film student and au pair Song Fang, who, in a kind of *mise-en-abîme*, is also working on a film tribute to Lamorisse’s *Le Ballon Rouge* (1956).

In *Métro Lumière*, a short French promotional film about the making of *Café Lumière* with the tongue-in-cheek credits “Made in Taiwan, Assembled in France, Big in Japan,” the narrator Dominique Blanc explains that

¹ Notably, the French and Japanese co-production, funding, and enthusiastic reception of recent films by Taiwan directors Hou Hsiao-hsien and Tsai Ming-liang, and Hong Kong director Wong Kar-wai.

Here, in Taiwan, Hou Hsiao-hsien is considered to be a master, who knows how to capture the meanderings of his country's history in the present. The film he has just finished shooting is an homage to a Japanese director who died in 1963, Yasujiro Ozu. He is the unchallenged master of sublimated everyday routine. The film *Café Lumière* is therefore a place where two artists cross paths.

The voiceover explains to its Western audience that the island of Taiwan was a Japanese colony for 50 years, until 1945. Over footage of youthful crowds in neon-lit Taipei settings that resemble Tokyo, Hou says, "I was under the influence of Japan subconsciously since I was young" through such things as translations of Japanese novels, Japanese movies, Japanese karaoke songs with Taiwanese versions, and Japanese words incorporated into the Min Nan dialect. He explains that by the time he filmed *Café Lumière*, his feeling towards Japan had changed, "It's a special nation. You can't just say it's good or anything. Basically, you need to come to an understanding, and how to get along with it. You need to know why there was a Second World War, what happened, etc."

Hou admits that his first encounter with an Ozu film, *An Autumn Afternoon* (1962) did not impress him, and he explains that this was perhaps because he was not mature enough. But later, on the recommendation of a friend while staying in Paris, he watched a silent Ozu film *I Was Born, But...* (1932), which he felt was very good. In order to make *Café Lumière*, he wanted to understand the background of "Yasujiro's" films (using the more familiar given name). He argues that, "Yasujiro's early films already had a kind of feeling and taste of life. At that time it was more cheerful and relaxed" but that "After World War II, the defeat of Japan, in the process of rebuilding Japan, there were a lot of changes and industrialization. There was a kind of worry. He added this worry to his movies, adding to his feeling towards life, making it thicker. Japan today is completely different." He explains that there is still the problem of family, but that this problem is very different from before, since "the ability of women to involve themselves in society and survive on their own is much different than before." Therefore, the plot of *Café Lumière* focuses on a contemporary Japanese young woman named Yoko who lives her life alone. For this role, Hou cast a popular musician Yo Hitoto, who was born in Tokyo to a Taiwanese father and Japanese mother. Yoko is researching a Taiwanese musician Jiang Wen-ye. Jiang was successful in Japan in the 1930s (the time of Ozu's films) and married a Japanese wife, whom Yoko interviews, looking through her scrapbook and marveling at their storybook love for each other. Already, we can see Hou's technique of creating a complex transcultural narrative through casting choices, intertextuality, and mirroring devices (Yo is half Taiwanese-Japanese, like the relationship her character is researching, and the film in which she stars).

The major departure from Ozu's ethos can be seen in Yoko's decision to keep the baby she is carrying from her Taiwanese boyfriend, but not to marry him. Ian Johnston explains:

her reaction to this is the clearest sign of *Café Lumière*'s distance from Ozu's work; of the distance of young contemporary Japanese from their counterparts in Ozu's time; and of how distant Hou and [scriptwriter] Chu

[Tien-wen]'s vision of their characters is from that of Ozu and his co-scriptwriter Kogo Noda. Yoko informs her parents that she is going to keep this child, but she is not going to marry the father. There's no sense that she in any way proposes to consult them for advice or talk the issue through with them, let alone defer to an elder in the more traditional Confucian fashion. ... The film completely validates the individual acting in and for herself. (par. 16)

So, Johnston argues, "in *Café Lumière* there are some parallels with Ozu's world, but there is also considerable distance, just as there is distance between the films of Ozu and those of Hou" (par. 4). He points out that despite some cinematic nods to Ozu in *Café Lumière*, Hou's approach to filmmaking is markedly different. Ozu's cinema is famous for its intimate "tatami shot" low camera, and for its divergence from classical Hollywood rules of continuity (such as the 180° system for camera placement and editing). By contrast, Hou's cinema is famous for its long takes and the distance kept from the characters. Most notably, Ozu's films were popular with mass audiences, whereas Johnston notes that the only concession to popular tastes made by Hou is the casting of pop stars and use of pop music to accompany the closing credits. Yet Hou makes intertextual references to Ozu's films (such as the scene where Yoko and her mother-in-law borrow sake from a neighbor, reminding us of a similar scene in *Tokyo Story*). He also borrows a salient motif from Ozu: the image of trains (symbol of modernity, the distance between rural and urban life, and between family members. In fact, Hou's much earlier film *Goodbye, South, Goodbye* [1993] already used this train motif with a similar meaning).

The narrator of *Métro Lumière* suggests that, "Hou Hsiao-hsien wants to film our present. But how does one work in an unknown language? How to invent a story in a country where one is a foreigner? How to write a script when one wants to capture the truth of the instant?" Hou argues that it is possible to "see the details of the real Japan after careful observation." He explains that he learned about his location by studying maps of the Tokyo subway system. All of his research finds textual representation in Yoko's friend Hajime (Tadanobu Asano), a used-bookstore keeper who obsessively records train sounds and creates digital artwork of himself as a fetus in the womb surrounded by the trains of the JR line. In another transcultural gesture, Yoko gives Hajime a gift from her research trip to Taiwan, a pocket watch celebrating the 116th anniversary of Taiwan's rail system. Hou and his producer and editor Liao Ching-Song explain that it was impossible to obtain permission to film on the JR line, due to safety restrictions, but that Hou felt that if he couldn't shoot on the JR "then it's all over," so they filmed on the sly for about 20–30 days with cinematographer Lee Ping-Bing, all dressed in shorts with black shirts to avoid reflection: "It looked like an open secret activity. People could tell that we were not Japanese."

Hou explains that unlike Ozu's studio era that involved precise planning, down to amount of footage used, his method involves shooting on location with an open set² and multiple

² Johnston points out another densely transcultural and intertextual gesture: "a cameo appearance by film critic Shiguehiko Hasumi—author of an excellent book on Ozu only available in the West in French—playing a café waiter delivering coffee." (par. 11)

takes on different days, working through “observation of reality and continuous adjusting.” Thus, when asked what finally “is left of the model of this homage, then? What do we see of Ozu in your film, Mr. Hou?” he says “If the audience were interested, they can watch this film with one of Yasujiro’s films, such as *Late Spring*. They should have a better understanding of Ozu’s method. He’s like a mirror in front of you. We shot similar themes, but with different methods of shooting. This is how we honor him.”

Tadanobu Asano explains that, “A non-Japanese movie director made a movie casting all the Japanese actors. Well, Yo is half Taiwanese. I’m not 100% Japanese either. All these different people worked together to make a Japanese movie ... and the end product is a very natural-looking Japanese movie.” Hou likewise remarks, “After filming, I was worried about whether the Japanese thought it was Japanese. After watching it, they all said that they had never watched a movie that was more like Japan. But they mentioned something to me. In Japan, it’s rare, almost impossible to have a Japanese director make a movie like this.” Perhaps this is because of Hou’s defiance of the usual working methods of Japanese filmmaking (by shooting on location without permits, allowing non-professional actors in the scene, shooting multiple takes). Johnston also notes that, “At times, there’s definitely an outsider’s perspective operating. A Japanese filmmaker would surely never dwell so long on the streams of passersby at the train stations or in the streets, let alone offer the repeated shots of fascinated close-ups of a train driver’s white-gloved hands. But Hou and Chu have made these characters their own” (par. 13). One could say the same about the Westerner’s (perhaps more typically “Orientalist”) fascination with Tokyo visible in Sofia Coppola’s *Lost In Translation* (2003). Yet in both of these films by outsiders with clearly different geopolitical relationships to Japan, “the exchange of signs remains of a fascinating richness,” as Barthes noted, because “the empire of signifiers is so immense, so in excess of speech” (9–10).³

Like *Café Lumière*, critics in France who responded positively to *Le Voyage du Ballon Rouge* were surprised by how well a foreign director was able to capture the *je ne sais quoi* of Parisian everyday life. On a *Culture 8* broadcast dedicated to the film, Vincent Julé, a journalist with “Écran Large,” remarks that “je n’ai jamais vu un film qui capté aussi bien la vie de Paris, mais surtout des Parisiens. Ce n’est pas cliché, ce n’est pas carte postale, non, pour moi qui habite en Paris, c’est vraiment le Paris beau, gris, tout, et c’est un réalisateur étranger qui arrive sur ça” (I have never seen a film which captures the life of Paris so well, but above all the life of Parisians. It’s not cliché, it’s not a postcard, no, for me who lives in Paris, it’s truly Paris—beautiful, grey, everything—and it’s a foreign director who arrives at this). On my reading, this is a result of Hou’s unique approach to watching/listening to his characters and settings that is simultaneously distant and intimate.

Also like *Café Lumière*, *Ballon Rouge* was commissioned, by the Musée d’Orsay, and is an homage to both Albert Lamorisse’s short film (about a lonely boy, played by Lamorisse’s son, who befriends a magically personified red balloon) and a painting in the

³ Of course, Barthes’s use of the term “empire” in his work must be reexamined in the face of more recent permutations of American and Japanese political and cultural imperialism (and their effects on Coppola and Hou).

Orsay museum, Félix Vallotton's *The Balloon*. These two intertexts act as bookends for the film itself: it starts with its young boy protagonist Simon (Simon Iteanu) talking to the off-screen balloon trying to convince it to come down from a Métro stop. The balloon follows him on to the subway, and is pushed away by adults in the same manner seen in Lamorisse's original. But for the rest of the film, the balloon is more of a background character, a possible symbol of Simon's somewhat detached position within the "complicated" adult social world of his frazzled mother Suzanne (Juliette Binoche⁴), a puppet vocalist who is recently separated from her husband and has hired an au pair named Song Fang (the actress' actual name) to look after Simon. Song Fang's character was a film student in Beijing, and is currently working on a film about *Le Ballon Rouge* (Leo Goldsmith speculates that the opening segment of the film is perhaps supposed to be an excerpt from her film rather than Hou's). She films everything she sees using her video camera, which Julé notes functions as a kind of mise-en-abîme.

Hou cleverly includes dialogue that comments simultaneously on her films and on the film we are watching (Hou's). One metacinematic moment is like a magician showing how a trick was performed: Song says, "I want to make a short film about red balloons," and explains the ability to digitally erase a boy dressed in green holding the balloon, causing Suzanne to remark that it is "incredible what you can do now." During this conversation, Suzanne refers to two other films: (1) an 8mm film of her grandfather, who was also a puppeteer, which she asked Song to get digitally transferred, and later watches on a small screen while adding commentary, surprising Simon who asks her how she knows what they are saying on the silent film; and (2) she returns a copy of Song's film *Origins*, which she had praised earlier, saying,

I found it very touching ... It has a certain abstract quality. It reminded me of childhood. My room was on a mezzanine too [pointing to their apartment]. When my parents were together, I would hear everything. It was like an echo chamber. When my parents put the key in the lock, I heard it. Your film somehow brought all that back. Sounds, images ...
Your film touches on very deep feelings I'd almost forgotten...

Suzanne's invocation of Song's film and its Proustian activation of childhood memories of adult household noises also fits Hou's film, especially the ending where Song discovers that Simon has crawled into bed in his mezzanine bedroom, and the audience is encouraged to reflect on the child's acoustic relation to the earlier sounds of Song putting things away in the kitchen.

Gilles Deleuze has noted the importance of the figure of the child within post-war cinema. This cinema, Deleuze argues, departs from the classical cinema of the "movement-image" towards a cinema of the "time-image" in which we are presented with pure optical and sound situations. Deleuze sees Ozu's cinema as an example, but the relationship between duration and perception/audition is also what makes Hou's cinema so remarkable. In *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, Deleuze explains:

⁴ Binoche's compelling performance as a distraught French bourgeois woman links intertextually to her similar roles in Krzysztof Kieslowski's *Trois couleurs: Bleu* (1993) and Michael Haneke's *Caché* (2005). Both of those films are also by national "outsiders" who nonetheless incisively portray Paris.

In Volume 1 the crisis of the action-image was defined by ... the slackening of the sensory-motor connections ... the new image ... is the purely optical and sound situation which takes the place of the faltering sensory-motor situations. The role of the child in neo-realism has been pointed out, notably in De Sica (and later in France with Truffaut); this is because, in the adult world, the child is affected by a certain motor helplessness, but one which makes him all the more capable of seeing and hearing. (3)

The kind of European cinema described by Deleuze is often cited in the films of Taiwanese “new wave” directors. Yet Fran Martin suggests in “The European Undead: Tsai Ming-liang’s Temporal Dysphoria” that the teleological developmentalist narrative implied by the notion of European “influence” needs to be rethought with a sensitivity to postcolonial time:

In sum, the signifier “Europe” works in contradictory ways in contemporary Taiwanese film and public culture. On the one hand, “Europe” may offer itself as an imaginative resource by means of which the specific regional history of American post-war cultural dominance is implicitly critiqued by Tsai and other Taiwan filmmakers. On the other hand, however, “Europe” also functions as a mythologized cultural “other” that is sometimes conflated with “the west” in general ... it is this relation to which I think Tsai’s film [*What Time Is It There?*] speaks most powerfully in its structuring obsession with the temporal disjuncture between Taipei and Paris. I use the term “postcolonial,” then, in the relatively broad sense of designating the relation of alterity self-perceived by Taiwanese intellectuals to “Europe” as a mythic geo-cultural formation connoting modernity, a relation conditioned by the persistent modern division of the world into “east” and “west.” (par. 13–14)

While Martin notes that this division is losing credibility in a polycentric and postcolonial world, it still haunts Tsai’s films and those of his Taiwanese contemporaries. We could extend Martin’s analysis of cinematic “chronopolitics” to Hou’s films, which are haunted by both Ozu and European modernism.

Deleuze also argued that everyday banality becomes important in these films because “being subject to sensory-motor schemata which are automatic” it is “all the more liable, on the slightest disturbance of equilibrium” suddenly to “free itself from the laws of this schema and reveal itself in a visual and sound nakedness” (3). Ozu’s, Tsai’s, and Hou’s films focus on everyday banality in a way that liberates them from the need for action, and instead encourages sensitivity to the passage of time, and the image and soundtrack as purely optical and sound situations. Hou’s relationship to his subjects and locations is thus simultaneously intimate and distant, which parallels Song’s relationship to her host family. Song and Hou’s cameras record “the life of Paris” (often in reflective glass) in a way that approaches the state Roland Barthes’s described as “the Neutral” in his lecture course at the Collège de France (1977–1978):

Going out, evenings at dusk, sharply receiving tiny, perfectly futile details of street life: the menu written in chalk on the windowpane of a café (chicken mashed potato, 16 francs 50—kidneys crème fraîche, 16 francs

10), a tiny priest in a cassock walking up the rue Médicis, etc., I had this vivid intuition (for me, the urban dusk has a great power of crispness, of activation, it's almost a drug) that to fall into the infinitely futile helps one's awareness of the feeling of life → (it's after all a novelistic rule). → Tact is thus on the side of vividness, of what allows life to be felt, of what stirs the awareness of it (47)

This aptly describes the vividness of Hou's cinema that is remarkably "tactful" in its reception of the details of street life. Take for instance the café scenes with Simon and Song in which they discuss Simon's sister Louise and how she used to bring him there, while Hou transitions subtly to a flashback illustrating their present conversation—an example of what Deleuze refers to as the crystal-image:

in fact the crystal constantly exchanges the two images which constitute it, the actual image of the present which passes and the virtual image of the past which is preserved: distinct yet indiscernible, and all the more indiscernible because distinct, because we do not yet now which is one and which is the other. (81)

Hou had experimented with this technique of ambiguous flashback/illustration in his Taiwanese historical portrait *The Puppetmaster* (1993).

Like the ideal of the "au pair" (on par) relationship, Hou's narrative emphasizes mutual cross-cultural learning. For instance, the mother/employer Suzanne is studying the art of Chinese puppetry, perhaps hearkening back to *The Puppetmaster*. This also recalls *Café Lumière*'s portrayal of a Yoko returning from a research trip to Taiwan. Ironically, while the French journalist previously quoted praised Hou's film for not being like a picture postcard of Paris, within Hou's film a postcard functions as an object of exchange that throws the issue of cross-cultural communication into relief in a way that has implications for both of the films discussed here. On the train back from a lecture on Chinese puppetry techniques by puppet master Ah Zhong, Suzanne asks Song to translate for her and offers him a gift, a postcard of an image she saw at the British Museum when she was working there as a nanny, which for her represents "something profoundly Chinese." Leo Goldsmith notes that

In any other film, a French woman telling a Chinese character through a Chinese translator what she believes is quintessentially Chinese would stick out like a sore thumb, likely as an outright indictment of the French woman's blinkered provinciality. But as usual, Hou is after something far subtler, a simple marker of the intersection of East and West that calls attention to the dovetailing processes of translation and adaptation in which the characters are involved. (par. 2)

Beyond the image it bears, the postcard recalls her days as an au pair, mirroring Song's current role. This is in keeping with Hou's use of reflexive devices to examine travel and cross-cultural translation. Whether Ah Zhong recognizes himself in Suzanne's image of "la Chine profonde," or whether French or Japanese audiences recognize themselves as accurately reflected in Hou's films, what he foregrounds is the gesture, the "exchange of signs" in excess of speech. In Hou's homages, Lamorisse and Ozu may act "like a mirror in front of you," but perhaps what we see is more like the dense overlay of images in the reflective glass of Hou's cafés.

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Promote people of low sport willingness to sport by group encouragement

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Technology and Applied Sciences

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Abstract

Sedentary lifestyle is a main cause of obesity, and accompany with chronic disease. Some medical research shows NEAT(Non-Exercise Activity Thermogenesis) is a potential way to decrease obesity problem, that people could exercise everywhere and at anytime. To encourage people to increase physical activity in daily lives, We design an activity to promote people walk more. This activity is competed in teams by everyday foot counts of team members. This paper focus on encouraging people with low willingness to increase physical activities by group encouragement that other research shows those people are hard to be influenced by application only. In my research, people with low willingness and high willingness would be grouped to two teams; each team is composed of active and inactive users in same population (2 active, and 2 inactive in each team). All the participants wear pedometers to calculate everyday foot counts and convert it to activity points by uploading to a web-based platform where activity took place. In the activity, participants invest their “sport points” to win store coupons as reward, that the team of more points will win the coupons. After a three weeks pilot experiment, users with low willingness perform more walk than before and express they are encouraged by team members.

Keywords: NEAT, pedometer, willingness,

1. Introduction

Obesity is a common problem in modern society, and it usually comes with some chronic diseases such as high blood pressure and diabetes. Some studies show that people who try to lose weight by sport plans are easy to give up and then back to their weight in few years.[1] NEAT(*Non-Exercise Activity Thermogenesis*) is energy consumption from nonvolitional physical activities like walking or gum chewing. Different from traditional exercise which need to taken place in specific time and place, NEAT activities could be held in anytime and anywhere. Additionally, this kind of activities is considered to be a potential factor to maintain healthy weight. Some researches tried to make user to increase walking, the most common NEAT activity that exist in our living and pretty easy to be measured, by developing software such as games or cell phone applications.

TTM(trans-theoretical model)[2] define 5 different stages that people try to change their behaviors. From Lin's research which utilized a game to promote people walk more found people in stages of 'Pre-contemplation' and 'Contemplation' are low-willing to sport more, and 'Preparation' and 'Action' stages are high-willing people to increase sport while 'Maintenance' stage people keep their sport habits, not influenced from the application. This paper is mainly focus on promote low-willingness of sport people to increase sport by high-willing people's encouragement. Different from other researches[3-5] encourage users walk mainly by application, we design the activity compete by 2 teams and form common goal to win the activity.

2. Relevant work

To against obesity problem, some researches tried to encourage people exercise more by combining game and sport. Virku[6] combined exercise bike and virtual environment that changing with biking while bike resistance changed according to environment slope. Miru[7] developed a game, Excertainer, played by running treadmill and using two sensor bracelets to control virtual avatars' direction. Tetris Weightlifting[8] utilized two weight lifting handles to play a classic game, Tetris, on PC monitor that handles control tetrominoes. Shadow boxer[9] was a flash game guide users to play kickboxing with healthy heart rate facing a PC interface. All these researches showed people divert attention from exercise to game, and perform more sports than without games.

Although the aforementioned cases promoted people sport more, they need ran in specific places and time due to traditional exercise limitation. Therefore, some researchers advocate people increase NEAT activities that could be ran in anytime and anywhere. Consolvo[10] created a application on cell phone that users could compare their daily step counts with friends, and user would show a special icon on screen as reward if he complete his daily sport target. Chick clique[11] make young girls compete with friends each other, and platform also shows 5 sport levels defined by these girls, motivated teenage girls to walk more. UbiFit[5] was a cell phone application run in screen background as wallpaper, meaningful patterns like butterfly and flowers represented personal sport goals and performance. In Fish'n'Steps[3], virtual fish grew up according to users' step counts, and a virtual fish tank would be dirty if user walked less than his walking goal. NEAT-o-Game[4] was ran by users' walking performances. Avatars represent users racing as much as their players walk, and players' walk counts also convert to 'points' to exchange hints in NEAT-o-Sudoku, the other part of NEAT-o-Game.

These NEAT activity(walk) combination cases shows people walk more after experience these applications. Different from exercise more, users alter their used behavior such as walking more in daily live, climbing stairs rather than taking elevator, and parking cars further from

office make them walk more. But these cases usually focused on whether application could influence users' attitude and habits or not, but some participants with low sport willingness (defined as introduction) not walk more indeed. These people of low sport willingness maybe change their attitude of sports but not perform to walk more, and other users won't try to encourage them due to unfamiliar or the application design to be played alone. Therefore, these low-willingness users are who we interested to encourage sporting more.

3. Methodology

To measure users' step counts, we assign every participant a pedometer, Omron HJ-720ITC. This gadget is easy to carry even in users' pocket or backpack could measure their walking steps(Figure1). Furthermore, this pedometer could download participant's sport data through USB to its health software on PC, then convert to two kinds of file format, .CSV and .PDF(see Figure 2).And we build a website ask participants to upload their sport data both of CSV and PDF formats, CSV is the format that ease system to read, and PDF is the verification that users can't change data in it.



Figure1 user carry pedometer in pocket, this gadget(HJ-720ITC) could connect with PC by USB to upload data.



Figure2 Omron health software, ease user to convert sport data to CSV and PDF files after them uploading data from pedometers to PC.

While participants upload their sport data to the website, their step counts would be converted to “activity points”, per 100 steps switch to one point. In the activity we provide three different stores’ coupons as activity reward, and then ask users to compete by teams. Participants could invest their points to their favor stores, and the team invented more points would win the coupon of the store, all the four team members get 100NT dollars coupon each person.

Website interface

In the web platform, users could view how many points they still remain and how many their team and rival team remain, further the website shows the latest invest status.(see Figure3) And users could compare their walk counts with their team members and rival team members, or their weekly walk trend on the website.(see Figure4)

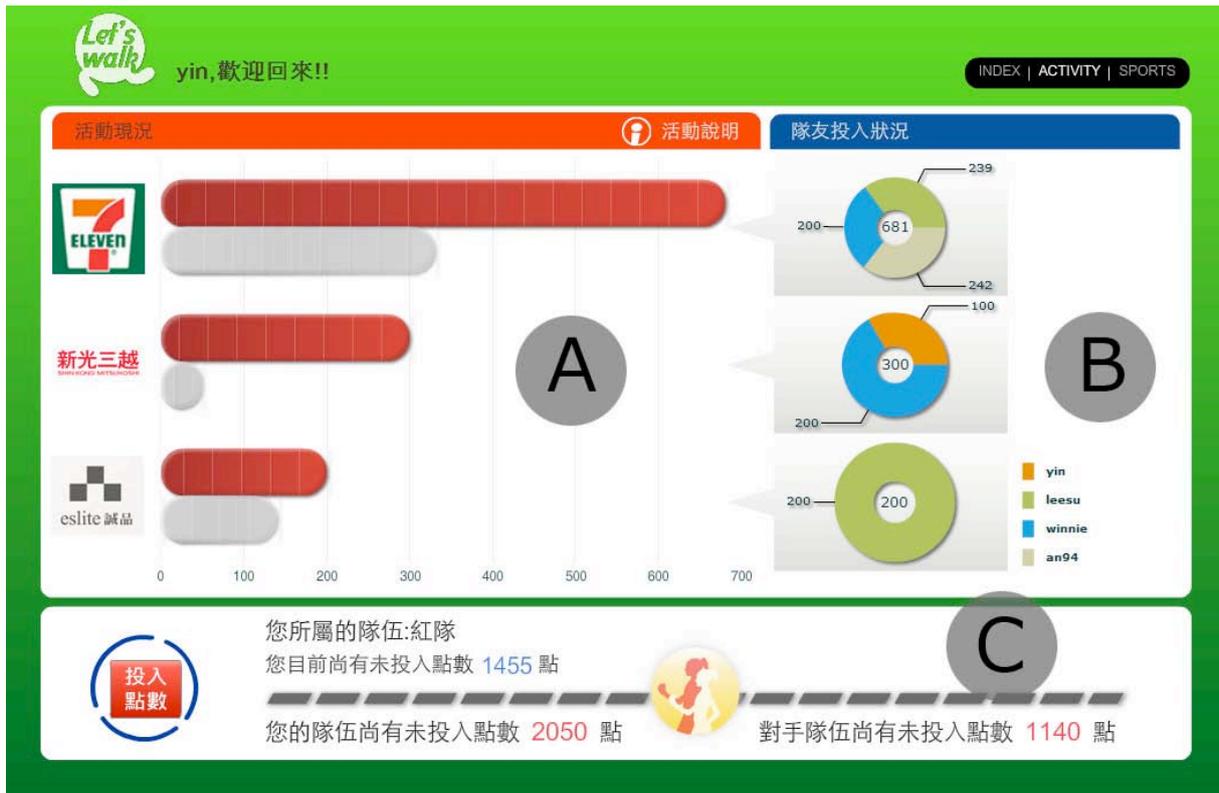


Figure3 (A)activity investing status;(B) composition of team members' points invest;(C) personal, team, and rival team point remains



Figure4 (A)team members' walk performance (B)personal sport goal (C)personal weekly walk trend

4.Evaluation

Participants

We chose 12 participants to group into 3 teams, 2 for experimental groups and 1 for control group. All the participants are girls, about 23 to 21 years old, members in the same team are classmates of NCKU, people in different teams don't know all the other team members(maybe know only one or two of other team) and all of them are not used to walk as the main sport. To classify different sport level of participants, we follow the criteria of TTM as other researches did.

Level 1(Pre-contemplation): people who don't have sport habit either not intend to start sporting regularly in next 6 months.

Level2(contemplation): people who don't have sport habit but intend to start sport regularly in next 6 months.

Level3(Preparation): people who have sport habit but not regularly, and plan to do it regularly in next month.

Level4(Action): people who start sport regularly in recent 6 months but not more than 6 months.

Level5(Maintenance): people who keep sporting regularly more than 6 months.

In Lin's research[3] pointed that users of level1 and level2 are people with low-willingness of sports that they won't increase sporting by application influence, and users of level3 and level4 are people with high-willingness of sports that they are enthusiastic about sporting more while level5 users keep their regular sport habit that not encourage from application. In this research, we recruit every team with two users of low willingness of sport and two of high willingness of sport. Different from other researches[3, 4] that participants don't know each other, all members in the same team are friends and meet each other frequently.

Therefore, we expect participants encourage each other, influenced by team members' encouragement, and not just urged by activity especially people of low-willingness of sports.

Experiment

We ran three weeks pilot experiment to evaluate how this activity influence users. The experiment has two sessions. The first week is session1 for preparation, participants are asked to upload sport data every day, and website shows their sport status include personal, team, and opponent team members as **Figure4**. In this session, activity are not activate, just make users understand the system and be used to carry their pedometers. The following two weeks are session2, 2 experimental groups started to run activity while the other control group didn't join the activity. These 2 groups invested their points that converted from step counts they walked to win the competition on the website as **Figure3**. Team members will get coupons of the store they invested point if they invested points more than the opponent team did. There were three stores they could choose to invest. The competition result is announced weekly, and we give them coupons and have an interview in the end of week.

The following table shows participants performance through the whole experiment.

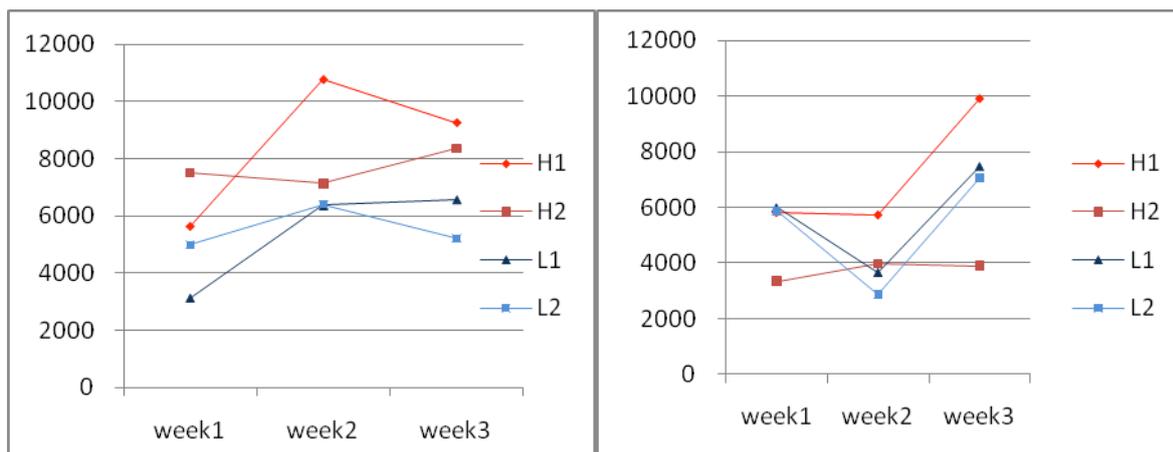


Table1&2. TeamA, TeamB groups of experimental groups' walk performances; H:person with high willingness, L:person with low willingness; the vertical axis represent the average of step counts in a week

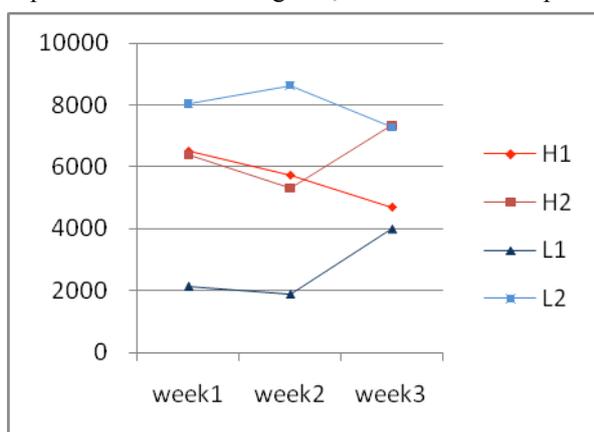


Table3. TeamC, the control group's walk performance

Through three weeks experiment(one week preparation, two weeks activity), members in the two experimental groups had increase their walk performances. But in the second week, we encounter a 5days vacation that most of students left campus back to their home town. Therefore, they didn't meet each other in that week, and some people responded that living habit was different from usual that they maybe just stay at home all the day. In the third week, generally participants walked more compare to their performance in week1. People with high willingness increase walk steps in range between 1000 to 3000 steps while low willingness ones increase between 500 to 1500 steps. On the other side, members of control group(TeamC) decrease their walk steps. Through interview with participants we found that they used to compare their own performance with others both members of the same team and rival ones. Due to these participants usually met together, they often took their pedometers to compare each other, and asked the member who walks most how she did it. The other finding is users responded that while they invited partners to go sport together, this activity eased them to convince partners to walk that they would increase step counts much more. Nevertheless, participants tend to invest their activity points in the last day or last few hours near weekly

end of activity just like bidding in online auction. In fact, most of participants didn't have strategy to win the game, but this activity still made low willingness users encouraged by team members owing to they often met together that eased them to exchange experience and went walk altogether. And the control group which didn't join activity said they feel novel to carry pedometers in the beginning but felt bored after two weeks and just try to keep their usual performance level, except one user(L1 of TeamC) who join a sport team increase her walk counts.

5.Conclusion

This research try to encourage people walk more through join an activity, especially those who with low willingness of sports. After a three weeks short experiment, participants confirm that this activity activated them walk more. And to make familiar and usually met friends in a team also eases people to encourage each other and invite friends to walk together. The whole system works fine, but sometimes user forgot to upload data to web server, or forget to carry pedometer(only two users forget to carry it for 3 uncontinuous days), maybe auto uploading hardware and cell phone application would be a future choice. This experiment is short and participants set is small. Therefore, significant statistically conclusion couldn't be done, whether participants will keep their walk performance after activity or not is still not confirmed. The further experiment with more and different types of people(age, sexual, .etc) is needed. But our idea that make low sport willingness people encouraged by high willingness friends is success, and user interaction make them walk more that aforementioned research shows only applying application is hard to promote them to increase walking.

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Topic of Submission: Technology and Applied Sciences

Stress Image Representation Applied to Eastern Asian People

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Abstract

Stress management appears to be a crucial issue in the 21st century (Lian, 2009). However the studies concerning the effect of managing stress are less represented; the complexity of Heart Rate Variation (HRV), which nowadays is the most common stress detected system using in the market, makes general users hard to be aware of their current stress situation. It is argued that the informational visualization of display design (Friendly, 2008) facilitates the interpreting process between products and customers.

The concept of stress is deeply linked to cultural environment. In the existing products concerning stress issues such as the American company EmWave or the French society Symbiofi, there is a prevalence of products coming from the Western world. In the opposite, the stress detected products for Asian are rare. Especially in Eastern Asia, large amount people are in the sub-health condition (Wang, 2001), a product design for Asian customers would present relevant advantages.

This research work is divided in two parts: first, the pilot study of OGENKI Diary used the five-point LIKERT scale from Cohen and Williamson (1988) to level the stress identity and compare normal and representational displays; we focus on perception of the design specification, user's feeling and the willing of usage and custom. Secondly, the focus group and questionnaire using picture and semantic differential methods for gathering images which represent pressure.

The combination of OGENKI diary, which proposes a new step on interactive step, and questionnaire website, which tries to offer an easily understandable representation of current stress state, and observes if the teenagers aware better their stress and will help them to understand their stressors. The aim of this study is to offer a new kind of stress auto-diagnostic specially designed for Asian teenagers in order to

elaborate later a stress coping game affiliated to OGENKI.

Keywords: Area studies, Stress management, Semantic Differential method, representational displays, auto-diagnostic

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Although the Taiwanese youth suicide rate increased year by year and suicide became the second of ten death factors in 2006, there were only 20.6 percent of young people had asked for help of professional psychological counseling experience (BHP, 1987). In 2007 the Taipei City Government Health Bureau survey conducted on young people stated that 20.9 percent of students did not want to let people know about their difficulties. Twenty percent of students think they can resolve it, 16.7 percent think that pressure will naturally not be seen, while 0.58 percent would hurt their own (Griffith, 2009); young people do not want to find someone to help them handle pressure. Thus, it is important to offer a way to aware and prevent better from extended stress state.

The traditional treatment for stress process usually occurs in patients with symptoms of some diseases, such as the physical aspects of the long-term stomach pain, headaches, insomnia, irritable bowel syndrome, and so on ..., or the psychological aspects of depression and bipolar disorder (Chen, 2002). Most of the time when patient feel symptoms or pathological changes arise and go consult doctors or others pathologists, the diseases caused by stress have been already carried out to a certain level of importance and danger. This traditional habit may jeopardize health condition.

1.2 An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure

If the stress is too long, the body is tired. Anger or depression may also appear. Stress has not only physiological, but also psychological effects. When the person is in a stressful situation, his behavior as well as its perception of the environment is changed (Greenberg, 2002). But it must be remembered that each individual reacts differently to a similar situation. Therefore, if the general adaptation phase to stress persists, the body can no longer provide effort that is required; it is unable to compensate energy expenditure and our immune defenses, making us it more susceptible to external attacks. The heart, arteries, stomach, intestines, skin or immune defenses suffer from diseases such as ulcers, hypertension or even the infarction, asthma, eczema, cancer, etc. So far, the causes are unclear: although stress itself can

induce harmful behavioral changes (toxic, hyper alimentation...), it seems that it can directly generate anomalies and it, in particular, a recognized cardiovascular disease risk factor (Brotman, Golden and Wittstein, 2007).

The General Adaptation Syndrome (Selye 1936), our body reaction to stress, has its limits; physiological limits that make the body cannot go beyond its forces. This obvious assertion is taken up by Holmes and Rahe (1963) that show the amount of change unit has an influence on the health of the individual. Thus, for 10 people with more than 300 units of change in a year, 8 suffered health problems. Series of examples provide us to illustrate this idea; firstly the weakening of the immune by the General adaptation syndrome system and then the effect of stress on the brain. The immune system is greatly affected when firing the General adaptation syndrome. Many experiments on animals and human beings have demonstrated, and according to Baer et al., the cortisol, a corticosteroid hormone or glucocorticoid produced by zona fasciculata of the adrenal cortex, which is a part of the adrenal gland, usually refer as “stress hormone” would result as a consequence. There would therefore be a weakening of the immune response and thus defense system in the body.

1.3 Stress theory

Hans Selye defines stress as “the non-specific response of the body to any demand for change”. The theory of Lazarus and colleagues (1984) emphasizes that one's view of a situation determines whether an event is experienced as stressful or not. Ursin and Eriksen (2004) published the Cognitive Activation Theory of Stress (CATS) offers formal and systematic definitions of the terms and concepts used in stress research. The stress response depends on acquired expectancies to the outcome of the stimulus and the available responses. The stress response itself is an alarm necessary for performance and adequate to challenges.

Furthermore, the World Health Organization defined the third state, a state between health and disease, as “Sub-Health condition” and there are amount 60% of population in the world suffer from it. Especially in Eastern Asia, large amount people experience all kind of discomfort when all necessary physical and chemical indexes are tested negative by medical equipments (Wang, 2001). However while people getting more aware about health problematic and so new medical ways as acupuncture or homeopathy to cure are now very popular among us. But if the ways of cure have been well spread out, the notions of prevention, of precaution are still a non-well developed part in the government health policy.

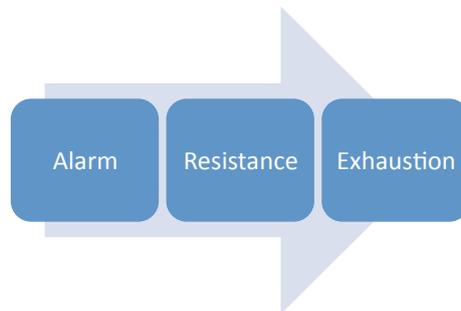


Figure 1 Three stage in the GAS model

This research will focus on the idea of prevention and take the awareness as a key issue. If there is a simple operation detection tool, so people can, without the help of a medical center, detect at home their diseases, and if such a detection tool is at low price, it could allow more frequent checks, so an early detection and early treatment can be done through it. This is preventive medicine, emphasizing both availability and real-time care, which facilitate the testing service. Now there is such thing as Point of care testing (POCT) that provides us a complete and easy way to auto-diagnostic such as people suffering diabetes, cholesterol use POCT.

1.4 Target users

Study is a significant stage in Asian culture, and the college period places a vital transforming point of life. The target user in this study is the Taiwanese youth in school. The choice is based on the reason below:

- 1.6-1 In the past five years a process of rejuvenation concerning the suicide rate has occurred. People younger and younger attempt suicide.
- 1.6-2 The young generation is the most receptive to new technologies, they literary live with them and large amount of youth in Taiwan edit blog or electronic agenda.
- 1.6-3 The young generation doesn't feel concern about mental and psychological problem because the young are associated with healthy, they don't feel or don't want to accept the real impact of mental aspects on their physiology.
- 1.6-4 We hope permit young generation to develop a sense of vigilance about the psychological aspect of health.

This generational medico-study's aim is to help them understand better their health conditions by underlining their stress and its reasons before it could rise at a high-pitch level. A self-diagnostic, the awareness of oneself stress condition can so

avoid a complicated medication.

2. Approach

2.1 A stress evaluation system of blog- OGENKI Diary

In 2006, a survey of the Minister of Education shows the average time for university student using computer is 22.45 hours a week. Today a large amount of teenagers have a very close relation with Internet and new technologies. Most of them daily write on their blogs, use digital agenda and other devices as Google calendar, etc...The OGENKI device links all these aspects; it appears as a huge hub of social Internet instruments. Through the analysis of daily information (blogs, Google calendar, and agenda) and series of three alternative daily questionnaires, the OGENKI service will estimate day by day the user's actual state of stress. OGENKI combines analysis of stress with a specific representation. The aim of OGENKI is to identify with a long-term record the situation and prevent the evolution of stress. It would also help teenagers to have a better comprehension of their stress's causes. The OGENKI device is also developed through a new approach of data representation.

2.2 Representational display-relative works

The reliability of HRV system is well proved; however its representation needs some simplification to be understood by the common user. Before, the HRV data was a privilege of doctors and specialists, new technologies permit now a real democratization of this knowledge. This comprehension needs to pass from several series of numbers to images or animations to succeed. Recently, huge efforts have been made to make HRV data more simple and clear. New codes of representation have been developed. The EmWave uses a simple code of colours to indicate to the user his actual state of stress. From green to red, these colours are easily understandable as any traffic lights. More recently, a French company called Symbiofi has developed medical PC games using HRV system. On the screen appear gauges with different colours symbolizing states of stress and cardiac activity. But even if the colour code is really important to make the user progress on his way to control stress, the real representation of stress is on the game itself. Each game has its own system, for example: attract wild beasts to a lake for drinking, the more they are symbolizes users stress control ability. In this study we emphasize the prevention from stress by procuring a more empathic interface, thus we use pictures, graphic and figures instead of numbers or light bar (Friendly, 2008).



Figure 2-4. Products and interface proposed by EmWave and Symbiofi

2.3 Representational display of OGENKI Diary

This study was initially based on the idea of general diagram using percentage to represent the level of stress, and for increasing the motivation of using to offer this new kind of representation of stress state on blog would make user's comprehension easier, and could be more interesting and interactive. As Hans Selye exposes it in 1936, distinctions have to be made between productive and unproductive stress. While too much stress diminishes people ability, a small amount of stressful events could bring positive reaction to people. Thus in this study we use the gap of 40 percent determines positive and negative stress position. Above this rate one the fish changes colour into black, then for each every 20 percent progression a new fish gets dark until the maximum of four black fishes in the small lake. The maximum of dark fishes is fixed at four; it will still remain a red fish for avoiding too serious influence of a complete series of dark fishes will discourage the user.

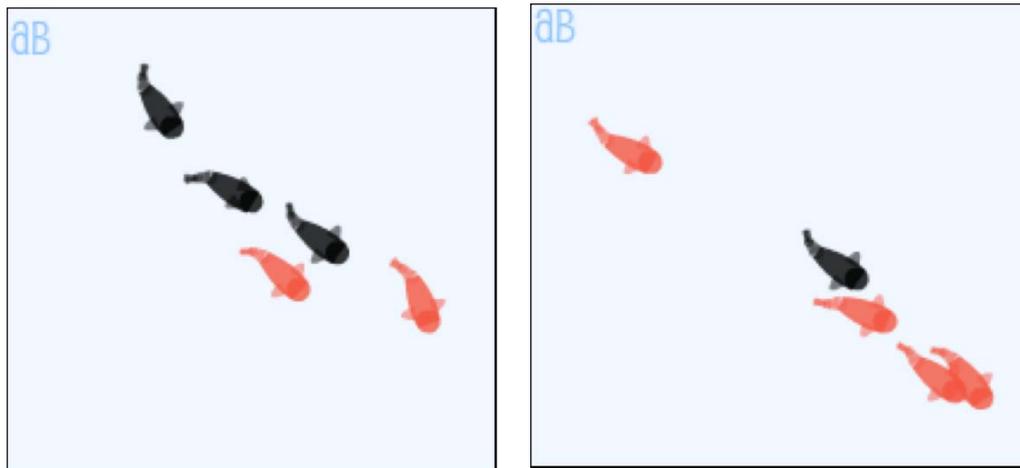


Figure 3. Representations of stress status and its evolution
(Left: High stress, Right: Low stress)

3. Pilot study

3.1 Tasks & procedure

The collect of data is day by day into one week timing. First stressful events are recorded by timing, localization, description and personal rating for building

long-term records on psychological state. Then, the user has to follow a rapid survey, a subjective evaluation, and submit it online. All data is kept on a private blog only visible by webmaster and him. The blog has a schedule, a publishing area, a questionnaire (Table 1) and a materialize stress level by representational display-goldfish shape. The participants are 7 university students are selected from the focus group result within the higher stress level. 3 male and 4 female participants have joined and participated to this study, their average age were 18.9 which are matched the ideal age to the target user group of this study.

Table 1. The five-point LIKERT scale “perceived stress scale” by Cohen and Williamson (1988)

1. In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?
2. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?
3. In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and "stressed"?
4. In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?
5. In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?
6. In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?
7. In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?
8. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?
9. In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that were outside of your control?
10. In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?

0=never 1=almost never 2= sometimes 3= fairly often 4= very often

3.2 Result of pilot study

Every participant has to record their daily stress event. By providing daily data, OGENKI can easily provide a detailed situation of stress (Fig.1). By using the five-point LIKERT scale “perceived stress scale” from Cohen and Williamson (1988, Fig.1), we know the stress level and more important, the stressors implications in the evolution of the user’s stress.

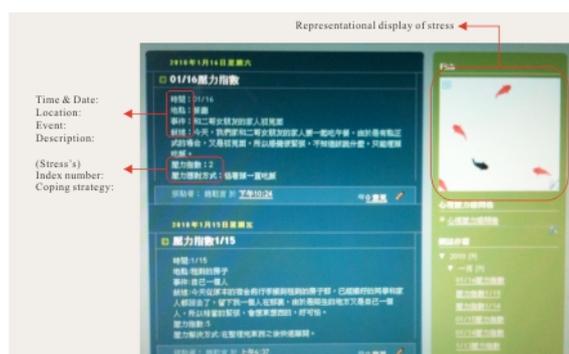


Figure 4. Personal entrance webpage

Depend on the task properties, the collective result could be divided into quantitative and qualitative part. The quantitative data could be seen as figure 4 that present each participant's stress status flow during a week. Some participants (2, 3, 5) have showed their consistence on these five components, and other participants (1, 4, 6, 7) could separate their stressor on their issues.

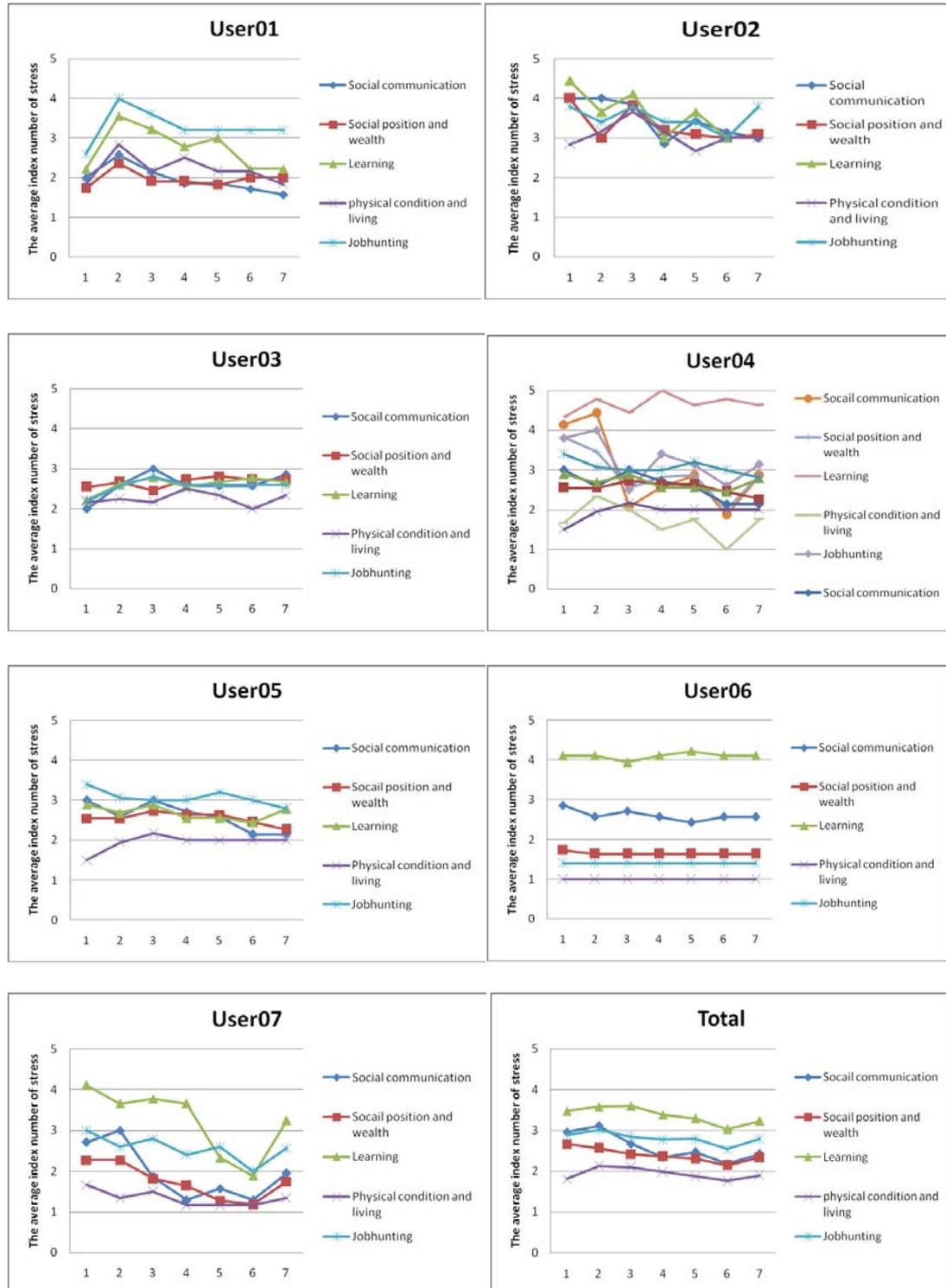


Figure 5. Stressor and stress level of participant.

Furthermore, the figure presents that most of the participants have the lowest stress level of physical condition and living (mean=1.93), indicate that those participants have health physical body and without too many stress dealing with their daily life. Studying seems to be the highest stress level (mean=3.39) of those participants. Actually during this period of their recording task, they were in the final exam period. Therefore, it might be the reason why the stress level concerning studies would be so high, and it could be the bias of the field study.

Statistic analysis directs to the average of each principle components of stress as table 2. It presents the same result as graphics' indication. Learning stress was the highest index of this process, follow the strength were job propection, social communication, social position, wealth, physical condition and living. After the repeats measure ANOVA analysis, we found the different components had significant effect ($p < .001$). It also presented in the pair wise comparisons (table 3)

Surprisingly, writing blog and questionnaire did not cause extra pressure to the participants as we estimated. On the contrary, some participants showed their willingness to keep writing the blog after the experiment was completed. The average time for them to finish writing the blog each day is 22.85 minutes, and the activities is expected to last for more than one month. As a result, most participants felt positive to deal with stress in this experiment, and thought it brought them self-achievement and self-confidence.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistic

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Social communication stress	2.5857	.70381	50
Social position and wealth stress	2.4009	.66105	50
Leaning stress	3.3915	.85087	50
Physical condition and living stress	1.9339	.67553	50
Jobhunting stress	2.7973	.73237	50

Table 3. Pairwise Comparisons

(I) survey (J) survey	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.(a)	95% Confidence Interval for Difference(a)
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		(I-J)			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	2	.185(*)	.066	.007	.053	.317
	3	-.806(*)	.120	.000	-1.048	-.564
	4	.652(*)	.104	.000	.443	.860
	5	-.212	.113	.068	-.439	.016
2	1	-.185(*)	.066	.007	-.317	-.053
	3	-.991(*)	.137	.000	-1.265	-.716
	4	.467(*)	.070	.000	.325	.609
	5	-.396(*)	.079	.000	-.554	-.239
3	1	.806(*)	.120	.000	.564	1.048
	2	.991(*)	.137	.000	.716	1.265
	4	1.458(*)	.169	.000	1.117	1.798
	5	.594(*)	.163	.001	.267	.921
4	1	-.652(*)	.104	.000	-.860	-.443
	2	-.467(*)	.070	.000	-.609	-.325
	3	-1.458(*)	.169	.000	-1.798	-1.117
	5	-.863(*)	.075	.000	-1.015	-.712
5	1	.212	.113	.068	-.016	.439
	2	.396(*)	.079	.000	.239	.554
	3	-.594(*)	.163	.001	-.921	-.267
	4	.863(*)	.075	.000	.712	1.015

Based on estimated marginal means

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Adjustment for multiple comparisons:

Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

4. Further discussion

In this pilot study, many participants are appealed by the representational stress levelling which is a small pound at the right of the daily event record frame set up, with five goldfishes inside. With different level of stress situation the fishes would change into black one by one. (Fig.3) They think this new representational display do help them understand better their stress state in a funny way without increasing extra stress, however the participants think the goldfishes is cute but maybe not the perfect representational image to stress. Also there are others representational ways different from using percentages or graphics.

The idea developed by the Berlin school of *Gestalt* that items is more

significant that number because of the perceptions' holistic is primordial. Koffka in the "Principles of Gestalt psychology," adopts and adheres to two important concepts; mind and matter field (psychophysical field) and the same type of (isomorphism). The Observers perceived the concept of reality as a psychological field (psychophysical field), the perceived reality will created the idea of physical field (phy-sical field). The organism is a self-psychological body with activity behaviors stated into a dynamic interaction within its geographical environment field. The theory aimed that when individuals are face of situations where they find a stimulating message, they unconsciously organized their behavior in order to access to a meaningful perceptual experience (Chang, 2003). Thus graphics would not only occur user's empathic but would be more significant and meaningful.

4.1 Questionnaire and focus group

Semantic differential is a type of a rating scale developed by Charles Egeron Osgood (1957) designed to measure the connotative meaning between of objects or concepts. To understand the process from relaxation to stress definitions, in order to underling each step of the verbal conceptualization of these two physical states, we use this method on a questionnaire.

For realizing more about the stress image of Asian youth, the focus group is hold with seven participants with at list five years design execution experience who try to focus on discovering the stress image and more information through making a questionnaire. Most of the questions are opened question, letting participants elaborate their imagination for getting more idea. Besides using two questions for guiding the subjects start considerate their general living stress state, four questions are using the semantic differential methods and the last three questions are based on Gestalt questionnaire design (Koffka, 1935) to give out a representation of subjects. (Table 4)

Table 4 Questionnaire of stress image

1. How is your general stress state? (From 1 to 5. 1 is almost none and 5 is very serious.)
2. According to a research, most stress of youth are come from these five stressor, consider yourself and choose the most serious two.
<input type="checkbox"/> Social communication
<input type="checkbox"/> Social position and wealth
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaning
<input type="checkbox"/> Physical condition and living
<input type="checkbox"/> Jobhunting
3. Please name five adjectives which would bring the stress image to you.

4. Please name five adjectives which would bring the relax image to you.
5. What color would remind you the stress image? Please give two examples.
6. What color would remind you the relax image? Please give two examples.
7. What kind of “item” could represent your stress? Please give two examples. (The “item” could be a creature, a picture or a scene.)
8. Continue question 8, with your stress is accumulated how would the “item” change? (For the “item” itself could be in quantitative or quality way, or maybe the relation with background, or the whole atmosphere of scene.)
9. If there is a game could show the situation of your stress, please describe the tableau while the stress is accumulating.

4.2 Result

Totally 47 questionnaires are gathered but only 42 are accepted. Among the accepted questionnaire, 19 male and 23 female participants have joined this study, their average age are 20.1 years old. In the analysis, the adjectives which been gathered from question 1 and 2 are separated into two parts: the image of stress or relaxing itself and the affection from stress or relaxing. The first part is separated again to three parts: appearance, quantitative and quality, and motion, for selecting the answers of question 7 to building the actual picture.

Two most serious stress factors among the participants are Learning and Social communication and the average index number of living stress level is 3.7, moreover, 8 of 42 participants consider their general living stress level is 5 which is the highest level among the index. With separating the gathering of stress and relaxation, the gathering adjective still show the clearly contrary to each others in participants’ answer and the same situation is happened at the question of colour. There are 19 images of whole space atmosphere and 23 images of single item. With stress accumulating, these 19 inside there are 3 concerning surroundings changes and 16 occurring in change of ambiance. The detail result of the questionnaire is below:

Q. 1	Image of stress itself	Outside appearance: complex, blurred, dark, obscure, gloomy, profound Nature: heavy, oppressing, depressing Action: repeated, accumulated, slow, continuous
	Influence of stress on oneself	irritability, anxiety, depression, grief, silent, tired, confusing, passive, powerless, unbearable, collapse, melancholy

Q. 2	Image of relaxation itself	Outside appearance: bright, simple, gentle, colorful, cute, funny, natural, smiling Nature: lithe, gentle, sweet, soft, fragrant Action: lightning-fast, mobile, happy, jumping
	Influence of relaxation on oneself	pleasant, convivial, comfortable, relaxed, expectations, comfortable, refreshing
Q. 3		black, dark blue, grey, dark green, deep purple, flashing red,
Q. 4		white, green, sky blue, pink, yellow
Q.5	Representative	spring, tangled lines, balloons, blowfish, cactus
	Picture	prison, slaughterhouses, volcano, weather, man carrying heavy items on his back
Q. 6	Quantitative change	12
	Qualitative change	11
	Changes with surroundings	3
	Complete changes of ambiance	16
Q. 7	Example1 (Representative item)	with the pressure increases-spring is compressed
	Example 2	with the pressure increases-more and more tangled line band together
	Example 3	with the pressure increases-balloon become bigger and colors continuously change, finally he ended up blasting
	Example 4	with the pressure increases-the blowfish becomes bigger, its thorns longer and more dense, it stars to move quickly
	Example 5	with the pressure increases-the cactus becomes bigger along with its thorns become sharp
	Example 1(Picture)	with the pressure increases-space is more and more closed, windows are more and more small, the light is darkling
	Example 2	with the pressure increases-space is more and more dirty, and more and more messy articles are inside
	Example 3	with the pressure increases-volcano begins to smoke and sky starts to getting colors, it lasts with an outbreak
	Example 4	with the pressure increases-in the sunny sky appear more and more clouds, it ends with storm and thunder

	Example 5	with the pressure increases-Things on the back of the man are too many, the lman curved his body to ground and finaly fell under his burden
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5. Conclusion

For trying to increase the stress’s awareness of Asian youth, this research used the OGENKI Diary on a pilot study. The result shows that six participants out of seven had significantly raise their stress awareness abilities and give positive feedback on the effectiveness of the long-term experiment. The lowest and highest stress level are physical condition and living (mean=1.93), and learning (mean=3.39). After the repeats measure ANOVA analysis, we found comparing learning and others, the different components had significant effect ($p < .001$). Besides, Participants also commented that by incorporating interesting and diversity in both functionality and interface design could help to draw user’s attention and promote longer interaction. For the reason above, the focus group and the questionnaire are made especially for understanding better on both stress image and the representational display.

The result shows comparing to the gauges which used on western stress game such as the general number bar or light bar, and the game pictures of African nature scene or the deep undersea scene; the Asian youth more consider stress image is more closed to personal and more concrete. They used the adjectives such as *complex, dark, heavy, slow, repeating, and accumulate*. The darker color such as black, dark gray, deep blue or purple would remind the stress image to the participants and in the opposite, the brighter color such as white, light blue and vitamin colors would refer to relaxing. Because of the accumulating procedure of stress, 38 of 42 questionnaire would connect the stress image is a gradual changing process. Through the adjectives of stress image, ten descriptions of the stress accumulating models are built. Furthermore, the word, stress, carries out more message of negative than positive. To considerate long-term using and extra stress causing, “OGENKI” is a better choice because it has neuter characteristic.

This study provides the data to support the OGENKI diary successfully raises the awareness level of youth people, and for the future plan, the four out of ten models, the descript pictures of stress image which are gathered in the above, will be built for using in the experiment of testing and through the biofeedback to get the real effective level. As a sequel or a game affiliated to OGENKI, we will try to develop a relaxing game which will be control by heart bit through the HRV detector.

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The Construction and Implementation of Energy and Power innovative curriculum integrated with blocks in Life Technology Courses

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to construct Energy and Power innovative curriculum with blocks in Life Technology Courses and understand the student's satisfaction with the innovative curriculum after the implementation. In this study, there are three innovative courses: the handling race of the development of wind power unit, solar car racing and air rail car racing. In 2007 and 2008, the energy and power innovative science camp was held for junior and senior high school students in Taichung of Taiwan, with a total of 214 students to participate in. The activities involved three innovative curricula, and through competitions, students were forced to think creatively with limited blocks in order to meet the requirements of the contest. After the implementation of curricula, a survey of students' satisfaction was conducted. Analyzing the quantitative and qualitative data, there are four findings as follows:

1. Energy and Power innovative curriculum allows students to have access to energy and power-related knowledge, and students find the curriculum design is degree of moderate difficulty.
2. After the implementation of innovative programs in Energy and Power innovative curriculum, students are willing to practice and promote the

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importance of energy conservation in daily life.

3. Energy and Power innovative curriculum in Life Technology Courses, which is integrated with blocks and conducted through competition, can increase students motivation to learn.
4. Students are highly identified with energy and power innovative courses, and expresses their willingness to come back to participate in related programs.

Key Words: Energy and Power innovative curriculum, Life Technology, block

Introduction

Creativity means an individual's ability to integrate sensitivity, fluency, adaptability, originality and refinement in a supportive environment through a series of thinking process in order to derive a different perspective that gives a new meaning to the intended object, the outcome needs to satisfy not only the individual but also others (Chen Long-An, 1995). In the creativity education portal site run by the Ministry of Education, it states the general idea of creativity entails ingenuity, innovative mechanism and entrepreneurship, concrete results are seen in the creative performances by the public in various fields. Innovation proficiency is a key index in the social development of a knowledge-based economy; creativity is the educational index in measuring learning achievements. Creativity is the intellectual foundation of innovation while innovation is actual practice of creativity. Creativity and innovation is a reflection to one another, complementing each other. The birth of originality is based on the exhibition of creativity; achievement of originality is determined by the outcome of innovation.

In September 2008, EU had designated 2009 the year of "originality and innovation in Europe", EU's executive commission even pointed out that education is the best way to enhance originality and innovation (Fan Rong-Jing, 2009). Wu Jing-Ji (2009) believes creativity is a new form of citizen's right thus every citizen is entitled to it, after you are given such right, you become responsible to contribute to society, and the overall quality of innovation in the society is enhanced resulting in a virtuous cycle. Ugur (2004) considered creativity is a requirement for individual to solve problem effectively. People with creativity are able to make contribution to the fields of science, technology and arts in society and they also act as leaders in an interactive world. Plucker et al. (2004) also believed creativity helps leadership in workplace,

professionalism in job and healthy development of people in dealing with daily activities and emotions. Murdock (2003) also proved that creativity plays an important role in student's ability to problem solving, creative thinking and emotion management.

In order to cultivate creativity among students and to integrate creativity with the 9-year curriculum education, Ministry of Education had introduced "white paper on creativity education" in January 2002, collecting the data and studying the performance with respect to the development of creativity education around the world and the various stages of pre-school, elementary school, high school, college and adult education; in other words, the objective of the White Paper on creativity education is to realize the vision of a "Republic of Creativity" that entails the following 5 aspects: (1) cultivate an attitude of lifetime learning and willingness to create; (2) provide a learning environment that is energetic, happy and respects diversity; (3) accumulate rich, extensive and friendly knowledge; (4) develop industries that appreciate intellectual properties and are knowledge intensive; (5) establish a culture of diversity, innovative and enthusiastic to sharing. (Ministry of Education, 2002)

International Technology Education Association (ITEA) defines technology as follow: technology is people taking action in innovation, including general knowledge, content of technology and the process of systematic development; solves a variety of problems and extends people's capacity; domestic development of technology education in Taiwan, from handicraft, industrialization all the way to the day-to-day technology of today are mostly referred to USA. Nevertheless, in the case of current 9-year curriculum education and life technology course at high school, it is still based on the transmission of general knowledge and the development of problem solving skills among students; in the time of following the American approach to build up the problem solving skills of students, we also need to ask have we considered the issue

that there is not enough “innovation and design” content being incorporated in life technology course, the fact is the essence behind technology is the extension of innovation. In light of the recent trend of emphasis on “innovative design” in global technology industry, how to direct high school students towards innovative thinking in life technology course has become a crucial part in the development of life technology course for high school education. “Life technology” course is intended to build up student’s ability in adapting to the requirements in a society of technology, in addition to teaching the knowledge related to technology, the course also provides motivation and environment to stimulate student’s creativity in order to develop their proficiency in innovative thinking and problem solving skills while preparing them with better adaptability in facing an ever-changing society. In response to the implementation of new course, as a teacher of life technology, in addition to developing student’s skills in technology, a teacher should also take student’s ability in innovative thinking and problem solving into consideration.

Blocks are meant to be taken apart, adjusted and reassembled. Although the components are made of plastic products, they still meet the eco-friendly core values of 3 R’s, namely Reduce, Recycle and Reuse. Blocks offer many opportunities for students to express and practice concepts such as rhythm, graphics and design. Through the use of blocks, users are able to repeat past experiences. Using blocks as materials, students not only have easy access to the materials but also save time in purchasing components and assembly; during time of teaching the course of life technology, more time could be dedicated for exploring the subject instead of wasting time in testing, adjusting and making unnecessary mistakes.

Therefore, this research is to based on the current course of life technology, integrate the use of building blocks in teaching method and develop a series of creativity course on energy and power. Science camps on energy and power are held

on holidays to implement course materials and the objective is boost student's interest in leaning technology and motivates students to take an active approach to learning that would ultimately induce creative thinking from students towards life technology. The expectations of a series of "hands-on experience" and "learning through play" are enhanced creativity, more active in learning, development of team work and problem solving skills while meeting the requirements set by the Ministry of Education on the general high school life technology course guidelines emphasizing student's proficiency in applying the knowledge of life technology, creative thinking and problem solving.

Literature Review

1. Creativity course of life technology

"Life technology" course is intended to build up student's ability in adapting to the requirements in a society of technology, in addition to teaching the knowledge related to technology, the course provides motivation and environment to stimulate student's creativity in order to develop their proficiency in innovative thinking and problem solving skills while preparing them with better adaptability in the face of an ever-changing society. In response to the implementation of new course, as a teacher of life technology, in addition to developing student's skills in technology, a teacher should also take student's ability in innovative thinking and problem solving into consideration. Ministry of Education (2008) believes learning science allows us to learn various explorative activities: abilities in observing, questioning, planning, experimenting, consolidating, evaluating as well as criticizing and creating. Special activities such as testing or field observation to conduct learning process make us acquire the ability of problem solving in addition to getting to know the importance of details, patience and being practical during exploration.

Curriculum guidelines set by the Ministry of Education (2008) for high school life technology course pointing out the objectives of life technology course: (1) Direct students to understand the influence of technology on individual, society, environment and culture. (2) Develop student's proficiency in applying technical knowledge, creative thinking and problem solving skills. (3) Cultivate proper view on technology, attitude and work habits among students while stimulating their interest in the research and development of scientific studies and exploring career options.

The two credits in "Life Technology" course is a requirement in Taiwan's high schools. The required core course "Technology and Life" explores the technical aspects of everyday life, strengthens student's basic understanding of technology. Adding "Innovative design and production" to the core course emphasizes methods of innovative design, principle and application in Project-Based Learning.

It could be seen from the documentations above, creativity education is an important part of teaching life technology, teachers should be able to design appropriate course curriculum on creativity, properly apply various creative teaching method in classes, plus using Project-Based Learning that allows hands-on experience for students to enhance their ability in creative thinking and problem solving skills.

2. Researches on integrating blocks with teaching

Blocks are part of integral teaching tools for students as they present great challenges of infinite combinations to students regardless how they are arranged. Using blocks as materials, students not only have easy access but also save time in purchasing components and assembly; during time of implementing their own designs, more time could be dedicated for exploring the subject instead of wasting time in testing, adjusting and making unnecessary mistakes.

According to the studies of Wolfgang (2003), those who like to construct

complicated objects with blocks during pre-school stage are more likely to achieve better performance in mathematic in high school; therefore the use of building blocks is the best tool to enhance a child's thinking and mathematic skills. Hong Qiu-Ping (2005) had incorporated LEGO in teaching through group activities at senior grade of elementary school level, the findings were students using teamwork approach recorded significant improvement in creativity. Lin Yi-Nong (2006) used pentomino lessons to conduct study on students of elementary schools and found out student's visual perception to space could be enhanced through lessons of geometrical blocks. Yang Xiu-Hui (2007) had discovered students scored improvements in the following areas, willingness to participate teamwork, better understanding of self, self-expression, communicating and sharing, appreciation, performance and innovation, attention focus, higher level of interest, active exploration, self-confidence, independent thinking and problem solving after taking parts in sessions playing block games. Jorgen (2007) also learned in respective studies that blocks are able to strengthen student's proficiency in solving problem concerning logics.

It could be seen from the above documentation that blocks are highly suitable to be part of the teaching activities of creativity education, in a time of reduced hours in life technology course in high schools but more emphasis is placed on innovative design, blocks become the best choice in creativity education under time constraints.

3. Researches on competitive style teaching method

In a time that schools at all levels are promoting creativity education, various forms of "technology competitions" have become the best way to put lessons into practice. It is the hope of each entity to verify simple scientific theories through problem solving in various competitions as taking an energetic and interesting approach would strengthen student's teamwork ability, stimulate their creativity thus

achieving the objective of creativity education. Yi Xiao-Wen (2008) integrated competitions of creative science theme as part of official curriculum, studies had shown that under the course designing, students would actively explore problems in addition to conducting group discussion to learn more about the solutions of other classmates then achieve common goal through teamwork. Having competitions on creative designs is to stimulate student's creativity as the process of creative design requires students to seek optimal solution to a problem in a regulated environment, and they would have to produce a real product. Creative design competitions targeting high school students are not like the standard commercial competitions of similar nature as stimulation of creative structure, and learning through process are actually the most important and valuable parts. (Zhang Mei-Zhen, Wang Yu-Hong, Huang Jun-Fu, 2008). During the course of the technology competitions, teachers have a easier time in observing student's performance in the context of competitions, with appropriate yet diverse assessment measures, it is able to measure the results of learning activities and student's ability in applying what they have learned. According to the interviews and surveys conducted after the technology competitions, it was discovered that the coaches who lead the teams and the students who participate in the events are all have positive feedback on technology competitions being able to enhance creativity, boot interest in leaning life technology, promote teamwork spirit, apply scientific theories and job skills (Lin Shi-Hua, 2005; Zhang Jia-Hui, Huang Qian-Fang, 2005; Wang Bao-Ti, Peng Ying-Jiang, 2005).

In conclusion of the above literature on competitive activities, problem solving is able to enhance student's teamwork capacity and stimulate their creativity while boosting their interest in learning.

Method

1. Research framework

This research is to incorporate building blocks in the teaching of life technology classes, develop junior high school, high school level creative courses on energy and power, and to conduct science camps utilizing such courses during holidays in order to understand student's satisfaction level about the use of blocks as part of life technology courses on energy and power, research framework as shown in Fig 3-1.

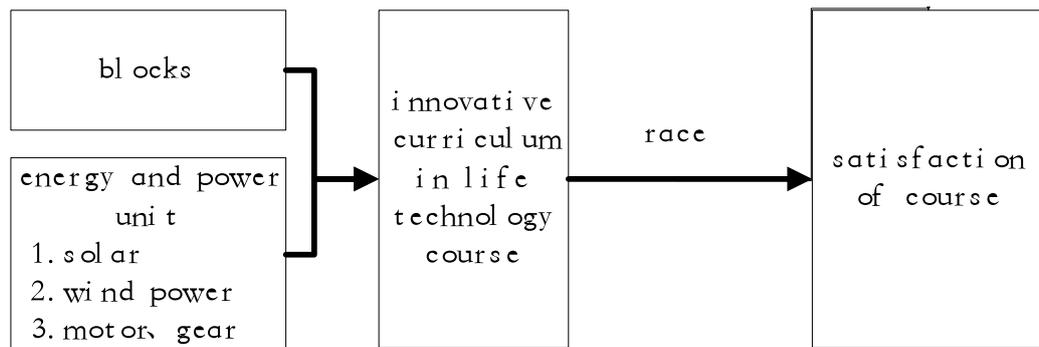


Fig 3-1 Research framework

2. Samples

This research targets the subjects attended the two occasions of energy and power science camps held in 2007 for junior and high school students, the number of junior high school students was 66 (solar car racing), the number of high school students was 50 (the handling race of the development of wind power unit), 3 occasions of energy and power science camp was held in 2008, total number of junior high school students who participated was 98 (air rail car racing), 3 students from each school were allowed at each occasion, students came from junior high schools and high schools in Taichung city of Taiwan.

3. Research tools

The main objective of this research is to understand the satisfaction level towards incorporating the use of blocks in life technology course on energy and power, and to

be used as reference for developing the foundation of course structure and implementing the teachings of life technology courses. Therefore, the research had prepared questionnaire studying satisfaction level, the questionnaire was divided into dimensions described as practical, implementation, motivation and willingness, Likert 5 point scale was used, highly agree was 5 points while highly disagree was 1 points. After the questionnaire was completed, it was reviewed and revised with the help from two teachers of life technology courses to ensure the effectiveness of the questionnaire.

4. Data analysis

An independent sample t-test was used in this research, test value is 3 which is then used in analyzing each question and compare with 3 to determine whether it has reached significant level. The significant level was $\alpha=0.05$.

Results and discussion

1. Student satisfaction level survey

Creativity courses of this research were implemented through conducting science camp on the topics of energy and power, after the course was completed each time, anonymous survey of student satisfaction level was conducted to obtain one-sample of satisfaction level, t-test outcome are as shown in Table 4-1, 4-2 and 4-3, the following 4 results are derived from data:

(1) Practical dimension of creativity course satisfaction level survey reached significant level

According to Table 4-1, 4-2 and 4-3, it could be seen that questions in the practical section had reached significant level, this means students who took parts agree creativity courses give them access to knowledge on energy and power, plus students

felt that difficulty level of creativity course content is appropriate, furthermore, students who took part agree creativity courses are very helpful for them.

(2) Implementation dimension of creativity course satisfaction level survey reached significant level

According to Table 4-1 and 4-2, it could be seen that questions in the implementation section of survey had reached significant level, which means students took part in this research are willing to implement energy conservation practice, and to promote the importance of conserving energy to friends and families.

(3) Motivation dimension of creativity course satisfaction level survey reached significant level

From Table 4-1, 4-2 and 4-3, it could be seen that only “when I saw there are so many parts and I don’t know what to do?” of the motivation section did not reach significant level ($M=3$), the rest of the questions had all reached significant level. As for the reason causing “when I saw there are so many parts and I don’t know what to do?” not reaching significant level, it was probably due to the fact that student did not know how to respond when first being exposed to creativity course related to blocks, of which, sky rail car race scored the lowest points and this means students have the highest level of uncertainty when facing components, further exploration to the cause would lead to the discovery that this course are more challenging by nature plus the content was never been seen by students since junior high school level. Furthermore, other questions had all reached significant level, which means students were highly motivated to learn because blocks had been used in teaching activities in the form of competitions.

(4) Willingness dimension of creativity course satisfaction level survey reached significant level

From Table 4-1, 4-2 and 4-3, it could be seen that willingness in each question had reached significant level, which means students agree this event was highly helpful and they are willing to take parts in similar courses again in the future.

Table 4-1 Satisfaction level of the course on the handling race of the development of wind power unit

Dimension	Category	M	SD	T
practical	1. I feel this course gives me knowledge on the technology of energy (i.e. solar power, energy crisis, global warming)	4.40	.571	17.324***
	2.I feel the difficulty level of this course is appropriate	4.12	.895	8.845***
	3. I feel this course (assemble wind power generator by hand) gives me knowledge on driving force technology (i.e. gear, motor)	4.08	.877	8.709**
	4. I feel this course is very helpful to me	4.04	.856	8.589***
implementa tion	5. I feel I should pay more attention to conserving energy and will do my best to achieve that.	4.44	.611	16.653***
	6. I will promote the importance of conserving energy to my friends and families.	4.02	.685	10.532***
motivation	7. When I saw there are so many parts and I don't know what to do?	3.0400	1.24474	.227
	8. I will try to assemble different wind power generator.	4.06	.867	8.647***
	9. I will make effort to think how to assemble wind power generator that rotates really fast.	4.14	.783	10.299***
	10. I want to win the competition on wind power moving device.	4.02	.915	7.887***
willingness	11. I feel this event is very helpful to me	4.00	.756	9.354***

12. If given the opportunity, I will participate in similar event again.	4.36	.827	11.627***
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N=50, test value=3, *P<.05, **P<.01, ***<.001

Table 4-2 Satisfaction level of the course on solar car racing

Dimension	Category	M	SD	T
Practice	1. I feel this course gives me the basic knowledge on solar power	4.42	.725	15.970***
	2. I feel the difficulty level of this course is appropriate	4.24	.860	11.731***
	3. I feel this course (assemble solar power car by hand) gives me knowledge on driving force (i.e. gear, motor)	4.52	.728	16.899***
	4. I feel this course is very helpful to me	4.35	.690	15.867***
Implementation	5. I feel I should pay more attention to conserving energy and will do my best to achieve that.	4.52	.588	20.929***
	6. I will promote the importance of conserving energy to my friends and families.	4.21	.851	11.577***
motivation	7. When I saw there are so many parts and I don't know what to do?	3.2273	1.34502	1.373
	8. I will try to assemble different solar power car	4.39	.820	13.802***
	9. I will make effort to think how to assemble faster solar power car	4.50	.662	18.403***
	10. I want to win the competition of solar power car race	4.18	.959	10.008***
willingness	11. I feel this event is very helpful to me	4.39	.721	15.714***
	12. If given the opportunity, I will participate in similar event again.	4.55	.826	15.197***

N=66, test value=3, *P<.05, **P<.01, ***<.001

Table 4-3 Satisfaction level of the course on air rail car racing

Dimension	Category	M	SD	T
practice	1. I feel this course (assemble rail car by hand) gives me knowledge on driving force (i.e. gear, motor)	4.12	.807	13.715***
	2. I like to assemble blocks in spare times.	3.73	1.061	6.858***
	3. When I saw there are so many parts and I don't know what to do?	1.8878	.81079	-13.580***
motivation	4. I will try to assemble different rail car.	4.29	.812	15.669***
	5. I will make effort to think how to assemble faster rail car	4.23	.835	14.641***
	6. I want to win the competition of rail car race	4.10	1.060	10.293***
willingness	7. I feel this event is very helpful to me	4.03	.867	11.768***
	8. If given the opportunity, I will participate in similar event again.	4.34	.919	14.402***

N=98, test value=3, *P<.05, **P<.01, ***<.001

2. Qualitative data from students

Questionnaire of this research includes open ended questions such as “suggestions of this creativity course” in order to understand student’s other comments on creativity course, and after questionnaires being collected, 35 students answer this question, the comments from students were divided into groups as shown in Table 4-4:

Table 4-4 Feedbacks from students

Category	Suggestion	N
Sense of identification with the course	very entertaining	11
	It is not a bad idea having students from different schools to build teamwork spirit in a short time.	1
	It's like creating an object “together”.	

	I hope there would be more events like this in the future.	2
Suggestion to the implementation of competition	Second rounds might be necessary during competition	3
	Final product is in vertical style but there is no award for creativity	1
	Issue certification	2
	Wish time would be longer	8
	Wish there could be more components	3
	There is room of improvement for the location of the competition	4
Suggestion to creativity course	The question is a little too difficult	1
	No example available	2
	Wish there would be some pointers	1
	Explanation is not clear enough, have no idea of the overall concept	2
	too much limitation	1

From the quantified and qualitative data as in Table 4-4, it could be seen that students were highly identified with this event, also Table 4-4 is able to understand the questions aroused during the course of competition and actual practice of creativity class, content of creativity course and game regulations could be modified according to the comments from students in order to make this creativity course even better.

Conclusion and recommendations

1. Conclusion

Syh-Jong Jang (2009) had discovered teaching methods that incorporating technology in the design of practical activities would induce creativity from students, objective scientific concept is nurtured in the minds of students. Many scholars have also learned that the use of blocks as part of course is able to boost student's willingness in participating teamwork activities, help them better understand who they are and develop their potential in addition to enhanced ability in expression,

communicating and sharing, appreciation, innovation, active exploration, independent thinking and problem solving skills (Wolfgang et al, 2003; Hong Qiu-Ping, 2005; Jorgen, 2007; Lin Yi-Nong, 2006; Yang Xiu-Hui et al, 2007). The research of Zhu Yi-Xian and Cai Sheng-An (2008) discovered school children were more interested in competitive courses as well as the questions should offer room for imagination while appropriate limitation is set to force participants to think, this would produce positive effect on student's ability in expressing creativity in technology and their continuous growth. Therefore, this research had studied the development of 3 creativity courses that incorporate the use of blocks as part of curriculum in energy and driving force classes, the content was implemented in the form of competitions during science education camp. Students were given limited number of blocks and were forced to think creatively on the theme of the competition in order to fulfill competition's objective. This research has reached the following 4 conclusions after analyzing the quantitative and qualitative data obtained from questionnaires.

- (1) Energy and Power innovative curriculum allows students to have access to energy and power-related knowledge, and students find the curriculum design is degree of moderate difficulty.
- (2) After the implementation of innovative programs in Energy and Power innovative curriculum, students are willing to practice and promote the importance of energy conservation in daily life.
- (3) Energy and Power innovative curriculum in Life Technology Courses, which is integrated with blocks and conducted through competition, can increase students motivation to learn.
- (4) Students are highly identified with energy and power innovative courses, and expresses their willingness to come back to participate in related programs.

2. Recommendations

Einstein once stated “imagination is more important than knowledge”. 1933 Nobel Physics prize winner Schrödinger believed “the importance of creativity is not to discover what people have seen before but rather to see what other don’t see out of everyday phenomenon”. Many countries think creativity is the critical point of global competitiveness, executive commission of EU event pointed out that education is the best way to enhance originality and innovation; therefore, “how to enhance student’s creativity during the course of teaching?” has become an important question to teachers. Professor Zhang Shi-Zhong of Taipei Education University thinks the 21st century will be the century of games (the century of learning from games), teachers should be able to skillfully use the diverse range of materials available in conjunction with appropriate teaching methods so students get to “hands-on experience”, “learning through play” to enhance creativity and learn more about active learning, teamwork, problem solving, interpersonal relations, stress management, expressing through language, etc.

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Elementary science teachers' motivation toward professional development: the role of gender, academic background and teaching experience

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Abstract

In the last decade, teacher educators have paid increasingly attention to teachers' professional development, and have proposed the idea, "teachers as learners". From the aforementioned perspective, science teachers' motivation toward professional development should be one of the important issues for educators and researchers in science education. Therefore, this study aimed to develop a six point Likert-type quantitative instrument for assessing elementary science teachers' motivation toward professional development. By using the instrument developed in this study, 407 Taiwanese elementary science teachers' motivation toward professional development was assessed. The results showed that the instrument was deemed to be sufficiently reliable for assessing science teachers' motivation toward professional development. In this study, the teachers attained highest scores on the "cognitive interest" scale (mean=5.21), followed by the "educational service" scale (mean=4.82), the "social contact" scale (mean=4.71), the "external expectation" scale (mean=4.34), the "professional advancement" scale (mean=4.24), and the "social stimulation" scale (mean=4.23). It was found that the male and the female teachers tended to possess similar motivation toward professional development. However, compared with their counterparts, the teachers with science majors tended to show significantly higher motivation toward professional development in "professional advancement" and "social contact" ($p < 0.05$). Moreover, the teachers having more science teaching experience also possess significantly higher motivation toward professional development in "professional advancement" and "educational service" ($p < 0.05$). The findings of this study may provide science teacher educators some insights into how to improve elementary science teachers' willingness to participate in professional development.

Keywords: elementary science teacher, professional development, motivation

Introduction

In the current reforms in science education, new perspectives in science teaching and learning have been developed. Consequently, the goals of science education have been re-defined. In reforms in science education, teachers are recognized to play a critical role in science education reforms (AAAS, 1989; NRC, 1996). To achieve the new goals of science education, science teachers may have to change or modify their views and beliefs about science teaching as well as their teaching practices. As a result, teachers' professional development has been regarded as one of the most influential factors for the successful implementation of science education reforms (Driel et al., 2001).

“Motivation” refers to the process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained (Schunk, Pintrich & Meece, 2008). For a long time, the role of students' motivation in their learning has always been one of the important issues for many educators and researchers (e.g., Pintrich, 2004; Coleman, Galaczi, & Astruc, 2007). In particular, it has been revealed that motivation has a reciprocal relationship with learning and performance (Pintrich, 2003; Schunk, Pintrich & Meece, 2008). In other words, motivation influences learning and performance, while, on the other hand, what and how well learners learn also influences their motivation.

In the last decade, teacher educators have paid increasingly attention to teachers' professional development. Loughran (2007) has proposed that teachers should view themselves as learners in their professional development. As students' motivation towards learning has been recognized to play an important role in learning (e.g., Pintrich, 2004; Coleman, Galaczi, & Astruc, 2007), science teachers motivation should be crucial to the success of their professional development. However, still not many studies have addressed the aforementioned issue. Therefore, this study aimed to investigate elementary science teachers' motivation towards professional development.

By gathering questionnaire responses from 407 elementary school teachers in Taiwan, this study addressed the following questions:

1. What motivation towards professional development do the elementary science teachers reveal?
2. Do the teachers with different backgrounds (such as gender, academic levels, and academic backgrounds) show any significant difference in their motivation toward professional development?

Methodology

Sample

The participants of this study were 407 elementary science teachers from elementary schools in the middle part of Taiwan. Among these teachers, 183 (45%) were male and the remaining 224 (55%) were female. About three quarters of them (296 teachers, 73%) had undergraduate degrees, while others (111 teachers, 27%) owned graduate degrees. These teachers also had different teaching experience. 217 (53%) teachers had less than 5 years science teaching experiences, 119 (29%) had 5-10 years science teaching experiences, and 71 (18%) more than 10 years science teaching experiences. Besides, 262 teachers had science –related academic backgrounds, while the others (145 teachers) were with non-science majors.

Instrument

To explore elementary science teachers' motivation toward professional development, the Educational Participation Scale (EPS) developed by Boshier (1991) were modified in this study. The Educational Participation Scale (EPS) developed by Boshier (1991) has a seven factor structure for motivation: cognitive interest in a particular subject, communication improvement, social contact, educational preparation, professional advancement, family togetherness, and social stimulation. In this study, the Motivation toward Professional Development Survey (MPD) classifies the features of science teachers' motivation toward professional development into the following six factors: Cognitive interest, Professional advancement, Social stimulation, External expectations, Educational service, and Social contact. Six elementary science teachers were selected to clarify the wording of each item. The initial pool of items in the survey included a total of 36 items, which were presented using a six-point Likert scale (ranging from 1, "strongly disagree" to 6, "strongly agree").

The details of the six scales are as follows:

1. *Cognitive interest (CI)*: Science teachers who score highly on this scale participate in professional development for their own interest. That is, they care about the inherent joy of professional development that impels their participation. A sample item of this scale is "I learn for the joy of it while participating in professional development".
2. *Professional advancement (PA)*: Science teachers who score highly on this scale participate in professional development mainly for the purpose of maintaining their current job or getting a new job. A sample item of this scale is "I participate in professional development for getting a better job".
3. *Social stimulation (SS)*: Science teachers who score highly on this scale are usually lonely or bored in regular life or teaching and they participate in

professional development to meet others and to grapple with the problems in their social life. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in professional development to take a break from my routine”.

4. *External expectations* (EE): Science teachers who score highly on this scale participate in professional development because of the expectations from someone at work. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in professional development due to colleagues’ encouragement”.
5. *Educational service* (ES): Science teachers who score highly on this scale are committed to "doing good" in education. That is, they think professional development helps them do good work in science education. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in professional development to help me acquire better instructional methods for my students”.
6. *Social contact* (SC): Science teachers who score highly on this scale participate in professional development because of the joy of interacting with others. A sample item of this scale is “I participate in professional development to make more friends with the same interest”.

Major findings

Factor analysis

In this study, exploratory factor analysis was used to clarify the structure of the elementary science teachers’ motivation toward professional development. The extraction method was conducted by principle component analysis, and the rotation method was varimax with Kaiser normalization. The factor analysis revealed that the teachers’ responses on the items of the questionnaire were grouped into six factors, which were: “Cognitive interest”, “Professional advancement”, “Social stimulation”, “External expectation”, “Educational service” and “Social contact”, and they accounted for 75.03% of variance. The eigenvalues of the six factors from principle component analysis were larger than one. An item was retained only when it loaded greater than 0.50 on the relevant factor and less than 0.50 on the non-relevant factor. Thus the initial 38 items were reduced to 26 items, and there were respectively 6, 3, 5, 4, 4, and 4 items in these six scales. The factor loadings for retained items are presented in Table 1. The reliability (alpha) coefficients for these scales respectively were 0.92, 0.83, 0.90, 0.91, 0.91, and 0.92, and the overall alpha was 0.93. Therefore these scales were deemed to be sufficiently reliable for assessing elementary science teachers’ motivation toward professional development.

Table 1: Rotated factor loadings and Cronbach's α values for the six factors (scales) of MPD (n=407)

Item	Factor 1: Cognitive interest	Factor 2: Professional advancement	Factor 3: Social stimulation	Factor 4: External expectation	Factor 5: Educational service	Factor 6: Social contact
<i>Factor 1: Cognitive interest $\alpha=0.92$</i>						
CI 1	0.85					
CI 2	0.86					
CI 3	0.80					
CI 4	0.81					
CI 5	0.77					
CI 6	0.80					
<i>Factor 2: Professional advancement $\alpha=0.83$</i>						
PA 1		0.78				
PA 2		0.88				
PA 3		0.70				
<i>Factor 3: Social stimulation $\alpha=0.90$</i>						
SS 1			0.77			
SS 2			0.80			
SS 3			0.79			
SS 4			0.83			
SS 5			0.74			
<i>Factor 4: External expectation $\alpha=0.91$</i>						
EE 1				0.81		
EE 2				0.83		
EE 3				0.62		
EE 4				0.73		
<i>Factor 5: Educational service $\alpha=0.91$</i>						
ES 1					0.71	
ES 2					0.83	
ES 3					0.84	
ES 4					0.76	
<i>Factor 6: Social contact $\alpha=0.92$</i>						
SC 1						0.82
SC 2						0.83
SC 3						0.82
SC 4						0.71
Eigen-value	9.8	3.73	1.96	1.56	1.28	1.19
% of	17.80	14.41	12.11	11.87	10.33	8.52

overall $\alpha = 0.93$, total variance explained is 75.03%

Teachers' scores on the scales of the MPD

Table 2 shows the teachers' average item scores and standard deviations on the six scales of the MPD. According to Table 2, students scored highest on the

“Cognitive interest” (an average of 5.21 per item), followed by “Professional advancement” (an average of 4.24 per item), “Social stimulation” (an average of 4.23 per item), “External expectation” (an average of 4.35 per item), “Educational service” (an average of 4.82 per item), and “Social contact” (an average of 4.71 per item). The results indicated that the science teachers in this study, on average, were more oriented to attend professional development for their own interest.

Table 2: Teachers’ scores on the scales of MPD (n=407)

Scale	# of items	Item mean	SD
Cognitive interest	6	5.21	0.36
Professional advancement	3	4.24	1.09
Social stimulation	5	4.23	0.93
External expectation	4	4.35	1.31
Educational service	5	4.82	0.58
Social contact	4	4.71	0.61

Gender differences on science teachers’ motivation toward professional development

Table 3 shows that no significant difference on their motivation toward professional development was found between the male teachers and the female teachers in this study.

Table 3: Gender comparisons on the scales of MPD

Scale	Gender	Mean	S.D.	t
Cognitive interest	Male	5.18	0.56	-0.94
	Female	5.24	0.62	
Professional advancement	Male	4.35	0.99	1.79
	Female	4.16	1.08	
Social stimulation	Male	4.21	0.94	-0.46
	Female	4.26	0.98	
External expectation	Male	4.29	0.92	-1.01
	Female	4.40	1.30	
Educational service	Male	4.79	0.74	-0.85
	Female	4.85	0.79	
Social contact	Male	4.70	0.74	-0.43
	Female	4.73	0.81	

Science teachers' motivation toward professional development between different academic level groups

Similarly, the teachers' motivation toward professional development between different academic background groups was also compared. As shown in Table 4, the teachers with different academic background did not revealed significant difference on their motivation toward professional development ($p>0.05$).

Table 4: Comparisons on teachers' responses of MPD among different academic level groups

Scale	academic level	Mean	S.D.	t
Cognitive interest	Master	5.29	0.59	1.54
	Bachelor	5.18	0.60	
Professional advancement	Master	4.28	1.18	0.45
	Bachelor	4.23	0.99	
Social stimulation	Master	4.36	0.97	1.69
	Bachelor	4.18	0.96	
External expectation	Master	4.34	0.91	-0.12
	Bachelor	4.35	1.22	
Educational service	Master	4.92	0.74	1.55
	Bachelor	4.79	0.77	
Social contact	Master	4.84	0.77	1.90
	Bachelor	4.67	0.78	

Teachers' motivation toward professional development between different academic background groups

Table 5 shows that the teachers with different academic background had significant differences in terms of "Social contact" ($p<0.05$). Moreover, the teachers with science majors tended to show significantly higher motivation toward professional development in "professional advancement" ($p<0.01$).

Table 5: Comparisons on teachers' responses of MPD among different academic background groups

Scale	Academic background	Mean	S.D.	t
Cognitive interest	Science majors	5.25	0.55	1.54
	Non- science-majors	5.15	0.68	
Professional advancement	Science majors	4.34	1.00	2.70**
	Non- science-majors	4.06	1.10	

Social stimulation	Science majors	4.23	0.99	-0.09
	Non- science-majors	4.24	0.92	
External expectation	Science majors	4.38	1.26	0.85
	Non- science-majors	4.29	0.90	
Educational service	Science majors	4.86	0.72	1.24
	Non- science-majors	4.76	0.84	
Social contact	Science majors	4.78	0.74	0.11*
	Non- science-majors	4.61	0.84	

** $p < .01$ 、 * $p < .05$

Role of teaching experiences motivation toward professional development

According to their teaching experiences, the teachers were divided into three groups of different teaching experiences: 1-4 years (n=217), 5-8 years (n= 119), and finally more than 9 years (n=71). The results of the analyses between different teaching experiences groups and their motivation toward professional development are presented in Table 6. The teachers having more science teaching experience also possess significantly higher motivation toward professional development in “professional advancement” and “educational service” ($p < 0.05$).

Table 6: Comparisons on teachers’ responses of MPD among different teaching experience groups

Scale	teaching experience	Mean	S.D.	F
Cognitive interest	1 ~ 4 years	5.18	0.61	1.16
	5 ~ 8 years	5.28	0.55	
	9~ years	5.20	0.64	
Professional advancement	1 ~ 4 years	4.36	0.98	3.03*
	5 ~ 8 years	4.13	1.17	
	9~ years	4.07	0.99	
Social stimulation	1 ~ 4 years	4.25	0.94	0.98
	5 ~ 8 years	4.29	1.00	
	9~ years	4.09	0.96	
External expectation	1 ~ 4 years	4.40	1.300	0.61
	5 ~ 8 years	4.31	0.94	
	9~ years	4.24	0.91	
Educational service	1 ~ 4 years	4.80	0.73	3.71*
	5 ~ 8 years	4.96	0.74	
	9~ years	4.65	0.87	

Social contact	1 ~ 4 years	4.72	0.74	1.23
	5 ~ 8 years	4.78	0.77	
	9~ years	4.60	0.90	

** $p < .01$ 、 * $p < .05$

Conclusions

With the instrument developed in this study, this study explored a group of Taiwanese elementary science teachers' motivation toward professional development. The major findings of this study are summarized as following: This study found that the teachers attained highest scores on the “cognitive interest” scale. Moreover, there is no gender difference on science teachers’ motivation toward professional development was found in this study. Similarly, the teachers with different academic background did not revealed significant difference on their motivation toward professional development. Only the teachers with different academic backgrounds showed significant differences in terms of their motivation in terms of “Social contact” and “professional advancement”. Besides, the teachers having more science teaching experience also possess significantly higher motivation toward professional development in “professional advancement” and “educational service” ($p < 0.05$).

In recent years, teacher educators have paid increasingly attention to teachers’ professional development. The findings of this study may provide science teacher educators some insights into how to improve elementary science teachers’ willingness to participate in professional development. Also, the understanding of science teachers' motivation toward professional development, as revealed in this study, may provide science educators useful information when they designs professional development programs.

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**THE SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGES
PROVIDED BY THE PRODUCTION SYSTEM TOYOTA – JUST IN TIME**

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Topic: Economics and Management

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Abstract

In the automobile industry, whose main activity lies in manufacturing and repairing vehicles, the dynamics of change has an ever increasing pace. Both the permanent identification of clients' needs and their satisfaction on time must be ensured. The automobile manufacturing companies must provide at all time the logistic support that is needed in order to introduce the new products on the market. The great challenge posed by the current economic context will make the difference between automobile manufacturers, as a part of them will be forced to close down or to merge with other manufacturers. It is widely known that Toyota always manages to ensure the level of performance required to satisfy the demands of their clients, demands which are continually changing. As concerns cost management and the assurance of a high efficiency level using a performant management system based on the managerial functions of foresight, organization, coordination, motivation and control, Toyota production system is superior compared to current manufacturing systems. Our paper aims to present the strengths specific to the Toyota system and to highlight the ways in which these concepts can be applied and, of course, improved by the companies doing business on the automobile market at present.

1. Introduction

In the automobile industry, whose main activity lies in manufacturing and repairing vehicles, the dynamics of change has an ever increasing pace. Both the permanent identification of clients' needs and their satisfaction on time must be ensured. The automobile manufacturing companies must provide at all time the logistic support that is needed in order to introduce the new products on the market.

Together with creating and selling new products, it is necessary to continually train the staff responsible for the maintenance of the new vehicles. The staff must acquire a high level of technical competence. The organisations that invest in personnel training ensure a high level of competitiveness, thus gaining a clear advantage over the competition.

The great challenge posed by the current economic context will make the difference between automobile manufacturers, as a part of them will be forced to close down or to merge with other manufacturers.

The care, availability and empathy with the client have been and will always be key factors distinguishing between companies. Besides these factors, there is also the assurance of mobility services for the clients whose vehicles become unavailable temporarily following the need to have some technical maintenance done, the staff competence and availability of spare parts.

2. General consideration

It is widely known that Toyota always manages to ensure the level of performance required to satisfy the demands of their clients, demands which are continually changing.

As concerns cost management and the assurance of a high efficiency level using a performant management system based on the managerial functions of foresight, organisation, coordination, motivation and control, Toyota production system is superior compared to current manufacturing systems.

At present, the clients who wish to purchase vehicles can be placed into two big categories:

- clients whose criterion of comparison is the level of technical performance and the extra features besides the standard ones;
- clients whose criterion of comparison is the price of the vehicle, the warranty period and other essential cost control elements.

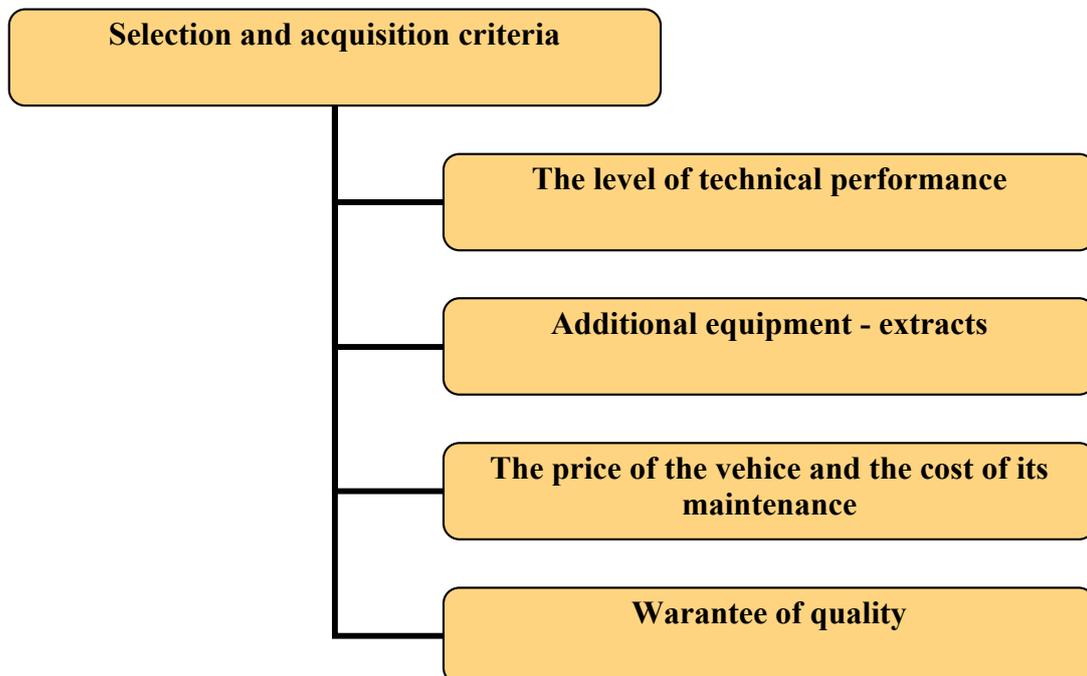


Figure 1 Selection criteria for vehicle acquisition

Mr. Taiichi Ohno is the creator of the production system Toyota - Just in time. His answer to the question regarding the state of Toyota was remarkably simple.

It highlighted the Japanese concept of complete loss elimination “All we are doing is looking at the time line, from the moment the customer gives us an order to the point when we collect the cash. And we are reducing the time line by reducing the non-value adding wastes.”

3. A case study about Toyota Company

Our paper aims to present the strengths specific to the Toyota system and to highlight the ways in which these concepts can be applied and, of course, improved by the companies doing business on the automobile market at present. For succeeding to detain the leading position, the strategic aim of the organization has to be that of representing permanently the first option which a partner has, which implies that this option has to be recognized not only for the offered products and services but also for the respect toward the milieu and society.

The organization must offer the business partners products and services of the best quality, which ought to add constantly the true value of their business. At the same time, it has to reach the expectations of the employees but also those of the producers by means of a permanent effort of constant improvement.

The values of the Toyota organization were clearly defined and embedded throughout the time, so that each member of the Toyota team, from each level, is aware of these values and acts according to these not only in the relation with the external clients but also in the relation with the internal clients.

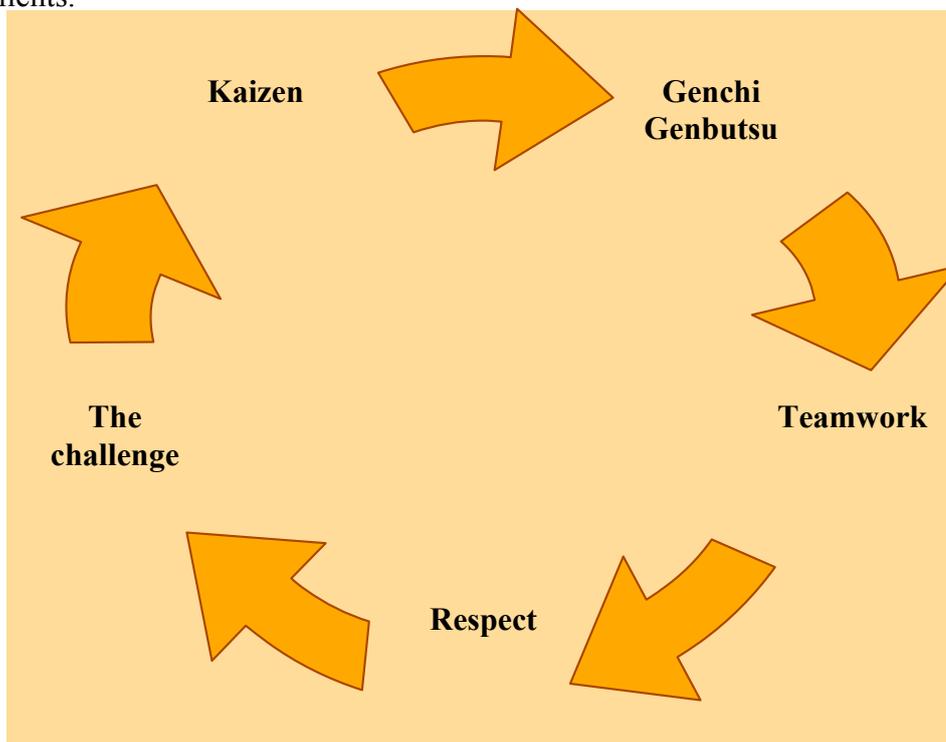


Figure 2 Values promoted by Toyota organization

The challenge in the Toyota concept consists of maintaining a vision on long-term dealing all challenges with bravery and creativity, and the permanent orientation is canalized toward a constant improvement.

The applying of the Kaizen principles assures the constant and permanent improvement of all the processes. The essence TPS is represented by “kaizen” or the constant improvement of the techniques and the working procedures for assuring the maximum of quality and efficiency. The Genchi Genbutsu concept implies the immediate move to the source which generated a certain nonconformity regarding the analysis and discovery of the real causes which generated it, in order to take the right decision in true time.

Toyota organization respects its partners, makes all the efforts to identify their requirements and acts constantly for attaining and maintaining the business partner. Within the organization the personal and professional development of each member of the team is constantly analysed and stimulated. The permanent increase of the level of performances not only at the level of each employee but also at the level of the team is carefully administrated.

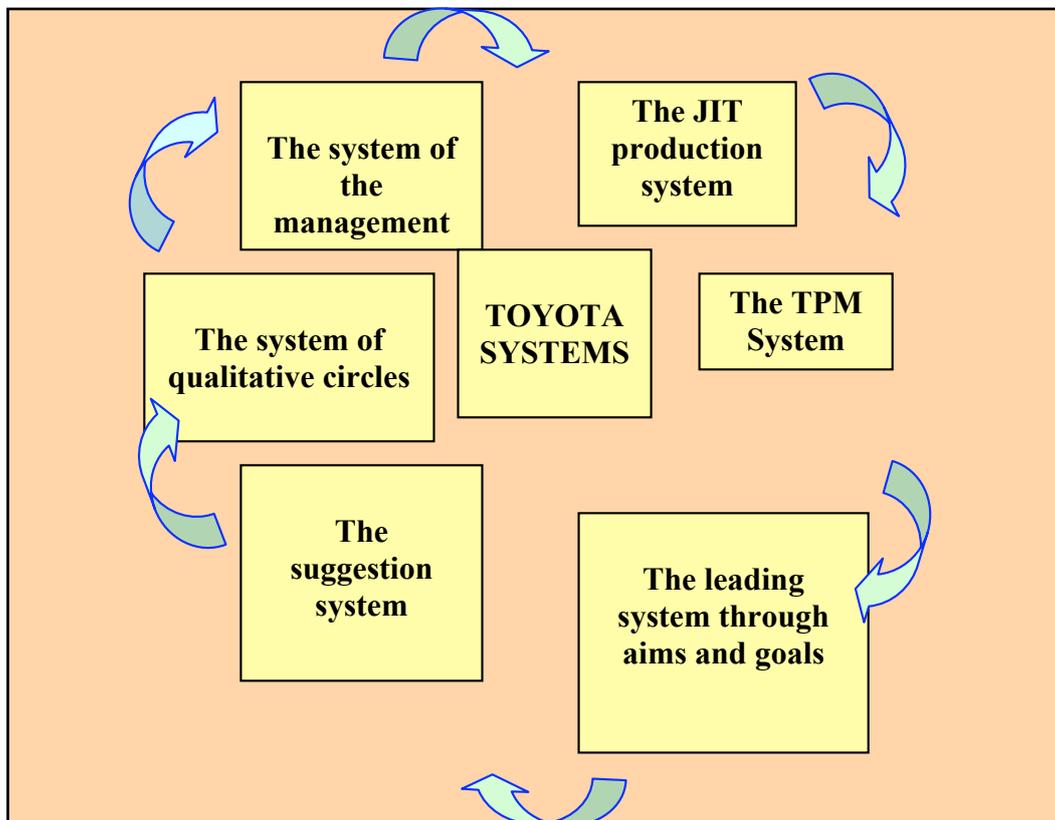


Figure 3 Systems used by Toyota

Parallel with the values described above, the following systems are applied within the Toyota organization:

- The system of the management of the total quality, according to which the quality is foreground even if the organization has also other aims, which refer to dates and costs;
- The JIT (Just in Time) production system. It is the system of production created by Taiichi Ohno inside Toyota. According to this concept, within the processes of production the component parts of the cars are delivered in exact amounts only in the moment in which they are needed. The concept “Just-in-Time” succeeds in creating a “tractor” system of production, which reduces the necessity of maintaining big stocks of pieces or materials permitting the rapid enfoldng of the processes according to the permanent modification of the clients requirements. This system includes the following concepts:
 - Takt (the necessary time for producing a piece);

- Jidohka (a device which stops a car whenever a raffle is produced). The production is interrupted in the moment in which any nonconformity is detected by an employee or by a facility (machine). All the nonconformities are directly eliminated but they constitute a knowledge source for the identification of the methods, through which the process ought to be improved. The invested quality in production is the essence Jidoka. It is the true beginning of a positive evolution and guarantees the maximum quality in the fabrication of each product;
- The reduction of muda and mura (the reduction of the loss, of the wastage under any form of manifestation, of the difficulties and of the stress at the job).
- TPM system (Total Productive Maintenance). It represents a system of maintenance of equipments, devices and of tools which permit the maximum increase of the efficiency in using them, involving thus the entire personnel of the organization. An important role is played by the user of the equipment;
- The leading system through aims and goals established at all the levels and functions of the organization, in which the Kaizen strategy is put to work in this sense;
- The system of suggestions is considered to be essential in attracting and involving each employee in the process of constant improvement, even if their suggestions are not always significant, and they know that they will not obtain remarkable economical advantages in this manner;
- The system of the quality circles, which imply the organizing of the work in small teams, encouraged by the leading, which dedicates itself to the solving of some problems existent within the aria of working at a particular moment.

An extremely important role in the permanent increase of the level of performance of the Toyota organization is played by the planning and organizing process pertain to the technical and non-technical preparation of the employees. The Toyota working system succeeds in offering satisfaction to the employees and in the same time to build the most competitive products existent on the market.

Toyota Production System (TPS) contains a complex set of procedures, of working instructions, of values and scientific knowledge, with the help of which it offers the members of the team the freedom of optimizing all processes through constant improvement. Currently, TPS is known as a reference system both for the industry of vehicle constructor and for other categories of producers.

The TPS methods permit the organizations, which embedded a system of management of the quality, to obtain a high level of productivity and in the same time to satisfy and to exceed the expectations of the clients concerning the quality. Toyota Production System fulfills all the requirements of the clients concerning the efficiency and the promptitude through the interconnection of the stages of production with the real requirement of the market. One of the main preoccupations of the TPS is that of reducing the costs through the elimination of any type of wastage.

TPS begins from the client's order and ends with the delivery of the ordered product on time. It is based on a sequence of an elaborated assembling which uses the amounts required exactly where they are needed, called "Just-in-Time". It is based on the flexibility of the work

force, on the multi-qualification of the personnel but especially on the stimulation of the creative thinking and on the promoting of the innovative ideas.

In Table 1 there are presented some specific methods included by Toyota Production System (TPS).

The management of human resources has an essential role not only in the perfection of the organizational system but also in the embedding of the management of the total quality.

Table 1 TPS specific methods and objective

No.	TPS specific methods	Objective
1	The Kanban system	Assures the maintaining of a production “just in time”
2	The method of the smooth production	Assures the rapid adaptation of the production system to the modification of the requirements
3	The reduction of the specific time for the preparation of the cars	Assures the reduction of the total time pertain to the process of production
4	The standardization of the operations	Assures the accomplishing of each operation in true time and eliminates completely the wastage generated by the useless actions, it obtains a line of production with a high level of efficiency
5	The multi-qualification of the technicians-workers	Assures the flexibility of the human resources and at the same time permits the increase of the level of competence of the personnel
6	The continual improvement	Assures the increase of the level of performance, implication of all the categories of personnel, the belonging to a group, and the system of suggestions is encouraged, the level of motivation of the personnel is increasing
7	The visual control system	Assures the identification of any nonconformity and the elimination of it in the shortest time
8	The functional management system	Assures the promotion of the control of the quality within the entire organization

Within this system the employees have well defined responsibilities in each production process and are encouraged to come up with ideas for the improvement of the permanent system. Thus the wastage of the resources is eliminated regardless of their category. All the Toyota fabrics are designed in such a way to assure a maximum efficiency of production and in the same time to protect the milieu offering the employees special work conditions. Toyota stresses upon the existence of a team spirit which creates a favorable milieu in the constant increase of the level of performance. In an organization where the rules are clearly and precisely defined and embedded, an organization inside of which each member knows in every moment what he has to

do, it is possible to succeed in obtaining a high level of quality even when using reduced personnel resources. The politics of the organization has to be very clear defined so that the general managers and the managers of the quality can have different points of view regarding the administration of the quality, a situation which generates the incoherence of the management system and calls forth the decrease of the level of performance.

4. Conclusion

In the constructive industry of cars the quality must be obtained and administrated even from the level at which the raw material, which is necessary for the production of the components pertained to the cars, is selected. When the producer has finished the construction of the car, the distribution network has to assure the sale and the maintenance of the product. The partners which assure the distribution and the maintenance of the cars must focus upon the assurance of the quality of the processes from each work level, from the level of the technician. The further services for the mending of the cars are support services. For example, if the technician does not execute correctly an intervention, if the employee who orders the pieces identifies erroneously a mark or he orders it with delay, the result of these process mistakes will show every time the impossibility of keeping our promises toward our clients and automatically it will give rise to their discontentment. At present even if the Toyota producer confronts itself with a problem regarding the image caused by the technical problems, which appeared at some of the new car models launched on the market, the company did not conceal the fact that these problems exist and it shifted immediately to the mending of the nonconformities by getting the cars back to the service proving once again the efficiency of the processes, which assure the constant improvement, pointing out how important the care for the client is. The authors consider that the essential element, which makes the difference between the TPS concept and the rest of the production system, is the desire of the Toyota employees of being the best (“ichiban” concept), the desire of making permanently efforts regarding the increase of the quality of the products and the processes.

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**A STUDY ON MAPPING PROCESSES IN ORGANISATIONS BASED ON
ACQUAINTANCES. A CASE STUDY**

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Abstract

The acquiring and successful management of the quality of services offered throughout the processes taking place within the organisation is essential to ensuring a long term partnership with the client. The organisation strategy must ensure client satisfaction and should not focus solely on the product or service provided. We cannot control or improve what we do not know in detail. Thus, the service and supply processes must be very well defined and regulated using work procedures and instructions, as an inadequate approach may lead to a negative impact on the image of the organisation. In the analysed organisation an analysis has been conducted on the performances obtained after the service processes were carried on, being carefully monitored, followed by the recommendation of measures needed in order to continually improve the quality of the services provided. The information regarding the clients' perception of the way in which the organisation meets his or their demands has been also processed. To ensure the continual improvement of the quality of the services offered by the organisation we must keep measuring the results of the performed activities. Thus we have the opportunity to invest in the development and continual improvement of the processes generating the competitive success of the organisation, turning it into a leader on the present market. Our final aim is attained when the client is satisfied with the quality of the services provided.

1. Introduction

This scientific paper aims to present the activity of vehicle maintenance as part of the After-Sale Services department in an organisation where a quality control management system is implemented. This study describes in detail the service processes, with the supply activity to be described in a further paper.

The acquiring and successful management of the quality of services offered throughout the processes taking place within the organisation is essential to ensuring a long term partnership with the client.

The services of the analyzed organisation are:

- maintenance and repair services for automobiles and commercial vehicles during or outside the warranty period;
- repair for damaged vehicles, whose cost is supported (fully or partly) by the insurance companies or by the client;
- sale of spare parts, vehicle accessories and collection items;
- Periodical Technical Inspections (P.T.I.);
- towing for vehicles weighing up to the authorised maximum weight of 3500 kg.

The quality of the services provided by the organisation must be ensured at all times, starting with scheduling vehicles for repair and ending with interviewing clients with a view to identifying the level of satisfaction obtained. The study aims to identify the areas in which special attention must be paid for a period of time in order to determine the causes that generate the interruption in the information flow.

In order to obtain and maintain a high level of client satisfaction regarding the services offered by the organisation, it is necessary for all the processes taking place in the analysed organisation, starting with scheduling the vehicle and ending with the clients picking up their vehicle following the payment of the cost of the services provided, to be optimised adequately in order to eliminate idle time. At the same time, communication with the client, together with internal communication between the different departments of the organisation must be achieved in perfect conditions.

2. General consideration

The organisation strategy must ensure client satisfaction and should not focus solely on the product or service provided. We cannot control or improve what we do not know in detail. Thus, the service and supply processes must be very well defined and regulated using work procedures and instructions, as an inadequate approach may lead to a negative impact on the image of the organisation.

In the analysed organisation an analysis has been conducted on the performances obtained after the service processes were carried on, being carefully monitored, followed by the recommendation of measures needed in order to continually improve the quality of the services provided. The information regarding the clients' perception of the way in which the organisation meets his or their demands has been also processed.

Following studies conducted in the USA it has been highlighted that the organisations lose half of their clients every 5 years and 70% of the interviewed clients claim that they have renounced the services of the organisation because it did not manage effectively the „concern for the client.”

An important sum of money must be allotted for keeping current clients and ensuring their loyalty. Philip Kotler points out that replacing lost clients generates a cost 5 times higher than the cost of keeping them.

To ensure the continual improvement of the quality of the services offered by the organisation we must keep measuring the results of the performed activities. Thus we have the opportunity to invest in the development and continual improvement of the processes generating the competitive success of the organisation, turning it into a leader on the present market.

The final aim of defining and continually improving the service processes is to ensure the quality of services offered to the clients by the organisation. The sales, service and supply departments work together, having as a strategic objective the assurance of the client's satisfaction, who perceives the organisation as a whole.

Every person from within the organisation is responsible for ensuring the client satisfaction. It is an extremely important aspect that cannot be the responsibility of a single department or of a single person appointed to deal with this issue.

Our final aim is attained when the client is satisfied with the quality of the services provided, and with the cost, impressed with the environment where he/she waited for the workover to be completed, with the special treatment he/she benefited from, all of these aspects generating a positive experience which will determine the client to feel confident to return to the service department.

3. A case study

In this study we will analyze the service processes that take place in an organization that provides vehicle repair services.

In order to keep under control all the specific processes of the vehicle repair activity, we must identify the main stages in their structure and then to break down each process into specific activities.

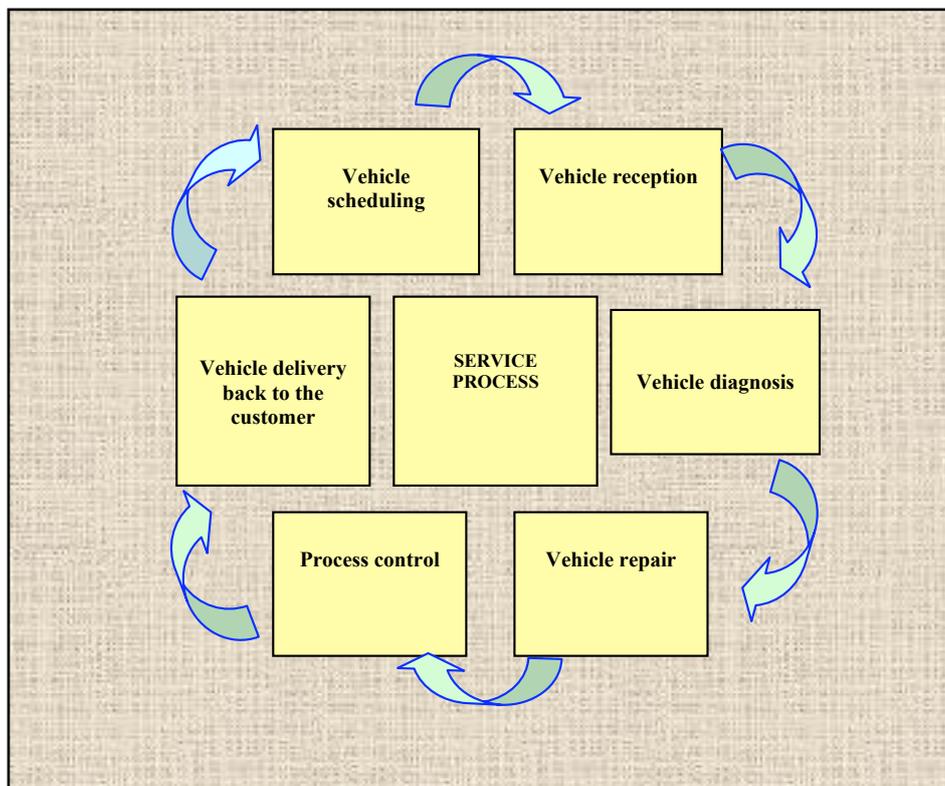


Figure 1 The service process stages

1. **Vehicle scheduling.** It represents the activity that has as objective the judicious allocation of the necessary resources for the required repairs that make the vehicle function according to the producer's specifications.

To this end, the foremen should continuously keep updated the availability of the human resources in the electronic management system whereas the vehicle scheduling should be done by assigning each vehicle to the technician that has the required competence to successfully deploy and complete the service intervention.

If, for example, one of the technicians is unavailable, the foreman will delete in real-time the specific data of his availability and will immediately distribute the vehicles assigned to this technician to the other technicians so that the vehicles' deadlines are followed through.

Where the time allotted to the repair is not well defined, disfunctionalities will occur in the repair process.

Taking into account the critical success factors mentioned in figure 2, the process can be shaped by implementing the following measures:

- the service adviser (the receptionist) should be regarded as the key element of a successful customer relationship management.
- the scheduling should be done electronically, in real-time.
- it is recommended that the maintenance work and the low complexity degree repairs be scheduled also by the person that works at the Info Desk. Thus, the time that the customer has to wait till one of the advisers becomes available reduces.
- the management system of the service activity should offer the receptionist the possibility to see at all time the status of each repair so that he can intervene in real-time to fill the blanks that are caused by repairs that are finished before the allotted time.
- the service adviser should also contact the customer if the time allotted to the finalization of the repairs is extended overpassing the customer's deadline. When he schedules the vehicle, the receptionist should check whether the vehicle needs to undergo an intervention determined by the producer(technical campaigns), so that the required markers for these repairs could be supplied without delay.
- the customer should be informed during the scheduling of the intervention about the payment arrangements for the provided services.
- the availability of the markers necessary for the scheduled repairs should be checked, the appointment of these being necessary to avoid the situations in which the necessary markers are used to repair other vehicles.

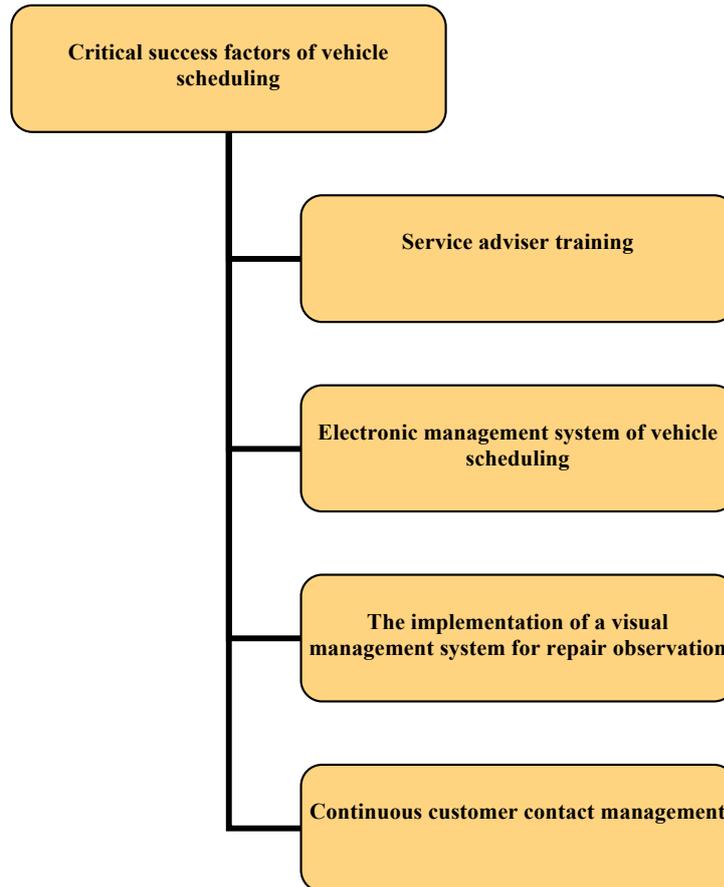


Figure 2 Critical success factors for vehicle scheduling management

2. **Vehicle reception.** This activity consists in taking over the vehicle from the customer according to the service instructions.

The visual verification of the vehicle is made in three different stages: at the bottom, with the vehicle lifted up on the elevator at half-height and, with the vehicle completely lifted.

This is the moment when the service adviser and the customer communicate at a maximum level of efficiency, and the customer receives all the necessary information in order to decide what repairs will be made.

After the take-over of the vehicle a contract between the service and the customer will be drawn up, contract according to which the service intervention will be carried out. The customer should receive in real-time the computed price of the requested work.

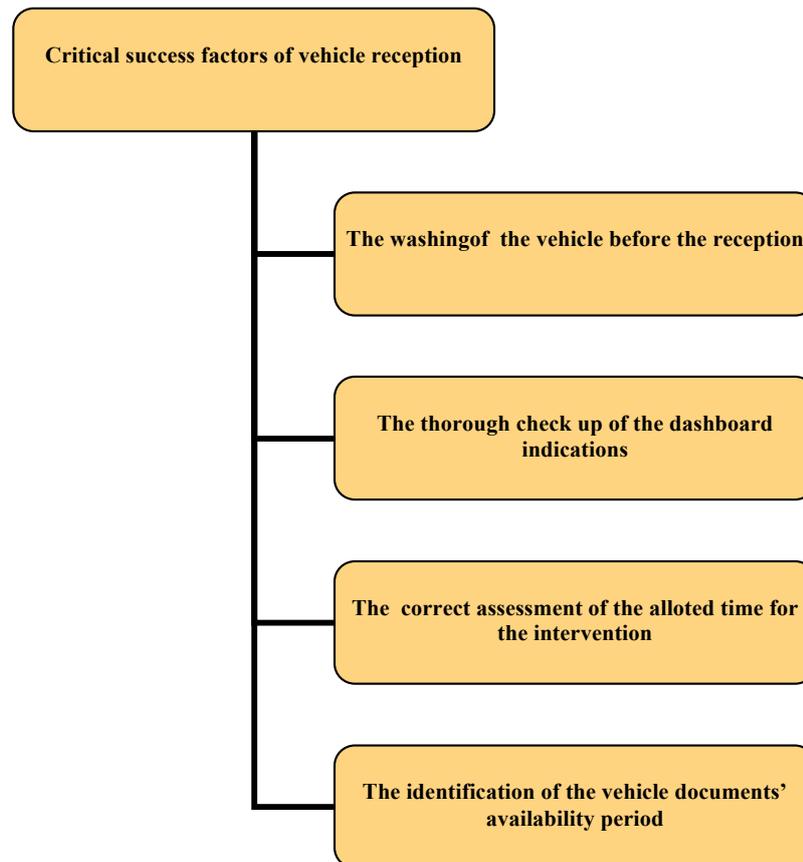


Figure 3 Critical success factors for vehicle reception management

The process can be shaped by implementing the following measures:

- it is recommended that the take-over of the vehicle be made only after the vehicle is washed, if anything there is the risk that certain nonconformities (scratches, small damages...) are not identified until after the customer handed over the vehicle.
- The service adviser should be extremely careful about the exterior and the interior of the vehicle, but what is very important is to check the dashboard indications and to check whether there are any witnesses who can signal certain malfunctions known or unknown by the customer during the vehicle reception.
- The customer must be informed about the deadline of the work, and whether in the given time only diagnosis operations will be made or the repair will be finished, or if other service interventions are required, except the repairs that the vehicle was scheduled for.
- It is also recommended to check and to inform the customer about the expiry date of the Periodic Technical Inspection (PTI), the validity of insurance policy and any other information regarding the safety but also the legality of putting into circulation the vehicle on public roads.
- The concern towards the customer can be proved especially by showing respect for his asset, namely the vehicle, by applying the protection elements (applying a

protection cover on the fenders, the chairs, the wheel, and using gloves when working).

- The service advisers should reply to customer demands showing empathy, they will give all the necessary details regarding the period of the intervention, the parts, the accessories, the price of the work, any other technical details, as well as the suggested solutions for eliminating the referred nonconformities.

3. **The diagnosis process.** The correct diagnosis of malfunctions represents the element that underlies customer satisfaction insurance. The organizations must invest continuously in the training activity whose tactical objective is to increase the qualification level of each of the company's employees. By increasing the professional competence level, the malfunctions are easily identified in a relatively short time, the long-term effect is the increase of the company's competitiveness and attracting the customers. The process must be shaped so as to insure a correct and efficient diagnosis:

- the history of the service interventions of the vehicle that were performed before must be consulted.
- The work should be scheduled according to the capability of the technical personnel to deal with the high complexity risk diagnosis cases.
- Where errors regarding the work distribution complexity have arisen, the foreman must reassign the work to the technicians that have the required training level.
- It must be checked whether the vehicle is involved in technical campaigns made by the producer.
- The diagnosis stages described in the technical documentation must be read precisely.
- The last information given by the producer regarding the identification of new repair methods must be consulted.

4. **The repair process.** The repairs must be made only after consulting the technical documentation made available by the producer.

The experience of the personnel that works in the technical compartments is extremely important, but regardless of the technicians' experience degree, the repairs must be made only after consulting the updated technical documentation. It is necessary that the process be shaped so that it ensures a correct real-time diagnosis:

- the deadline of the repair should be highlighted so that all the delayed repairs could be easily noticed through visual management.
- The customer must be immediately informed by the service adviser regarding each aspect that modifies the repair process status (eg.: certain difficulties can arise when dismantling a marker which will lead to the extension of the deadline).
- In order to be able to contact the customer in real-time, the foreman should continuously manage the status of the ongoing service orders and should inform the service adviser about any modification that occurs.

- For each additional intervention, other than the interventions agreed upon with the customer when taking the vehicle into service, the customer must approve with it before they start the repair.
5. **The interoperational control and final control.** The control function ensures the achievement of the required quality level for each intervention. The process can be shaped by implementing certain correct and specific measures as follows:
- At every repair order the documents that describe the state of the systems in the vehicle structure must be annexed before as well as after the finalization of the repairs.
 - The technicians must write down on the work order the values of the tightening torques so that at any time the foreman should be able to perform the interoperational control and final control operations.
 - For the interventions made on the vehicle's security systems (eg.: breaking system, steering system...) or on the systems that influence environment pollution (exhaust system, fuel supply system) extra verifications will be made in the periodical technical inspection grid in order to certify the quality of the work. The conformity of the data will be mentioned on the service order in writing.
 - The foreman should write on the final verification chart all the remarks about the unfixed nonconformities before the vehicle has left the service, so that at the reception, the service advisor could bring all these to the customer's attention (confirmation by signing the final verification chart).
 - It is mandatory, at the finalization of the interventions, for the foreman to do a road test, in similar conditions that the customer described as malfunctions, so that the elimination of the nonconformities can be confirmed.
6. **The vehicle delivery back to the customer.** On the whole, the activity consists in presenting (verbally and visually) the performed repair by the service advisor, the detailed explanation of the repair value, the payment for the interventions made and the actual delivery of the vehicle back to the customer taking into consideration the specific factors described in figure 4.

The process can be shaped by implementing the detailed measures as follows:

- the vehicle must be washed, cleaned, all possible traces of the intervention must be removed.
- The conformity of the vehicle's exterior and interior status must be checked with the status on the vehicle's reception date.
- All replaced parts must be returned to the customer in their original packages, protected so to prevent any fluid leaking.
- If any differences from the initial status are observed, the customer must be informed about them. In this case, the service adviser asks for the customer's approval to be able to remediate the nonconformity, telling him at the same time the new deadline of the intervention. If the customer doesn't want to leave the vehicle in service for remediating the nonconformities on the spot, the receptionist

will write in the final verification chart that the vehicle will be brought back in service for further repairs, mentioning which are the nonconformities that the service will fix on their own expense.

- The customer must be contacted in order to receive his vehicle from service only after the receptionist makes sure that the vehicle is ready to be returned to the customer.
- The service adviser must schedule the exact date and time for handing over the vehicle to the customer by avoiding to overcrowd the end of the work program, thus avoiding also the customer's discontent due to waste of his time resources.

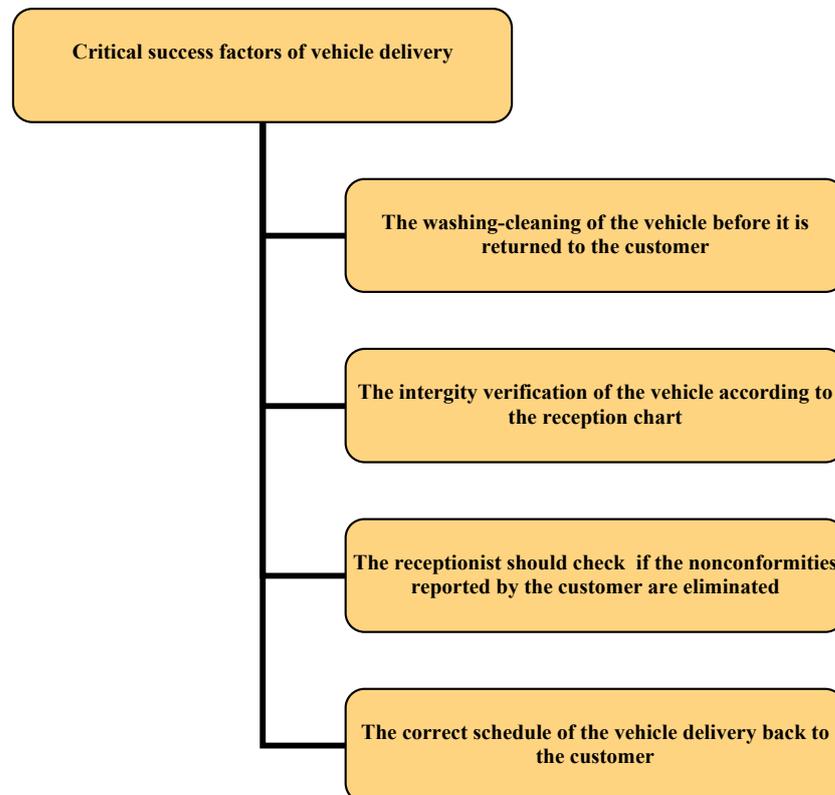


Figure 4 Critical success factors for vehicle delivery management

The relationship with the customer doesn't end once his vehicle is returned. To ensure the continuous improvement of the organization's services it is imperative to measure continuously the results of our actions. It is extremely important to identify the zones where the information flux may be interrupted so that we can prevent the nonconformities. Thereby we have the opportunity to invest in further activities that generate success and to give up those that are inefficient. We can obtain a feedback by using different methods that require: filling out questionnaires, the implementation of a system of suggestions, possibly online, the phone contacting of customers or certain analysis can be made regarding customer demands and priorities.

4. Conclusion

In our opinion, we can make a simple survey based on maximum 3 questions whose answers should be enlightening in order to evaluate the quality of the services provided by the organization. The score is obtained by giving marks from 1 to 10. Some of the questions can be the following:

- Are you satisfied with the attitude of the personnel that you interacted with?
- Were the terms agreed upon when the vehicle entered the service respected (time, price)?
- Was it necessary for you to return to the service various times so that the malfunction could be fixed?

The time the customer answers should be very well chosen. Thus the customer should receive the questionnaire after he left the vehicle in service in order to have the necessary time to think and to fill in the correct data mentioned in the questionnaire. In situations where the customers were not satisfied, the organization should have implemented a system to process and manage customer complaints. After doing the research I noticed that in most of the cases, the customers' discontent towards the provided services was generated by communication deficiency. The organization must also put at customer disposal loyalty programs that can make them feel special, important, systems that can surprise the customers, aiming to please each and every customer about all the aspects of the performed intervention, to be a pleasure for them to come back. The final purpose of defining, improving, reshaping the service processes is the insurance of service quality provided by the organization and the increase in efficiency aiming to maximize the profit.

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**THE ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF STRESS ON THE CLIMATE IN THE
KNOWLEDGE-BASED ORGANISATIONS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

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Topic: Economics and Management

THE ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF STRESS ON THE CLIMATE IN THE KNOWLEDGE-BASED ORGANISATIONS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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Abstract

The current work presents a part of the results obtained from a research on some categories of managers and teachers from several universities in Romania. The research highlights a wide range of interpretations related to the quality of the organizational climate; the different relationships between the managers, the teachers; the motivation level, in order to achieve performance, as well as the leadership manner of the managers in these organizations based on knowledge. Such an analysis may represent the basis of future actions that can contribute to improving the climate and the performance of teachers within the academic educational system in Romania.

1. Research objectives

From the multitude of psychosocial and managerial conditionings within the organizational climate, this research follows: the objective conditions under which the teaching activity takes place; the quality of the organizational climate; the functional relationships between managers and teachers; the motivational policy of the organization; the leadership style of certain managers within the higher system of education;

2. The structure of the questionnaire

Within the structure of the questionnaire number 2 there are also questions about the organizational climate that reflect the objectives of the research, and the answers received highlight interpretations of the teachers that allow conclusions to be drawn that are congruent with the research topic.

3. The adopted methodology

The performed research is based on the “stratified sampling” method determined by the heterogeneity of the test subjects (age, sex, education, teacher’s academic degree, etc.). The research represents a sequel of a more ample work, made between 2008 and 2009, using the same samples and adopting the same methodology, questionnaires and data processing system. Within the investigation and fill in action of the questionnaires, 60 teachers were chosen, whose affirmations and opinions are presented hereinafter.

4. The climate within the organizations in the educational environment

The performed study highlights a series of conditionings that have a decisive influence over the quality climate and the performance of the organizations within the educational environment, according to figure 1.

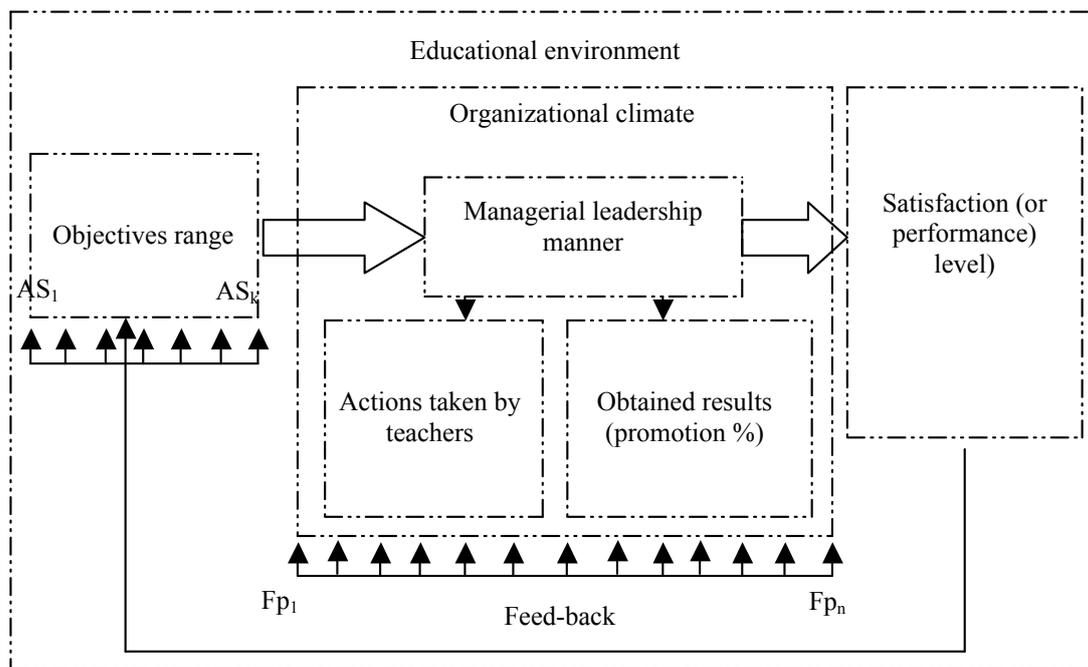


Figure 1 The conditioning of the influence factors over the organizational climate quality

where: AS₁.....AS_k. – stress agents;

Fp₁.....Fp_n – specific disturbance factors

Irrespective of the generating sources for these categories of factors and stress agents, the generated effects are different in the educational environment compared to the economic environment.

5. Results analysis

The obtained results allow the organizational climate analysis in relation to the conditionings comprised in the research objectives. The program used allows the interpretation of the answers and their presentation. This determines the development of certain conclusions that are very useful and carry an interesting significance.

5.1. The objectives of the organization and the way they are set

The received answers highlight the attitude of the test subjects regarding: knowing and understanding the objectives (tasks); their manner of establishment and wording; understanding the priorities that come up; defining the role that they hold in the organization.

In table 1 the percentage values expressed are presented.

5.2. The establishing manner of the tasks and the ranking of jobs

The answers highlighted the opinions regarding: the layout of the teaching activities; task assignment, according to the job description; ranking method of jobs and functions; resource providing and necessary information about the performance of the tasks assigned.

In table 2 the percentage values expressed are presented.

5.3. The functional relationship between managers and teachers

The affirmations expressed by the test subjects highlight: managers' receptivity to new ideas; concern towards collectively discussing the arisen issues; the quality of the existing relationships between managers and teachers; conflict solving methods.

In table 3 the percentage values expressed are presented.

5.4. The motivational policy of the organization

At the questions regarding the motivational policy, the test subjects expressed their opinions regarding: the manner in which they are encouraged to develop their competences; the ratio between the received salary and the work done; the chances to be promoted offered by the organization; bonus granting; the standards practiced by the organization.

In table 4 the percentage values expressed are presented.

5.5. The leadership method of (certain) managers

The answers at the questions in the questionnaire highlighted different opinions about: the support received from the direct boss; the efficiency of the leadership method of the direct boss; the check efficiency over own work; favouring performance in work (teaching activity); favouring group interests to the detriment of the organization's interests; disclaiming responsibility by managers.

In table 5 the percentage values expressed are presented.

Question no. (from the questionnaire)	Question name (main/secondary or derived)	Affirmations/opinions – according to scoring grid (%)							Percentage value expressed
		Unexpressed	Never agrees	Hardly ever agrees	Sometimes agrees	Indecisive	Often agrees	Very often agrees	

Table 1

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10	The objectives of the organization and way they are set									60 test subjects - 100%
	• knowing and understanding the objectives;	4,98	-	-	-	-	29,88	53,12	11,62	99,60 %
	• their manner of establishment and wording;	4,98	-	-	-	4,98	23,24	49,80	16,60	99,60 %
	• understanding the priorities					11,62	16,60	36,52	34,86	99,60 %

	that come up;									
	• defining the role that they hold in the organization;	4,98	-	-	-	23,24	11,62	24,90	34,86	99,60 %

Table 2

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	The layout of structure and tasks									60 test subjects - 100%
	• the layout of the teaching activities;	4,98	-	-	6,64	11,62	23,24	36,52	16,60	99,60 %
	• task assignment, according to the job description;	-	-	4,98	6,64	4,98	36,52	11,62	34,86	99,60 %
	• ranking method of jobs and functions;	11,62	-	-	4,98	-	23,24	29,88	29,88	96,60 %
	• providing resources and necessary information	4,98	-	6,64	4,98	11,62	11,62	41,50	18,26	99,60 %

Table 3

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
12	The quality of the relationship between managers and teachers									60 test subjects - 100%
	• managers' receptivity to new ideas;	4,98	-	4,98	-	11,62	24,90	29,88	23,24	99,60 %
	• concern towards collectively discussing the emerged issues;	4,98	-	11,62	6,64	4,98	18,26	36,52	16,60	99,60 %
	• the quality of the existing relationships between managers and teachers;	-	-	4,98	11,62	-	23,24	24,90	34,86	99,60 %
	• conflict solving methods;	4,98	-	6,64	-	4,98	18,26	23,24	41,50	99,60 %

Table 4

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
13	The motivational forms within the organization									60 test subjects - 100%
	• the manner in which they are encouraged to develop their competences;	4,98	-	6,64	4,98	6,64	18,26	34,86	23,24	99,60 %
	• the ratio between the received salary and the work done;	4,98	-	4,98	-	11,62	11,62	29,88	36,52	99,60 %
	• the chances to be promoted offered by the organization;	-	-	4,98	6,64	11,62	23,24	18,26	34,86	99,60 %
	• bonus granting;	4,98	4,98	-	6,64	11,62	23,24	24,90	23,24	99,60 %
	• the standards practiced by the organization;	4,98	6,64	-	-	11,62	16,60	23,24	36,52	99,60 %

Table 5

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14	The managers' leadership manner									60 test subjects - 100%
	• the support received from the direct boss;	4,98	11,62	4,98	6,64	4,98	13,28	18,26	34,86	99,60 %
	• the efficiency of the leadership manner of the	4,98	4,98	16,60	6,64	-	18,26	23,24	24,90	99,60 %

direct boss;										
• the check efficiency over own work;	-	6,64	11,62	16,60	-	29,88	16,60	18,26	99,60 %	
• favouring performance in the teaching activity;	11,62	-	-	13,28	11,62	23,24	16,60	23,24	99,60 %	
• favouring group interests to the detriment of the organization's interests;	4,98	23,24	29,88	11,62	11,62	6,64	11,62	-	99,60 %	
• disclaiming responsibility by managers;	4,98	29,88	23,24	4,98	4,98	-	31,54	-	99,60 %	

6. The interpretation of the results

After experimental data processing the following findings were stressed:

6.1. The analysis of the task factor

- a) The majority of the expressed opinions indicate a positive attitude of the test subjects towards the task factor. Over 70% of the test subjects mentioned that they know and understand the objectives and the tasks assigned to the organization they are part of.
- b) Such a positive attitude contributes to insuring an absolute efficiency in the organization's activity, according to figure 2.

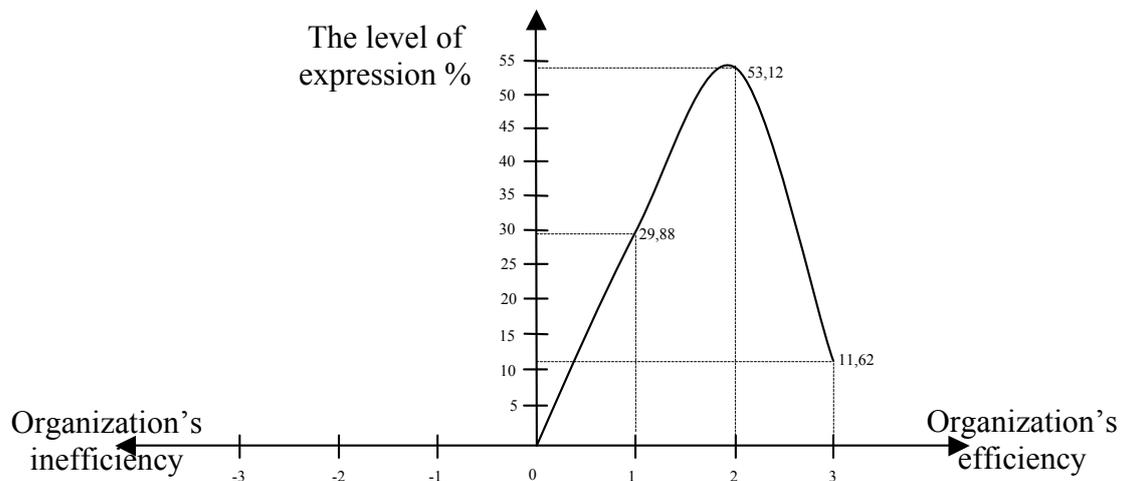


Figure 2 The positioning of the task factor values in relation to Gauss curve

Note: all the values from the derived questions are positioned under the curve

6.2. The analysis of the structure factor

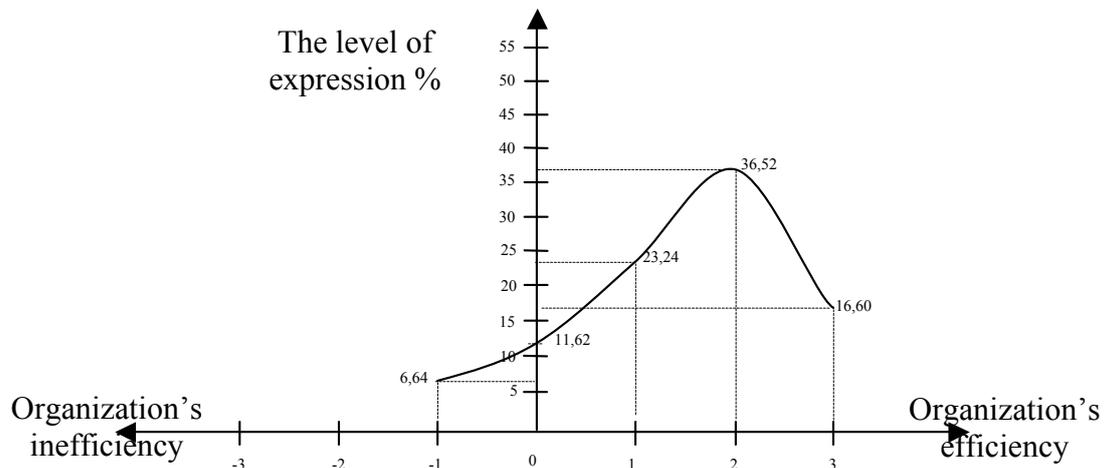


Figure 3 The positioning of the structure factor values in relation to Gauss curve

- a) The expressed opinions stress an efficient means of organization of the organization's structure, resulting that the jobs and the functions are correctly ranked, over 75% of the test subjects affirming this, according to figure 3.
- b) There is deficiency in the task assignment manner and in the resource and information supply process, almost 22% of the test subjects affirm this.

Note: A movement of the opinions towards the left side of Gauss curve is observed, indicating a tendency of the organization's structure towards inefficiency.

6.3. The analysis of the relationship factor

- a) The expressed opinions stress out certain deficiencies concerning the quality of the professional relationships between teachers, these being regarded sometimes as non-conflict ones, according to figure 4.
- b) Over 20% of the test subjects back up the necessity of concerns betterment in order to eliminate the elements that cause the inefficiency of the organization's activity generated by the inadequate concern of certain managers in the collective discussion about the arisen problems or in the conflict solving methods.

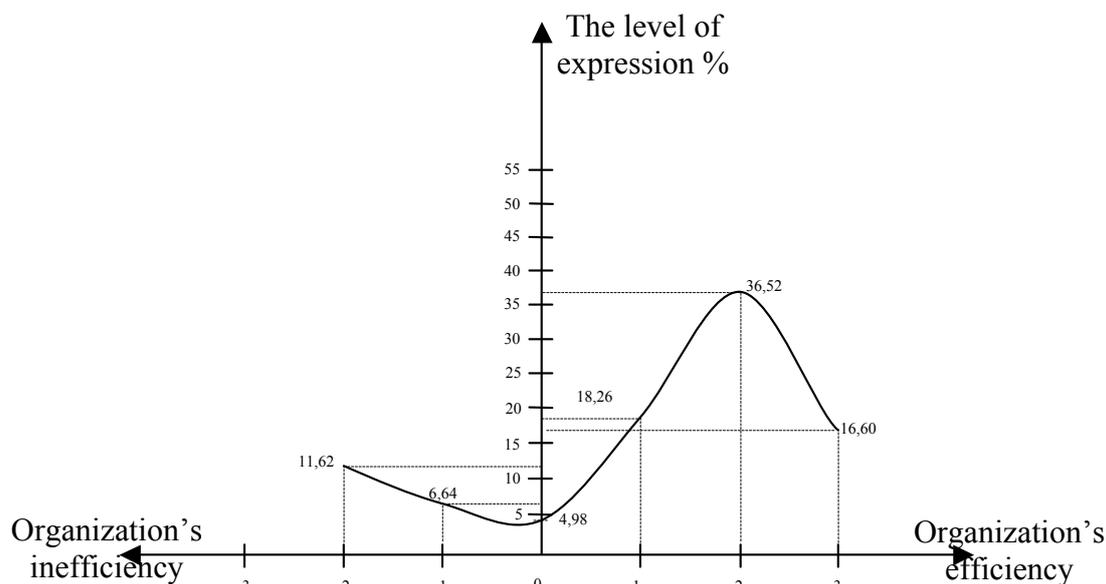


Figure 4 The positioning of the relationship factor

Note: A movement towards the organization's inefficiency area of the opinions regarding certain discontent of the test subjects concerning the quality of the relationships between managers and teachers is observed.

6.4. The analysis of the motivational factor

- a) A movement of the opinions towards the inefficiency area is observed, the test subjects showing a degree of discontent towards the attitude of certain managers regarding the promotion chances, bonus granting and the salary level.
- b) The analysis of this factor underlines a stress state that has negative influences on the organization's performance, according to figure 5.

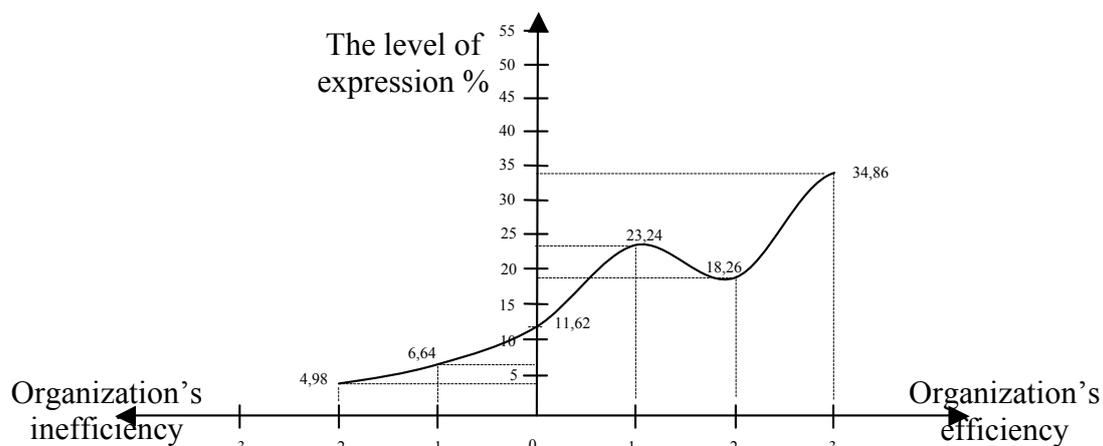


Figure 5 The positioning of the motivational factor

Note: The obtained values are dispersed exceeding Gauss curve. The graphic expression of the opinions reflects the necessity of improving the motivational forms.

6.5. The analysis of the management factor

- a) The opinions of the subjects underline a range of options that express a high degree of discontent towards the lack of support, the management manner efficiency and the control activity of managers.
- b) Discontent towards the lack of responsibility and favouring group interests to the detriment of organization interests was expressed.

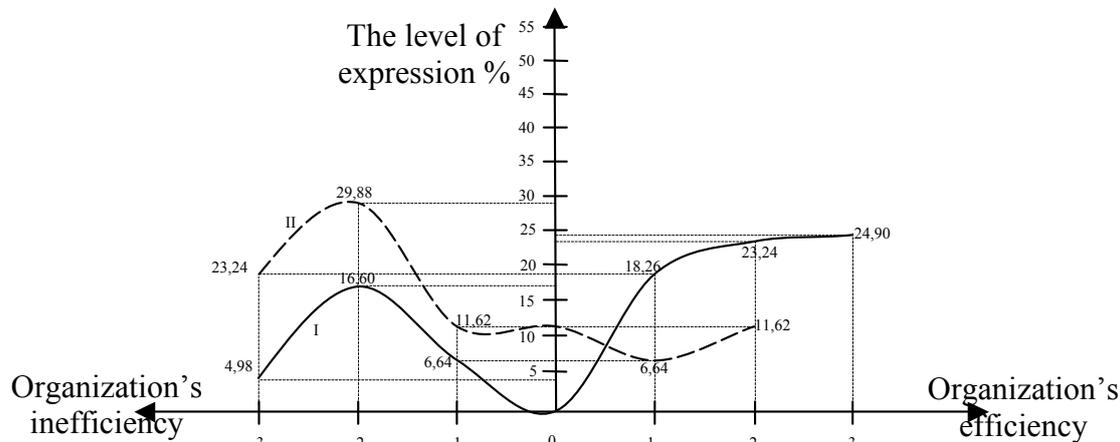


Figure 6 The positioning of the management factor

Note: Curve I – indicates the dispersion of the opinions regarding the managers’ leadership manner;

Curve II – indicates the dispersion of the opinions regarding the favoring of certain group interests;

The curves in figure 6 reflect the tendency to render inefficient the activity of an organization by:

- The inefficiency of the managers’ leadership manner;
- Favoring certain group interests;

7. Conclusions

To improve performance and to reduce the influence of environment factors and stress agents, it must also be considered those non-financial instruments (leadership, communication, prestige, etc.) that can increase the satisfaction (motivation) level of the teachers in the educational system.

An efficient organizational climate may be attained by taking certain measures that can lead to the diminution (or elimination) of the causes that determine the opinions positioned in the inefficiency area of the organization.

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**EXCELLENCE – QUALITY FEATURE OF INSTITUTIONAL COMMUNICATION
IN THE UNIVERSITY MILIEU**

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Topic: Economics and Management

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Abstract

The presented paper represents the research concerning the quality of communication in a public university type institution. The studied communication process is approached from the perspective of the teaching staff integration within the institutional framework and also takes into account the observations expressed by the teaching staff about the way in which the student community appreciates quality concerning the information they get and the information system they have access to. The starting premise of the research based on applied questionnaires is the existence of a strong organizational culture within which quality is the key. After a review of the quality management principles we chose to study-comment the application of two of them, the principle of client focus and the one of whole staff implication, meaning all the members of the organization no matter the level within its structure. To apply both principles an essential tool is the institutional communication process, on the quality of which relies the entire qualitative development of the organization's activity. Excellence in communication thus becomes a feature of the organization's strategic management and implicitly a feature of institutional communication in the milieu in which the study was conducted.

1. Principles of quality management transposed into the quality of the process of institutional communication

For the assuring of an analysis of the quality it is important to define the basic principles, which have to be taken into account regarding the programming of the quality. In the case of the embedding of a new management system of the quality it is very important to establish such basic principles. In the train of a study initiated by ISO, where over 1000 organizations participated, and which had as a main target the identification of the principles which should be taken into account in the process of the constant improvement of the performances of the organization concerning the satisfaction of the requirements of the clients and of all the interested parts, there have been identified eight principles of the management of the quality: the focus toward the client (user and consumer); leadership, the implication of the entire personnel; analysis based on processes; the systematic analysis of the management; the constant improvement; to take decisions based on facts; benefic reciprocal relations with the producers.

We will deal at first with the principle of **the implication of the entire personnel**. The human resources from all the levels represent the central element of an organization, and their total implication permits that their skills can be valorized for maximizing the benefit of the

organization. The embedding within the organization of this principle presupposes the existence of a system of efficient and qualitative communication and the guarantee that the entire personnel understands and adopts the politics regarding the quality of the system to which they belong to and it integrates itself efficiently in eliminating any kind of communication border, which can intervene in the activity of the institution. The application of this principle presupposes: the assumption of the responsibilities for solving the problems; the actual implication in the identification of the opportunities regarding the improvement of the developed activity; the valorizing of the competences and of the experiences; the sharing of the knowledge and of the experience within the working teams; the concentration toward the satisfaction of the clients' needs; the development of a creative spirit in defining the future aims of the organization; an exceptional representation of the organization in the relation with the clients, with the local community and with the society in general; the obtaining of performances on the score of the rolled activity; the development of the feeling of belonging to the organization.

We deal with the principle of **the focus toward the client (user and consumer)** to show that the main mission of the organization, which aspires to a management of the quality, is to satisfy the demands and the expectations of their clients. The quality has to be defined according to the clients' requirements, and these are transposed in specifications, on which the products are achieved with certain characteristics of quality. In order to satisfy the clients' requirements it is imposed to improve the quality in every domain of activity which belongs to the organizations, and not only those involved in the achievement of the products and of the services. The organizations need well thought strategies for satisfying the clients' requirements, thus, the application of the principle "focus toward the client" implies: the understanding of all the needs and expectations of the clients concerning the products and the services; the assurance of an equilibrium between the manner of dealing with the needs of the clients and of the other interested parts (owners, the personnel of the organization, the producers, the local community, the society in general); the communication of these needs and expectations in the entire organization, the assessment of the clients' satisfaction for the constant improvement of the results; the management of the relations with the clients.

The organizations have to understand not only the needs of the client but also the capacity of their own organization to satisfy these requirements. An inefficient communication between different entities involved in the projection and achievement of the products may lead to major differences between what the client desires and what he receives in the end.

2. Excellence in communication, an attribute of the quality of the system of management of the institutional communication

The theory of the excellence sustains the fact that for an organization the communication has a special value because it permits the construction of a solid relationship with its strategic publics. This theory was developed by a group of researchers from the University of Maryland USA, coordinated by J.E. Grunig. The researchers involved in this project started from searching the factors, which determine the "excellence" of the public relations of an organization and investigated over 300 organizations, some of them having the repute for the quality of the communication, and others known for the failures in the process of the public relations. From these researches resulted the principles of the excellence in communication. 1) the preoccupation of the leaders of the institution for the quality of the communication; 2) the contribution of communication in the achievement of the strategic plans of the organization: the public relations must be used also in the strategic planning; 3) the assigning of the management function for public relations on the principle according to which the performance appears there where the specialists in public relations become "managers", creators of communication strategies based on research, planning and counseling; 4) the adoption of the model of symmetrical bilateral

communication: in this model the communication is rolling in two directions (public-organization; organization-public), taking into account also the reactions of the public, not for identifying the manner in which these reactions can be changed but for changing the behavior of the organization; 5) the obtaining of the efficiency in public relations through the development of the potential of the communication department in applying the model of the symmetric bilateral communication and the extension of the function of strategic management of communication: there where the competence for accomplishing the research with quantitative and qualitative methods exists, and for the practicing of the managerial functions (human resources, creating and applying budgets, planning campaigns, etc); 6) the demonstration of a high quality of communication through the implication of the communication departments in dealing with some problems of public concern, as an answer to a series of actions of some civic or communitarian organizations; 7) extremely good public relations appear in institutions based on organizational, participating, organic cultures with mechanisms of intern dialogue and with a higher degree of work satisfaction; 8) the quality of the communication is better in the organizations, which promote the diversity. To these factors it can be added the preoccupation for ethics that is the commitment of the organization to respect the principles of communication responsible also for codifying these values in ethical codes, preparing its employees for a moral behavior in the internal and external relations.

Starting from the fundamental concepts of the communication, J.E. Grunig and L.A. Grunig (1992, p. 83) sustain that “the researchers and the practitioners can use any of these concepts in order to measure the quality of the strategic relations of the organizations”, but there are theories according to which the attributes of the excellence in communication are: reciprocity, trust, credibility, legitimacy, openness, reciprocal satisfaction and reciprocal understanding.

3. A study concerning the quality of the communication, the degree of identification regarding human resources with the milieu in which they roll their activity, as demonstration of the application of the principles of quality and of the theory of excellence in communication

The study was launched in the lines of the teacher department of the University “Lucian Blaga” in order to identify the manner in which the access to information is perceived and also to identify the degree of existence of some borders of communication, to establish the quality of the internal communication and of the degree of identification of the human resources with the milieu in which they practice their activity, with the culture of the organization, to which it belongs, and the fact that the material presented is a part of a project of an extended research regarding the management of quality of communication within the public institution of the university type.

We have specified above that excellence in communication represents an attribute of the quality of the management system of the institutional communication, and the two principles of the management quality, the focus toward the client and the implication of the entire personnel confers excellence. A holistic analysis of the term client may permit the attribution of the client quality to the human resources of the organization. To the human resource of a particular organization it may be attributed implicitly the client position/quality. The human resource involved in projects of development concerning the organization may benefit as a client from all facilities and may have access to all the levers for personal development. For this fact to be possible, the human resource must recapture itself within the organization, the mission and the aims of the institution must coincide with their own aspirations regarding the professional development. In this perspective, from the designed questionnaires applied on an representative pattern of teachers in an academic milieu resulted, according to the presented graphics, the fact that a significant percentage of the ones questioned consider that the aspirations of professional

development coincide well and very well with the mission and the aims of the institution and implicitly, the subjects consider themselves integrated in the organization.

Higher and higher levels are imposed to the modern organization, based on lasting principles of development, and not only in the field of the technology and management based on strategies and directions of innovative development, but also in the field of the increase of the performances of their own human resources, in the field of the increase of the level of knowledge and abilities of communication inside the organization but also outside it.

These aspects impose the correlation of the personal aims within the professional field of human resources with the aims of the organization.

In the strategy of the modern organization, the excellence can be defined also as a preoccupation of the top management for developing the perspectives of the human resources in the constant development, openness toward initiation and implication of the personnel in projects, which bring more knowledge not only to the organization but also to the teams of embedding, in the university milieu the projects of research which bring results to the initiated university, but also to the academic teachers with the quality of a member in programs.

Table 1 First set of experimental data

The mission and the objectives of the institution coincide with my aspirations of professional development

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not at all	2	2,0	2,0	2,0
Dissatisfactory	4	4,1	4,1	6,1
Satisfactory	15	15,3	15,3	21,4
Good	39	39,8	39,8	61,2
Very good	38	38,8	38,8	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

In the present study, in this perspective the questioned ones considered in significant percentage the fact that the mission and the aims of the institution coincide with the personal aspirations of professional development.

The academic milieu, within which the prospecting was achieved, is well represented in statistics and national and international studies concerning the openness and the results in the field of the scientific and innovative research.

This also justifies the answers and the percentages with positive assessments – 55,10% good and 23,47 very good – for the item “I am encouraged to specialize myself, and to develop my competences and my professional potential.”

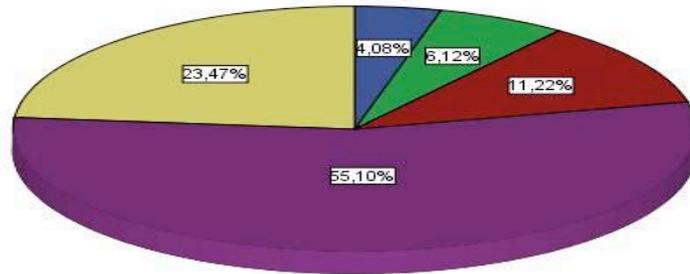


Figure 1 Capture number 1 of scientific research

Table 2 The second set of experimental data

I am encouraged to specialize myself, to develop my competences, my personal potential

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not at all	4	4,1	4,1	4,1
Dissatisfied	6	6,1	6,1	10,2
Satisfied	11	11,2	11,2	21,4
Good	54	55,1	55,1	76,5
Very good	23	23,5	23,5	100,0
Total	98	100,0	100,0	

The professional development of the members of the organization depends directly on the quality of the information, which they dispose of or the quantity of information held. The communication built on the principles of the quality management, the transparency of the decisions, their originality and their avant-gardism will lead to the right and realist perception of the organization as an entity, which addresses not only the internal milieu but also the one of the community to which it belongs. A section of the scientific research represents a study regarding the access of the teacher to the information inside the organization. The manner in which the questioned disposes of the informational resources of the organization influences directly his/her attitude toward the rolling of the entire process of development of the organization, but also of the accuracy of the personal decisions, of the actions in which he/she is involved according to the direct reality.

To emphasize the existence of the attributes of excellence in communication, we will selectively present aspects resulting from the reworking of the data from the study, which viewed all the possibilities of access of the teacher to the information inside the organization, *if the necessary information is received in due time, if the information is available for the qualified*

persons and for the verification of the preoccupation of the organization for the quality of the information of which... *I accidentally receive the information that I need.*

Table 3 The first information of scientific researc

The information which is necessary to me I receive it in due time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all	1	1,0	1,0	1,0
	Dissatisfied	3	3,1	3,1	4,1
	Satisfied	38	38,8	38,8	42,9
	Good	40	40,8	40,8	83,7
	Very good	16	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	98	100,0	100,0	

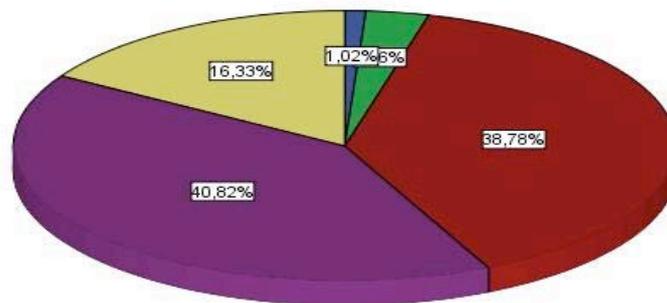


Figure 2 Capture number 2 of scientific research

Table 4 Descriptive statistics and correlations

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
I receive the information that I need from qualified persons	3,81	,981	98
I accidentally discover the information that I need	2,87	1,297	98

Correlations

		I receive the information that I need from qualified persons	I accidentally discover the information that I need
I receive the information that I need from qualified persons	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,199*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,050
	N	98,000	98
I accidentally discover the information that I need	Pearson Correlation	-,199*	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,050	
	N	98	98,000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlations

			I receive the information that I need from qualified persons	I accidentally discover the information that I need
Kendall's tau_b	I receive the information which I need from qualified persons	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	-,163
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,055
		N	98	98
	I accidentally discover the information that I need	Correlation Coefficient	-,163	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,055	.
		N	98	98
Spearman's rho	I receive the information that I need from qualified persons	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	-,186
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,066
		N	98	98
	I accidentally discover the information that I need	Correlation Coefficient	-,186	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,066	.
		N	98	98

4. Conclusions

We consider that the constant improvement of the products and the services offered by the organization becomes reality through the constant refinement of the processes rolled within the institution, through the identification of the requirements of the client-citizen. Starting from the

theoretical aspects we underline the fact that between the enounced directions in the operational plans of institutional development there have to be scheduled periodical analysis of “the state of health of the communication in the institution”, studies of the evolution of the relations developed by the human resources inside and outside the organization, the dealing of the politics concerning the modern personnel, by planning studies that are concerned with the internal marketing. An important role in this process is taken by the manager who has visions over the perspectives of the development of the organization, by the team that is chosen by the manager for fulfilling the aims and the manner in which the leader of the institution creates the bond named communication within the organization. The importance of the institutional communication relies on the fact that it has the role of emphasizing and naturally of valorizing the politics of the institution, which implies the permanent presentation of the strategy, of the structures and of the identity. Within the presented study I analysed the degree of developing the management of communication built on the principles of the quality management, of the transparency of the decisions, of their originality and their orientation toward the client’s requirements-human resource. In the applied questionnaire there were closed questions formulated, with the purpose of obtaining results very close to the reality, and the elaboration of these questions through the SPSS program was accomplished by means of the analysis to a general level of the answers according to five answer versions, very good, good, satisfactory, dissatisfactory and not at all. We show that an attribute of the excellence in communication results from the composition of some very good public relations in institutions based on organic, participating organizational cultures with mechanisms of internal dialogue and with a higher degree of satisfaction regarding the work. The human resource - a client which benefits from an access to information due to the organization, which adopts the symmetrical bilateral communication, which identifies its own aims of development within the aims of the organization, which agrees and certificates the fact that it benefits from useful information in due time, and from the qualified sources it defines itself as a human resource whose expectations are respected and fulfilled. These aspects lead to the substantiation of the quality principle emphasized above—the implication of the entire personnel - in this case through the development of an efficient system of communication through the stimulation of the creative spirit of the human resources and the development of the feeling of belonging to the institutional milieu as an answer to the reception of the organizational culture.

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**RESEARCH FOR RESEARCH'S SAKE: THE CHALLENGES FACING
KENYAN UNIVERSITIES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ADDRESS NATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT**

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Introduction

The 21st century has seen the world entering into the information era and ushering in what has been termed as the *knowledge society*. This is a century that has seen the world change rapidly from a labour driven economy to a knowledge and innovation-based economy. In this era, harnessing the power of information and knowledge has never before been so crucial. There is a fresh recognition and reconsideration of the role of education in development and growth of nations. Through scientific enquiry, knowledge is being produced and used as a vital aspect in economic, political and social development in the world.

Higher education, where much knowledge is produced in any given country, has become an essential component in boosting innovative performance across economic sectors. Together with other factors, higher education is understood to make a necessary contribution to the success of national efforts to boost productivity, competitiveness and economic growth (Bloom et al 2006).

Given the pre-eminence of knowledge in this century, and its role in the development of nations, it is important that it is professionally captured by use of scientific research, stored, and disseminated to various sectors to aid in national development. Statistics, however, indicate that scientific research in Africa is still struggling to keep pace with the rest of the world. This is an obvious threat to the growth of Africa's economies.

The UNESCO analysis of the state of science in the world provides a picture about the situation of scientific research in Africa as compared to the rest of the world. Africa accounts for only 0.6% of Gross Expenditure on Research and Development (GERD), with South Africa's share representing as much as 90% of the 0.6%. Only 0.6% of world

researchers and 0.9% of the world share of scientific publications were provided by Sub-Saharan African countries in 2001, and about half of this contribution was accounted for by South Africa alone. This is a grim picture of scientific research in Africa as a whole and Kenya in particular.

What is the implication of social and academic research in Africa as a whole and Kenya in particular as an aid and guide to development?

This paper attempts to describe some major issues facing research in Kenya. It gives impressions on the needs and problems in relating research to African development. The paper presets an argument regarding academic research and its contribution to national development needs in Kenya. It looks into issues such as how Kenyan universities can encourage faculty members to progress beyond basic research and take on challenging cutting edge research; and how Kenyan graduates can move beyond the 'schooling' syndrome to a 'learning' culture.

An Overview of University Research in Kenya

Research is one of the core pillars of the university system in the world. It is the engine that generates new knowledge and provides ideas for national development. Higher education is biased towards research, especially at the graduate level. Universities are increasingly being called upon to provide research results and also opportunities for transfer of knowledge that has been generated through research to industries and private businesses (Ntiamoah- Baidu, 2008).

In Kenya, universities have been arguably conventional sources of graduates. They concentrate on preparing graduates to secure jobs, instead of preparing them to become engines of community development. A lot of research is carried out by these graduates, but it is carried out for the sake of fulfilling academic qualifications. In the 1970s and 80s, for example, the volume of research carried out by the university of Nairobi (the only public university in Kenya at that time), was one of the highest in Africa (Ngome 2003). Yet, this research was not disseminated to the private sector for implementation. This trend continues even to this day.

For faculty members who engage in research, their commitment to research is upon promotional opportunities or student supervision rather than improving learning outcome and generation of knowledge (Rodrigues, 2008). Currently, dons in Kenya are rating themselves, not on the quantity of research and publications, rather on the number of students that one is teaching. This is especially true after the introduction of the parallel degree programs in the country. The mission of dons of providing effective research, dissemination of information and service to community has been compromised severely.

It is not quite clear what kind of education will unlock the mystical door of development.

Research Culture in Kenya's Universities

One of the problems that Kenya is facing in terms of educational contribution to national development is the culture that prevails around studying. This culture spills over from the

primary through the university and to the faculty researchers. The country continues to uphold an education system that is centered on schooling rather than learning. There is a culture in Kenya that teaches students that education is a means to an end; a passport to a job. Students are not trained to be analytical and intelligent in the sense of the world. With such a mentality, students study to pass examinations, rather than to develop a deep understanding and mastery of their own life and environment. They expend large amounts of mental energy on strategizing how to remember facts and formulae.

Graduates from such an education system cannot generate new knowledge; they can't solve problems in society because they lack innovativeness which their education system denied them. They suffer from the 'paper qualification syndrome'. This is a feeling of job qualification by virtue of holding certificates that show one has passed exams; while at the same time lacking the correspondent skills and attitude required to perform effectively in the job. In such a state, research that is geared towards national development is impossible to generate. It is important for educational planners and teachers in Kenyan educational institutions to impact into graduates that the concept of education goes beyond classroom learning.

University research suffers from a deficit of effective organization and management. It lacks a vision, appropriate policy frameworks and strategic planning; and lack of a service culture within the structures responsible for administering, coordinating and promoting research.

Kenya's researchers have not been able to tailor their research content and pedagogy to the socio-economic realities of their nation. They seem incapable of developing local solutions for local problems. Faculty members together with university students have failed to create relevant research questions from the needs of society, which can fit in national policy, contribute to national development and address various problems in the country.

Education in Kenya has largely operated in isolation from the economic sector that it is supposed to serve. The result is that the product of that education has been found wanting in vital skills that are needed in the economic mainstream of the country.

Knowledge is often perceived as something that needs to be preserved and documented before it vanishes. Because of this mentality, when research is carried out by both students and staff in Kenyan universities, it is often 'tucked away' on library shelves for what looks like a 'preservation exercise'.

For most university researchers in Kenya, the primary motivation for carrying out research is promotion. The value of research in institutions of higher learning is hinged on the 'publish or perish' syndrome. There is a general lack of hunger for new knowledge and research for development in Kenya's Universities.

Disseminating Research Information

Research alone is not a prerequisite for development. The challenge in Kenyan Universities is to make research and development results accessible to those who require it.

One of the ways through which research work can be disseminated to various stakeholders is through publishing. Scholarly publishing is as a result of scientific enquiry, which in turn enables implementation of findings for the purpose of national development. Academic publishing is one sure way of distributing information. It is however shrinking because publishing houses have hefty charges to publish author's works. Publishing houses in Kenya have also been accused of playing it safe by sticking to recognized authors. This is a blow to upcoming authors in the country. Also, In Kenya, publishing comes against an intense background of a weak technological infrastructure base. Castells (1998) terms this condition as "technological apartheid". Giving an example of the Internet, Castells (2001) says that it is the technological tool that distributes information, knowledge and networking capacity. He says "development without the internet is equivalent to industrialization without electricity in the industrial era (ibid, 260). In sub-Saharan Kenya, the use of internet as a tool for disseminating information is extremely low. People would rather use the net for social networking

Kenyan Universities also lack a strong culture of national conferences, lack of national scientific journals and poor communication networks, which could aid in research dissemination. This is a problem that is spread in the wider African society. In 1995 for example, sub-Saharan Africa was responsible for 5, 839 published academic papers, Asia had 15,995 papers, Latin America and The Caribbean had 14, 426 (TFHE, 2000). The problem of lack of scientific journals is also coupled with lack of qualified researchers due to brain drain. For example, roughly, 30% of the region's university-trained professionals live outside Africa (Inter-academic council, 2004). Up to 50,000 African-trained PhD holders are working outside Africa (Cornish, 2005).

While carrying out research, Kenyan universities act in isolation (Camara and Toure, 2010). There is a very wide gap between academic institutions and the economic and development markets in Kenya. Because of this, knowledge produced in Universities cannot inform national policies and programs in various sectors. Universities should be socially embedded so that they can be in position to aid in tackling society's problems.

Research and National Development

According to Dasgupta and David (1994), economic growth in the modern era is grounded on exploitation of scientific knowledge. It is only through thorough research and proper dissemination and utilization that scientific knowledge can become a component for economic growth.

But there are scholars who feel that such a step is not easy to take. According to Juma (2006), addressing Africa's development challenges will require the creation of a new generation of universities that can serve as engines for both community development and social renewal. Juma (ibid) feels that institutions of higher learning should be key players in domesticating knowledge and diffusing it into the economy; but they can only do that

through close linkages with the private sector. And that, Juma says, will require major adjustments in the way universities function in Africa.

Nyuyen (2009), supports Juma's views by saying that Universities have a responsibility, not only to provide teaching and carry out research, but also to contribute directly to economic growth of the society in which they are embedded

Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, research in Kenya's universities is perceived as an ivory-tower pursuit. When it is done, it is not availed to relevant fields to aid in national development. Research however, should be perceived as critical to eradicate poverty and to prepare the country to cope with other problems of development. The University in Kenya must become a primary tool for the country's development through the knowledge and research that is stacked in University library shelves. This paper recommends the following;

Researchers in Kenya's Universities have to learn to think through their problems and find solutions to them. They must change the asymmetric relationship with donors that knowledge and research generated and owned by Kenyans to solve Kenya's problems must be generated.

Universities should seek to break the isolation that has characterized them over recent decades, and influence and connect research with national development priorities.

Kenya needs a strong community of researchers who can discover resourceful and timely ways to deal with poverty's many causes. We need universities with a strong emphasis on graduate research as opposed to graduate teaching.

An important goal for the Kenyan government should be to develop a sustainable research culture in higher education in order to provide human resource and expertise towards designing national policies. Kenya must emphasize research and prioritize the role of science in development.

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Cover Page

Title: Balkanising Taxonomy

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Topic: Representations of the East in the West in the archiving of protest in Belgrade in '96/'97

Balkanising Taxonomy by Nela Milic, Goldsmiths University

The Realm of Memory

This introductory part contextualises a contemporary history of the study of memory and its place in the modern discourse of Serbia. Considering that I am implicated in this research as an event participant and I am trying to conduct the research at the same time, I take on Benjamin's advice: "He who seeks to approach his own buried past must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter; to scatter it as one scatters earth, to turn it over as one turns over the soil."

Walter Benjamin, 1927-1934

Inevitably then, I will address the Serbian trade which is well known around the world – war mongering, depicting the theoretical environment within which I am now working in/from. The issue of representation and working from the Western European platform will be discussed at length, as well as the emergence of visual methodology employed in this research and its importance for understanding the link between the technology and the revolt.

In the municipal elections on 17 November 1996 in almost all cities of Serbia the opposition coalition Zajedno ('Together') won. The results were overruled through overt government intervention in the civil service and in judiciary institutions. Hundreds of thousands of citizens came out on the streets, and rallies against the electoral fraud were organised. The participants were predominantly young or middle-aged, well educated, urban, and middle class (Bobovic & Milic, 1997).



What is Memory

This paper will focus on a social set of influences in memory and Frisch's approach to it as "... the leap across time from the then of happening to the now of recall" (1990) It will contain a combination of the experiences of the past, the set of circumstances within which these experiences occur and the way in which the individual reflects on these experiences in her present circumstances. This complexity of memory as time-related notion is of the interest here rather than its biological/psychological attribute. The politics of memory that will be deliberated is born in this layering of meaning, reflections, experiences, circumstances and its dichotomy is presented as the closure of the past in the present, or the construction of the future by means of a living and active past faced with the present. (Cassin, 2002) My research frame will leap from the individual notion of memory to the event of protest, encompassing its political, social and cultural aspects.

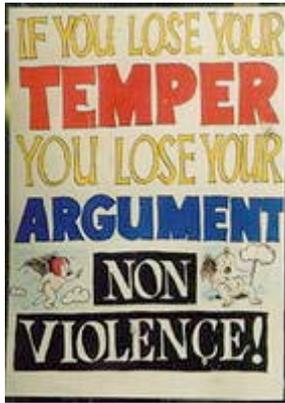
In her inaugural professorial lecture at Goldsmiths University in 2009 entitled *Biopolitics*, Vikki Bell attains that “Sociologists consider how the past holds us and continues to shape the present”. She talks of memory as “the voice”, like it has its own life, both reality and fiction, devising a separate category existing along with what it was then and what is “then” now. She does not forget to call on its destructive and redemptive potentials, particularly when addressing the violence of power that will be analysed in a chapter on identity and nationalism. I am touching on these notions in this paper too, as they inevitably creep in when we try to “locate the memory” in the collective, especially in Serbia where recent history is widely known along those constructs (ethnicity).

The interest in memory has penetrated all levels of society. Even the basic search engines - Wikipedia for example - list complex results, like the phrase “politics of memory” and state its connectedness to identity and its vulnerability from culture, social norms and governments. As an example here and in most of the writing on memory, Holocaust has been presented as a point of departure when studying and doing “the work with memory”.

As Serbian war crimes have been almost synonymous with the Holocaust, it is impossible to explore the memory of the culture of protest '96 – '97 without addressing this issue. Balkan wars Serbia was involved in are for many the only knowledge of Serbia and its imagery now constitutes their memory of the country. They might have never been in Serbia, but they do remember the striking footage of it which I do not want to contest from the present, but complement it with visual data and a textual analysis of Serbia's protest in attempt to contribute to the positive records of Serbia's history under then president Milosevic.

Representation of Serbia in memory and elsewhere will be analysed in the context of Serbia itself – how Balkan academics (and who are they) write about the Balkans and Serbia and what is their construction of Serbia and the western cultures. Equally, I'll address how West European academia perceive and define Serbia and the effect it has on the political, social and cultural dynamics of the East and the West Europe. As knowledge itself is re-presentation, I will question the process of acquiring it in relation to the current image Serbia holds in the western cultures.

Serbia's protestors, however they felt about their heritage, had an interest in and the enthusiasm for the West European cultures. Their visual and textual references – pictures and statements on banners, vouchers and walls in the capital of Serbia, were of a democratic nature and they demonstrated a desire to be accepted as such – contemporary European instead of a “trigger happy” nation depicted in the media mainly by the war criminals. Protestors were eager to be understood as members of civil society by partaking in a peaceful movement, as the ones seen around the world and opposing the violence, executed on the orders of the Serbian regime.



However, non-violent demonstrations could not overturn the dictatorship and it took the death of the president, Hague Tribunal trials, several elections and ongoing negotiations with the West European and US peace organizations, military echelons and governments to drive Serbia (to) where it is now – still eager to join Europe where it is geographically situated, by being politically acknowledged as a member of the European Union. It is in this desire for EU status that problems with the national memory arise and play a leading role in rebuilding the state, the nation and its image. This is the focus of the spectrum explored here, taking memory as intrinsically social and artistic, wrapped up in the issues of nation-states and supporting the blocks of the old and emerging disciplines like sociology and digital art my research is situated in.

The politics of memory

In Serbia, politicians have been praying on national stories – myths and legends accessible in the school curriculum that hosts publicly promoted knowledge inherited from the past. From the primary school then to adult life Serbs know the official version of history in the state. State was not to be questioned for anything for decades, let alone the history, until the changes hit East European nations separating from communism and the dominant groups and territories in the region. Memory acted as a double-edged sword leading to understanding and overcoming existing ethnic, religious or social divisions or, as in Serbia, perpetuate them...

Contending historical narratives is closely connected to group identities as we noted earlier about the Serbs, the nation branded for the war crimes. If we are to analyse the ethics of this matter, it would be necessary to discuss war criminals as victims too and that requires a considerable diversion from the protest (and is very difficult to negotiate), but my research cannot be without acknowledgment of this route that is more visibly signposted than the main road of protest I want to take.

My work (art or otherwise) is burdened by a popular view of Serbia today – a view through the war crimes. To “balance the books” (Timothy Snyder, 2005) and include the opposition (that was always existent in the country and particularly creative) to these crimes, the glorious moments of Serbia’s history would need to be asserted and this is again not the attempt in this research, although the protest surely is a moment of glory. This research aims to deliberate on the culture of that particular uprising that got forgotten by both Eastern and Western Europe in the overwhelming narrative of wars. How can I then get out of the “hole of shame”, so Serbia and the Western Europe try a different approach to this country’s past. Finding an appropriate

and acceptable balance of the opposing understandings of past events is crucial for grasping the realm of memory. Through memory, the protest will be grasped and through the balance, the memory of it will be grasped too.

“The war of politics and the war of memory are intertwined.”

Phenicie & Laplante, 2009

Otherness

Serbia is positioned as “the other” in a shared narrative of Western states. This technology of separating “the other” from “the we” can be found as implemented in a wider context, outside (of) the nation states, where one set of knowledge has the power to hold the threads of universal history through its economic, political or cultural strength, placing epistemological questions at the beginning of the argument and enlightening it throughout.

In the above described conditions, the innocent, as well as marginalised groups are punished under the umbrella of the “other” - through their representation being buried below the ones who stand for them as “all”. The Western Europe and civil society everywhere, even in Serbia recognizes that, but at the same time the nationalist Serbs (“the others” in the above situation) need to stop regarding their criminals as heroes for this take to change. So, there are many othernesses in the category of “the other”. The politics of memory in case of Serbia fuels yet another war – the one of representation. I will strive to decode the language of that representation and find a more acceptable way of narrating this imperfect past. This new articulation will be attempted through the complementary employment of text and image and as a historical representation; it will examine the role of collective memory and of its perceptions in the dominant European discourse - nationalism prominently existent in Serbia since Milosevic’s reign.

I am not inviting amnesia or forgetting here, but suppression, just for a moment, to inspire a possibility for progress in Serbia. As the more positive elements of Serbian past, like the revolt in ‘96/’97 become included in the account of its history, we should be able to look at the nation with understanding its relation to the war crimes conducted parallel with their ability to invite the violence or, in the time of protest elaborated here, not engage with it.

Let’s not misunderstand that I am holding that Serbia’s war crimes, as quickly accessible as its recent history, got a hard sentence, I am not addressing the war crimes, but stating that there is no other platform to speak from because and if I even attempt to question it, as a Serb by origin, I am on dangerous ground, verging on disrespect towards the victims of those crimes, living and the dead. In clutches of such a strong and widely disseminated narrative, supported by penetrating and harrowing images of devastation, I find myself and the whole of Serbian nation buried under the victims of these crimes.

Mani reminds that overcoming the cleavages of the past can be done if the pain and suffering of the victims is recognized both on the collective (public) and on the individual (private) level and that those responsible for the past atrocities are brought to justice (2002). Except the search for justice in Serbia illuminated by the political changes, meant that personal developments in the

area of responsibility, remorse and grief were shunned. Hence, it is hard to make a first step in this journey- excavations are overrun by the new properties of the nation – mostly an interest in material culture and its accessories like fame and fortune in-built in the religious aspiration rapidly developed in Serbia since the fall of communism.

“There is no one history, but, since there are different perspectives and perceptions, there are also different interpretations...”. (Schlogel, 2008) In order to move on from its violent history widely accepted in the Western and many Eastern cultures, Serbia appears to be jumping the queue, bypassing the laws, forgetting the responsibilities, holding on to selective memories and all for the EU embrace and on the encouragement of especially Western states which played an important role in both war mongering and brokering of the peace deals. On another hand, how then to support remembering if in Serbia, memory is mostly interpreted as the drag to the past rather than the discourse of the future? “A liberated treatment of the past is possible in liberated societies that are liberated in every way...” (?)

There is logic in arriving to this state of affairs, between Eastern and Western Europe. Theories of “other” stress that these tensions always existed between dominant and marginal entities. Levinas (1969) marks: “The intentional relation of representation ... is to be distinguished from every other relation” especially that of “mechanical causality.” The object here is a result of our interpretative acts, hence it is always the same that determines the other.

We, humans are constituted by the relationship of being for the other. We do not rise to the responsibility for the other, but face to face relations call on this just as the participants of protest in Belgrade were confronted by the faces of their nationals prompting the revolt to grow daily to hundreds of thousands of people. The upraisal was inspired by the care for the other that turned the subordinate citizens liberal, offering a shelter to protesters when police roamed the streets. The viewers of the footage from the streets when it emerged through satellite channels were facing the other on the TV screen whilst sitting in their homes, but acted as protestors indirectly when “the other” (streetgoers) were in need.

Face to face does not know the other, but respects it in its totality. The face of the other exceeds the idea of the other in me - the other shatters one own selves. One always looks at oneself through the eyes of the other (De Bois, 1900). To respond to the face means to be awake, respond to precariousness of the life itself. (Butler, 2004)



Nation

In Anderson's (2006) writing, memory features as residing on communal standing. However, that outlet has been so influenced by the Western interpretations of nationalistic political developments in the case of Serbia that it holds mostly these Western views and proposing different approaches find that space already crowded with views of various parliamentarians, academics, PRs... If narration is at the centre of the nation (Bhaba, 1990), the Serbs have to narrate the protest themselves to improve the nation's own view of their image and understanding they have of themselves. Being branded as war criminals so widely and for so long, Serbs now think of themselves as such.

Anderson also deliberates on how revolutionary governments continue to use the legacies of dead regimes. The evidence of this view exists in Serbia, but the new government after Milosevic is hardly revolutionary. Anderson explains how staples of the "imagined community" are further preserved by the illumination and glorification of certain aspects of history. Am I to be accused of this as writing about the luminous protest and not focussing on incriminating remnants of the past (the war crimes in Serbia). Doesn't one have to have some kind of meaning/meaningful past?

Quoting Alon Confino, Maria Todorova (2004) writes about the nation: "...an exploration of a shared identity that unites a social group" whose need of memorial past reveals the newness of the nation as a concept. Nation has to draw on founding myths to appear as very old and located within evolutionary narrative, like the stories of founding fathers and genealogies of the heroes. Common glories are evidently homogenous in the nation. Protest in '96/'97 is ejected from modern Serbia's history saturated by the war narratives in the Western Europe, but in Serbia either. The problem is that it might not be commonly agreed that the uprising in Belgrade is considered a shining historical event.

Serbia's attempt of revolution in '96/'97 was considered as a peace loving, non-violent struggle... but the police and the government that acted with violence are Serbs too. This process of nation development enlightens the difficulty with translating strategic narratives across linguistic or cultural boundaries within and/or between nations.

A battle for Kosovo in 1839, is a founding myth in Serbia used by all nationalist propagators, but the historical outcomes of the Turkish and Serbian clash might be providing a different/same account for the opposing side. This story is glorified amongst Serbs and so serves as a regressing, reductive, old fashioned tale Serbs seem to hold on to in Serbia and in the Serbian tales in the West. But is this a misunderstood legend on both accents – Serbian and Western?

The access to the media set a stage to a modern nation – a limited and sovereign entity that protesters embraced in order to restore Serbia's identity shuttered by the regime projecting images of war and devastation. Via technological advancements at the time – Internet and mobiles, demonstrators sent a very different picture of Serbia to the world.



Working with / from Western European platform

It is hard to find the data to support the view of the Balkans outside of the discourse of nationalism and any creation of such information invites its positionality within the body of work existent on nationalism. Eric Hobsbawn (1983) has described a situation in which political institutions and ideological movements were so unprecedented that even tradition had to be invented, but isn't this the case in all national histories? A destroyed state or national suffering is often used as a self-evident argument in the service of nationalism.

Mieke Bal (1999) takes this idea further: "If memory is fiction rather than imprint (Carruth, 1995), then every history is non-existent". In many newly formed states, traditions had to be invented, and all sorts of new devices and symbols were taken into usage, for example, national anthems and flags. In the new state – Serbia, once a republic of Yugoslavia, much has changed after/between the wars. The insignia of the old power, the national anthems and the flags, fell and new ones were devised, or old ones re-introduced. This reveals that history is not a finished story, but constantly re-written one, from the perspective of the present. So, the protest explored in this paper will be the version of the event only for "now". It would be strange if, along with fundamental alterations, our memory, our understanding of the past also did not change. (Schlogel, 2008)

"There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism... barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another."

Walter Benjamin, 1940



Eurocentrism – Asymmetry of memory

Apart from its local contexts, Serbia sits in the context of Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism advocates that the history of Europe is exceptional and implies the standardization through imitation and catch up. From Amin's perspective, Eurocentrism is common to both vulgar Marxism and

mainstream political theories. What he means here is that Eurocentrism simplifies complex differences in its nations and so, has the same outlook on other states and nations.

This is evident in its treatment of the Balkans. Serbia suffers from the developments of capitalism. European Union closed its doors till Serbs surrender war criminals, but the eagerness to join in is invited, desperate and aggressive at the same time, while capitalism settled in the state in its most vicious form.

Schlogel (2008) agrees stating that East/West difference in experience produces different centres of historical interest, differing perspectives, a different sensibility with respect to different themes and there are different caesuras with different meanings.

“Speaking about ‘marginalised regions’ always implies a specific position or perspective: there are parts of our world more central than others. By focussing on the Balkans as ‘marginalized’, I assert that other regions like Western Europe or North America are more central. It is in this sense that Western Europe is deliberated in this chapter. We are questioning European cultural concept of Serbia from the perspective of its periphery.”

Previsic, 2009

In Eastern Europe, one had always been more interested in what was happening in the West: in literature, ideas, fashions and freedom. In Western Europe, alternations remained within bounds and all kinds of fears dominated (of floods of job-seekers, the transfer of industries, growing criminality etc.). In 1989 after their own national communisms, de-Stalinisations, personalities, Eastern European states begun the tempestuous re-evaluation of the past – of the last 50 years, sometimes of the whole national history. The debate took place at many levels: in struggles over monuments, street names, textbooks and schoolbooks; public controversies over dates, anniversaries and holidays central to the collective consciousness; the setting up of memorials and museums. Schlogel (2008) This is still going on in Serbia, parallel with other political developments, but directed towards the entrance to the EU, rather than revision of the recent history, introspection and reflection on the past.

There are struggles over the interpretative superiority and the setting of political agendas that are driving the arguments. How such controversies are conducted is a matter of political culture and also of historical culture, of ways of dealing with the past. After the war narratives got embedded in the collective history of Serbia examining any national issues without them is impossible. A memory that has no time for victims of terror under Milosevic’s region and does not include the inmates of the Hague Tribunal, is selective and lacks credibility. To avoid this approach, intellectual infrastructure needs to be in place: access to archives, free publication of sources, independent historical writing and, above all, an independent public sphere, but they are not a guarantee against the creation of new myths and against re-ideologisation. Schlogel (2008)

My research is the attempt to gain a hearing for different narratives of Serbia that now only owns a forced narrative of a common history of conflict - a painful, polyphonic history of insults, injuries and unreasonable demands. If Serbs could bear to hear this - these stories, their own stories, it would be more than one can expect at the moment. The future is doubtful, troubled and

dominant discourse in Serbia, so the past has more appealing, nostalgic qualities. It is, like memory, hard to believe in it, but persists in the mind. What is required is the non-threatening space in which dominant interpretations and national narratives can be heard. In both Eastern and Western Europe there must be a pause of delivering representations and allowance of empty, silent space before the deliberations with no comment attached can begin. If this can be supported, the fuller account of the past is possible.

Today, the Balkans leads in nationalism studies, and in other - art history and related disciplines, it is almost invisible. This is one of the reasons why my research is particularly in the area of arts and culture, as it is not a simple cross wiring east/west (Gordan) that happened, but the Eastern Europe truly suffers from mis-representation and under-representation in the Western European cultural context.

Both micro/macro are colonised and my task is to add to how we liberate the local. We do not want to create more Europes elsewhere, but question the one we've got, its autonomy, the language(s), cosmopolitanism, art and politics.

My model – witnessing as a research methodology

Memory is not static. Configurations of audiences and publics that witnessed the protest are changing as a result of migration and media technologies, and I'll look at how do such changes affect the meanings and practices of (mediated) citizenship? Many exiles, living in the Western Europe, this researcher including, modified the ideas of citizenship emerged during the protest which was the result of a fraudulent election. The voices/choices of people were tempered with in the Serbian election in '96 and the notion of the liberty/freedom in governing these exploded the sense for citizenry in the face of the nation.

Serbs have been witnessing state actors working with the media, the military, NGOs, corporations, and other institutions for years to project strategic narratives nationally and internationally and felt they as a nation, have lost the say in their own history. This sense remains with the contemporary circumstance of being defined by the Western Europe state actors who yet again do not include the stories of the citizens involved in the process of reclaiming their voice – the protest '96/'97.



“The political function of the story-teller is teaching to accept things as they are. From this acceptance, which we can also call good faith, the faculty of judgment springs” (Arendt, 1972). Portelli (2009) makes my journey even harder: You can’t put people in books – you encounter and listen to them and then books get produced. I am constraining myself from judgements and I worry about their appearances, especially in relation to the Western Europe that did not offer adequate support to the protest and even more so, I am trying to give an opportunity to protesters to lead on building the nation through this kind of practice – no judgements, but rather self assessments.

Visualising data

In 1989, after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the archives – the depots in which the memory of a society, of a nation is stored – were opened. “A historical activity got underway that previously could only have been carried on abroad, in the West”. (Schlogel, 2008) Interestingly, it is still the case in Serbia, at least for this research that the information is inaccessible and the protest collection is better to be compiled in the Western Europe. Not only because then Serbia’s leaders attempted to cover up the existence of resistance by forbidding its records, but current Serbia’s leaders are more concerned with the party politics and European Union membership prospects than the issues and preservations of the past. Here, in the Western Europe, emerged a space in which the normalisation of Serbia’s historical memory could take place and restoration could begin (p.5), however basic and partial.

My theses is an act of building a digital collection that is also an act of building a community around the collection. I have already achieved this in part, with *Balkanising Taxonomy* where I gathered researchers around the Balkan archive donated by Jane Page in 2007 to Constance Howard Research and Resource Centre for Textiles at Goldsmiths University. This project served as pilot for methodology and pointed to the direction I am now taking with my theses project: building and analysing of Belgrade’s protest archive. I am hoping that this work could begin the possibility of an alternative model of cultural memory altogether and devise research protocols that will sustain the discipline of Balkan studies.

Archive here is understood to cover a range of objects, from a personal badge collection about the protest to a photographic album, from a repository of a writer’s papers in a library to an artist’s installation of objects. Regardless of its content, the archive will work to contain, organize, represent, render intelligible and produce narrative of the protest. I am trying to put foundations to an alternative platform of this repository. The archive has been revered from afar and aestheticized for so long, but not understood as a potential object of critical practice which is how I am trying to introduce it in my research.



I am doing this research as memory fades - memory fed by personal experience - direct memory, both mine and protesters'. I attempt to capture it before it vanishes with me and other individual men and women or is replaced by new, more pressing memory. The ones who were born later can never have the experiences that others have had, can never catch up with them. To think oneself into the horizon of experience of another generation is a question of education, tact, sensitivity. (Schlogel, 2008) I am trying to use all of these traits and create something for the living by embracing the responsibility for the dead, but do it in a manner that will not develop a remembrance so concerned with the past that it forgets the present. "Devotion to the dead that is not borne by respect for the living is somehow unconvincing." (Schlogel, 2008) Sometimes it is easier to exist in the past, which is transparent and self-contained, than in the obscure present. An obsession with history could be so that one can avoid the present.

Instead of focussing on the archive as the repository of truth, I intend to 'perform' archive of the culture of protest as a result of a way of acquiring knowledge and making art that is specific to Serbia. Archive saves and protects memory and is a record of desire for preservation. However, the rhizomatic structure of the archive defies any linearity in terms of the selection, gathering, chronologically, and systematisation of the images and their authors. "The archive does not employ the simple method of adding and including neglected or excluded images," it preserves = pre/serves them. (Milevska, 2006)

There is no single introduction to the archive (arche – true beginning), there are multiple and erratic beginnings. There is no temporal or spatial threshold to the research, even though I am trying to construct one in order to capture a breath of uprising in Belgrade. When I hit the first entry/point/record, I only find there are more accesses to it, but the sole encounter between the researchers and the sought document/image is what makes research matter. "The archive is a labyrinth with many dead ends and no short cuts". (Milevska, 2006) That search, my research itself is an unstable archive and it is rarely the new factual information that excites me so, as the evident tension in interpretations of the records when placed next to each other.

"It is through a continuous oscillation between hypothesis formulation and revision that we move towards understanding." (Coetzee & Rau, 2009) This understanding is precisely what archives can give us.

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The English language for Oriental Studies students as a bridge between Eastern and Western
cultures

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The English language for Oriental Studies students as a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures

The new age, new conditions of professional and business environment were the impetus to review the general methodology system as well as specific English teaching methods and techniques. These new conditions imply “discovery” of Russia, its aspiration to be integrated into international community, some core changes in politics, economy, culture as well as ideology and mentality. The increasing pace of multicultural communication, relations between the Russians and other nations, new goals and new ways of communication pose new problems for teachers of English as a second language. English teachers being in the center of attention of specialist have faced up the fact of teaching language as a tool in their professional sphere.

It is obvious that the most hopeful approach to solution of the problem stated is to teach language only within the context of culture and mentality of the nations who speak it. This approach together with competence and context approaches is widely used by English teachers of National Research Tomsk Polytechnic University (NR TPU) while working with Oriental Studies students. The unique feature of this specialty is its specific character that means not being linguistic and not engineering at the same time. The graduates are supposed to be both specialist in the region under study (Pacific Rim) and translators. Moreover their majors are English, Japanese, Korean and Chinese that implies integration of Western and Oriental culture at the lessons of English. The task of the teacher is to form foreign language communicative competence of a student to use it for specific purposes in his business environment. This competence is regarded as a core one in conditions of maintaining close economic relations with the Pacific Rim that will in its turn foster the entering of Russian goods, technologies and services on the Asian market.

While considering the importance of the project on English language for Oriental Studies students curriculum it is necessary to take into account geopolitical situation of Siberian region in particular where the most important spheres have always been external economic relations with the Pacific Rim. The specialist training who are able to work in this direction provides the increasing importance of NR TPU as one of the leading Tomsk higher educational establishments as well as integration of the University into international educational environment.

Thus, English as the second language is an essential subject in curriculum that is designed for Oriental Studies students in National Research Tomsk Polytechnic University. 3000 academic hours are allocated to acquire this course. That is why the English language acquisition can serve as a substantial basis for intensifying necessary background knowledge on Oriental culture as well as being a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures. The task of the English language teacher is to provide authentic material, to compile the tasks that are relevant and of particular cultural interest to Oriental studies students.

Moreover, English language acquisition as a means of cross-cultural and professional communication has become the aim of English language teaching at NR TPU. This aim meets the requirements and corresponds with the international quality standards of higher education. One of the main components of the unique concept of English language teaching at NR TPU is a review of objects and means of English language acquisition level monitoring in accordance with international standards as well as certification of language competence level of NR TPU students. The new certification system is 5-level system of the leading certifying international committee that is Cambridge ESOL, UCLES – University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate).

Following international examination system allowed to change aims, content, strategies and methods of English language teaching at TPU that in its turn resulted in qualitative changes of requirements to the types and forms of testing system. This testing system allows to find out the level of students' competences formation. The model of language teaching of students which has international exams in its basis can be regarded as external linguistic monitoring and it of no doubt increases the education quality and demand in specialists not only at Russian but also at international level.

Being within the framework of new system requires new means and methods of teaching. English language teaching staff of NR TPU work out new principles of teaching, devise new sets of teaching materials that are based on new technologies and new international trends of world vision as well as contemporary topics are taken into consideration. "Modern technologies" is a comprehensive term that embraces a variety of tools. The keynote today is using of multimedia materials that can be not only teaching but also strong motivation basis for English language acquisition by contemporary students. Therefore materials aimed at using in electronic version are being currently devised. These materials are designed not only at full-time students but also distance learning students that helps to solve the problem of English language acquisition at every corner of Russia.

Besides, there is a specific system of requirements to the English language level of Region Studies graduates of NR TPU where goals, intermediary and final results of specialists' multilevel language training are stated. The goal of a program is to form profession-oriented communicative competence in the sphere of the English language as well as highly qualified specialists training who have the second qualification as translators.

The system of requirements suggested furthers successful adaptation of graduates in the labour market not only of the Russian Federation but also overseas. The system of requirements correlates with levels of the English language acquisition according to European Council statements. The given system is based on the principles of variation, continuation as well as multilevel approach that allows to partially eliminate the gap between secondary and higher education in Russia. Variation is provided due to teacher's possibilities to use a wide range of sources to collect the material for the lessons.

In NR TPU curriculum the general requirements to the students' English level acquisition are stated. These requirements are based on NR TPU Educational standards as well as minimum of the State Educational standard. Main competences formation are based on meeting the main requirements on "The English Language" discipline as an element of the humanities module and the social and economic module, together with the professional disciplines module which represents the first stage of students' training in the language of the region under study (Japan, China, Korea). The whole system of the English language training for Region Studies students consists of three modules.

The first and second year students are engaged in the first module of academic program. The teaching of language during the first and the second years is the first stage of language acquisition and is characterized by comprehensive language training. The goal of the program is to master the pronunciation and the English language in all aspects of speech production and comprehension in everyday and cultural spheres. At this stage it is of high importance to integrate content-based tasks that not only cover a wide range of cultural issues on Japan, China and Korea but also instigate motivation to be tolerant and understanding to people from completely different cultures. One of the tasks that can be proposed to the students is to compile a set of questions concerning traditions, standpoints of Japanese, Chinese and Korean students and interview them

using either Internet or even questioning of international students who study in Tomsk. Then the results must be processed and presented at the lessons while students in charge comments on cultural differences between the nations.

The second module is devoted to business issues across western and oriental cultures. The given module is intended for third year students of Region studies specialty and its goal is to further mastering of all aspects of speech production and comprehension namely in the sphere of business communication as well as the formation basis of the written translation and consecutive interpretation skills. As an example the task to carry out business project taking into consideration oriental pattern of conducting business can be provided. The students collect the information on rules of conducting business, think of a project that could be interesting to them and cooperate with their counterparts through Internet. One of the good projects is establishment of crowdsourcing fund in the Internet.

The senior Region Studies students (fourth and fifth years of studying) are part of content-based module that focuses on the sphere of international relations, history and cultural issues of countries under study. Professional skills, etiquette knowledge as well as cultural, social and political situation in the Pacific Rim are covered in the program.

All three modules of the program are finished with the state interdisciplinary final exam on “The English language”. Its goal is objective evaluation of the level of theoretical and practical English language training of graduates for independent professional activity in a given field (theoretical and practical acquisition of the foreign language as well as foreign culture an international communication). The final exam is evaluated according to the general qualification requirements stipulated by National educational Standard, directive 350300, that is “Region Studies of the Pacific Rim”. The set of materials for the state exam include content-based texts covering business, cultural, political spheres as well as history of Oriental countries. Thereby this gives an opportunity for students to determine their aims and tasks during the first years of studying within the framework of State Exam requirements.

It is necessary to underscore that the specific character of Region Study specialty at NR TPU is expressed by introducing the element of ESP as early as the first year of studying in comparison with the other specialties in NR TPU where ESP is taught during fourth, fifth and even sixth years of studying. Therefore it is impossible to use common teaching materials which is the basic element in teaching students of both linguistic and non-linguistic departments. It is noteworthy that there are not enough teaching materials such as electronic books and traditional course that meet the requirements of the subject. This is due to the fact that Region Studies specialty is relatively new although teachers all over Russian tries to solve this problem. Moreover higher importance is attached to formation of tolerance of Russian students to different cultures. When analyzing existing teaching materials it is quite evident that most of them are not professionally oriented for the specialty and they contain not much information about countries under study whereas the materials described are oriented toward General English vs content-based academic programs in higher educational establishments.

Due to this fact it is notable that the profession-oriented approach to the English language prioritizes education in the form of early professionalization, because foreign language teaching during the first years of the University program is followed by the study of professional subjects and the content of foreign language teaching enriches the future specialists with not only background but also professional knowledge.

As a result there is a necessity to devise material that is profession oriented, culture oriented as well as covers wide range of language aspects. Following several criteria is required while devising the material. These criteria are:

- the material shall correspond with contemporary educational standards;
- the material shall meet the requirements of the national educational standards;
- the materials shall meet the needs of students as well as correspond with goals and tasks of the “English language” discipline;
- the material shall comply with at least B2 level according to European Council scale.

The task of material compilers was facilitated by the relatively high language level of Region Studies students. Therefore there is no need for teacher to spend time on explaining some basic language concepts and notions. It becomes possible to introduce culture studies at the very first stage of the program (first module). So, authentic, up-to-date materials need to be selected. Super Highway System together with electronic encyclopedias are main source of contemporary teaching materials nowadays. The work program of the “The language of the region under study” provides the guidelines on materials selection. The topics correlate with the topics of “General English” discipline which is taught in all specialties of NR TPU.

It was decided to to devise a course book that is the mainstay of the study process at the same time using some special materials from books that have already been developed. The books were developed on the following pattern: the set of exercises for vocabulary mastery was developed on the topics selected, the vocabulary is used in the texts, the exercise involving translation of sentences including the words under study are attached, a glossary and test covering lexical and cultural knowledge elements related to the topic under study. Within the framework of the stated task seven course books and two electronic course books were developed (See Table 1.). Here an overview of the materials developed is presented:

1. **Introducing Asian Countries: A cultural Reader** by L. Agafonova, I. Sidorenko includes materials concerning cultural studies of Asia that contribute to the formation of ideas about cultural diversity of countries in the region and it also contributes to the development of multicultural awareness of the students as well as tolerance and right behavior with representatives of other nations. The book is designed for students of Humanities Departments and Institutes who study Region Studies of the Pacific Rim. It can also be used for a wider audience of English language learners during courses or for self-study.
2. **Cultural Aspects of Pacific Rim Studies** by V.Kropotova, J. Falkovich is designed for students in Humanities Departments and Institutes who study Pacific Rim. The aim is to teach skills during the first module of the English language program that allow students to use English in the professional communication sphere. This compilation consists of 11 units containing texts that cover cultural issues of Japan, china, Korea as well as a set of exercises related to them. Each unit has a glossary. At the end of the book there is a final test concerning all units of the compilation.
3. **The Culture of Japan, China and Korea** by V.Kropotova, J. Falkovich is developed for students of the 2nd year of studying. The aim of the book to teach skills of research reading, to expand the range of vocabulary and familiarize students with FCE format as well as extend their cultural knowledge.
4. **International Organizations and Their Role in the Modern World** by V.Verkhoturova, A. Nikitenko is aimed at mastering skills that allow students to use English in their professional communication sphere. The book contains authentic material on a thematic module called “International organizations and their role in contemporary world” Sets of exercise that are developed according to modern tendencies in the theory

- and practice of second language teaching are directed at mastery of all skills as well as ensuring vocabulary on the topic.
5. **Religion** by A.Nikitenko, N. Mishenko is developed for 3rd year students. It consists of four units logically connected with each other. The first unit is devoted to the general overview of main religions, the second unit underscores the 5 world religions, the third focuses on Pacific Rim religions and the fourth dwells on religious cults and sects. The glossary is attached to the book. The material of the book was discussed together with Japanese and Chinese students through Internet.
 6. **The Political System of Japan, China and Korea** by O. Ovchinnikova is a practical book that is designed for fourth and fifth year students of Region Studies. The aim is to teach translating skills and develop the cultural awareness on Oriental countries as well as enrich the student's vocabulary and provide extensive material for discussions and carrying out online projects. This book can also be used for extracurricular reading and for students' self-study. It contains texts on major topics, sets of exercises as well as a final test to the topic and a glossary.
 7. **Foreign Policy** by O.Ovchinnikova, A. Ibrasheva is a course book designed in their 4th and 5th year of studying Region Studies of the Pacific Rim. The course book can be used in lessons for extracurricular reading as well as for self-study. Its aim is to master reading and translating skills for texts dealing with the key topics as well as enriching students vocabulary.
 8. **Korea. Art and Culture** by N.Mishenko is an electronic course book about cultural aspect and art of Korea is developed for 3rd year students but can be of high interest to all students and teachers because it is an example of good piece of material that is really content based as well as contain comprehensive range of language material. The e-book contains seven units. They are Celadon, Painting, Calligraphy, Sculpture, Useful arts, Architecture, National clothes. Each unit provides students with full information on the topic and is accompanied by bright photos and pictures that give a more comprehensive idea about topic under study. There are exercise in each unit that check comprehension both of content and language. The combination of various types of exercises are used: Drag and Drop tasks, Gap filling, Matching, True-False statements. The glossary is also attached to the e-book. The software allows students to switch to any unit of the book quite easily without going through each page. The instantaneous presentation of the results of completed tasks facilitates the work of teachers as well as students to use the materials for self-study. The wide range of information presented allows students to use the course book to prepare discussions, online projects, reports and presentations on the topic together with photos that give an idea of everyday life of the nation. The e-book maintains interdisciplinary connections as there is correlation with topics of major subjects such as cultural studies, history, regional studies.
 9. **Japan** by A.Ibrasheva is e-book about culture and art of Japan that covers wide range of issues concerning rich culture of Japan. The book is aimed at mastering of reading skills as well as expanding knowledge of social and cultural life in the mysterious Japanese society as Western nations perceive it. The electronic course book contains bright illustrations that depict the artistic forms vividly.

While summing up it is noteworthy that all the course books developed are not only the mainstay of the studying process but also are an integral part and additional source of information about Asian countries. Moreover this material help teacher to build bridge across Oriental and Western cultures with the help of the English language.

Table 1

Printed books	Name	Number of Pages	Authors
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	The Political system of Japan, China and Korea.	82	O. Ovchinnikova
	International Organizations and their Role in the Modern World.	82	V. Verkhoturova, A. Nikitenko.
	Cultural aspects of the Pacific Rim	116	V.Kropotova, J.Falkovich
	Foreign Policy (China, Japan).	141	O. Ovchinnikova, A. Ibrasheva
	Introducing Asian Countries: A Cultural Reader	96	L. Agafonova, I.Sidorenko
	The Culture of Japan, China and Korea	194	V.Kropotova, J.Falkovich
	Religion		N. Mishenko, A. Nikitenko.
Electronic books	Japan Korea. Art and Culture		A. Ibrasheva N. Mishenko

As a conclusion it must be underscored that teachers working with students of Region Studies at NR TPU have accumulated profound work experience while developing material to facilitate the process of English training as well as to build bridges across East and West. The following materials have been devised:

- a unified work program on English including General English, Business English and ESP;
- a system of requirements for the level of the English language for graduates;
- a basis for final examinations and state exams while taking into consideration contemporary competence and context approaches;
- printed books for students of 1-5 years of studying;
- electronic course books;
- a video course based on BBC materials.

Moreover there is an ample opportunity to integrate computer technologies into the lesson that allows to make the lesson not only more interesting and fruitful in terms of language but also more profession oriented by implementing interactive communication with representatives of the countries under study as well as working out Internet on-line projects based on authentic material. The work with computer implies using world wide web along with electronic course books devised by teachers especially for Oriental Studies students. During such lessons students apply and broaden the language knowledge and get an extensive range of cultural data.

The range of Internet projects can be comprehensive. There are two main types: www-project and e-mail projects. The main idea of www-project is to find the information in the Internet that is necessary for doing some task and to present the results of the search. The topic of the project can be either identical to the topic under current study or it can be interesting and urgent for students within the general framework of English learning process.

Suggested topics are as follows:

- studying the information about the region or city, revealing the problems, advantages and disadvantages of the city, comparing with situations in the cities in the native countries, suggesting ways to tackle the problems;
- making itinerary how to travel by train, coach or car either within the country under study or to the country under study;

- search of information about the foreign firms, products, way of advertising the products in these firms, prospects of studying and work abroad (Japan, China, Korea)
- search of potential fellow-students in the countries under study

To work on projects the teacher must not only provide the topic and access to the Internet but also be ready to carry out the project. It is necessary to form the groups, fix the time frames, think of the materials to be used except Internet, find Internet addresses and provide students with them, choose the most appropriate form of results presentation.

Another type of Internet projects is E-mail projects that are aimed at mastering written communication skills. Although there are two types of written communication in the Internet that is simultaneous (chat) and asynchronous (e-mail, forum, blog). At NR TPU the asynchronous form is used to teach Oriental Studies students. It is explained by the possibilities this form of communication gives. It allows to work with the text more thoroughly than while having instant communication. E-mail communication can be very effective while taking form of e-mail projects. The project is a success if planned carefully, the topic is of current interest and corresponds with students' level of English.

As a rule e-mail projects are carried out when several groups from different countries take part. The language of communication is second for all the parties involved in the project. The students of Tomsk Polytechnic University had experience of communicating with students from China and Korea where the topic of communication was the attitude towards politics of young people in their countries. Planning of the project is of vital importance. First it's necessary to find partners, discuss the topic with them, arrange the time limits of the project, the frequency of letters exchange, and the outcome of the project, e.g. the presentation with the results of survey.

The teachers take advantage of e-mail project in terms of learning language as it gives a possibility to communicate with real partners. It is important for students that the texts are created not to demonstrate their knowledge for the teachers and get the good mark but to know that the texts are designed for their counterparts to provide them with interesting and important information or to discuss topics of current interest. Thus the teachers witness more responsible attitude of students to the text produced, the language competence is mastered as well as motivation is enhanced. One of the resource available for making Internet projects is International Education and Resource Network.

To sum up, it is worth mentioning that now the work on developing translation and consecutive interpretation courses is under way. Moreover new online projects and interactive activities are the center of teachers attention along with the work on adapting and rewriting the teaching materials that already exist.

The significance of NR TPU results in this sphere was recognized at the federal level when the collective of teachers won the award of Russian Scientific fund of Humanities in year 2007 to hold the regional seminar devoted to English language, Oriental languages (Japanese, Korean, Chinese) as well as Oriental culture. Moreover, some of materials have been recommended to use at Universities of the Russian Federation by the Ministry of Education.

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*Play and Kill- Film Teenage Violence in Western and Eastern
Contemporary Societies: Van Sant's Elephant and Fukasaku's
Battle Royale*

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**Play and Kill - Film Teenage Violence in Western and Eastern Contemporary Societies:
Van Sant's *Elephant* and Fukasaku's *Battle Royale***

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“Which is better- to have laws and agree, or to hunt and kill?”

William Golding, *Lord of the Flies*

“The human body is the best picture of the human soul.”

Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*

Violence as a catalyst for narration and identification or as a stylistic and aesthetic spectacle is always an interesting topic for debating and investigation beyond the controversial influence of the media in real-life events, especially when it's too challenging, as it depicts teenagers played by real teen actors committing the most horrific acts. The scope of this work is to debate how teen violence is represented in both films that are not concerned in providing answers but asking questions and demanding a pluralistic reading beyond their entertaining function. The spectacle of explicit gore and brutality in *Battle Royale* contrasts with the minimalist approach of violence in *Elephant*, but despite the totally different stylistic approach, the mutilated bodies resulting from the eruption of irrational violence is what can be terribly disturbing for the viewer and often a complicated issue to frame, as Coulthard points out:

As the very terms *gratuitous* and *excessive* indicate, violence in film is somehow essentially questionable or suspect; framed by ethical and social responsibilities and issues, the presence of graphic violence is thus frequently thrown into a discourse of justification or condemnation based on its perceived relation to actual violence, audience identification, and response or character, narration and style (Coulthard 2007: 157)

Having this in mind my paper focus on moving images as something that depict more than gratuitous violence to question the power of the image in our society and the need to reflect

deeply on its substance. The movement of the damaged and dying bodies through space relates closely to the camera mobility and it's the matter concerning image that we must concentrate on and not looking for social and psychological meanings just to find a scapegoat for a society that suffers from an overdose of luxury and anxiety and is more and more lost in a "thin sea of representations that represent other representations whose active content has been exploited until they are empty images without meaning." (Heim 2000: 29)

Battle Royale is based on Takami Koushun's 1999 novel of the same name. When it was released in the West critics and film journalists were eager to find pop culture references to analyze its concept such as the international reality TV show *Survivor*, William Golding's *The Lord of the Flies* and Kubrick's *The Clockwork Orange*. Even if the plot can be pitched in one sentence¹, the film works on different levels, despite the shocking action, the gore scenes and the entertainment it encompasses. And it became a hit both inside and outside Japan, attracting many teenagers eager to watch the film that was R15 rated in Japan and alleged by Japanese parliamentarians to be "very harmful to the youth" (Mes and sharp 2001: 1) and saw its commercial release forbidden in the USA².

If on the surface *Battle Royale* is an entertainment action film full of gruesome and bloody scenes underlined by black humor³ so appealing to the teenage audiences, on a deeper level it shows a good sense of social absurdity. The rules of the game are simple as the teacher explains on the video: it lasts for three days; only one survivor is allowed; all the players are fitted with a high-tech collar that tracks their position and there are zones in the island where they can't remain after they are informed these are forbidden. They are giving food and water supplies, weapons and other survival kits. The punishment for not obeying the rules is death: their collar will be detonated. The irony of it all is that even if they obey all the rules, they will be killed too, except one. So death becomes the intrinsic value for entertainment. The game starts and the audiences watch the game/ film: not yet being familiar with these violent teenagers, they get ready for fun and distraction. The overlapping of video game and film medium is intentionally confusing. Teenagers both as the product of consumerism and as the potential consumer of this kind of entertainment is the underlying motif of the film but its goal is not to parody game shows or video games but exposing the various layers of possible readings concerning youth and violence without the pretentious idea of presenting solutions for a problem. However this question

¹ A class of junior high-school students is taken to a deserted island to take part in a game where they must kill one another until only one survivor remains.

² Apparently because of the Columbine massacre.

³ For instance, the scene when a severed head with a hand grenade stuffed into his shocked mouth flying through the air or when a student with an axe buried deep in the centre of his head assures that he is absolutely fine.

became controversial and a political issue was raised when politicians wanted to ban the film arguing that it could get teenagers into copycat incidents. Fukasaku's answer to this argument was a subtle and emphatic turning-away from this contemporary violence: in the film the winner is excitably interviewed by TV news crews, but everything that happens in the island is far from the cameras. The students in the film aren't violent because they are used to watching violence on the screen. That's the false premise.

Being the present reality stuffed with virtual worlds, it's important to reflect upon the role of the subject in-between. The game the students are playing is being watched by the spectator outside the film. So, the artificial world is hands-in-hands with the reality of the viewer, who no longer is completely away from the screened fictional world, but, even if he can't control it, he's also somehow being implicated. The issue here is not to discuss the influence of fictional and virtual worlds in our present attitudes and behaviors, but nonetheless we must accept that the way we are looking at our reality is filtrated through fiction. Behind all the screened events, a reality emerges. That's why it is so important to understand the several layers of production of an illusory reality. The teacher Kitano says at one point: "Life is a game", something we can take as an allegory of the media for the making of present and future human relations. The game, being sponsored by a commercial enterprise, becomes the metaphor of the society where the individual and morals are being tested: "this dystopic youth picture is not set in a subcultural ward, quarantined from reality. It's an allegory of society eating its young and a black comedy about forcing delinquent teenagers to kill each other as a media event." (Davis 2006: 202)

The video game as social phenomenon and as a tool redefines the narrative world in images in terms of physical and psychological involvement of the player and the viewer, considering identification and alienation. As spectators of a game within a film we can't immerse in the game the teens are playing, we aren't allowed to control anything but we can experience through perception the emotional struggles of the characters and feel an ambiguous doubleness. Lacking the interactivity of computer based-media, the film structure, however, blurs the distinction of the two different fictional spaces and consequently of perception, where shocking images are also a source of pleasure. As the game progresses, the body count and the number of the remaining players are displayed on the screen and the spectator experiences a continuous and complementary hybrid perception. This doesn't mean that the boundaries between of the two mediums is erased but creates a dubious feeling of engagement from the part of the viewer that makes up his/ her lack of bodily movement. This engagement is perceptual and emotional.

Both the theme and the tone of the film are given by an introductory text in the opening scenes: set in an alternate near future, the Japanese government passed the Millennium Education Act (Battle Royale) to reassert its authority and to stop youth apathy, violence and widespread school boycott. Images of the previous Battle Royale game finale are displayed and the camera focuses upon a photograph of a Class of Zentsuji Middle School: students and teacher Kitano. The resentful teacher as the only present adult who talks to the teenagers mostly through video may well be considered as a representation of the adult world, responsible for the society it has shaped but also fearful of the uncontrollable behaviors it generated. Surrounded by soldiers, who exist to assure that order and safety rule, he is no longer the victim of a student's stabbing but the representation of the political power that once had to carry out a tremendous violence "to establish the basis for its Right" (Neyrat 2006: 99) but can't control it. So, there is no exit for this political aporia, except termination. The only survivor of the game, the one who can kill and escape killing, will succeed in getting away from the deserted island and return to society to become one of its valuable members. Being the fittest implies to accept the rules imposed on him/her such as competition, individualism and survival instinct. This imposed Darwinism leaves a void for a stronger questioning and reflection upon our contemporary societies, mainly the interstices of violence, success and youth.

Following Peter Fitting theories, we may accept that the film, set in a dark future in the context of a deep economical and social crisis is a *critical dystopia*⁴ since: "the description of the dystopian society contains an implicit warning that this may be where we are heading, as well as an account of those elements in our present that have produced this future." (Fitting 2003: 156) The brutal premise of the film is inevitably followed by a brutal film concerning both the graphic violence and its context: the solutions are far worse than the problem. An implicit critique of a conservative politics wrapped in a wild capitalism is at stake. The burst of the bubble economy brought contemporary societies to an economic downturn and to a level of uncontrollable anxiety where adults, who are supposed to be the role models for a more equalitarian and free society became, instead, a bizarre example for self-determination and freedom. In the film there is a boy who constantly credits his father for something he's good at and another says he's able to do Molotov cocktails because his uncle taught him how to do it. Nevertheless this adult motivation seems to lead to a dead end and not a better future. An antagonistic dialects runs throughout the

⁴ The author distinguishes between *critical dystopia* and other dystopias: while generally speaking, a dystopian setting only serves to provide a justification for the film's events, a *critical dystopia*: "implies an explanation of how the dystopian situation came about as much as what should be done about it" (Fitting: 2003: 156)

film⁵, because adults and teenagers are in opposite poles as Fukasaku explains: “I put this film in this context of children versus adult.” (Mes and Sharp 2001: 4) These violent teenagers became a political problem to be eradicated from the society because it can't deal with their demands of subjectivizing the events they undergo as individuals and not as products of a massive cultural and social determinism. It's important to recall that the captive classes are randomly chosen; even the most innocent and pacifist teenager can become an executioner. The political speech is perceived as a lie and helpless to restore social order.

The students with their petty immature rivalries, emotional vulnerabilities and unshakeable romanticism behave as they should for their own age, making the film an accurate portrayal of youthful concerns and worldviews. The fact that most actors are real teenagers and not young adults playing teenagers what makes the carnage more disturbing for the adult spectators. Besides, girls and boys are equally violent and capable of the most possible atrocities, something that destabilizes mass culturally derived values and conventions that characterize our society, since in most mainstream action films girls and women are given the roles of victims. However, when girls and women step out of their roles, the violent narrative and images can have a “disruptive and traumatic impact” (Neroni 2005: 59) in the social order. Of course, popular culture has accepted female violent roles, but most films address violence as something instrumental, rational and fully justified which invites a degree of audience's empathy and identification. Violence becomes a redemptive act. In *Battle Royale* the protagonists of the game can't even understand the apparently purgative goal of it. The emphasis on graphic bodily injury displayed in the film is something structural and not ideologically empty even if the violent acts seem gratuitous, irrational and excessive. For instance, the scene in which a group of girls are chatty and giggly and, all of sudden, they mow one another down with paranoia and fear. These pointless and illogical reactions may suggest that violence is “employed as a lazy signifier” (Slocum 2001: 2) but as the narrative evolves we learn something about these teenagers' backgrounds (through the flashbacks) who become much more than faceless identities to rise as personalities whether they are sadist, vulnerable, sensitive, selfish or ruthless, engaging the viewer into something deeper than bloodbath images, as Peter Bradshaw points out: “(...) as the film progresses, the violence and suspense take second place to the intensity of the adolescent crushes and unspoken yearnings, which emerge, purified, under these horrific laboratory conditions.” (Bradshaw 2001:1)⁶ The violence happens outside an ethical framework of justice

⁵ The relationship between Kitano and his daughter Shiori is the most striking of this antagonism as she hates him and he tells her we must accept the consequences of hating someone.

and it's just the result of extreme political measures of prevention. As the students are randomly chosen there is no sense in trying to discuss teenage delinquency and violence as a problem that is urgent to discuss and solve. Apparently is rather a joke. That's why the director chose to extrapolate it and focus on the things behind.

If there is no sign of an imminent US release for *Battle Royale*, Van Sant's *Elephant*, vaguely inspired by the Columbine massacres, has also cause a great deal of controversy for the exposure of teen violence. The film is a record of a day at an anonymous high school on the day of a massacre but it offers no explanation for the tragedy or insights into the psyches of the killers. The film is not, even if there are pockets of resistance⁷, about the Columbine tragedy, as Harris Savides, the film's cinematographer, explains:

We weren't setting out to make a movie about the Columbine killings, so we were careful about not to. There was to be no explanation and no resolution. We weren't going to slap anybody's hand or preach. The audience was going to take what they wanted from this film and interpret it the way they felt. In the beginning we were given all the Columbine material and Michael's Moore *Bowling for Columbine* (2002) as research, which we looked at to understand how to structure our scenes and find out accurately what was done in Columbine, so we would have an understanding of what went on. (Savides 2004: 180)

According to McRoy, Van Sant's film is "a meditation on the limits of 'seeing' and the impossibility of 'knowing.'" (McRoy 2005: 52) The distant camera and the long takes avoid a moral message and open a plurality of readings and perspectives to the spectator. The formalist aesthetics of the film, given by a poetic manipulation of the camera goes hands-in-hands with a realistic style inspired by documentary filmmakers such as Frederick Wiseman⁸ and this apparent incongruity is the basis for the illusion of objectivity that the film intends rather than

⁷ Some critics understood the film as pointless and empty because it avoids a social and moral message: "To make a film about something like the student shootings incident and provide no insight or enlightenment would seem to be pointless at best and irresponsible at worst, and that it was what Gus Van Sant has done in 'Elephant.'" (MacCarthy 2003: 1) The critic didn't take into consideration that the violence in the film is not glamorized or purposeful and the social context can't explain anything really, since these are high middle class teenagers who were integrated in society.

⁸ "It's not that I don't want you involved in the characters, but I want you involved by *watching* them, an observation, the way documentarian Frederick Wiseman sits back and lets things occur." (Peary 2003: 1)

questioning violence as controversial topic displayed by the media and its hypothetical influence on teenagers. The spectator observes the students wandering in the endless and labyrinthian corridors and some of them rise above anonymity, as the camera follows them for a long time in their daily routines and we hear about their anxieties and expectations but in the end the knowledge we get of this characters is almost none. The spectators are allowed to observe what the characters observe but they are never given the true chance of figuring out the world as they perceive it. The director was looking for an authenticity in the film and that's why the cast is made of non-professional teen actors and there is a lot of improvisation in their dialogues so their conversations don't seem too artificial and imposed by a screenplay written by an adult who invests adolescents with an emotional maturity beyond their age.

The upsetting realism with which the film defines its events is blurred with techniques such as the non-linear narrative, the still shots, the slow motion, the circular pans, the repetition of the same scenes with a different angle and perspective and the surrealistic use of sound in some scenes (for instance the sound of animalistic howling and screeching during and after the shootings) create layers of meanings that often end in a sense of absurdity that resists easy interpretation. Also the natural lighting used in the beginning of the film to establish some documentary verisimilitude gives way to a very controlled system of illumination to inflict a certain *feeling* to the film, as Harris Savides explains: "Rather than seeing the world changing I thought it would be great if we walked through the door and it stayed bright and then we made really slowly which was more integral to the film. It seemed to work better with the tone and the way things were moving." (Ballinger 2004: 182-183)

Elias, the photographer in the film, takes pictures of his colleagues and this obsession with capturing images may well express the power images have as a representation and manipulation of reality. Elias asks a couple to smile while they're posing for the camera. These photos are not realistic but manipulated and controlled by the photographer because he wants them to convey what he wants them to express. In this sense, MacRoy argues that *Elephant* is a film about spectacle:

It is a work concerned with the power of the filmed (or photographed) and the risks one takes when one either imposes dogmatic systems of signification upon visual signs, or mechanically embraces hyper-mediated images that have been virtually decontextualised through their repetition and incorporation into popular culture. (McRoy 2005: 53).

When the two killers watch a Nazi-documentary on TV, the spectator may try to find a motif for the insane acts of the boys but that would be a reductionist and distorted perception of the eruption of violence. After all, the boys are very ignorant of the cultural and historical background that is being shown on the documentary they are watching. One of them even asks: "That's Hitler, right?" And when Eric is playing the violent video game he shows "no aggression or pleasure" (Higgin 2006: 73), so it would be very naïve of the spectator to consider it one of the causes for the massacre. Before the killings start, Alex says to Eric "Most importantly, have fun." The comprehensibility of such acts remains obscure, in spite of the apparent information given to the audience to make them understand the reasons for the massacre: the violent video game Eric plays on the computer, the gun ordering through the Internet, the spitball thrown at Alex in the classroom and the Nazi-documentary.

The fact that our society is living an era of saturated images raises implies the manipulation of our reality. By not giving answers to the audiences, the director demands a more intelligent perspective of the viewer: images are malleable and not objective, so if meanings are to be conveyed, they are always controlled and subjective. It is up to the viewer to keep a distance from the images he watches and find meanings on his own. Taking meanings for granted is part of the problem, not of the solution. Van Sant does not concentrate in dramatizing characters or events, so "the film is unclear about whose story is this", as Dancyger and Rush state and justify: "This unwillingness to provide a definite answer is heightened by an act structure that is not character-based, but rather abstractly thematic." (Dancyger and Rush 2007: 55) It's important not to concentrate on the motivations of the two boys for their act. After all, when the spectator meets them, almost half of the film action has already happened. The narrative structure is anchored in temporality and not in motivations. The cinematic devices used by the director reinforce this idea: for instance, the shots of the clouds in the sky are shown periodically, either in time lapses or in time delay. The inexorability of time for the inevitability of the tragedy reinforces the subjectivity of time and reality. The fact that some sequences are repeated from a different perspective also contributes to this purpose. The scene when John meets the killers just before the tragedy is one of the most striking examples. The viewer watches a reprise of the meeting from three different points of view: Alex and Eric's, John's and Brittany, Jordan and Nicole's. The loop and the elliptical structure are also cinematic devices for emptying the frames of any special signification as they are different perceptions of the same event and the nonchronological order of the events emphasizes the subjectivity of time. Perception and memory coexist and it's hardly possible to distinguish the true event from its recollection, or the real event from fiction. In this way, we

may argue that the film follows Derrida's theories on time and temporality which state that linearity and punctuality "emerge only in on the basis of the workings of a temporality of delay, curvature, and an elliptical movement back and forth between intending act and intended content." (Hodge 2007: 35) The confusion between fiction and reality is intentionally brought up by the director during the killing spree at the cafeteria when we see Alex sitting in a chair and drinking from a cup of coffee that was on the table. This scene mimics the footage captured by the surveillance camera during the real Columbine massacre. The camera shifts from looking to moving through space implying that reality is always displaced and scattered with fiction:

À la croisée du réel et du fictive, au coeur des mouvements et des entrecroisements de l'un et de l'autre, les événements (...) portent l'attention sur la dispersion de la réalité (inspire ou non d'un 'fait réel', fidèle ou non à ce qu'on en sait ou ce qu'on on retient). (Arnoldy 2009: 146)

The camera drifts from person to person and place to place implying the invisible people and things that are there but people choose to ignore. As the camera makes a circular pan in Alex's room while he's playing Beethoven on the piano it focuses a drawing of an elephant hanged on the wall. Van Sant explained that the title refers to Alan Clarke's film with the same title⁹ but also evokes the parable of the elephant as something that is present but people are only able to see the parts of it but never the whole: "'J'en ai retenu l'idée de ne pas donner d'explication à la violence. Elle surgit dans le quotidien, de façon aussi saugrenue qu'un éléphant dans un magasin de porcelaine mais qu'on ne voudrait pas voir. D'où le titre du film de Clarke, que j'ai repris pour lui rendre hommage." (Nicklaus 2003:1) The space of the school looks comfortable and peaceful and there aren't any signs of aggression¹⁰, rage or anxiety among the students that could predict the violent spree. It's just kids with their everyday problems and banal conversations regarding school, family and fashion. However, there's a scene at the cafeteria where we watch Alex and listen to a disturbing noise that contrasts violently with the surrounding environment, suggesting Alex's alienating mind. And that's something threatening about the apparent ordinariness.

The act of seeing functions as both the act of perceiving and being perceived so the materiality of the image is too important to be surpassed by the goal of finding meanings and messages beyond its own materiality, because they only serve to complicate the perception of the actual. The realm

⁹ A 1989 BBC film about violence in Northern Ireland.

¹⁰There's a scene where Alex is hazed in the classroom when someone throws a spitball at him, but we wouldn't consider it an act of violence, it's just kids' playing. Besides if we should consider the fact of Alex being a victim and as a student not well accepted by his peers as a possible reason for a revengeful action, why is Michelle, the lonely girl, the first victim of their acts?

of language, the inability to access the signified through the signifier can be seen in the scene when Alex says the meaningless words “Eeney... meeney... meiny... moe...” to Nathan and Carrie (the couple who was hidden in the cold-room) to decide which one will be killed first. There is no specific motivation behind the killings. Students interact, some with the killers, others not, some die, others escape but for no particular reason.

The visual idiom of video gaming is used in some crucial moments during the shootings as the third-person perspective gives place to first-person shooter perspective. The same happens when Eric is playing the video game in Alex’s room. The migration of certain videogame conventions into film narrative proves that the director is well aware of the changes regarding vision and perception of film during the last decades, influenced by the videogame as a medium as Galloway points out: “Additionally, the film uses a boxy 1:33 frame shape, rather than the wide aspect ratio often used in feature films, to reference the boxy shape of television monitors and the console game systems that rely on them.” (Galloway 2006: 60)

Teen violence can’t be seen as a matter of social conventions but as a philosophical ground for questioning our being in the world as Žižek proposes: “precisely because the universe in which we live is somehow a universe of dead conventions and artificiality, the only authentic real experience must be some extremely violent, shattering experience.” (Reul and Deichmann 2001:1)

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Values in the modern world.

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Philosophy

Values in the modern world.

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Our world is undergoing the process of changes. It is becoming smaller as the process of globalization speeds. People are not now tied to the place they were born in. They have more and more opportunities to choose where to live or work. But being able to travel freely people can face the problem of misunderstanding while communicating or doing business with the representatives of other communities. It is often the question of a different set of values they possess and acknowledge. Value is a notion which has been under consideration since the ancient times. There has hardly been any philosopher who didn't turn to the problem of values. Indeed many of them had their own concepts of values. Many believe that each country has its own set of values. The wider view distinguishes values into western and eastern ones. The questions to be discussed are the following: What are the values existing in the modern world? and What can be done to overcome the gap in communication between people possessing different values? Here we are going to discuss several ideas on the values.

The first concept of values we are going to discuss belongs to Erich Fromm, German scholar and philosopher. Erich Fromm considers that a person needs values although there can be a gap between what people conceive as values and what the real values people are ruled by though unconsciously are. Fromm says that in industrial society religious and humanistic values can follow under the category of realized or conceived values. Among the unconscious values the can be ones which are the production of the social system such as social position, consumption, entertainment etc. [1]

The existence of these sets of values, realized but ineffective on the one hand and unconscious but acting on the other hand results in a conflict inside a personality which can lead to the feeling of blame and suspiciousness. And of course the values no matter unconscious or realized they are can be structured. There are some highest values which use the values beneath them as the means of realization of the highest ones. Human feeling undergo the process of development and form the system of the so called psychological and spiritual tradition of the West. When the values were based on the afflatus they were obligatory for those who believed in the afflatus under which as it refers to the west God was understood. Religion has long played an important role in the life of people in Russia as well as in western society and in Europe. So it isn't anyhow surprising that a lot of philosophers paid attention and talked about religious values of the people.

So if to consider West there arises a question: can the hierarchy of values be based on something apart from afflatus? Erich Fromm gives three models which do not take afflatus as the basis of values. [1]

The first model is absolute relativity which announces that the values are the matter of everybody's preferences.

Another model says values are characteristic features of the society. Those who support this approach consider that the survival of the society with its own social structure and contradictions should be the highest value for all its members. From this point of view ethical norms are equal to social and social norms serve to immortalize this society. It's quite obvious that the ruling elite of the society uses all the means possible to convince that the norms on which the ruling power lies are sacred and universal depicting them either as afflatus or as belonging to a human nature.

One more idea about the values is a conception of biologically immanent values. The supporters of this view say that the feelings such as love, tenderness, solidarity are rooted in the nature of all animals. But of course not everybody can agree with this as not all the human emotions and feelings can be identified with those of animals. Moreover if to take Darwin's theory into consideration it appears that aggression and competitiveness are the main values as evolution and survival of the species are based on them.

Fromm supports the following concept based on what Albert Schweitzer called "reverence for life". [1]

Valuable can be considered everything which helps in entire development of human abilities and what supports life. Negative or bad can be regarded everything which suppresses life and paralyzes the internal activity of a human. This general principal of values is developed by all the norms of great religious systems such as Buddhism, Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Fromm states that the overcoming of one's own greed, love for the neighbor, search for the truth are the values which are common for all the humanistic philosophical and religious systems of East and West.

Thinking that values which Fromm called humanistic should be respected because they are accepted by all the highest forms of culture, can we suppose that there are norms which should motivate our private life and motivate all the social initiatives and activities? In fact a person can choose what is dominant in their life. But whatever they choose they create a character structure with only one orientation. It doesn't happen that only one set of values is established. There is a choice and everybody should decide what alternative to choose. And it is obvious that every person will choose as preferable the set of values which is closest to their own character and way of thinking. So people of different characters can become adepts of different sets of values. Even if it were possible to prove that one set of values is superior to the others, it would be unlikely to prove it to people who are inclined to support other values. But Fromm suggests that it could be possible to come to some objective norms if they are the ones which facilitate the wellness of people and lead to the maximum vitality and internal development.

Pascal also states that opinions about our values belong to the sphere of feelings but not our mind. Though in fact he puts the religious values on the highest level.[1]

Some philosophers think that it is useless to structure values into some tables as there won't be any harmony inside it as there can be a conflict between values which don't even give the direction but give the opportunity to choose the direction.

One more Russian philosopher Bakhtin M.M. states that any generally valid value becomes really important only in individual context. [3]. So the value is unique for every person. But there is no contradiction between different unique words of personal values as there are values which are valuable for the whole society in every historical epoch though again every person should accept these values through one's own prism. So every person is a kind of center of values in oneself. But as there are many people existing in the world they start entering the field of dialogue and this dialogue in its turn becomes a center of value in its turn. So we can conclude that the dialogue between people is of great importance as it becomes the carrier of values each person contributes to it. [1]

Values belonging to different nations are sometimes considered the reflection of the collective consciousness. But the difference in values isn't connected with the fundamental differences in

the structure of consciousness but mainly with the different historical development of different people.

Russian philosopher Tugarinov V.P. says that an individual can't be a member of one group, but at the same time of different groups.[4] So it seems impossible to share the values of only one group while you are belonging to some other ones at the same time. So again we come to the idea that it is quite natural to be guided by one's own values but take care that these values don't oppose the ones accepted in the groups with which the individual has to interact. And as a consequence we come to the idea of tolerance - the guide in our communication with other worlds of values.

To compare the values of two different parts of the world we should turn to what is perceived as values of some eastern countries on the example of China, South Korea and Japan. The countries were chosen for analysis because they are studied by the students of Tomsk Polytechnic University (those who specialize in area studies). All the information is taken from the Library of Congress.

In China the values for a long time were those connected with different teachings or beliefs not to say religions.

One of the most influential teachings in China was Confucianism and Confucian elite disparaged religion and religious practitioners, and the state suppressed or controlled organized religious groups. The social status of Buddhist monks and Taoist priests was low, and ordinary people did not generally look up to them as models. Then, though, more and more Chinese chose Buddhism or Taoism teachings as closest to them. Unlike Confucianism these two last ones do not talk so much about the sufferings but mostly concentrate on the harmony and finding internal serenity and balance.

Now we can speak about the state toleration of religion. Much of traditional ritual and religion survives or has been revived, especially in the countryside. [5]

Now we can mainly talk about the diffusion of religion in China. Many scholars, even if they did not hold public office, put a great deal of effort into popularizing Confucian values by lecturing on morality, publicly praising local examples of proper conduct. In this manner, over hundreds of years, the values of Confucianism were diffused across China and into scattered peasant villages and rural culture. [5].

So in fact we can see that morality has played a great role in Chinese society for centuries, morality which included respect and reverence which can be considered the values of the society as well as the attempt to find peace and harmony.

The social values of contemporary South Korea reflect the synthesis and development of diverse influences, both indigenous and foreign. Probably the most important of these is the neoConfucian doctrine of the Chinese philosopher Zhu Xi (1130-1200). The rulers of the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910) adopted it as their state ideology. [7]

Neo-Confucianism combines the social ethics of the classical Chinese philosophers Confucius (Kong Zi, 551-479 B.C.) and Mencius (Meng Zi, 372-289 B.C.) with Daoist, or Taoist, and Buddhist metaphysics. One of the doctrine's basic ideas is that the institutions and practices of the ideal human community are an expression of the immutable principles or laws that govern the movements of the cosmos. Through correct social practice, as defined by the Confucian sages and

their commentators, individuals can achieve a kind of spiritual unity with heaven. Neo-Confucianism defines formal social relations on all levels of society. Social relations are not conceived of in terms of the happiness or satisfaction of the individuals involved, but in terms of the harmonious integration of individuals into a collective whole that mirrors the harmony of the natural order. So we can see that there's a philosophy very different from the idea that "only those things are valuable, which are valuable for me as I'm the center of my world of values" Here the center of the world of values is the society and every its member should accept what is good for the group to become an equal member and not to disturb harmony.

Society was defined in terms of the Five: "between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there should be righteousness; between husband and wife there should be attention to their separate functions; between old and young there should be a proper order; and between friends there should be faithfulness." Only the last was a relationship between equals. The others were based on authority and subordination, including the first relationship, which involved not so much mutual love as the unquestioning subordination of the son to the will of his father. [7]

Although relatively minor themes in the history of Korean ethics and social thought, the concepts of equality and respect for individuals are not entirely lacking. The doctrines of Ch'ondogyo, an indigenous religion that originated in the nineteenth century and combines elements of Buddhism, Daoism, shamanism, Confucianism, and Catholicism, teach that every human "bears divinity" and that one must "treat man as god." [7] In fact this contradicts western practices very much as no one can even imagine oneself being equal to god.

Western social and political values such as democracy, individualism, the equality of the sexes and national self-determination were introduced by late nineteenth-century Korean reformers and by West European and North American missionaries. These concepts have played an increasingly prominent role in South Korean life in recent decades.

Although by no means democratic, the Confucian tradition itself contains anti-authoritarian themes. Mencius taught that the sovereign and his officials must concern themselves with the welfare of the people and that a king who misuses his power loses the right to rule--the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven. In Korean as well as Chinese history, there were many Confucian statesmen who, often at the cost of their own lives, opposed the misuse of power by those in authority. This in its turn again face us with the idea that personal interests were not among the values in South Korea and every individual should be in harmony with the values suitable for all the society rather than one'

There is the tension, for example, between self-control and solemnity on the one hand, and almost explosive volatility on the other, at the level of individual behavior; between the duty-bound austerity of Confucian family life and ritualism, and the ecstasy and abandon of shamanistic rites; between the conservatism of agricultural villages and the looser social organization of fishing communities; between the orthodox concept of male supremacy and the reality of much "hidden" female power; between the "higher" rationalized, humanistic, or scientific culture imported from China, Japan, or the West, and much older indigenous or native cultural themes; between hierarchy and equality; and between slavish deference to authority and principled resistance.

This in its turn again face us with the idea that personal interests were not among the values in South Korea and every individual should be in harmony with the values suitable for all the society rather than one's own ones. But on the other hand there's an interesting fusion of different values in the society. There is the tension, for example, between self-control and solemnity on the

one hand, and almost explosive volatility on the other, at the level of individual behavior; between the duty-bound austerity of Confucian family life and ritualism, and the ecstasy and abandon of shamanistic rites; between the conservatism of agricultural villages and the looser social organization of fishing communities; between the orthodox concept of male supremacy and the reality of much "hidden" female power; between the "higher" rationalized, humanistic, or scientific culture imported from China, Japan, or the West, and much older indigenous or native cultural themes; between hierarchy and equality; and between slavish deference to authority and principled resistance. [7]

According to government statistics, 42.6 percent or more than 17 million of South Korea's 1985 population professed adherence to an organized religious community. There were at least 8 million Buddhists (about 20 percent of the total population), about 6.5 million Protestants (16 percent of the population), some 1.9 million Roman Catholics (5 percent), nearly 500,000 people who belonged to Confucian groups (1 percent), and more than 300,000 others (0.7 percent). [7]

Except for the Christian groups, who maintain a fairly clear-cut distinction between believers and nonbelievers, there is some ambiguity in these statistics. As mentioned above, there is no exact or exclusive criterion by which Buddhists or Confucianists can be identified. Many people outside of formal groups have been deeply influenced by these traditions. Moreover, there is nothing contradictory in one person's visiting and praying at Buddhist temples, participating in Confucian ancestor rites, and even consulting a shaman. Furthermore, the statistics may under represent the numbers of people belonging to new religions. [7]

Given the great diversity of religious expression, the role of religion in South Korea's social development has been a complex one. Some traditions, especially Buddhism, are identified primarily with the past. Confucianism remains important as a social ethic; its influence is evident in the immense importance Koreans ascribe to education. Christianity is identified with modernization and social reform.

But being as it is it says that people are having choice nowadays in the question of choosing beliefs and values. May be it can be a sign of the attempt to put oneself into the middle of a world of values in the search of the ones reflecting individual inclinations.

Contemporary Japan is a secular society. Creating harmonious relations with others through reciprocity and the fulfillment of social obligations is more significant for most Japanese than an individual's relationship to a transcendent God. Harmony, order, and self-development are three of the most important values that underlie Japanese social interaction. [6] Basic ideas about self and the nature of human society are drawn from several religious and philosophical traditions. Religious practice, too, emphasizes the maintenance of harmonious relations with others (both spiritual beings and other humans) and the fulfillment of social obligations as a member of a family and a community.

In Japanese mythology, the gods display human emotions, such as love and anger. In these stories, behavior that results in positive relations with others is rewarded, and empathy, identifying oneself with another, is highly valued. By contrast, those actions that are antisocial, or that harm others, are condemned. Hurtful behavior is punished in the myths by ostracizing the offender. [6]

No society can exist that tolerates significant antisocial behavior in the long term, but Japan is among the societies that most strongly rely on social rather than supernatural sanctions and emphasize the benefits of harmony. Japanese children learn from their earliest days that human

fulfillment comes from close association with others. Children learn early to recognize that they are part of an interdependent society, beginning in the family and later extending to larger groups such as neighborhood, school, community, and workplace. Dependence on others is a natural part of the human condition; it is viewed negatively only when the social obligations it creates are too onerous to fulfill. [6]

In interpersonal relationships, most Japanese tend to avoid open competition and confrontation. Consensus does not imply that there has been universal agreement, but this style of consultative decision making involves each member of the group in an information exchange, reinforces feelings of group identity, and makes implementation of the decision smoother. Cooperation within a group also is often focused on competition between that group and a parallel one, whether the issue is one of educational success or market share. Symbols such as uniforms, names, banners, and songs identify the group as distinct from others both to outsiders and to those within the group. Participation in group activities, whether official or unofficial, is a symbolic statement that an individual wishes to be considered part of the group.

So what can we conclude from everything said above?

The existence of values in the world is well-grounded to say the least. Values are the frames which can consolidate the society around one common idea.

A lot of sets of values in almost every country are based on the religions, teachings or beliefs. When based on them they usually put the necessities of the group above the interests of an individual. But while in Christianity for example the people were really suppressed by the power of God, in eastern religions people were directed to find harmony inside them at the same way showing respect to the members of their society.

It is also obvious that lately people have become more open to the ideas other than the basic religions or beliefs of their own regions as a consequence of technological advances destroying some prejudices, globalization and other factors. So the people started accepting some other sets of values, some of them putting the individual inside the world of their own values. It is reflected in the ideas of Fromm, Tugarinov, Bakhtin and also seen from the phenomena of the fusion of religions in Korea as well as from the tolerance of religions other than previously existed in the areas in many countries.

In this view the most sound turns out the idea of an individual being in the center of their own values but taking care that these values don't oppose or suppress the values of other individuals interacting with them within the groups. It may seem that the more the number of people is the more difficult to find common values between them, but it's not the case. The more people are interacting the more common grounds appear as in fact the main thing is the survival and then the welfare of the humankind which leads to the mutual tolerance and more attempts to find these grounds as soon as the world becomes closer. And the more intensive the exchange of values the more possibilities is that people will if not accept other values if they contradict with their ones but at least understand or tolerate new ideas.

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Diaspora Circulation and Cultural Amnesia as Agents of Change in V.S.

Naipaul's *Half a Life* and *Magic Seeds*

Abstract

Memory constructs the bridge between our individual past and our collective past, our origins, heritage, and history, which is always with us. This past resonates in our present, in our voices, even our silence, and defines what we come to believe as 'our homes'. (Agnew, p.3) What we call past is the constant production of present, and both past and present are essentially social constructs; therefore, it manifests itself as a seminal upshot of society, place, history, ethnicity, culture, nation, and genealogy. The study of diaspora discusses those across geographical or metaphorical boundaries of their homeland, the result of transformation and dislocation. V.S. Naipaul is one of the most significant writers of what comes to be called post-colonial literature, the literature of the exile, and the literature of diaspora, as his life is the upheaval of such exile and immigration to the New World. Though he is later honored by the Nobel Prize for literature in 2001, his works are bodies of uncertainty, doubt and incompleteness in the atmosphere of the exile. This paper aims to analyze the traces of diaspora criticism in his latest novels: *Half a Life* (2001) and *Magic Seeds* (2004). These two novels, which are at the same time the only sequel Sir V.S. Naipaul has ever written, unfold the life of the protagonist Willie Somerset Chandran in his undestined quest of identity in the

New World, London, later to become a Ulysses figure aimlessly wandering the hostland with the awareness that there is no escape from this multiplicity of his new existence to unity.

Key Words: Alienation, Amnesia, Diaspora, Diaspora Criticism, Hybridity, Subaltern

Diaspora Criticism

The word diaspora was originally used to describe the dislocation of the Jews, Armenians, Parsis, and Greek peoples. In contemporary criticism, the term is useful to discuss the displacement resulted by flight, exile, and forced migration enabling the discussion over the relationship between citizens, nations and national discourse. In this discussion, diaspora is distinguishable in a system of dispersal and dislocation, collective trauma, the troubled relationship with the majority, and a promoting return movement, though these features may not be present in all the diasporic individuals. The term diaspora is not always associated with a desire to return and the orientation to origins; otherwise it is also represented in the individuals who become the creators of a culture in diverse locations. Diaspora can denote a transnational sense of culture and ethnicity transcending geographical boundaries. However, the diasporic individual suffers a matter of in-betweenness

by being here, and remembering there, between memories of the place of origin and his residence in new landscape.

In the discourse of diaspora, the term is examined in three ways: as a *social form*, as a type of *social consciousness*, and as *mode of cultural production*. (Agnew, p. 5) In social discussion, the term is used to refer to those individuals in different parts of the world, but intervene with the others in the new home. The second group of scholars, conferring about the diasporic consciousness, regards those individuals in disparate societies and cultures, yet emphasizing their sense of belonging and exclusion, their mental state, and their sense of identity. In the third concern, the diaspora production discusses the construction of identity and culture in the new land through hybridization. These three categories in diasporic criticism overlap and intersect with one another unfolding the essence of a diaspora. In this system, the migrants become the acting agents of the new societies by the intervention with their social, political, and intellectual resources to build identities that transcend national boundaries; therefore, they are the mimicking victims. The mobile individual experiences the process of 'flexible citizenship', in another sense, this process is mingled with oppressiveness of race and gender which leads to a deliberate intervention with the new system and generating new images of themselves devoid of racist stereotypes. Thus, the new identity is deterritorialized. Memory is noteworthy in this discussion of diasporas as in this structure memory

is gendered, anesthetized, politicized, and nationalized. Memory is an act of remembering which makes a connection between past and present. Memory, by essence, is the source of imagination enabling a recollection of the past and constructing a haven of nostalgia, a longing for past, a desire for imaginary home, a safe land of birth and origins, a traumatic journey, yet necessary, to past. This kind of suffering quest of identity within the tunnels of memory manifests itself mostly in the mental and existential life of those diasporas passing the social and geographical boundaries to other lands. In the late twentieth century because of the growth of communication and migration, the study of diaspora becomes of crucial importance. These migrants enable ties between their homeland and the place of the new residence. Diaspora criticism discusses the very tie resulting displacement, cultural hybridity, transnational connections, and 'home'.

The Incompleteness of Diaspora's Life in *Half a Life* and *Magic Seeds*

No doubt that identity is a social construction, dependent on place, time, and social context; therefore, identity is of unstable nature. In the discussion of diasporic identity scholars unfold the structure by the discussion of an unavoidable process of intervention, called *hybridity*, which is neither indigenous nor exogenous. Bhabha discusses hybridity as a process of "constant change and

adaption, or from being marginalized”. (Qtd. in *Diaspora, Memory*, p. 12) This process is a result of difference perception from the minority perspective which longs for cultural hybridity. The hybrid culture is not always of the same traits as it is contingent on the roots and origins of the individuals that transcend these cultural diversities. The controversial aspect of diaspora discussion lies in this fluid nature of hybrid identity which needs a reconsideration of gender, race, class, and other social facets of an individual beyond national borders. The geographical transformation of diaspora makes him and the ethnic location a ghostly one where the unreality of the new home is surpassed by the metaphorical unreality of the home. Diasporas are the construction of racialized, sexualized, gendered and oppositional subjectivities.

The diasporic individual is the embodiment of double consciousness, the duality of which is resulted by his transformation between ‘here’ and ‘there’. This consciousness is formed by the individual’s sentimental attachment to his homeland and simultaneously involving in social, economic, cultural, and political ties with the diasporic home. The individual’s search for home, the feeling of exile, subjection, marginality, loss, displacement and many other postcolonial features are the quintessential components of the criticism of diaspora. Jawaharlal Nehru (1935) maintains in his autobiography that “I have become a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thought

and approach to life is more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me... I am a stranger and alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country too sometimes I have an exile's feeling." (Qtd. in *Diaspora, Memory*, p. 15)

Naipaul's *Half a Life* was published in 2001, and it was a pledge to return to conventional novel for the first time since *A Bend in the River* (1979). The novel's orientation is on a fictional character, presenting his family background, his childhood, youth, and his first marriage. A large section of the novel is narrated in third person, omniscient, point of view, though it is detached through the novel by the characters' storytelling, first Willie's father to Willie and then Willie to his sister.

At the beginning of the novel, Willie Chandran asks his father the origin of his middle name, Somerset, the answer of which is constructed through a sizeable section of the novel as he replies. "Without joy, 'you were named after a great English writer.'" (*Half a Life*, p.1) The phrase 'without joy' can be cynically applied to whole the novel, since all the sequence of events happens in the same atmosphere. The novel opens with monotonous, futile, life of Willie's father, a high-caste Indian sadhu who marries a low-caste woman as his sacrifice to life. The novel continues with Willie's years as a foreign student in London and later as the husband of a "half-and-half" Portuguese African on her East African estate.

The London section of the novel is a manifestation of Willie's insecure social and sexual life in the racially mixed London of 1960s. The title of *Half a Life* can be interpreted in several ways. Literally, the books poses Willie's life to a midpoint of forty one years, on the other hand, its main characters are racially or socially mixed, half-and-half faces in a new land. On a profound level, the story is the implication of Willie and his father's half lives, having been sexually stunned by their upbringing in a ritualized society where marriage is arranged and boys are not taught how to deal with the realities of life. This lack of sexual awareness in both Willie and his father is a recurring theme of the novel which later reveals itself in Willie's life as becoming friend of his friend's girlfriends and starting to have affairs with these half committed characters within the sequel, even after his return from India in the second novel. Eventually, after many years of his marriage to the first unattached woman who shows a serious interest in him, he finds satisfaction for a time in his affair with a married neighbor. Through these series of changes in his life, however, he finds that "some half-feeling of the inanity of my life grew within me, and with it there came the beginning of respect for religious outlawing of sexual extremes" (*Half a Life*, p. 211) Later he discovers the lover with whom he experienced the true meaning of satisfaction is deranged, and that this sexual satisfaction is compromised.

In *Half a Life*, this half life is not just sexual. Another definite thematic concern in this novel is 'placelessness' that is intertwined with the very essence of Willie's life, and other displaced characters through the novel. Willie's mother is from a low-caste family, a "backward", who is sent to a Hindu caste school where she was persecuted: "They didn't know about religion of the people of caste or the Muslims or the Christians. They didn't know what was happening in the country or the world. They had lived in ignorance, cut off from the world, for centuries". (*Half a Life*, p. 39) As he grows up, his love for his mother changes to rejection with his awareness of the world. His father's feeling toward him is mingled with a sense of despise for his similarity to his mother.

Alienated from his family in India, he leaves to London with no wish to return. After taking his degree, he finds that there is no job for him in England, unlike Naipaul. The story of Willie's life and his unpromising future in London is a kind of cautionary tale for what Naipaul's life might have been without the impulse or the endeavor he underwent to become a writer in spite of early discouragements. This blankness of the future and his ability to keep writing task feeds into the despair and desolation through the novel. His sister, Sarojini, ineligible in the Indian marriage for having a mixed-caste background, makes an international marriage and becomes another displaced character of the novel moving place to place as a requirement of her husband's work. There is nowhere for Willie and

Sarojini to consider as the real home. Willie lacks a definite feeling for both past and the future life. For a short time, he converts this despairing rhythm of his life into an opportunity: "Towards the end of his second term, he saw with great clarity that the old rules no longer bound him. ... The possibilities were dizzying. He could, within reason, re-make himself and his past and his ancestry." (*Half a Life*, p. 60) But he discovers that this sense of not being bound to past is not the making of a life of fulfillment as he felt no belonging. At the end of the novel, Willie leaves Ana, his wife of eighteen years, telling her: "I'm tired of living your life." (*Half a Life*, p.227) This time, he heads for Sarojini whose husband is, apparently, no longer present in her life. No future is projected for them. The first half of their lives has passed in futility and the next half is unknown.

Racial tension is another underlying element of the novel, but Willie shares no allegiance to any group. Willie's only solution to these tensions is avoidance and flight. Leaving Ana in her East African country estate at the end of the novel, he reports, "I didn't think I could live through another war. I could see that it would have a point for Ana. I didn't see that it had a point for me." (*Half a Life*, p.227)

The lives depicted through the novel are mostly joyless, monotonous lives, though the novel is not devoid of its moments of grim humor of characters' absurd life. *Half a Life* is Naipaul's return to pure fiction in more than twenty years. His own presence in both of the novels is central; however, in this desolate unfulfilled

life, he has used fictional characters to make a distance between himself and the frank expression of sexual matters. The novel is masterly crafted, though it embodies a depressing atmosphere unlike his earlier works.

In *Magic Seeds* (2004), Naipaul takes up the story of Willie from the part he left in *Half a Life*. Despite many thematic links with his previous works, this is the first sequel he has crafted. Willie is no longer resolute; he has learned, but not developed. All the wisdom he has gained during these decades manifests his cynical outlook to life. After deserting his wife, Ana, he takes refuge with his sister, Sarojini, who makes him believing that he did have a place in the world, and it was with the oppressed freedom fighters. Naipaul's profound suspicion of "the corruption of causes" makes Willie find his struggle thoroughly futile, corrupt, and destructive. He observes that the reason they are fighting for is not the village people, but only they were "exploiting them all the time. Our ideas and words were more important than their lives and their ambitions for themselves." (*Magic Seeds*, p. 161) Nevertheless, he is trapped in the movements, unwillingly, for many years.

Sarojini's role in the novel is full of ironies. She lives a prosperous life in Berlin with a part time husband who acts as a self-appointed recruiter of guerillas. She and her husband make documentaries for which they travel a lot. When Willie is in an Indian jail, she retreats to their father's ashram, writes a letter to Willie's earlier publisher, and arranges a letter to be written on his behalf. Surprisingly, Willie

notices he has become “the pioneer of modern Indian writing” (*Magic Seeds*, p. 168) His only chance to be freed from the mayhem is to leave permanently to his aimless life in London. There he has many affairs with his friends’ wives and attends futile courses and empty social events.

On the night after confronting a wedding with loud African music, he feels he has something to write to Sarojini: “It was wrong to have an ideal view of the world. That’s where the mischief starts. That’s where everything starts unraveling. But I can’t write to Sarojini about that” (*Magic Seeds*, p. 280).

Naipaul ends his novel, which he has already called the end of his writing career, in frustration, passivity, and a negative wisdom of his longtime distrust of causes. Ironically, this thematic message on which Naipaul has based much of his work is not even worth mentioning in a letter to Sarojini. This repudiation is another fundamental shortsightedness of Willie in the same way as he was unable to use his writing as an escape from the barren of his life and later moving to Africa to live an unfulfilled life with Ana; on the contrary, this knowledge of life is not only worth writing to Sarojini, it could have been the start of a life time writing career.

The language in both novels is simple and fablelike; the fictional characters make emblematic dialogues, yet natural, with long and well-constructed sentences.

Magic Seeds opens with a more dynamic life, albeit futile, that *Half a Life* never achieves. On the other hand, the political adventure in *Magic Seeds*, though never fulfilled like the sexual ones in *Half a Life*, gives it more shape and substance. Despite the fact that Willie is defying the importance of the experience he had among the guerilla brothers in India, it overshadows his future life in a crucially essential level, though this Naipauline future is as uncertain as it was at the end of *Half a Life*. Willie comes to the point that “with the deepest kind of aches that there was no true place in the world for him” (*Magic Seeds*, p. 228).

Finding Naipaul’s voice between the lines of his narrative revives the work with a permanent energy resulted from the hazy line he draws between fiction and non-fiction. In his last two novels, *Half a Life* (2001) and *Magic Seeds* (2004) he scrupulously pictures the dreadful life of a diaspora deserting his homeland in quest of the modern world and education, to actualize all he had read and heard in his missionary school in India. There he does start his journey to exile, unaware of the aftermaths that he may face on the path to success. Homelessness, displacement, and exile are portrayed in both of the novels as the consequence of the ‘othering’ practiced on those who live in periphery and those who see themselves as the center of the global village. However, this is of great significance that Naipaul delicately differentiates himself from the postcolonial theorists as

Edward Said and Homi K. Bhabha in his perception of the East and West and the way he deals with the developed and developing nations in his fiction.

First, and foremost, the diversity unfolds the great distinction between Naipaul's polemic and that of Said's. Said's conception of the "Orient" is a justification of the subjugation of the people he calls "the Orient" and in general all the colonized places of the world. There is nothing human in his discourse and it is almost in the theoretical realm. Said's discourse, primarily, does not deal with human individuals; however, they can only take the place of the victims in this discourse. Conversely, in Naipaul's fiction, the individual's ethics and actions as a progressive subjectivity can create the resistance of the diaspora in the exile. While he emphasizes the resistance of the individual to the dominant discourse, he also presents the impossibility of stability in the new land which is the result of the diasporic life. This contradictory view questions the possibility of the characters to form a solid subjectivity. In the sequel, Willie Chandran takes on many roles through the sequence of the story: first as a teaching-college student, later as a writer, as the husband of a hybridized woman in Africa, the purposeless revolutionist back to his land, and later a permanent floater seeing home in his spirit of journeying. While he is exile to England, he comes to the understanding that the solidity of life is an impossible mission for him as a diaspora, and that the center of the new world is not holding a unity among its multicultural nation. The

authenticity of the roles he plays is devaluated by his late knowledge of his true essence as a diaspora. Naipaul, significantly, is the explorer of the real individual beneath these written roles which appears in his alternative first person narrator. The narrator criticizes his present existence and condemns his futile knowledge of the world as the very reason of his failures as a complete flaw through the novel. This notion of individuality, though a “mimic man”, is the distinctive feature of Naipaul’s discourse. The concept of mimicry is at the core of the negotiation that the exile makes in the West’s discourse which claims his intention of resistance.

The second analysis concerns Homi K. Bhabha’s controversial work, *The Location of Culture*. He concerns the notion of subjectivity in a position that multiplies the difficulties of association with radical difference, which means within the process of subjectivity, all the notions of self, the nation, community, and culture can lose solidarity and be deformed. In his assertion to colonial discourse he claims that “the West is suffering from precisely the problem of the child who must dislocate himself or herself from the world in order to feel himself or herself whole.” (Dascalu, p. 130) Therefore, Bhabha attributes the reason for the creation of “Otherness” as a way of uttering wholeness by West through the colonial discourse. In this discourse, Bhabha does not believe in an essential self as a victim in the underlying layers, though.

The exile narrative represents another significant notion that is the “stereotype” in the new landscape, also considered by Bhabha. The stereotypes will always remain the same image as it always was which limits the movement of the individuals in the new world. Naipaul’s narrator, Willie Chandran, in both of the novels fulfills the stereotype of the roles he is given to in different episodes of his life. This role playing poses his nature as an inauthentic entity. He comes to the understanding, as he wrote to Sarojini, that:

I don’t know what you will think of this. You might think I am talking like an old fool, and I probably am. But I cannot pretend at this age that I am making my way. In fact, every day I see more clearly that here, though I am a man rescued and physically free and sound in mind and limb, I am also like a man serving an endless prison sentence. I don’t have the philosophy to cope. I daren’t tell them here. (Magic Seeds, p. 232)

He is quite aware of the fact that a man of his background is exposed to “liminal” life in the landscape; due to the act of mimicking, the exile deforms the possibilities of his own existence. Acting the stereotype of the new discourse distorts him into a Frankenstein figure within which his essence floats. This puzzled existence of the exile is the very “hybrid” constitution that defines the exile, the hyphenation of being in-between; hence this in-betweenness makes the reality of the exile open to flux. The quest of the protagonist to multiplicity is bound to certain amount of ambivalences of the country, the language, and the people he left behind and those he encountered in exile. The diasporas in exile

personify no certainty as the result of these ambivalences in exile. The uncanny world of the exile presents him with the mimic manners of the new world as well as suffering the distinctive background within the new ethics. This is the reason that the exile takes his journey to a personal discovery, a journey within, which unfolds the futility of the journey without.

Having left India at an early age, Willie is unable to get a hold of his own history. Though he makes attempts to find the truth, this remains another ambivalent phase of his journey. There are many ambiguities in his quest which avoids the exile figure to construct a unitary self in the multiplicity of the new landscape and to orient himself against his background. In this drifting state, the diaspora pursues his journey, as Willie did, to find 'home' as it always lay elsewhere till the reality of this 'home' becomes dubious in his permanent journey. This is the essence of the dialectic of incompleteness that captivates Willie in both of the novels. First in *Half a Life*, the first half of his life which ends with his abandoning of his wife, second in *Magic Seeds* which ends "unraveling" regardless of his lifelong quest. The inner self of the exile is in conflict with the outer façade which is the result of change, assimilation, collaboration, dislocation, and many other notions concerned with the Literature of Diaspora. In this land of incompleteness the exile asks himself 'who am I?', 'where do I come from', 'where am I going?' which remain unanswered with his struggle to find home. The

diaspora's quest will never be closed up, as Willie's story remained incomplete, to offer the most important notion of the diaspora's life as being unfulfilled, fluid, and failing in flux of ambivalences.

Never at home in India, when I was a boy. Never here in London. Never in Africa. I lived in somebody else's house always, and slept in somebody else's bed. In the forest of course there were no rooms, and then the jail was the jail. Will I ever sleep in a room of my own?' And he marveled that he had never had a thought like that before. (*Magic Seeds*, p. 177)

TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING PROCESSES IN THAILAND

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ABSTRACT

This research focuses on transnational human trafficking processes in Thailand. In studying, I will apply qualitative research methodology and will conduct in-depth interviews and semi-structure interview with who become business human transnational victim, transitional human trafficker and an officer who related responsible directly with human transnational trafficking. The findings showed that transnational human trafficking was compose the behavior, using controls way and advantage seeking improperly that extremely transnational human trafficking and seeks for from the emigrant who, become transnational human trafficking victim. The beneath confiscate at Thailand is entrance of secret gambling place country, there is the procedure that is related to with the procedure migrates transnational (victim lead departs the birthplace, proceeding the travel document, the travel and stay temporary in entrance of a secret gambling place country, the travel and stay before temporary arrive at the objective in destination country, and the work and stay in destination country). The strictness in the policy takes a foreigner of destination country, and geography international Thai state and destination different country make extremely transnational human trafficking has the behavior, supervision and advantage seeking from improperly Thai emigrant who becomes a victim happen in many the step of the procedure migrate transitional and modify the format condensed intensity and the violence go to follow the step differ in the procedure transnational human trafficking. The strictness level in the policy takes a foreigner of destination country and geography international Thai state and destination country, there is the procedure is related to the migrates transitional and migration transitional policy of the country entrance of a secret gambling place different citizen and side stability policy of Thailand. The extremely transnational human trafficking has the behavior, supervision and advantage seeking from improperly foreigner emigrant who becomes a victim in many step of the procedure migrate transitional and modify format, condensed intensity and violence go to follow the differ step. In the procedure migrates transnational and the strictness in policy of transnational country entrance of a secret gambling place citizen and side stability of Thailand policy that modify to go to the modernity.

KEY WORD: Transnational human Trafficking, Social network, Transnational Migration

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INTRODUCTION

The difference level of economic development in the world, get cause of discriminating in social. The person, who live in the lower position that is inferior to in the social and then must try struggle seek for the way for improving position in economical and social position. But they do not can to do because of there are a lot of restriction that make person limitations aforementioned have no a chance or have only a little in the social in the country where is the homeland. They must seek for the way for building chance in new habitat or new country, assemble with system Technology communication development and the communication that have the progress more in globalization era. The new globalization makes news and data information, acknowledgement about economical state. In addition, the problem of political conflict in some country get bring transnational migration to the country, where have the development economical rate progress more. It is the new phenomena in the world include Thailand. Thailand is the centre of migration transnational land in South-east Asia. But the transnational migration cannot be happen easily because there is the limitation about policy of pertaining transnational migration. The people, who want to migrate must depend on someone who will supporter or agent, that have proceeding activity character in the format of transnational migration network. Both of in about the travel, dwelling, and the work in destination country. The transnational migration network have many types but finally be push forward to transnational human trafficking processes.

THE PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

To study transnational human trafficking processes in Thailand. Under the context that Thailand is a starting country source and Thailand as a destination country.

THE CONCEPT AND THEORY USE IN RESEARCH

1. TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING CONCEPT

The transnational human trafficking concept is mention about the human trafficker character in many dimensions do with the victim. That be arrangement seeks, buying, sale, shipping (carrying is from), submit (sending goes to pass), to procrastinate and to detain or taking keeps which, the differs way differs. In person control have to coerce, using force against victim, the stealing takes, defrauding, temptation, using power improperly or give money and alms to parent or caretaker's victim gives the agreement to mistake doer in advantage seeking from a person that the self takes care.

The transnational human trafficking concept was applied in this research cover 3 issues are 1) the behavior in the differs character, that human trafficker do with the human transnational victim, such as, transportation character, the arrangement seeks, shipping, submit, the arrangement live or taking keeps which person trading character. 2) the differs way to control, such as, coerce, using force against victim, the stealing takes, defrauding, temptation, using power improperly or give money and alms to parent or caretaker's victim gives the agreement to mistake doer in advantage seeking from a person that the self takes care. 3) the character of

advantage seeking improperly, such as seeking advantage of labor, mean lead comes to a beggar, labor enforcement, using labor by cruel oppress, using child labor, taking wage labor advantage, making is falling under enforce, taking person down is the slave or, enforcing cuts an organ for the business. Seeking advantage in sexual, mean advantage seeking from the prostitution, the production of pornography.

2. SOCIAL NETWORK CONCEPT

The concept social networking is a concept that describes the style of the element, social relation and features of social network that influence behavior to transnational migration and human trafficking in transnational human trafficking.

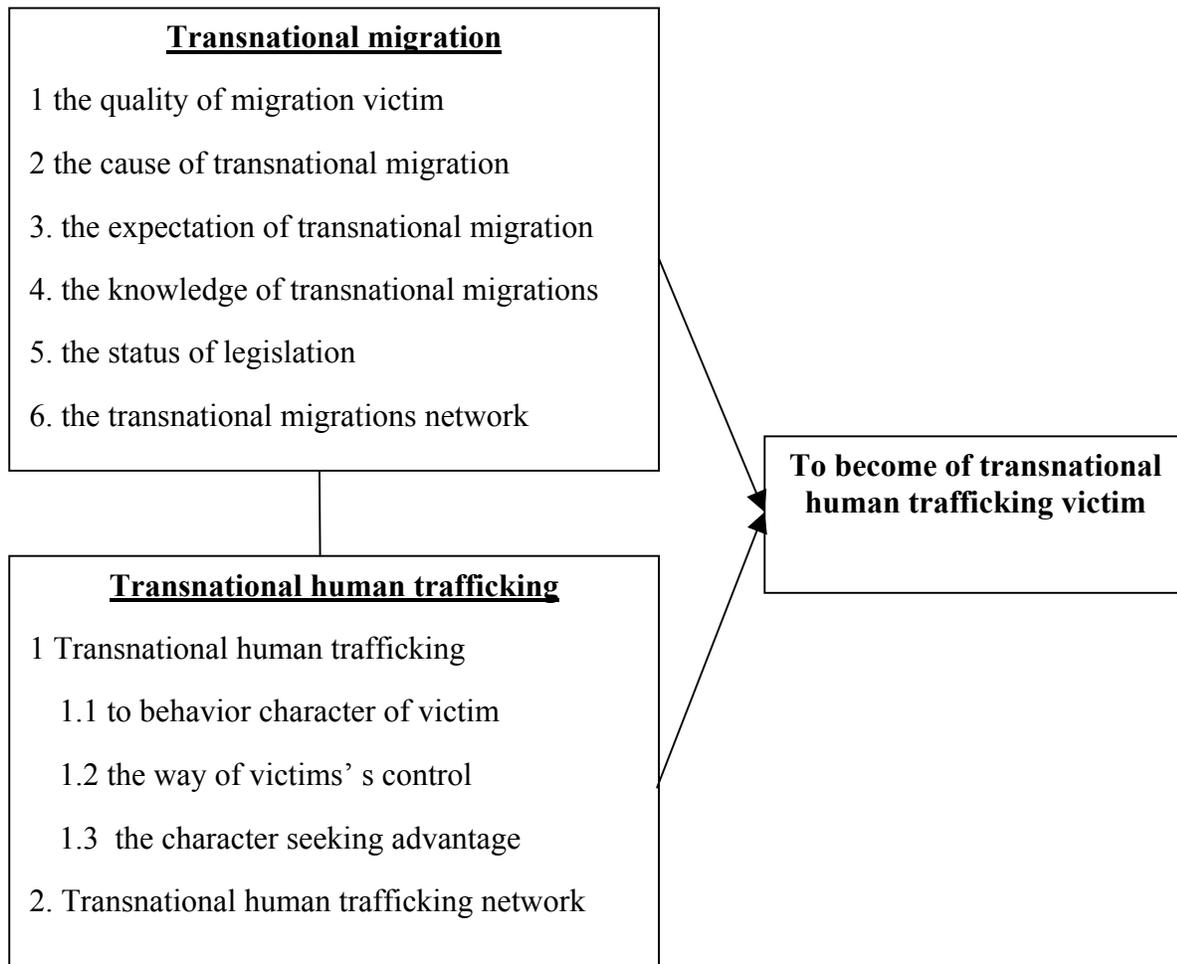
The social network was applied in this research, follow the idea of Boissevain (1973; 1974). That is the main concept and the other concepts helps to add in the analysis by use the way fixes limits of social network traditionally standard the character of the social relationship differs, at exist under social network in transnational human trafficking. The person, who become transnational human trafficking victim is the core in social network analysis in this time.

3. TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION CONCEPT

The concept of transnational migration concept, as concepts discussed means to seek or chances with your local to create changes in life. Therefore, moved from a country where existing across the territory breaks to obstruct international to the country as a local address. To stay or activities means that different individuals.

The transnational migration was applied in this research bring to analysis in system migration manner (Castles and Miller, 1993) and making a decision analysis transnational migration follow worth idea and the expectation (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research will apply qualitative research methodology to collecting data relevant of transnational human trafficking and will conduct in–depth interviews and semi- structure interview with who become business human transnational victim, human trafficker and an officer who related responsible directly with human transnational trafficking. Under the context that Thailand is a starting country and destination.

RESEARCH TARGET

1. The person who become to transnational human trafficking victim. Thai and Lao people, who live in assistance of Ministry of Social Development and Human Security of Thailand and Royal Thai Police 12 people.

2. The transnational human trafficker that accused of offences or adjudication is forbidden by the process of Thailand in about human trafficking or other multinational law related to transnational human trafficking of Thailand and controlled in prison at Ministry of Justice of Thailand include 12 people.

3. The staff related or responsible directly to the opposition of transnational human trafficking in Thailand, such as police, the officers of the Ministry of social development and human security and private organizations officials include 12 people.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

1. Use In-Depth Interview with the interview as tools to collect data from 23 transnational human trafficking victims and 14 transnational human trafficker.

2. Use Semi-Structure Interview (SSI) with the interview as tools to collect information from 12 staffs related or responsible directly to the opposition of trade human multinational in Thailand.

RESEARCH RESULT

Research found that transnational human trafficking in Thailand includes actions to control and to seek the benefits they human trafficker seek from Thai victimized human trafficker have the processes below:

1. Under Thai context as a starting source country, transnational human processes have associated with the processes of transnational migration.

1.1 As a victim in labor are 2 forms.

1) The transnational human trafficking processes, victim Thai people that migrants with travel documents. They trafficking do and controlled victim to migrants in Thailand by persuade and false information about wages or revenue. Working environment or accommodation and features of employer deceptive results found that most victims trust in the human trafficker which is a company ship labor than to trust in the information and find some fraud victim is by deceit, victims travelling documents, travel/counterfeit documents work belongs to another person, including in countries of destination of some countries. Which human trafficker ships Thai have bill do document departure from the country of destination prior to departure, but when to the end of contract, the employer is not executed documents departure move form destination country for the victim. By the claim that there is no cost to complete the document, make the victim some cannot depart from the destination country.

The part of advantage work seeking from destination country found that victims often seek benefits by take advantage of wage labor, or take advantage of the labor in others such as, the style of paying wages or remuneration does not satisfy the contract or as expected.

2) The Transnational human trafficking processes, victim Thai people that migrants

without a travel document. The human trafficker do and controlled victim to migrants in Thailand by persuade and false information in a manner similar to the 1 form but differ is 1) the human trafficker most trade as more companies deliver labor 2) most victims whom risks, both as individual risks, unemployed or under change or what drugs (alcohol or drugs) and usually places risks such as park bus or restaurant and 3) use the time soon to persuade, and information and victim most trusted in more than a trafficker and in the travel/lodging in Thailand found that most of the victims was performed and how intensive and severity.

Be it for narcotic drugs, intimidation or to enforce and have some scheme was to imprison delay as can depart from Thailand easily or southern Thailand to wait for the departure from Thailand. Section arrived destination found that most trade bait transports into destination countries, without permission. The victim worked as crew will be transported by trade lead sea boat Thai nationality. Come listen for prey and will be sent to the employer when out of the territorial waters of Thailand. Section seek benefits found that the employer will use to buy their victims by the bounty to the employer shippers and bring their victims by workers, such as housewives or fisheries. The human trafficker seek advantage from the most victims in intensity and severity mandating use labor or services in a way to force the threat, victim working without paid employment by employers claim that wage labor is deducted as bounty paid their trademarks.

1.2 As a victim in sexual are 3 formats

1) Transnational human trafficking, prey Thai people that migrants using documents arrived destination directly.

The human trafficker do and controlled victim to migrants in Thailand by persuade and deceit, information that is false or does not match reality, or does not meet the needs of victims about income. Working environment or features of the customer or a category of tasks. (Human trafficker will trick to countries where there is no strict categories work which full more scams to domestic destinations, weaker in foreign policy, get people often deceived about revenue. The most victims trust in the expertise of partners who provide data and persuade rather than confidence in the background information for information about income will receive higher. The way to access and fraud victims include: understanding the risks of prey (who risks or occupation to risk or select individuals in vulnerable places, such as services or restaurant or Salon). To create trust in the human trafficker by to refer experience, finances-professional and will be free to travel documents before by trafficker will travel documents (passport and visa). In the part of destination countries have no rigid, the human trafficker will document, victim loans to represent the state of the destination country and restore with interest a number higher than law and found some fraud victim is by deceit, victims travelling documents, travel/counterfeit documents, work, or is a party section seek to advantage work found that the employer will purchase the victim.

2) The transnational human trafficking processes, prey Thai people that migrants using document to another country before entering the destination country.

If the destination country have the weak policy been foreigner and include rigorous getting visa and countries of destination are rigid inner but victims have a bad resume (arrested prosecution/exile). In destination countries, the human trafficker do and controlled victim to migrants in Thailand by persuade and fraudulent, false information in similar to persuade and trick victim to transnational human trafficking in from 1.

In 1.2, but differ in the human trafficker, who is a commercial operator

travel documents that are knowledgeable and experienced in travelling abroad than in 1 from.

If the destination country have the intensity, human trafficker will document travel to another country with reliability and rigorous to inspect foreign people into the country of destination is less than the country of destination and use to request temporary residence to wait for travel on the next day.

3) The transnational human trafficking, prey Thai people that migrants without a travel document. The human trafficker do and controlled prey to migrants in Thailand by persuade and fraudulent, false information similar to a 1 from and a 2 from in 1.1 but differ is;

(1) Most of destination countries have large territory or boundaries or proximity to Thailand.

(2) Most of victim as a child or youth are less often in precarious, working in a restaurant or internet cafe.

(3) The bluff is fully about the kind of work in the destination country.

(4) The bluff has 2 steps, the human trafficker and most victims may not close but simply known as friends or working in the same.

(4.1) Most victims mainly youngest as a friend, relatives or people recognize more companies deliver labor.

(4.2) Most victims whom risks such as, unemployed or under change or used drugs (alcohol or drugs) and usually places risks such as park bus or the restaurant.

(5) The bluff is fully about the kind of work in the destination country.

(6) Because of most destination countries are a country with territory or boundaries or proximity to Thailand to trick will occurred 2 steps. The first step, the human trafficker have to lure victim to work in southern Thailand or the province can depart from Thailand. The second step, the human trafficker have to fool their victims to the destination country.

(7) The Victim is controlled through the processes of migration and work/residence in a destination country with intensity and severity as the narcotic drugs, placing anaesthetics, intimidation or to enforce and have some scheme was to imprison delay to depart from Thailand and arrived destination and found that most trade bait transport into the destination country without permission.

2. Under Thailand context is a destination country

Transnational human trafficking have the processes associated with the process of transnational migration,

The degree of international policy have been people of Thailand migration policies of multinational source countries. Our geographic Thailand destinations and formats they trade aims to seek advantage from migrants victim:

1.1 As a victim in labor dimension, the human trafficker do and controlled prey to migrants in source countries by persuade and fraudulent, false information about the environment, income, working environment or place features of the employer and type of work. The data find victim foreigner portions are human trafficker do and controlled by purchasing or provide money for parent' benefit to provide parental consent provision trade from migrants and seek advantage from their victims, and also find prey foreigner usually consult parents or relatives before decisions migrants from the region. But the victim chooses to decide themselves than believe consulting, the human trafficker, who most deceptive belongs in the same village or as a separate village experienced in helping in the migration to other local and usually relatives

live/work in Thailand as a colleague, and a guarantee or security in travel and has some method of trade meeting invite statement and fraud victim and other members in the village of simultaneous (especially migrants were far away from redevelopment).

Most of victims as a child or juvenile youngest a risk factors, such as no education or study, farming career, family as poor, member of the household have numerous or illness and have family problems. The human trafficker used deceit once or twice, at a time not long. The fraudulent results found that most victims are trusted in a whole host of experience. As economic or they have the same citizenship rather than the data. The human trafficker relies not having knowledge or under-served or needs migrants of victim and promising to give money to the victim or other adults to reach the destination country including guarantee security or receiving them travel expense before.

The travel in destination countries find that the human trafficker mainly transport of victim by foot from the village and the seat get employment or bus, and a temporary residence in the country of source and found some victim was to imprison detained for collecting victims and wait for timely departure from source countries. Since human trafficking transport victims in most labor side aisles or natural disaster, by using the vehicle such as, ferries employee, motorcycle or how to walk the shortcut from the source forest into Thailand.

In traveling in Thailand found that victims often provide temporary residence has some victim and was detained by quarantine detention house of trade along the frontier province and the province is located close to Bangkok for human trafficker will contact employers and filtered victims and human trafficker passes prey mainly using vehicle such as, a car or van and some victims was transported to the employer by train. The human trafficker will control the intensity and violence and intimidation or enforce through travel and found some of the victims come from countries that do not have a territory or boundaries adjacent Thailand, Vietnam, China, North Korea or Bangladesh was held human trafficker stay temporarily in the countries of Thailand, before entering Thailand.

The work and seek benefits found that most employers will buy their victims by pay, with employer shippers and provide victim most painstaking labor such as, cheese factory, factory of sheep shrimp, fruit factory and beggar. Most of labor victims are not allowed to work in the category, including not registered for work of the cabinet of the Thai Government because there are complications in the guidelines and higher money to pay. The human trafficker who are employers not to take victim to register itself and the victim most seek to benefit from trafficking by enforced labor or services. A work without paid labor The human trafficker who are employers claim that must deduct bounty paid to all before and some are prey is take advantage of wage labor, or take advantage of the labor of others and use of labor by savage oppress in paying wages or remuneration does not satisfy the contract or meet expected or does not match the data and persuade (to be deducted by the workers, not learned before).

The victims have to work hard under the bad environment, no break time or even illness and employer with a bad attitude per foreigner. The victim is a child many workers, children in the worst, in a way to force prey heavy without break time than the law or to work in a crowded place, dirty or unsafe.

1.2 As a victim in sexual, The human trafficker do and controlled the victim to migrants in source countries by persuade and fraudulent, false information about the environment. The data found prey foreigner portions are human trafficker do and controlled by purchasing or provide money parents of the victim and to provide parental consent provision

trade in prey from migrants and seek advantage from their victims and also find prey foreigner usually consult parents or relatives before decisions migrants from the region. But the victim chooses to decide themselves than believe consulting.

Most of the human trafficker is relative, a friend or member in the same village experienced in helping in the migration to other local, and usually relatives live/work in Thailand as a colleague, and a guarantor information or security. By fraudulent or purchase a victim to home with the victim or parents, who influence the decision of the victim. By the victim as a child or juvenile youngest studies in intermediate occupation money but earn less as people who have risk factors (but probably less than prey foreigner in labor). Such as, the poor family, member of the household have numerous or illness and have family problems by using deceit two to three times. Each time take more victims in labor.

The fraudulent results found, most victims are trusted in a whole host of possibilities to relatives or to them or have the same citizenship rather than the data. The human trafficker relies not having knowledge or worse experiences of victims and promising to give victims or other adults to reach the destination country including guarantee security or receiving costs to complete documents and travel before.

The travel in destination countries find that the human trafficker mainly transport prey by sitting car or private car from migrants. And mostly no temporary residence in the country by commercial source will provide prey for most travel with travel documents, including passports, which most of the forged documents containing false information such as, books through territory temporarily (Temporary Border Pass) type worksheet, astay not exceeding 3 on 2 night. The human trafficker to transport their victims based channels that were authorized by law using public transport, such as boat ferry passenger, van or car from source countries into Thailand. In traveling in Thailand found that victims often provide temporary residence has some victim and was detained by quarantine detention house of trade along the frontier province and the province is located close to Bangkok to the human trafficker will contact employers and filtered victims and the human trafficker passes prey mainly using vehicle such as a car or van and some are victims was transported to the employer by train. The human trafficker will control the intensity and violence and intimidation or enforce through travel and found some of the victims come from countries that do not have a territory or boundaries adjacent Thailand, Vietnam, China, North Korea or Bangladesh was held the human trafficker stay temporarily in the countries of Thailand, before entering Thailand.

The work and seek benefits found that most employers will buy their victims by pay, with employer shippers and provide victim most prostitution (allowing customers to molest or immoral to exchanges with money or benefits). The sexual victims has legal status in the initial stages, but illegal from the overdue period allowed and work without permission, including not registered for work, the Cabinet of Thailand itself and prey most seek to benefit from trade by prostitution or sexual services. Some victims are, the human trafficker seek to benefit by being forced prostitution, a forced prostitution without paid (the human trafficker claims must deduct as bounty). The victim received a little money for personal expenses, no break time even illness, or have menstruation.

The human trafficker will control prey which mainly resident law later, by intimidation whether assault remove life or arrest send to the state of the Thai. The human trafficker gives bribe to Thai state officials and the source country and the victim to hide if the raid arrest of the Thai officers.

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Health Risk at the Thai-Lao Border area Mekong-subregion

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ABSTRACT

The research focus on the health risk at the Thai-Lao border. The study aims are 1, Present health risk situations at the Thai-Lao border. 2,How mechanism process and method of government, local organizations and communities manage these health risk. 3, Determine factors and processes to support integrate management health risk on Thai-Lao border .The study also aims to apply the concept of risk theory and human security to analyze the negative impacts of modernity and globalization are process of closer interaction of human activities within economic, political, cultural and other social spheres and along spatial , temporal, and cognitive dimension. Globalization is changing the nature of social to risk societies and health risk . One of the effect of globalization is the spread of diseases and the potential for devastating new diseases to ravage humanity such as SAR or Avian flu .Population movement between Thailand and Lao PDR at the North-Eastern region border crossing point and the risk situations for the spread of HIV/AIDS are relate to the communities health risk. The rapid increasing movement of people and goods mean that many “Third world” diseases are new threatening the developed world .This research examines the hidden damages that confront people with social and health risk . In this dissertation I will apply qualitative and quantitative research methodology and will conduct in-dept interviews, observation, with activists from governance , local organizations and communities to explore the present social and health risk on Thai-Lao border area and examine how the people and communities confront and adjust to these situations . The analysis will propose a concept of health risk management health risk assessment and provide practical guideline for policies at the border area

Key word: globalization, modernity, risk society, health risk and human security

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INTRODUCTION

Today, Modernity effected to globalization has vastly increased cross-border flow of goods, services, people and ideas ; consequently , it has facilitated the spread of infectious diseases and communicable diseases across the world . Globalization is a process of closer interaction of human activity with in economic , political cultural and other social sphere and along spatial , temporal and cognitive dimension. Globalization brings in both opportunity and challenges from a private person to a super – power country at large : people travel freely more across borders from one to another country and people are becoming more and more interdependent ; after all , the wild world is compressed into a small global village . Thus , instability in one country is likely to be a potential threat to the stability of another .Threat to the security of the state and humanities .In the meanwhile, Globalization is changing the nature of social to risk society including health risk.

The globalization of communicable diseases and infectious diseases is such that an outbreak in any country is potentially a threat to the whole world . The need for international cooperation on epidemic alert and response is greater today than ever before due to increased population movements , growth in international trade and biological products , social and environmental changes.

As border disappear , people and goods are increasingly free to move , creating new challenges to global health . These can not be met by national government alone but must be dealt with instead by international organization and agreements.

At the border for Thai- Lao communities globalization is changing the nature of health to health risk. There are many effect of globalization which spread diseases and the potential for devastating new disease to ravage humanity such as SAR , Avian flu , HIV/AIDS, Malaria, Haemorrhagic fever, and Tuberculosis ,etc. Rapid Population movements between Thailand and Lao PDR at the Northeast border region crossing points and the risk situations for the spread of communicable disease and infectious disease are related to communities health risk and human security. It examines the hidden damages that confront people with social and health risks which governance local organizations and communities need to explore the present social and health risks in the Thai-Lao border area . This dissertation is guided by the following question research : to what the characteristics and level of health risk situations are impacting people and communities in the Thai-Lao border and how the people and communities confront and adjust to these situations.

The main objective of this paper focuses on the health risk at the Thai-Lao border. The aims of the study are 1. Present health risk situations at the Thai-Lao border . 2 How mechanism process and methods of government , local organizations and communities management to health risk 3. Determine factors and processes to support integrated management of health risk at Thai-Lao border

The analysis will propose a concept of risk theory such as health risk management , health risk assessment and human security then provide practical guidelines for policies in the border area.

Methodology of dissertation is apply qualitative and quantitative research methodology and will conduct in–depth interviews, observation with activists from governance local organizations and communities to explore the present social and health risks at Thai-Lao border area, and examine how the people and communities confront and adjust to these situations.

The study area is at the Thai-Lao borders along the Mekong river at Chongmek area ,Siridhorn District and Kemarat District Ubonratchathani Province, Where two borders different way to acrossing ; Chongmek area by vehicle transport , Kemarat area by river boat only .

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

DEFINITION OF RISK

Risk is a contestable slippery and ambiguous concept making it very difficult to define. There are numerous definition that depend on the situation context , field of application and adopt perspective. Risk is often normatively defined in probabilistic and mathematical term as is relate to the expected losses which can be caused by a risky event and to the probability of this event happening. It is mapped to the probability of some event with is seen as undesirable. The harsher the loss, as it relates to the likelihood of the event, the worse the risk . The negative concept of risk as risk avoidance or risk aversion can be contrasted with a more positive account base on risk taking in venture capitalism and finance as a measure of the variance of possible outcomes. The systematic management of actuarial risk is called risk management. while the methodology for evaluation risk is called risk assessment. Techniques and methods for management and assessing risk can vary considerably across different profession with the resultant effect that some profession , such as social work, are defined according to their ability and propensity to deal with risk. This has led Kemshall (2002) to argue that social work is predominantly concerned with handing and assessing risk as apposed on social need and justice.(Webb.S.A,2006)

Modernization itself has created new dangers and risks : these have been ‘manufacture’ and produced by industrial and technological process – and arguably by lifestyles –rather than occurring as random or natural events. Ulrich Beck (1999) argued that in late modern society we encounter new types and unprecedented magnitude of risk. (Flynn R,2006).

Furedi (1997) note that risk is a term used in many different ways in different context; and refer to ‘the probability of damage, injury, death, or other misfortune associated with a hazard. Hazard are generally defined to mean a threat to people and what they value’

Risk chance of a loss and loss itself .Characterized by the change in welfare that results from the relation of the hazard and from the success or failure of risk management measure applied.

The term of “ risk society” is not intended to imply an increase of risk in society , but rather a society that is organized in response to risk . It is a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety) which generates the notion of risk (Giddens, 1999) Risk can be defined in the risk society as a systematic way of dealing with hazard and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself (Beck,1992)

CONCEPT OF RISK MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL RISK MANAGEMENT

The essential tasks of risk management are to 1. Determine what hazards present more danger than society (as represented by its government) is willing to accept ; 2. consider what control options are available and ; 3. decide on appropriate action to reduce (or eliminate) unacceptable risk. At the broadest level risk management includes a range of management and policy- making activities ; agenda setting; risk reduction decision making, program implementation , and outcome evaluation.

Risk management is more than simply risk minimization .It entails efforts to increase potential benefits and to provide a process for planning risk- taking strategies and for monitoring and reviewing the results. Any risk management process must be both flexible and adaptable . A major challenge will be in promoting achievement- oriented visions of risk management

Risk management = Process of compromise and negotiation

Key steps for risk management are (Titterton M,2005)

1. **Consult and communicate** consultation with all involved is essential in order to reach clear and shared understanding . Communication between professionals is the main factor in many of the recent inquiries about people with serious mental health needs.

2. **Prepare risk plan.** The plan should include clear on who has been consulted or who is responsible for planning and implementation , the steps that will be taken to minimize possible harms.

3. **sign up** sign up is the process where the individual, his or her family and formal and informal carers are fully aware of the risk assessment and risk decision.

4. **Share information** An information strategy for managing the risk is essential : everyone involved must be prepared to share information and maintain awareness.

5. **Monitor and review.** Provision must be made for regular monitoring and reviewing: the frequency of reviews ,intensity of monitoring and extent to which other staff and agencies are involved should be made clear and written down.

6. **Support staff.** Support and supervisory arrangements for staff involved in making difficult risk decisions should be clearly spelled out .It is vital that staff are given support when there is an adverse outcome to the risk decision.

SOCIAL RISK MANAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS

Over time different kind of social risk management arrangement have evolved . These fall into three main categories : (i) information management (ii) market-based arrangement, and (iii) public arrangement on a large scale. Each of them has relative strengths and limitations.

Informal arrangement. These arrangement have existed since the dawn of mankind and still constitute the main source of risk management for the majority of the world's population. In the absence of market institution public provision of support , the way that individual household respond to risk is to protect themselves to informal(family or community) or personal arrangement (self-protection and self insurance) Although they sidestep most of the information and coordination problems that cause market failure , they may not be very effective in helping the household weather adverse event.

Market-Based Arrangement. Individual households will also take advantage of market-based institutions such as monies , bank ,and insurance companies when they are available. However, in view of these instrument limitations due to market failure , their usage will be initially restricted but will rise with financial market development . Empirical evidence suggests that the establishment of a sound banking system and noninflationary policy serves to reduce risk . Because formal market institution are reluctant to lend to household without secured earnings , microfinance is also an important instrument of social risk management.

Public Arrangement . Public arrangement for dealing with risk came into being with the development of the modern welfare state but are relatively scarce and have very limited coverage in the developing world for fiscal and other reason .When informal or market-based risk management arrangement are not exist , break down , or are dysfunction, the government can provide or mandate (Social) insurance programs for risk such as unemployment , old -age, work injury ,disability, widowhood , and sickness. The mandatory participation in a risk pool can circumvent issue of adverse selection , in which individuals with low risk profile avoid participation in insurance pool due to premiums while individuals with high risk profile join in order to access to payouts. Since these program typically apply to those in formal employment , their coverage in developing countries is generally low. On the other hand , government have a whole array of instrument to help households to cope after a shock hit , such as social assistance , subsidies on basic goods and service . and public work programs. Which of these measures a government chooses to implement depends on its distributive concerns, its fiscal resources, its administrative capacities and the type of risk involved. (Holzmann R, 2001)

SOCIAL RISK MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Risk management can take place at difference moments – both before and after the risk occurs , the gold of ex-ante measures is to prevent the risk from occurring , or, if this cannot be done ,to mitigate the effects of the risk , Individual efforts, such as migration, can prevent risk, but in many cases , this requires support from government (for example, disaster prevention) . Mitigating the effects of risk through risk pooling by definition requires people to interact with other individuals, and poor people are typically less able to participate in formal and also informal arrangements. These leaves most poor households with the residual option of coping with the risk once it has occurred . They are normally poorly prepared to do this and , therefore , often experience irreversible negative effects.(Stanko D,2004; Holzman R, 2001)

Prevention strategies. These are strategies that are implemented before a risk event occurs. Reducing the probability of an adverse risk increases people's expected income possible strategies for preventing or reducing the occurrence of risk, many of which fall outside of social protection, such as sound macroeconomic policies, disaster prevention strategies, public health investment, environment policies, and investments in education. Preventive social protection intervention typically form part of measures designed to reduce risks in the labor market, notably the risk of unemployment, underemployment, or low wages due to inappropriate skills or malfunctioning labor market.

Mitigation Strategies. As with prevention strategies, mitigation strategies aim to address the risk before it occurs. Whereas preventive strategies reduce the probability of the risk occurring, mitigation strategies help individuals to reduce the impact of future risk event through pooling over assets, individuals and over time. For example, a household might invest in a variety of different assets that yield returns at different times (for example, two kinds of crops that can be harvested in different seasons) which would reduce the variability of the household's income flow. Another mitigation strategy is for households that face largely uncorrelated risk to "pool" them through informal and informal insurance mechanisms, while formal insurance pools risk from a large pool of participants, which results in less correlated risks, informal insurance has the advantage that all the participants have access to more or less the same amount of information.

Coping Strategies. These are strategies designed to relieve the impact of the risk once it has occurred. The main forms of coping consist of individual saving, borrowing, or relying on public or private transfers. The government has an important role to play in helping people to cope, for example, when individuals or households have not saved enough to handle repeated or catastrophic risks. These people may have been poor during their entire lifetime and, thus, had no possibility of accumulating assets. The smallest income loss would make these people destitute and virtually unable to recover. (Holzman R, 2001; World Bank, 2003)

CONCEPT OF HEALTH RISK ASSESSMENT

People have been interested in health throughout history. During the past several decades, this interest has intensified and has also begun to include many new perspectives. The field of risk analysis has grown rapidly, focusing on the identification, quantification, and characterization of threats to human health and the environment—a set of activities broadly called risk assessment. Risk assessment has its roots in the environmental sector, where it was developed as a systematic way of comparing environmental problems that pose different types and degrees of health risk. Such environmental risk assessment generally comprises four elements: hazard identification, exposure assessment, dose–response assessment, and risk characterization.

1. **Hazard identification** This initial risk assessment activity is directed at determining if a substance (or other health-threatening risk agent) could cause particular adverse health effects in human population. For example, Will exposure to a particular substance cause cancer? Will it harm the nervous system or immune system? Will it give rise to reproductive defect or other serious health condition or disabilities?

2. **Exposure assessment** This step attempts to identify the nature and size of the population exposed to the risk agent, along with the magnitude, duration, and spatial extent of exposure. Depending on the purpose, the exposure assessment could concern past or current exposures or those anticipated in the future.

3. **Dose–response assessment.** This step seeks to identify the quantitative relationship

between a dose level and the resulting incidence of injury or disease. Most substances even many of those used for beneficial purposes cause harm when consumed in large enough quantity. For example, an anesthetic may cause headaches at low dose, a medically advantageous sleep at higher dose, but lethal at very high dose. Thus, the riskiness of a substance cannot be determined with confidence unless the dose-response relationship is quantified.

4. Risk characterization This concluding task in a risk assessment combines the principle findings of the hazard characterization, dose-response, and exposure phase of the risk assessment into an integrated picture of the nature and expected frequency of adverse health effects in exposed populations. Ordinarily the 'bottom line' forthcoming from a risk characterization is a primary determinant of the risk management phase that follows risk assessment. (Robson M G; Toscano W A, 2007)

CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY

The concept of human security emerged in response to global tragedies and social upheavals, along with the rise of globalization, economic co-operation and growth area. Recent threats of globally organized terrorism add to the current problems faced by the international community. Although these may not be new problems, Modern communication and transportation have effectively interconnected the world in ways that were unimaginable just a century ago. Today, a problem in one country can and often does spill over into a neighboring country and may affect an entire region or even the entire international community. Countries face situations in which even internal and inter-country disputes may now bring about outside intervention. During and before the Cold War, these disputes were almost the sole concern of the governmental authority of that particular country. Human security calls for international co-operation and involvement of non-state actors such as international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGO) in dealing with these problems.

Human security means protecting vital freedoms. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating a system that gives people the building blocks of survival, dignity, and livelihood. Human security connects different types of freedoms- freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's own behalf. To do this, it offers two general strategies: protection and empowerment. Protection shields people from dangers. It requires concerted effort to develop norms, processes and institutions that systematically address insecurity. Empowerment enables people to develop their potential and become full participants in decision-making. Protection and Empowerment are mutually reinforcing and both are required in most situations.

CONCLUSION

Closer international human activities are effected by globalization and modernity is related to risk society. In terms of risk is the actual exposure of something of human value to a hazard and it is often regarded as the combination of probability and loss. Dissertation of Health risk at the Thai-Lao border focuses to examine hidden damages that people confront with social and health risks which governance, local organizations and communities to explore the present social and health risks at the Thai-Lao border area. This grounded theory applies qualitative and quantitative research methods and then conducts in-depth interviews, observation with activists from governance local organizations and communities to how the people and communities confront and adjust to these situations.

The analysis will propose a concepts of risk theory ; risk management ; health risk management ; health risk assessment and human security then provide practical guideline for policy in the border area Mekong- subregion.

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Sexual Harassment Against Women Teenage Through Virtual Space

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ABSTRACT

This research focuses on the violence is enable with communicate from new technology. Chat Room and E-Mail and Web Board on internet similar lead to danger location against teenage virtual space increasing interact to teenage. Thailand society receive globalization into family such as, structure of family become single family, father and mother have work for support survival of family and result of development of nation .Then Thai society in agriculture become industry. Objectives of this study; study process of sexual harassment against women teenage through virtual space, study level of sexual harassment against women teenage through virtual space and study factors that influence the level of sexual harassment against women teenage through virtual space. The first step of research; interview teenage victim who used to communicate by internet such as, Chat so the victims fall to trust of anonymous and last them received sexual harassment. Secondly, survey interview with students who have study degree of secondary school which interview schedule would to measure level of sexual harassment Include factors influencing to level of sexual harassment against women teenage through virtual space. The result of study lead to plan policy from government for protect women teenage in Thailand to cope of communication with new technology , teenage have knowledge and protect themselves between powerful technology , organization have deep data for plan to study and solve problem .

Key word : Sexual harassment , Women Teenage, virtual space

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INTRODUCTION

The developed of capitalism have affect families, that can see from the structure of the family has changed from a single family. The size of family members are smaller and have parents or foster parent children alone more. Furthermore, States living and economy of the people in society associated with capitalism. The family must help each other find enough income to the family's expenses, that make the father and mother to work outside the home. The economic oppression and modern society, bound proximity between family members start to fade parents don't have time to care with children and grandchild gap between ages unable to understand the needs of each other.

When society contributing to the progress and electrifying of innovative media and technology. Media and technology then spread rapidly in the daily life of people in all groups. Most of research show, adolescents adolescents are used to view pornographic cartoon, pornographic and internet behavior with sexual issues involved.

The adolescents used time to play the internet each day 94.01 minutes and view pornographic cartoon 30.25 percentage, see pornographic movies 39.27 percentage, and view pornographic web regularly amounting 27.23 pornographic (Project track illustrate children and youth in the province, 2006)

Furthermore, the internet contains many information such as, a service formats graphics and sound it make user teens interested, enjoy and worth tracking. Internet have trace information services from the World Wide Web in a variety of styles and a communication-electronic mail (E-Mail), communication by talking through a network of internet (Chat).

At any rate, adolescents use the internet and electronic mail for the electronic communication in a group of friends. So adolescents have opportunity that adolescents are victim to sexual violence was made from people whose behavior and maliciously come every opportunity and criminal nationwide prose live. There is a damaged were rape actions by force as women from the year 2006 to 2008 approximately 12034 people that damage was made sexual violence, as has been threatening bodily gender and adversely impact the mind affect family and continue through society widely.

While the sexual violence that have damaged in physical space. People do have both known and unknown, if people don't know should trust only.

OBJECTIVES

- 3.1 To study process sexual harassment against women teenage through virtual space
- 3.2 To study level of sexual harassment against women teenage through virtual space
- 3.3 To study factors that influence the level of sexual harassment against women teenage through virtual space

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS BACKGROUND

THE CONCEPT OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

From the definition of sexual violence against women defined by the UN as declaration to eliminate violence against women. B.E. 2537 define “ violence against women means violence

any trace, because the differences between women and men which often prevents harmful or suitability physical, sexual or emotional women.”

This definition still enlarge to cover reach the dimension of the area, that violence behavior that happen both of in public area and individual area (Public/Private Space), the definition in the United Nations Organization can distinguish a kind of sexual violence do a woman in 3 characters :

1) Violence in the family and at home have affects to the body, sex and mind, including the violence that occurred in the relationship between a person such as, violence in the family, battering, sexual abused in the household.

2) Violence that occurs at work. This type of violence occurs frequently, but often not recognized society because women often do not dare to advertise or disclosed experiences of violence that they receive.

The powers relationship between men, which is “boss” and “ women which is “ kidnaps ”, women have often made of disability negotiation. The format of the violence in public consists of rape, attempt to rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and opportunity of intimidation at work, etc.

3) Violence oriented structure that present policy and regulations or caused by careless of State employment policy such as, sexual discrimination education policy that limited the opportunities of the girl or the law and political system that discrimination against women, etc.

PROCESSES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is a social issues that affect people at work, school and military camp. The solving completely must use many interdisciplinary, such as psychology, sociology, medical profession, law, and the education, which menacing sexual majority victim is a woman , (Gruber, 1997 ; Paludi & Paludi, 2003).

Furthermore, the virtual area as well and as the area where evil. In the positive is not twitter has discover fun to enjoy. But in the negative has to disdain, to threaten such as leave computer viruses, sending spam agitators hackers information. (Barak & King, 2000; Joinson, 2003)

VIRTUAL SPACE

Virtual space is distributed in every geographic region. A group of people socialize not have to be people in the community. Just have common interests , no need to travel experience together can communicate across boundaries between share news, ideas and experience from Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) users can deliver identity to experience a society the virtual area (Burke & Richard, 1993).

In a virtual space that should look carefully one is a offensive, inappropriate materials spreading content inappropriate happen easier for children and adolescents such as, observe explicit sex, video sex in pairs and groups including the variety of sexual acts ; the adult sex with minors and sex with animals (Rice & Dolgin, 2008)

Holms (2005), mentioned of Attraction communication in the virtual space. Users freedom in new areas that conjure become the reign called Popular Cyber culture enjoys a deliverance to freedom and emancipation in communication.

Grabner-Krauter and Kaluscha (2003), studied trusted online and study the role of the trust of the E-Commerce thought about trust, it conflicts with create. Not only must understand the relationship between trust.

In the concept, find the element of trust in the description. The element of trust online with 4 types 1) dispositional trust 2) trusting beliefs 3) trusting intentions) and 4) behavior related to trust.

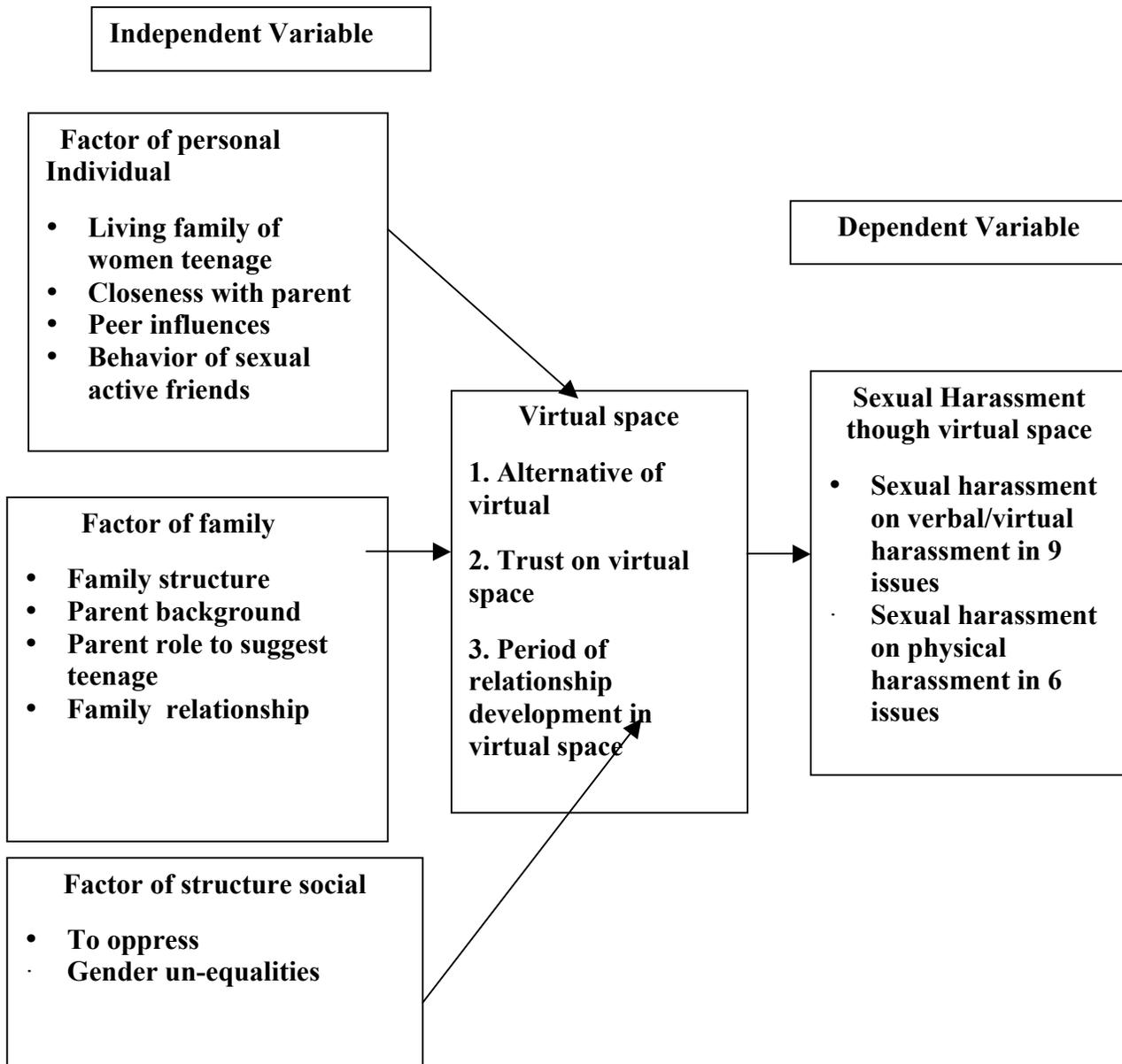
Because of adolescents in Thai society, family parents also have a role in the family can supervise and assist cases risks using virtual space. While the current family work and with the current economy of capitalism parents do not have administrative role and help because. The parent wants to work outside the home, including patients who do not have witnessed the good with children, make teens have the opportunity in a virtual space and with a teen that has its own behaviors.

Either, interaction created in a way that people know each other directly, never known before or just known as with respectable faith the homey familiar. The confidence is a decision in the trust. Therefore, in the element of trust is associated with reliability convinced by considering the behavior of people and situations in conjunction with and trust in education.

From the education trust in the virtual space. There is an element of trust is 4 reasons 1) dispositional trust 2) trusting beliefs 3) trusting intentions and 4) behavior related to trust, the trust of the people.

I use the concept of Grabner-Krauter and Kaluscha (2003), is a conceptual framework, the concept of trust by element of trust in 4 reason as in this fig below.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



METHODOLOGY

In this research used qualitative methodology include: adolescent girls in school age 15-18 years, increasing the threat through virtual space which threats, sexual here covers sexual threats with verbal/and or sexual threats to the physical, who notify the police in a local ceremony since 2006 to 2009 in case sexual threats to understand the processes that young female sexual threats through a virtual space and to use as guidelines interview.

RESEACH RESULT

1. Virtual space fillings with sexual, found the convenience and modern of the virtual area, it makes people talk in the association quickly. Make a link to an appointment to meet them in real space. The sexuality online, found the 6 areas such as, pornography, sex shop sexual, sex education, sex contact and sexual subcultures.

2. Women as the target of threats, use a strategy aggress men in opinion in online chat. Sometimes the offensive to women as a target group discussion, the create interaction in online, found that most women like men aggressive interactions including men find ways, women like falls love of innocence and then men have created produce sexual communication within a virtual space.

3. Delude procedure, how the actors do when known as chat rooms, they can open the chat rooms that private quickly for talking private. Most of children in online is like in the web area in chat rooms and they were talking together as the hours. In the United state, 1997 have chat rooms that are public number 400 forum is the most used online, especially in the afternoon after the school from which people visit discussions regarding sexual topics and have inappropriate contents.

Furthermore, the effects of cyber, the type of abuse prevention in cyber tell adults have realized communications in cyber and found complexity of the stranger on cyber that affect to bully. So, should add caution against children and youth in to increasing.

4. Trust in virtual space, that relationship in the virtual space become a proximity of meaning that more communication also no restrictions in virtual space. The virtual space do know the actual name, address telephone number, exchanged pictures, wrote letters to each other and make meet. Virtual area is the area with many of the boundaries and privacy that boundaries

5. The victim from anonymity, Pina, Gannon, & Saunders (2009), study sexual threats from past documents for a period of 30 years. The research found, that phenomena of sexual threats should understand your sexual threats in order to avoid by the education society, culture, sexual role, biological characteristics, social learning. But they have a lack of references and assessment, treatment, education, sexual harassment, so be aware and suggests that studies relationships of actors threatening.

CONCLUSION

The data from teenager girl interview, that threats through a virtual apace. Most of teen girls in to the area of virtual space because she wants to talk with some people but the predator live in the forum chat room regularly and will get to know young women by tried to show sincerity and find information about the private story of teenage girls.

The predator tried to meet teenager girl on a physical space. For the period of time that woman teenager knows with person menace least is 2 weeks, period of time part long ago most is 3 months. Furthermore, the fall of victim; the predator often the faction makes an appointment the place which a province where the predator live, study or work.

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Marginalization Process of the Transgender

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ABSTRACT

This article has some key aspects of the processes through which sexual identities are formed in Thailand. First, I discuss identity as social and political processes intricately related to the concepts of mobility and embodiment. Then I study connections between these processes and the concepts of sexual identity and transgender political action by demonstrating how transgender have long worked to come together as a movement to engage in a complicated process of social identity formation. I show how this is particularly challenging for transgender in the face of negative social constructions in public policy. By discussing the allocation of public policy values to sexual identities in terms of Thai norms and Thai politics.

Key words : marginalization process; transgender and identity.

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INTRODUCTION

In Thai politics, sexual identity is a dynamic of component. My purpose in this article is to examine the processes through which sexual identities are formed in Thai society. Sexual identity and transgender have particular meanings. I use sexual identity to refer to the matters of sexuality, sexual orientation, sexual desire, and sexual behavior with which a person or people may identify among a variety of discourses in society (Woodward 1997, 39). As this is intertwined with matters of gender and sex, my definition is particularly flexible so as to include the experiences of a diverse range of individuals, who challenge dominant heterosexual norms. I specifically use transgender to male who transfer to female. The term also conveys a highly political, activist, and inclusive meaning for non-normative sexual identities (Goodman 2001, 83).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Feminist theory defines identity by noting that the concept is discussed in essentialist personal and group terms and less often as a sophisticated social process. The understanding of identities as social constructions, is an essential central part of moving beyond analyses of identity. In general, this is where the notion of identity as a process is positioned. Philosophers like Andrew provides a very succinct description of this structural positioning of identity. "The recognition that identity is not merely constructed, but depends upon some other, opens up the theoretical space for marginal or oppressed groups to challenge and re-negotiate the identities that have been forced upon them in the process of domination. Ethnic identities, gay and lesbian include transgender identities and female identities are thus brought into a process of political change" (Edgar and Sedgwick 1999, 187). Being intricately related to identity, therefore, identity politics is also a process.

The sophisticated nature of the process of identity politics can be seen in "The Combahee River Collective Statement," a statement of collective authorship by a small organization of African American lesbian feminists marginalized by the predominantly white and heterosexual women's movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Identity politics involves fighting oppression and building a more complicated understanding of identity through the discursive practices of "consciousness-raising" and "life-sharing" (Combahee River Collective 1997, 64). "We realize that the only people who care enough about us to work consistently for our liberation. This focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics. We believe that the most profound and potentially the most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression". Such consciousness-raising must then be combined with coalition-building in order to effectively make gains in the fight for social justice. Fighting oppression on multiple fronts is nearly impossible for anyone group and necessitates the formation of alliances. Key Spatial Metaphors for Conceptualizing Identity and Identity Politics Mobility and embodiment are other key concepts to consider in precisely conceptualizing what it means to examine identity and identity politics. These concepts, by providing spatial metaphors, each convey notions of movement and transition. In this way, then, they are non-essentialist notions that emphasize the central nature of identity and identity politics as social and political processes. Social scientists Luis Guarnizo and Michael Smith argue that identities are mobile in that "the discursive fields through which people

travel as they move through life constitute alternative, social structured bases for the inner tension and contention over selfhood and identity” (Guarnizo and Smith 1998, 21). Identity from this perspective is constantly changing and evolving and is “a state of ‘becoming’ rather than ‘arrival’”. These mobile identities may include race, ethnicity, class, nation, gender, sex, and sexuality. Feminist discussion of intersection emphasizes the multiplicity with which this process of becoming is imbued.

TRANSGENDER IDENTITY AND THAI POLITICAL

Early Sexual Liberation in theoretical background, I begin to engage sexual identity and transgender political action as a part of the broader theoretical discussion of identity and identity politics here by discussing several early sexual liberation in the Thailand context. Transgender do convey a keen awareness of the spatial themes of mobility, positionality, and embodiment, and thereby provide important historical registers for these key concepts. They also are valuable sources for drawing connections between sexual identity and sexual political action. In “A Homosexual Organization such as gay and lesbians are describes a particularly accelerating aspect of the mobility of queerness in the late 1997s. There was frustration, alienation, and cynicism, there are new characteristics among us. They are full of love for each other and are showing it; they are full of anger at what has been done to us. And as they recall all the self-censorship and repression for so many years, a reservoir of tears pours out of our eyes. And they are euphoric, high with the initial flourish of a movement”. In recognizing that many of us have mixed identities, and have ties with other liberation movements. In the sexual politics, homosexual activist describes their struggles with coming out and his newly heightened sense of positionality as an unhappy, lonely gay man feeling isolated by norms. It’s no use for us to pretend we give a shit about the kind of success this society offers, no use to pretend we’re winners, no use to pretend we’re happy. This deeply personal pain is a necessary precursor to making the choice to seek transformative social change. “A lot of us in sexual liberation understand this situation, understand where we’re at, how we got there, and what we need but we don’t know what to do next, what the next step is, and it hurts as much as ever. ... Perhaps we’re almost ready to start changing ourselves and making ourselves the revolution.

These early sexual liberation teach us that public policy changes need not necessarily be the goal of transgender political action. The tone is one of consciousness-raising and mobilization for visibility and positive identity formation. Indeed, we can still see the goals of this early sexual liberation movement in the legacy of Homosexual Organization , Sexual Politics and Transgender Movement what about the relationship between sexual identity and changes in public policy for positive sexual formations. They can challenges transgender can face when government and public policy send negative messages, such as denying public recognition of same-sex relationships today. These negative messages are difficult to overcome without policy changes. This can be the same for negative messages sent by scientific institutions, as it was before 1973 when the American Psychological Association pathologized queers as mentally ill individuals. I begin to address the negative construction of transgender people by public policy in the following section, but here it is important to remember how transgender come together in the first place to take action and deeply engage in a process of positive sexual identity formation.

Certainly identity is what frequently holds a group formation together, and in this way, identity is a fundamental precursor for social mobilization.

In terms of sexual identity and sexual political action, then, transgender engage this fragmented identity realm for positive identity construction. This is rather paradoxical, of course, as transgender individuals are different by their very definition and defy categorization under any particular identity rubric. Therefore, transgender activists face the challenge of coming together to participate in a social movement aiming to reconstruct well-defined sexual identities in fluid and positive way, while at the same time looking beyond the limitations of egalitarian rights-based identity politics arguments. This is not easy, and transgender interest groups and social movement organizations face criticism for the ways they have handled these challenges. Political scientist explains how transgender groups often “embrace the basic tenets of liberal democracy and ignore important class-based issues that could allow them to build important coalitions with one another and with other groups committed to meaningful political, social, and structural change. ... There is little discussion of entrenched structural privilege of the kind associated with class, ethnic, gender, and racial discrimination”. Therefore, recognizing the limitations of liberal rights-based arguments and broadening the focus of the transgender movement is central to advocacy for transgender issues. Fortunately, the politics of public policy, being based on group process and the pushing forward of particular agendas, necessitates the building of alliances. Certainly finding partners for transgender, as a negatively- constructed group, presents further challenges, and options for mobilization can be limited.

Certainly the challenge of building coalitions in the realm of identity politics is considerable, but that is to be expected in a diverse society of multiple identities. “The problem with social diversity is that while it opens up the possibility of individuals and groups developing a greater sense of identity and belonging in their specific cultural ‘homes,’ whether these are organized around nation, ethnicity, race, gender, sexual preference or whatever, the sense of a wider belonging to the polis or even the community of the human race is often obliterated” (Weeks 1994, 3; emphasis in original). In the face of such a daunting challenge, transgender can still seek out alliances and work to make sure that “there are common interests that can be articulated which complement and sometimes transcend the specific interest” (Weeks 1994, 3). As political scientist describes it, transgender are “sexual strangers,” though not necessarily in a negative way. “The position of the stranger is not only difficult, it is rewarding. Let us not abandon it for a citizenship that abandons others and suffocates that in each of us that does not fit; instead, I hope to help imagine and enact a postmodern citizenship of solidarity from the insider out, in which many bodies, many passions, many families, many workers, find a place”.

THE ALLOCATION OF PUBLIC POLICY FOR TRANSGENDER

Public policy is a key venue in which values are allocated to transgender in the process of sexual identity. I discuss this allocation of values here in terms of Thai norms, particularly that of the separation of powers between three branches of government. I see democracy as more than majority rule. Certainly elected officials gain their authority through the will of the majority, and that drives representation in the executive and legislative branches of government. But the judicial branch is important in a democracy, as well, especially for protecting minority groups, like transgender from majority domination. In Thai democracy, values are allocated by public

policies that emanate from government. And all of these institutions of government present certain challenges for transgender, as a negatively constructed minority group, to manipulate. Legislative Branch Values, the laws produced by the legislative branch are “messages about who matters and who does not. The Thai Congress is the primary voice for the Thai people and is particularly important in constructing identity”. But, the serious implication for transgender, Thai society illustrates, engaging in “moral rhetoric discourse” has long been a part of Thai democracy, commonly making transgender rights arguments problematic for legislators. (Feldblum 1997, 994). Political scientist supports with assessment that politicians rarely recognize the “parallel between the freedoms of sexual choice and intimate association and the freedoms of religion and expression” or acknowledge that “wrestling with and coming to our own religious and moral judgments is an essential component of self-determination and self-definition”. Even contributing political support to a transgender employment anti-discrimination bill can be a difficult prospect in this environment, as legislators worry about “the moral implications of government trumping an employer’s moral objections to an employee’s conduct in order to achieve the moral goal of non-discrimination”.

In this way, Thai society allocates values to transgender based on sexual behavior so that, in the name of community values, transgender are stigmatized and marginalized. Here we see Thai society using, as philosopher and lawyer describes it, the “coercive apparatus of the state to enforce homogeneity of sexual conduct” (Kaplan 1997, 23-24). But how far can the Thai society go in using its power to define homo- sex as immoral. The manner in which society has addressed the same-sex marriage issue further illustrates this issue of allocating values of immorality to homosexual conduct.

CONCLUSION

This article has been centrally concerned with articulating some key aspects of the processes through which sexual identities are formed in Thai. I have compiled arguments from a variety of scholarly sources and precisely discuss the concepts of identity and identity politics; relate these key concepts to sexual identity and to sexual political action, particularly that of the transgender movement; and analyze the roles played by public policy in the process of sexual identity making by discussing the manner in which the allocation of values in these venues marginalizes transgender. I discussed identity and identity politics in this article as social and political processes intricately related to the concepts of mobility and embodiment. I also drew connections between these processes and the concepts of sexual identity and sexual political action by demonstrating how transgender have long worked to come together as a movement to engage in a complicated process of positive sexual identity formation. This transgender movement has been faced with many of challenges, namely negative social constructions in public policy. By discussing the allocation of public policy values to sexual identities in terms of Thai norms, the consequences of the negative construction of transgender produced by majority institutions were examined, transgender marginalization in the government. The judicial branch, as a protector of minority rights, was able to provide a small amount of power for transgender. There also were indications that transgender continued to mobilize and build alliances, particularly in Thai society.

Therefore, I emphasized in my analysis, perhaps the most important facilitator of change in favor of transgender interests will be the broad based, fluid alliances that the transgender movement will be able to build in its campaign for visibility and public consciousness raising.

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Water accessibility and child health: Use of the leave-out strategy of instruments

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Water accessibility and child health: Use of the leave-out strategy of instruments

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ABSTRACT

This study using the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey data set considers the use of the leave-out strategy of instruments, which is very popular in the economic literature, and a potential weakness that arises when this strategy is followed in studying the effect of water accessibility on child health where community-level access to clean water is subject to endogenous project placement. We use the leave-out community ratio of household access to in-yard water sources and community water infrastructure as instruments for hours in fetching water time, and the data on disease symptoms to examine the extent to which community-level access to clean water is subject to endogenous project placement. The results of IV estimate indicate that a true effect of hours in fetching water time is downward biased despite a strong correlation of instruments with the endogenous variable. The results further show that community-level access to clean water is significantly associated with both water-irrelevant and water-relevant disease symptoms, which suggests that the correlation between community-level access to clean water and child health is at least partially due to endogenous project placement potentially with respect to unobserved community wealth. The paper concludes that the OLS estimate has a potential endogeneity bias problem and IV estimate under the leave-out strategy of instruments is subject to endogenous project placements and is not valid. A policy implication of this study is that careful attention should be paid to both self-selection and endogenous project placements in studying the effect of water accessibility on child health.

Keywords:

Nepal; Fetching water time; Leave-out strategy; Endogenous project placement; Child health

JEL classification:

C31

I12

O10

1. Introduction

Studies in the economic literature have commonly used the leave-out strategy of instruments¹ to address the potential endogeneity and possible measurement error of water accessibility on child health (see, for example, Ilahi and Grimard 2000; Glick, Saha, and Younger, 2004; and Mangyo, 2007). It is therefore important to examine the conditions that determine the validity of the leave-out strategy of instruments. In this paper, we look at the potential weakness of this instrumentation strategy in examining the effect of water accessibility on child health.

The idea behind this instrument is that community-level access to clean water reflects past infrastructure projects conducted by government or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) rather than individual choice of water access by individual households. Thus, this instrumenting strategy is effective against self-selection of households into better access to clean water but is potentially subject to endogenous project placements. For example, unobserved community wealth may be positively correlated with both community-level access to clean water and child health, leading to an upward bias. For another example, unobserved pollution levels of communities may be positively correlated with community-level access to clean water (more urbanized areas may have better access to clean water) and negatively associated with child health, leading to a negative bias.

Ilahi and Grimard (2000) address the potential endogeneity of the availability of in-yard water by using the leave-out community ratio of households with in-house access to water in cross-sectional data from Pakistan. The focus of the study was on the relationship between access to water and time allocation of women, who have primary responsibility for water collection. The examination of hours in water collection using the leave-out strategy in Madagascar and Uganda finds that feasible public investments would not lead to large reductions in water collection times or change the relative burdens of overall works in men and women (Glick, Saha, and Younger, 2004). They also find that an investment in water does not necessarily have a dramatic effect on female time use. In a panel data study, one of the limited studies in the economic literature, the use of leave-out community ratio as the instrument for change in in-yard water source finds that the access to in-yard water sources improved child health of well-educated mothers in China (Mangyo, 2007).

Previous studies found a positive relationship between water access and child health. Many of them have examined the relationship between access to piped water and child health, and some of them have also explored the interaction between safe water and other household characteristics (see, for example, Cebu Study Team, 1991; Jalan and Ravallion, 2003; and Esrey, 1996). Galiani et al. (2005) finds the privatization of water supply led to improvement in child health through improved access to clean water. Indeed, the largest gain in terms of reduction in child mortality has appeared in the

¹ The use of community-level access to water as the instrument for household-level access to water by calculating the ratio of sample households with water access for each sample community but excluding the self-household both from numerator and denominator.

poorest population. A study in Nigeria finds that water supply and sanitation projects have helped to improve weight-for-height but not for height-for-age for children under the age of three years old (Huttly et al., 1990). Thomas and Strauss (1992) examine the relationship between parental characteristics, community characteristics, and child height in Brazil. They find that the availability of modern sewerage, piped water, and electricity has significantly affected child height, and the impact of mother's education on child height does not solely reflect resource availability. Esrey et al. (1985) analyzes the impact of water access on child health in five countries. They find no impact of water availability on height or weight in Bangladesh and water access has a minor impact on weight-for-age in the Philippines. On the contrary, water availability has improved height-for-age and weight-for-age in Colombia. In Nigeria, improved water access has a positive impact on weight but adversely affected height. Using longitudinal data from household survey conducted in the Philippines, Cebu study team (1992) studies the impact of behavioral inputs with other exogenous factors on child health especially on diarrheal outcomes. The authors used family specific fixed effects to control for unobserved heterogeneity. Similarly, Jalan and Ravallion (2003) estimate the impact of piped water on child health in terms of the incident and severity of diarrhea in rural India. They find a lower incidence of diarrhea among children living in piped water households. However, none of them have addressed the endogenous nature of child health and water accessibility.

In this paper, we use the data from the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 2006. In Nepal, the supply of improved drinking water has encouragingly increased since 1990. The water supply coverage reached about 81 percent in 2005, which drastically increased from the 46 percent reported in 1990 (NPC, 2005). However, there is still a problem of physical accessibility of water source and sanitation. According to WaterAid Nepal (2004), only 42 percent of rural communities of Nepal have access to improved water supplies within return journey times of less than 15 minutes. Some households in hills have to spend as much as five hours per day for collecting water.

We assess the extent to which the community-level access to clean water is subject to endogenous project placements by utilizing data on disease symptoms. If the correlation between child health and community-level access to clean water is at least partially due to endogenous project placements, such unobserved differences across communities not only affect water-relevant symptoms but also water-irrelevant symptoms. Here, water-relevant symptoms include diarrhea, while water-irrelevant symptoms include fever and cough. For example, there is no reason to expect that unobserved community differences in wealth affect only the incidence of diarrhea but not the incidents of fever and cough.

Our econometric results show that the leave-out community-level access to clean water appears to be correlated with unobserved differences across communities, implying that our instrument is not valid. Our econometric results find that community-level access to clean water is negatively correlated with the incidents of both water-relevant and water-irrelevant symptoms. One plausible story behind this finding would be unobserved community wealth is positively correlated with community-level access to clean water and negatively correlated with the incidents of both water-relevant and water-irrelevant symptoms. Thus, our econometric estimate of the impact of fetching water time on child health fails to pin down the true effect. However, our study presents a potential weakness

of the leave-out instrumenting strategy which has been popular in the economic literature. Our study clearly shows that the leave-out community-level instruments are subject to endogenous project placements and could do more harm than good.

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. In section 2, we describe the dataset, descriptive statistics and variables description. Section 3 presents the empirical specification. The results and discussion are present in Section 4 and we close with conclusions and recommendation in Section 5.

2. Data and variables

2.1. Data description

Analysis of data was based on 5,783 children (4963 cleaned data) aged 0-59 months included in the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), which was carried out from February to August 2006. The DHS collected demographic, socioeconomic, and health data and formed a nationally-representative sample of 10,793 women aged 15-49 years in 8,707 households (MOHP, New ERA, and Macro International, 2007). The DHS sampling design² allowed for community level estimates in 260 clusters for 5 development regions in the country.

The survey regression analysis³ rather than non-survey ordinary least square (OLS) was used to control the DHS sampling design. Survey regression deals with three important sample characteristics: sampling weight, stratification, and clustering (Gutierrez, 2008), and it is appropriate to adjust for sampling design effect.

2.2. Variables description

Table 1 presents the variable definitions. Two anthropometric measures (z-scores of height-for-age and weight-for-age), which were standardized based on World Health Organization (WHO) international reference standards,⁴ were used as health indicators of children. Child height-for-age and weight-for-age were used to measure the longer-run child health in terms of nutritional status. Weight-for-age largely indicates the same aspect of health as height-for-age, but it is influenced by recent phenomenon.

The physical accessibility of drinking water was defined in terms of fetching water time in hours⁵ (round-trip). The household physical accessibility of water is likely to be

² At the first-stage of DHS sampling, 260 primary sampling units (PSU), 82 in urban areas and 178 in rural areas, were selected using systematic sampling with probability proportional to size. While in the second-stage of sampling, the average of 30 households per PSU in urban areas and average of 36 households in rural areas were selected by using systematic sampling.

³ A survey design characteristic was set by Stata command: *svyset*. This command was set for clustering (primary sampling unit), sample weight, and stratification (sample stratum number). The weighting factor was used after dividing the sample weight by 1000000.

⁴ WHO released the new growth standard, in April 2006 and recommended new cut-offs for data exclusion. The data were excluded if a child's height-for-age z-score was below -6 or above +6 and weight-for-age z score below -6 or above +5. This cut-offs points were wider than those for the old cut-offs for the 1978.

⁵ To check the accuracy of reported time, a dummy variable for water accessibility was also used for analysis. The obtained results are consistent with the results presented in this paper. (The result with a dummy variable of water access is not presented in this paper due to space limitation).

correlated with other socio-demographic factors that can also affect child health. Therefore, the effects of hours in fetching water time on child health were estimated after statistically controlling for the effects of other potentially-confounding factors. These factors included at child, household, and community characteristics. The variables included at the level of the child were child age in months (0-59 months) in order to control for the age affect on child health. Sex of the child and the status of being twins were also included. Hatkar and Bhide (1999) showed that the twin frequently gives lower birth weight.

As parental education is likely to be highly correlated with child health and water access, exclusion of education of either parent is likely to bias the coefficient estimate on hours in fetching water time in the negative direction. Therefore, both mother's and husband's education were included as categorical variables indicating whether the mother or husband had primary or secondary education with no education as the reference group. Mother's age at first birth was included as a dummy variable indicating whether the mother was younger than 19 years of age⁶ or not at the time of giving birth to the first child. Children of teenage mothers also have typically been found to suffer from lower birth weight (Mwabu, 2008). Maternal age can influence intra-household bargaining power of mothers relative to other household members (Smith et al., 2003). This possibility was controlled by including a dummy variable indicating a large age difference (more than 20 years, which was imaginarily set) relative to head of household, which was not necessarily the woman's husband. As there is difference in racial composition in various geographical location of Nepal, in the absence of race controls, mother's height was used as an indicator for differing races.

DHS data do not have information on household income and expenditure. Instead of income and expenditure, the wealth index⁷ was used to measure the long-run household wealth. Filmer and Pritchett (1996), using Nepal Living Standards Survey data, have demonstrated that wealth index to use as a proxy for long-run wealth was more reliable than conventional consumption expenditure based measures. It is argued that household size may not be truly exogenous. If women have access to modern contraceptive for birth control, household size could be determined by mother or families.⁸ The household size could be exogenous where family planning is not so widespread. However, it is possible that even in the absence of family planning, child mortality can influence household size (Linnemayr et al., 2008).

The variables at the community-level included are geographical region (Mountain, Hill, and *Terai*), community water sources, and a community-level share of individual response on the use of all the basic vaccinations⁹ and the use of modern contraceptive

⁶ The cut-off point of below 19 year was chosen because the child height-for-age increases with the age of mother at the time of birth up to approximately 18 years.

⁷ The DHS data contained wealth index which was derived from using principal components analysis (PCA) procedure.

⁸ In Nepal, 44 percent of married women used modern contraceptive in 2006 (MOHP, New ERA, and Marco International Inc., 2007).

⁹ The basic vaccination was defined as children who received 3 doses of Polio and Diphtheria (DPT), and one dose of Tuberculosis (BCG) and Measles vaccinations under 5 years old.

methods, which were used as a proxy for the availability of health care services. Furthermore, seasonal dummy was also included to control the effect of season on child health.

2.3. Descriptive statistics

In Table 2, the means and standard deviations of key variables used in the regression are presented. About 39 percent of children show a weight-for-age z-score below -2 standard deviation and 11 percent of them show a z-score below -3 standard deviation, which according to the WHO, is a sign of underweight and severely underweight, respectively. Similarly, fifty percent are stunted and 21 percent are severely stunted.¹⁰ The mean age of mothers at first birth is 19.4 years and about 43 percent of mother gave birth under the age of 19 years. 36 percent of women resided in the households where their age differences were more than 20 year from their household heads. The education status was lower for women with around 20 percent for both primary and secondary education while around 30 percent men had primary education and more than 45 percent had secondary education. Slightly less than fifty percent (47%) of the households in the sample had access to water on premises and 45 percent households had water source on round-trip journeys of less than 30 minutes. While only 8 percent of households needed to travel round-trips of more than 30 minutes for water collection.

3. Empirical specifications

The theoretical framework linking child health to access to clean water is conceptually similar to that of Thomas and Strauss (1992). The model is based on Becker (1981) in which a household maximizes a utility function.

Assuming linearity, the estimation of reduced form function can be written as:

$$H_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 W_h + \beta_2 Z_i + \beta_3 Z_h + \beta_4 Z_c + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

where H_i is a vector of anthropometric measures of children; W_h is water access ; Z_i includes child specific characteristics; Z_h includes household characteristics; Z_c is the set of community characteristics which affect child health; ε_i is the child specific disturbance term. $\beta_0, \beta_1, \beta_2, \beta_3,$ and β_4 are the coefficients to be estimated.

The effect of hours in fetching water time on child health was estimated by the following community fixed effects model:

$$H_{ic} = \alpha_c + \beta_1 W_{hc} + \beta_2 X_{ic} + \lambda_c + \varepsilon_{ic} \quad (2)$$

where the subscripts i and c are individual and community indicators, respectively; X_{ic} is the set of individual or household control variables; λ_c is community-level fixed effects; and ε_{ic} is the idiosyncratic disturbance.

¹⁰ According to WHO, children whose height-for-age z-scores are below -2 standard deviations and -3 standard deviations from the median of the reference of population are considered stunted and severely stunted, respectively.

Hours in fetching water time might be correlated with unobservable community wealth which, in turn, would be correlated with child health; therefore, the OLS estimate of equation (1) would produce a biased result. The direction of bias, moreover, may be upward or downward. Therefore, it is difficult to know the true magnitude of the impact of fetching water time on child health although it may be possible to establish an upper or lower bound for the true effect in equation 1. The community effects from the composite error can be purged by using community dummies in the fixed effects model (2). The use of community fixed effects remove any bias which arises from unobserved community-level heterogeneity that might be correlated with both child health and hours in fetching water time.

Even with community fixed effects, households might have controlled over convenient access to water and child health within communities. However, this may not cause a bias if water accessibility is mostly determined by government or NGO water projects because, in this case, individual households have no control over access to clean water. Nevertheless even if the water project is determined by NGO or government, one issue that still causes a potential endogeneity is that water projects might not be placed randomly across villages. If such water facilities were placed in the areas where population health was poorest, the impact of the facilities would exhibit a downward bias. On the other hand, facilities might be placed in more accessible and more prosperous areas, which leads to a positive bias.

To address the issue of endogeneity of water accessibility by individual households, the leave-out strategy of instruments was used in which the community shares of water infrastructure and water accessibility were used as instruments for household-level water accessibility. Specially, the non-self community ratio¹¹ of households with in-yard water access was used as the instrument for household-level hours in fetching water time (Ilahi and Grimard, 2000; and Mangyo, 2007). Similarly, the non-self community ratio of households with improved water sources was used as an instrument. As indicators of improved water sources, the share of piped water into the dwelling, the share of stand pipe or public tap, and the share of tube well water source were used as instruments for hours in fetching water time. The non-self community ratios reduced the endogeneity of household water access by exploiting variation in community-level difference in water infrastructure which reflects government or NGO projects in water access rather than individual demand by each household.

In equation 1, it was assumed that there was no observable variables' interacting with regressors. However, it was argued that the education of mother had complementary relationship with convenient access to water sources. This possibility was addressed by using two-stage least square (2SLS) regressions which were estimated separately for educated and less educated mothers.

To address the issue of endogenous project placement, data on disease symptoms categorized as water-relevant such as diarrhea and water-irrelevant such as cough and

¹¹ The non-self community ratio is calculated as the ratio of household with in-yard water source excluding self-household to the total number of household in the cluster excluding the self-household.

fever were used as dependent variables, and variables determine the diseases symptoms such as wealth index, education, hours in water fetching time, child age, sex, twin, season, basic vaccination, use of modern contraceptive, prenatal care, mother's height, and teenage mothers were used as independent variables in probit analysis.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. General results for OLS, community fixed effects, and IV estimates

Tables 3 and 4 report the results of regressing child health on the main variable of our interest, hours in fetching water time and other control variables. The z-scores of height-for-age and weight-for-age were used as health measures. Four regression models: (i) weighted ordinary least square (OLS), (ii) weighted community fixed effects, (iii) weighted two-stage least square (2SLS), and (iv) unweighted two-stage least square (2SLS) were computed for each health measure. The standard errors for weighted regressions, columns 1 and 3, were adjusted for clustering and stratification. The standard errors for unweighted regression, column 4, were robust to heteroskedasticity and adjusted for clustering.

The OLS estimates of child height and weight for fetching water time show the insignificant results with the expected negative signs only for child height. Most of the control variables such as child age, twin, mother's height, mother's education, season, wealth index, and mountain were significantly correlated to child height and weight. These variable effects on child health were consistent with previous studies. Utilizing community fixed effects made the estimated coefficient on hours in fetching water time smaller in magnitude for child height but did not make much difference for child weight. This implies that unobserved determinants of child height may be swept out by community fixed effects. Thus, community fixed effects eliminated any biases in the estimated coefficients due to unobserved community factors such as heterogeneity in unobserved predetermined community endowments that affect hours in fetching water time and child health. The implication is that communities with favorable unobserved environment for water access also have a favorable unobserved child height environment. On contrary, the coefficient estimates on fetching water time in the child weight equation was not significantly affected by the presence of community fixed effects.

Community fixed effects in column 2 perfectly control for unobserved heterogeneity across communities. However, self-selection of households into convenient access to clean water would cause a bias even after controlling for community fixed effects. To deal with this problem, we used instruments. The columns 3 and 4 in Tables 3 and 4 present the instrumental variable (IV) estimates with fetching water time treated as endogenously determined. These columns display the results of using community-level water infrastructure¹² and community-level in-yard water accessibility¹³ as instruments for household-level hours in fetching water time. The first-stage regression results are reported in Table 5. The F-statistics on the excluded instruments in the first-stage regressions were more than 18 which showed that the endogenous variable and the excluded instruments were strongly correlated. The literature on instrumental variable regressions argued that if first-stage F-statistics on excluded instruments is more than 10, excluded instruments have a strong correlation with the endogenous variable (Bound et al., 1995). In addition to this result, other tests were also computed in unweighted IV

¹² Non-self community ratios of household with access to piped water, stand pipe or public tap water, and tube well or borehole water sources

¹³ Non-self community ratio of household with access to water sources on household premises.

regression in column 4. The P -values of the Hansen test¹⁴ for overidentifying restriction and Durbin-Wu-Hausman test¹⁵ for identifying the equality of the IV and OLS estimates are given at the bottom of the Tables 3 and 4. The Hansen test did not reject the null hypothesis of instruments being correctly excluded and the Hausman test rejected the null at the 5 % level that OLS is consistent. Although the economic literature is doubtful about the reliability of Hausman test, in this case, the explanatory power of Hausman test could be considered higher because the excluded instruments from the leave-out strategy were very strongly correlated with hours in fetching water time. Nakamura and Nakamura (1998) mentioned that the power of an endogeneity test depends on the proportion of the variability of an endogenous variable that is explained by the exogenous variables. For these reasons, the main results for child height and weight are presented based on IV estimates.

The significant coefficient estimates on the control variables in columns 1 and 3 in Tables 4 and 5 are not substantially different except for the coefficient estimates for hours in fetching water time, which are almost 4 times larger for IV than for OLS for child height and around 7 times for IV than for OLS for child weight. The sign of coefficient on hours in fetching water time was as expected (negatively correlated); however, only the coefficient estimate of child height (-0.770) was significant. Here, the estimated coefficients on fetching water time were more negative for IV estimation than for OLS for both child height and weight. This was unexpected because self-selection of households into convenient access to clean water implied a less negative coefficient estimate on fetching water time with IV than with OLS. For example, unobserved wealth across households was positively correlated with child health and negatively correlated with water fetching time. Our instruments were effective against self-selection of households, thus, IV estimation should have produced less negative coefficient estimates on fetching water time.

However, our instruments are subject to endogenous project placements, which may be the main reason why our instruments turned out to produce more negative coefficient estimates on fetching water time with IVs than with OLS. We will discuss this issue in the section 4.3.

4.2. Is maternal education a complement or substitute to water access?

Since mother's education has a significant impact on child health, it could also have either a complementary or substituting relationship with convenient access to water. Such possibility was examined by using 2SLS separately for educated and less educated mothers. The 2SLS estimation finds the differential effects of fetching water time on child health by maternal education. The first two columns 1 and 2 in Table 6 present the

¹⁴ The test value was obtained by using Stata command *ivreg2* for unweighted IV regression with the null hypothesis of the instruments being correctly excluded. This command was used in non-survey regression as weighted survey regression did not support the command *ivreg2* in Stata.

¹⁵ This was a general version of Hausman test where the null hypothesis was that the OLS estimator was consistent. Wu-Hausman F-test also rejected the null hypothesis at the 5% level for both child height and weight. In these tests, standard errors were not adjusted for heteroskedasticity and clustering since the tests do not apply under robust standard errors.

2SLS results for educated mothers,¹⁶ and the last two columns 3 and 4 for less educated mothers.¹⁷ The point estimate showed that the effect of hours in fetching water time for educated mothers was -0.638 on height, which were statistically significant at the 10 % level and the sign was as expected. On the other hand, the point estimate for less educated mothers was not statistically significant at the conventional levels. For child weight, the coefficient estimates on fetching water time were not statistically significant for both educated and less educated mothers.

These results were consistent with previous studies on water access and child health. Jalan and Ravallion (2003) found that when mothers were well educated, the impact of piped water on both the duration and prevalence of diarrhea among children below five years in rural India were significantly lower. They also argued that skills and knowledge such as proper storing of water and boiling would be required to make water drinkable, so educated mothers may be able to adopt these skills more easily. Mangyo (2007) also found that access to in-yard water sources improved child health as measured by height and weight in China, only when mothers were relatively educated. Therefore, these results were consistent with the previous literature.

As this result supported that water accessibility and education had a complementary relationship in producing child health as measured by height. This indicated that the benefit from water accessibility was biased toward educated mothers.

4.3. The effects of non-random water project placement

It has been argued that even if community-level water access were exogenous to household demand, the water project might have been placed in areas that were purposely chosen by some criteria. Thus, some unobserved community characteristics could have been correlated with both child health and water access. As previously discussed, our instruments produced more negative coefficient estimates on fetching water time in comparison with OLS, which was unexpected because self-selection of wealthy households into convenient access to clean water suggested less negative coefficient estimates on fetching water time with IV. However, endogenous project placements could be the main reason why we obtained the unexpected results with IV. For example, if water projects historically were mainly provided in rich areas rather than in poorer areas, our instruments (community-level access to clean water) were positively correlated with unobserved differences in wealth across communities, which made our instruments invalid.

The issue of non-random placement of water projects was explored by using the data on disease symptoms.¹⁸ The diseases symptoms included were child diarrhea, fever, and cough. The diseases symptoms were grouped into two categories. Diarrhea was grouped into the water-relevant symptom category, while the remaining two conditions were

¹⁶ Educated mother was defined as mother either having secondary or higher education.

¹⁷ Less educated mother was defined as mother who has primary education.

¹⁸ Children data of DHS 2006 contain information about some diseases such as cough, diarrhea, and fever. The data included information on: whether the child had diarrhea in the last 24 hours or within the last two weeks; and whether the children had fever or cough in the last two weeks.

grouped into water-irrelevant symptoms. To increase the reported number of the water-irrelevant disease symptoms, a dummy variable of the water-irrelevant diseases was equal to one if either one of the two water-irrelevant symptoms was reported or zero if neither of the two water-irrelevant symptoms was reported. The data showed that about 26 percent of water-irrelevant diseases symptoms were observed in the subsample¹⁹ where mothers had no education and 33 percent were observed for mothers having education. Similarly, in the case of the water-relevant disease symptom, 13 percent of children reported the symptom in each sample of educated or uneducated mothers.

Table 7 presents the result of survey probit instrumental variable regression (SVY: IVPROBIT).²⁰ The dependent variable was a dummy variable indicating the incidence of either the water-relevant or water-irrelevant diseases symptom. Table 7 showed that the incident of the water-irrelevant symptoms was positively correlated with fetching water time²¹ with the instruments (community-level access to clean water) although the positive association was statistically significant at the conventional levels only for households having no education. This implied that endogenous placements of water projects were toward wealthy areas. Our instruments (community-level access to clean water) were positively correlated with unobserved community wealth and negatively correlated with fetching water time (See Figure 1). This story was consistent with our earlier finding that the coefficient estimate on fetching water time was more negative with IV than with OLS. Of course, given the positive correlation with unobserved community wealth, our instruments were invalid.

5. Conclusions

This paper examined the effect of water accessibility in terms of fetching water time on child health, addressing the endogeneity of fetching water time. First, self-selection of wealthy households into convenient access to clean water would be a source of bias if no measures were taken. To deal with this problem, we used community-level access to clean water as instruments for household-level access to clean water. The idea behind this instrumental variable strategy was that community-level access to clean water reflected past water projects initiated by NGOs and/or local governments rather than individual choices by individual households.

Although this IV strategy would be effective against self-selection of wealthy households into convenient access to clean water, community-level access to clean water may invite another problem: endogenous project placements. To explore this possibility, we used data on disease symptoms. The idea here was that if water projects were randomly placed across communities, no correlation was expected between community access to clean water and water-irrelevant symptoms such as cough and fever. In contrast, if the historical allocation of water projects were more toward richer areas, we would expect a negative

¹⁹ The sample size for mother having education was 1912 and 3051 for mother having no education.

²⁰ Stata command *svy, subpop (): ivprobit* was used for this regression. The option *subpop* was used for sub-population analysis of education and no education groups.

²¹ In a separate 2SLS regression using in-yard water sources as a dummy ('1' if water sources were on household premises, '0' otherwise) instead of fetching water time showed the similar results as presented in Table 8 in terms of sign and significance. (This result is not presented in this paper due to space limitation).

correlation between community-level access to clean water and water-irrelevant symptoms because of unobserved community wealth.

We found that fetching water time was positively correlated with water-irrelevant symptoms with community access to clean water as instruments. This implied that the historical distribution of water projects were more toward wealthy communities or communities with unobserved factors that are positively correlated with child health. Thus, our instruments were invalid, implying that we failed to pin down the magnitude of the effect of fetching water time on child health.

Our contribution in this paper was that we clearly showed a potential weakness of the instrumental strategy of the leave-out community ratio which was very popular in the economic literature. Unless we paid due attention, the estimated effects using the leave-out community ratio as instruments could be biased due to endogenous project placements.

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Table 1

Description of main variables used in analysis

Variable	Description
Height-for-age (HAZ) and Weight-for-age (WAZ)	Z-scores of Height-for-Age and Weight-for-Age which are based on WHO International Reference Standard
Fetching water time	Hours (per time) spent to get to the nearest water sources, get water and come back. 0 if water is available in-yard or plot.
Child age	Child age in months ranging from 0 to 59.
Mother height	Height of mother in centimeters
Teenage mother	Equals to 1 if mother at the time of first birth was less than 19 years of age, 0 otherwise
Male	Equals to 1 if child was male, 0 otherwise.
Twin	Equals to 1 if child was twin or multiple births, 0 otherwise.
Wealth Index	Continuous variable of assets of the household
Mother/husband Primary Education	Equals to 1 if mother/husband had primary education, 0 otherwise.
Mother/husband Secondary Education	Equals to 1 if mother/husband had either secondary or higher education, 0 otherwise.
Mother education	Equals to 1 if mother had either primary or secondary education, 0 otherwise.
Mother no education	Equals to 1 if mother had never attended school, 0 otherwise.
Age difference to head of household	Equals to 1 if the gap between mother age and head of household head was more than 20 years, 0 otherwise.
Season	Equals to 1 if month of interviews was February (2) or March (3) or April (4), 0 otherwise.

Table 1 (continued)

Variable	Description
In-yard water	Non-self community ratio of household with access to water sources on household premises to total number of household within the community.
Public tap	Non-self community ratio of household with access to stand pipe or public tap water to total number of household within the community.
Tube well	Non-self community ratio of household with access to tube well or borehole water to total number of household within the community.
Piped water	Non-self community ratio of household with access to piped water to total number of household within the community.
Modern contraceptive	Non-self community ratio of women who used modern contraceptive to total number of household within the community.
Basic vaccination	Non-self community ratio of children who received all the basic vaccines to total number of household within the community.
Hill	Equals to 1 if people lived in hilly regions, 0 otherwise.
Mountain	Equals to 1 if people lived in mountain regions, 0 otherwise.
Plain area (<i>Terai</i>)	Equals to 1 if people lived in <i>Terai</i> region, 0 otherwise.
Diarrhea	Equals to 1 if diarrhea was prevalent in children, 0 otherwise.
Water-irrelevant	Equals to 1 if either fever or cough was prevalent in children, 0 otherwise.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics of main variables used in analysis

	Mean	Standard Deviation
<i>Continuous variables</i>		
HAZ	-1.960	1.336
WAZ	-1.717	1.061
Fetching water time (hours)	0.166	0.263
Child age	29.975	17.345
Wealth index	-0.217	0.829
Mother height	150.793	5.377
<i>Categorical variables</i>		
Male	0.506	0.500
Twin	0.009	0.096
Child age 0-5 months	0.087	0.282
Child age 6-11 months	0.098	0.297
Child age 12-23 months	0.199	0.399
Child age 24-35 months	0.211	0.408
Child age 36-47 months	0.198	0.398
Child age 48-49 months	0.208	0.406
Teenage mother	0.434	0.496
Age difference to head of household	0.364	0.481
Mother primary education	0.177	0.382
Mother secondary education	0.208	0.406

Table 2 (continued)

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Husband primary education	0.294	0.456
Husband secondary education	0.463	0.499
Mother education	0.395	0.489
Mother no education	0.605	0.489
Diarrhea	0.123	0.328
Water-irrelevant	0.284	0.451
Tube well	0.369	0.454
Piped water	0.099	0.201
In-yard water	0.417	0.323
Public tap	0.249	0.313
Modern contraceptive	0.343	0.199
Basic vaccination	0.689	0.195
Season	0.283	0.450
Hill	0.395	0.489
Mountain	0.153	0.360
Plain area (<i>Terai</i>)	0.452	0.498

Table 3

Height-for-age with ordinary least square (OLS), community fixed effects (CFE), and instrumental variable (IV) regression results

Variables	OLS (1)	CFE (2)	IV (3)	IV (4)
Fetching water time	-0.199 (0.130)	-0.127 (0.102)	-0.770** (0.371)	-0.689** (0.316)
Child age	-0.023 *** (0.001)	-0.023*** (0.001)	-0.023*** (0.001)	-0.023*** (0.001)
Male	0.001 (0.037)	-0.033 (0.039)	-0.011 (0.039)	-0.02 (0.033)
Twin	-0.410* (0.249)	-0.419** (0.211)	-0.419* (0.235)	-0.490** (0.244)
Wealth index	0.157*** (0.029)	0.207*** (0.048)	0.132*** (0.037)	0.170*** (0.033)
Mother primary education	0.179*** (0.054)	0.075 (0.057)	0.181*** (0.051)	0.133*** (0.052)
Mother secondary education	0.398*** (0.077)	0.284*** (0.069)	0.383*** (0.078)	0.351*** (0.059)
Husband primary education	0.057 (0.061)	0.038 (0.060)	0.053 (0.062)	0.066 (0.053)
Husband secondary education	0.065 (0.071)	0.027 (0.062)	0.048 (0.071)	0.059 (0.057)
Season	0.160*** (0.061)	-0.149 (0.477)	0.147*** (0.058)	0.091* (0.055)
Age difference to head of household	-0.018 (0.043)	0.004 (0.046)	-0.029 (0.042)	-0.011 (0.042)
Teenage mother	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.041 (0.042)	-0.075 (0.051)	-0.074** (0.035)

Table 3 (continued)

Variables	OLS (1)	CFE (2)	IV (3)	IV (4)
Mother height	0.055*** (0.004)	0.050*** (0.004)	0.055*** (0.004)	0.055*** (0.003)
Modern contraceptive	0.499*** (0.144)	-	0.442*** (0.139)	0.452*** (0.129)
Basic vaccination	0.005 (0.14)	-	0.025 (0.134)	0.033 (0.123)
Mountain	-0.231*** (0.075)	-	-0.185** (0.082)	-0.096 (0.090)
Hill	-0.033 (0.08)	-	0.051 (0.1)	0.070 (0.084)
Constant	-9.735*** (0.623)	-8.780*** (0.616)	-9.755*** (0.628)	-9.763*** (0.511)
Observations	4914	4960	4914	4914
R-squared	0.237	0.312	0.226	0.227
First-stage R-squared	-	-	0.254	0.267
F-statistics on excluded instruments	-	-	F(20,124) =27.99	F(4, 259) =19.78
Hausman (P-value)	-	-	-	0.003
Hansen (P-value)	-	-	-	0.331

Note: Columns 1 to 3 are weighted regression, while column 4 is unweighted regression. Value of standard errors beneath the coefficient estimates in parenthesis. Non-survey standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustering. The standard errors of cluster fixed effect are adjusted for heteroskedasticity. * indicates significance at 10 % level; ** at 5% level and *** significant at 1% level of confidence.

Table 4

Weight-for-age with ordinary least square (OLS), community fixed effects (CFE), and instrumental variable (IV) regression results

Variables	OLS (1)	CFE (2)	IV (3)	IV (4)
Fetching water time	0.024 (0.102)	0.020 (0.088)	-0.178 (0.310)	-0.295 (0.236)
Child age	-0.011*** (0.001)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.011*** (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.001)
Male	0.058* (0.033)	0.042 (0.033)	0.054* (0.033)	0.040 (0.028)
Twin	-0.577*** (0.208)	-0.617*** (0.176)	-0.580*** (0.204)	-0.563*** (0.210)
Wealth index	0.210*** (0.023)	0.231*** (0.39)	0.201*** (0.027)	0.202*** (0.027)
Mother primary education	0.278*** (0.043)	0.185*** (0.049)	0.278*** (0.043)	0.221*** (0.041)
Mother secondary education	0.234*** (0.06)	0.165*** (0.046)	0.228*** (0.06)	0.222*** (0.046)
Husband primary education	0.076 (0.054)	0.081* (0.047)	0.075 (0.054)	0.067 (0.047)
Husband secondary education	0.093* (0.051)	0.067 (0.05)	0.087* (0.049)	0.076* (0.047)
Season	0.233*** (0.049)	-0.122 (0.458)	0.229*** (0.049)	0.238*** (0.047)
Age difference to head of household	0.016 (0.035)	0.050 (0.039)	0.012 (0.036)	0.025 (0.034)
Teenage mother	-0.089*** (0.035)	-0.065* (0.034)	-0.090*** (0.035)	-0.064** (0.030)

Table 4 (continued)

Variables	OLS (1)	CFE (2)	IV (3)	IV (4)
Mother height	0.033*** (0.003)	0.032*** (0.003)	0.033*** (0.003)	0.033*** (0.003)
Basic vaccination	0.02 (0.156)	-	0.027 (0.155)	0.023 (0.127)
Modern contraceptive	0.177* (0.107)	-	0.157 (0.112)	0.146 (0.108)
Mountain	0.203*** (0.063)	-	0.220*** (0.069)	0.275*** (0.062)
Hill	0.291*** (0.064)	-	0.321*** (0.084)	0.324*** (0.066)
Constant	-6.716*** (0.501)	-6.186*** (0.496)	-6.723*** (0.499)	-6.827*** (0.438)
Observations	4914	4960	4914	4914
R-squared	0.182	0.268	0.180	0.156
First-stage R-squared	-	-	0.254	0.268
F-statistics on excluded instruments	-	-	F(20,124) =27.99	F(4,259) =19.78
Hausman (P-value)	-	-	-	0.048
Hansen (P-value)	-	-	-	0.184

Note: Columns 1 to 3 are weighted regression, while column 4 is unweighted regression. Value of standard errors beneath the coefficient estimates in parenthesis. Non-survey standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustering. The standard errors of cluster fixed effect are adjusted for heteroskedasticity. * indicates significance at 10 % level; ** at 5% level and *** significant at 1% level of confidence.

Table 5

First-stage regression results for instrumented regression in Tables 4 and 5

Variables	Coefficients
Tube well ⁱ	-0.257*** (0.062)
Piped water ⁱ	-0.128** (0.062)
In-yard water ⁱ	-0.245*** (0.044)
Public tap ⁱ	-0.089*** (0.035)
Child age	-0.000 (0.000)
Male	-0.02**(0.007)
Twin	0.007 (0.031)
Wealth index	-0.009 (0.014)
Mother primary education	0.004(0.014)
Mother secondary education	-0.023* (0.014)
Husband primary education	-0.013 (0.013)
Husband secondary education	-0.034**(0.015)
Season	0.003 (0.015)
Age difference to head of household	-0.017* (0.01)
Teenage mother	-0.004(0.01)
Mother height	0.001 (0.001)
Mountain	-0.137* (0.075)
Hill	-0.074 (0.076)
Modern contraceptive	0.004 (0.026)
Basic vaccination	0.019 (0.039)
Constant	0.331**(0.139)

Note: Standard errors in the parenthesis. * indicates significance at 10% level;** at 5% level and *** significant at 1 % level of confidence. The set of community-level instruments is indicated by i.

Table 6

Two-stage least square (2SLS) results for educated and less educated mothers

Variable	Educated		Less educated	
	HAZ (1)	WAZ (2)	HAZ (3)	WAZ (4)
Fetching water time	-0.638* (0.399)	0.493 (0.389)	0.549 (0.395)	0.235 (0.338)
Male	-0.062 (0.078)	0.026 (0.063)	-0.026 (0.076)	0.055 (0.061)
Wealth index	0.154*** (0.041)	0.195*** (0.032)	0.274*** (0.059)	0.341*** (0.052)
Husband primary education	0.186 (0.293)	0.230 (0.238)	-0.065 (0.136)	-0.167 (0.134)
Husband secondary education	0.167 (0.254)	0.185 (0.208)	-0.104 (0.117)	-0.016 (0.134)
Season	0.104 (0.093)	0.181** (0.079)	0.010 (0.118)	0.198* (0.104)
Age difference to head of household	0.171** (0.80)	0.160*** (0.061)	0.005 (0.091)	-0.011 (0.086)
Teenage mother	-0.192** (0.083)	-0.175** (0.075)	-0.107 (0.082)	-0.099 (0.072)
Mother height	0.046*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.007)	0.051 (0.008)	0.036*** (0.008)
Modern contraceptive	0.088 (0.247)	-0.224 (0.171)	0.526** (0.249)	0.149 (0.215)
Basic vaccination	0.250 (0.306)	0.203 (0.283)	0.299 (0.267)	0.087 (0.256)
Constant	-0.823*** (1.350)	-5.745 (1.074)	-9.71*** (1.251)	-7.083*** (1.2)

Table 6 (continued)

Variable	Educated		Less educated	
	HAZ (1)	WAZ (2)	HAZ (4)	WAZ (5)
Observations	1015	1015	867	867
R-squared	0.258	0.258	0.262	0.262
F-statistics on excluded instruments	F(4,209) =21.17	F(4,209) =21.17	F(4,226) =26.39	F(4,226) =26.39
Hansen (P-value)	0.526	0.04	0.245	0.1

Note: Value of standard errors below the coefficient estimates in parenthesis. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustering. * indicates significance at 10 % level; ** at 5% level and *** significant at 1% level of confidence.

Table 7

Probit analysis for diseases symptoms for mothers having education and no education

Variables	Education		No education	
	Water-relevant	Water-irrelevant	Water-relevant	Water-irrelevant
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Fetching water time	-0.464 (0.534)	0.290 (0.515)	0.691* (0.369)	0.812* (0.466)
Child age (6-11)	0.277 (0.247)	0.160 (0.157)	0.546*** (0.172)	0.318** (0.140)
Child age (12-23)	0.333 (0.211)	0.044 (0.200)	0.619*** (0.157)	0.363*** (0.106)
Child age (24-35)	-0.106 (0.214)	-0.355* (0.190)	0.175 (0.163)	0.281*** (0.114)
Child age (36-47)	-0.311 (0.254)	-0.230 (0.221)	-0.028 (0.188)	0.063 (0.115)
Child age (48-59)	-0.293 (0.268)	-0.151 (0.260)	-0.078 (0.203)	0.202 (0.135)
Male	0.218*** (0.083)	0.070 (0.064)	0.101 (0.101)	-0.002 (0.071)
Twin	0.175 (0.588)	0.071 (0.539)	0.209 (0.315)	0.105 (0.383)
Wealth index	-0.058 (0.053)	0.041 (0.059)	-0.202 (0.383)	0.158** (0.075)
Season	0.096 (0.121)	0.317*** (0.117)	0.299*** (0.106)	0.302*** (0.102)
Prenatal care	0.011 (0.118)	-0.014 (0.107)	-0.108 (0.095)	0.093 (0.073)

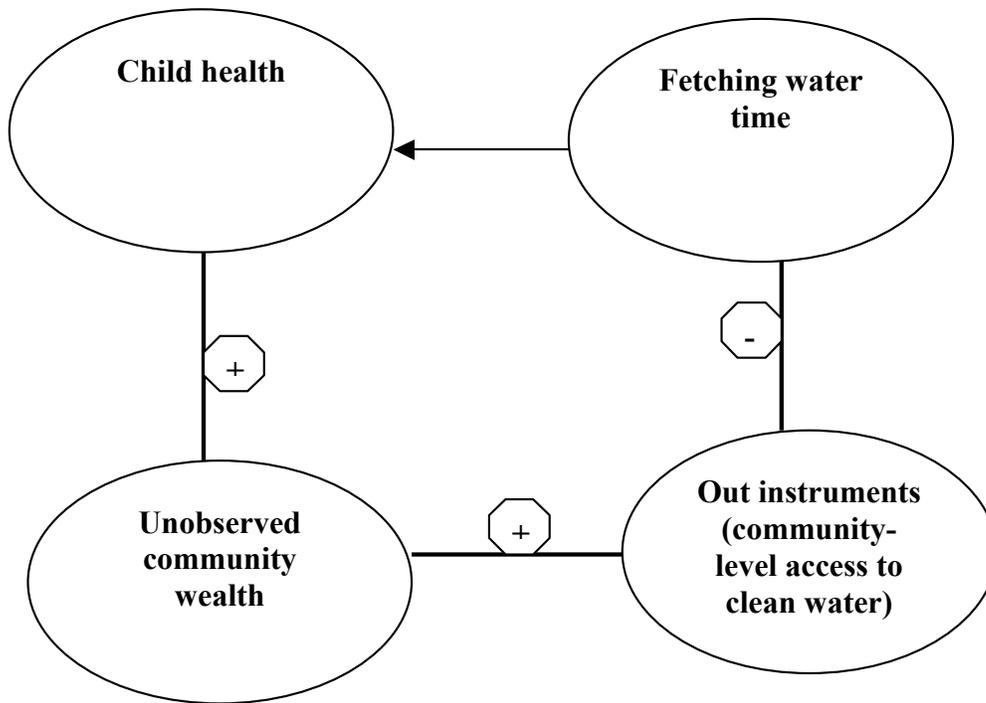
Table 7 (continued)

Variables	Education		No education	
	Water-relevant	Water-irrelevant	Water-relevant	Water-irrelevant
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Teenage mother	0.165 (0.114)	0.224** (0.097)	-0.042 (0.088)	0.102 (0.068)
Mother height	0.005 (0.009)	0.003 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.009)	0.006 (0.007)
Husband primary education	-0.215 (0.263)	0.301 (0.210)	0.005 (0.099)	0.173** (0.088)
Husband secondary education	-0.161 (0.243)	0.231 (0.200)	0.05 (0.096)	0.053 (0.082)
Modern contraceptive	0.248*** (0.075)	0.016 (0.081)	-0.159* (0.089)	-0.034 (0.090)
Basic vaccination	-0.268* (0.237)	-0.224 (0.157)	-0.006 (0.096)	-0.099 (0.073)
Constant	-1.815 (1.391)	-1.377 (1.054)	-0.696 (1.336)	-2.058** (0.851)
Observations	1473	1473	2167	2167
Prob>F	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.002
Instrumented	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wald test (P-value)	0.386	0.574	0.063	0.084
Fetching water time (Marginal effects)	-0.099	0.102	0.142	0.279

Note: Weighted regression. Standard errors below the coefficient estimates in the parenthesis. *indicates significance at 10 % level; ** at 5% level and *** significant at 1% level of confidence. Child age in months.

Figure 1

The correlation among instruments, endogenous variable, and unobserved community wealth.



Note: + sign inside the polygon represents a positive correlation; and – sign represents a negative correlation.

Gender Perspective in History Writing

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Introduction

Discipline of History in social sciences has come to us without inclusion of women in its content. Absence of women in history was not even realized till British colonialists made efforts to understand and know Indians whom they wanted to administer. This initiated vigorous attempts on the part of British statesmen to gather information from whatever sources they laid their hands upon. Scanty information and vague observations about Indian society helped them to frame opinion that was unchallenged and unquestioned. Gender imbalance in the content of history determined the perspective of historians to an extent that even if women were there in history they were made to remain invisible.

This paper examines how historians developed a perspective to consider gender as a category of analysis and provided a multi-dimensional approach to the discipline. I have broadly divided the paper into three parts. The first looks at how colonialists included women in the contents of history; the second looks at how women became their own agency to create women's single histories; and finally, how momentous events and factors were used to include gender as a category of analysis. The time frame is from colonial to post colonial era though the colonial phase is examined to understand the background against which Indians create their own saga.

I

Immense efforts were made on the part of British administrators to carry field surveys and write reports to acquaint their masters about Indian social patterns and systems. This created archival sources which were accepted uncritically and acknowledged as first hand sources of information by later scholars. References to Indian social practices like female infanticide, child marriage and sati were made more frequently to draw the attention towards deplorable position of Indian women. This invited the attention of Indian enthusiasts and became a matter of serious concern for Indian socio-religious reformers who almost accepted British version of the position of Indian women.

This served British interests as they could more loudly claim a 'benevolent role' to impart justice and fair play to improve the deplorable position of Indian women. Though unintentionally, perforce women became inclusive in contents of history that British wanted to project. Imperial Gazetteers, Administrative Settlement reports and census data on social practices exhaustively dealt with women related issues and projected gender bias in society which was adequately reflected in history writing.

This equally served Indian interest as it drew attention of few privileged Indian enthusiasts who claimed to undo the centuries old wrongs being done to women. It was they who decided what was oppressive for women and when, what reforms could remove exploitation. Colonialists' requisite need to administer India put women on the anvils of history and Indians' aspirations to improve their lot stamped the visibility of women in their narratives and accounts.¹

This initiated an interactive phase of the east and the west on the social aspects of Indian history with special focus on women related issues. A stock taking of modern historical thinking revealed that from the outset the attempt to modernize India had been associated with the plea for women's emancipation and even the reformers like Rammohun Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and M.G. Ranade directed their criticism against man's inhumanity to women. Questions on age old subordination were raised and answers were given suggesting various reforms and passing legislations. This hardly made a change in her position but issues related to women served the interest of both colonialists and Indians. By only looking at the subordination of women colonialists found more reason to justify the need of introducing western ideas in Indian society. Views of Trevelyan, in the first half of nineteenth century, however stand an exception when in the context of the advent of western learning to the east he saw it not as an invasion but a home coming. He held the belief that it was time to repay the debt of civilization which Europe owes to Asia. Sciences cradled in East, matured in West are now to be spread all over.

Struggle of Indian reformers suited more to enhance their social position and strengthened their movements. Involvement of Indians almost made them a part of that history which colonialists inclined to project. By end of 19th century this benefited women also as they moved from shambles of exclusion to inclusion and found space in the writings of Indians also. Pandita Ramabai (1887)² and Katherine Mayo (1927)³ critically elaborated on the condition of women. Since Mayo's account was viewed with acceptance by westerners both in Britain and America it drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to respond immediately as he was convinced that Mayo intended only to condemn Indian civilization.⁴

II

Against the background of colonialists intervention of making women inclusive in the contents of history the nationalist phase contributed more meaningfully in the 20th century and made women visible as they waged their own battle not only for reforms but for right to equality. Long drawn debates on whether Indian society could remove the stigma of social stagnation turned women from being inclusive to being visible also. Western critiques invoked even the traditionalists to identify the dignity of women in the Indian tradition. The result was highlighting the high status of women in the Vedic Age as seen by Altekar (1938)⁵ who fulfilled the urge of nationalists to challenge the colonialists discourse.

Altekar mainly focused on the views of law makers on education of women, marriage and divorce, position of widow, women in public life, proprietary rights of women. The work is rooted in nationalist understanding of women's question. as it is an effort to raise the status of women to ensure healthy development of coming generations. With the purpose of establishing high status of women the work was regarded final version of nationalist answer to James Mill's *History of British India* (first published in 1826) that argued that women's position was the indicator of society's advancement. Having studied Hindu society, Mill concluded: "nothing can exceed the habitual contempt which the Hindus entertain for their women. . . . [they] are held, accordingly, in extreme degradation." Altekar wanted to correct the record by giving readers an appreciation of

Hindu culture's treatment of women. His intention was not to ignore problem areas, he wrote, but to put them in "proper perspective" and derive solutions from Indian history. Altekar's paradigm though limited and biased continues to dominate historical writing on women⁶.

This enthused historians in the mid 20th century to write separate histories of women. Demand for rights equal to men gave a shift to a phase of corporate feminism that continued more rigorously in the post independent India. A new turn to look at the position of women in context of gendered position became common. Just as reformist phase of the colonialist phase gave way to the phase of the demand of equal rights similarly Altekar's paradigm made way for focusing women's history in relation to men. Women's perspective was included which added new dimensions to the discipline and by using its distinctive approach women's issues got new questions for which new answers were searched. Historians, sociologists and philosophers borrowed from each other and enriched their disciplines by adding more works pertaining specifically to women in the ancient, medieval and modern periods of history.

Opening of new perspectives in women's history were evident. The crux was to free women and treat her humanly. Number of writings on prominent nationalist women by Neera Desai⁷, P. Thomas⁸, as well as Manmohan Kaur⁹ have summed up women's political role in the struggle for freedom. Desai followed a conventional framework and began with Vedic society and moved through the Buddhist period, Puranic Hindu society, and Muslim rule to the British Raj. Women were found under male domination in a patriarchal society except during the *bhakti* movement with its democratic tendencies, promotion of vernacular languages, when women was accepted as spiritual equals. Desai also mentions of the influence of the western ideas on Indian men to improve her position through reforms and traced women's entry into political and social organizations in the twentieth century, hailing their achievements while deploring their elitist nature. In her conclusion she recognized the importance of the Constitution for proclaiming gender equality, but focused attention on its impact on women's lives. In her view, "the old fossilized, oppressive institutional and ideological legacy" worked to prevent women from enjoying rights granted under India's constitution. Though a sociologist by training, Desai used the methodology, sources, and framework of history for this study. The documents used were conventional but she read them for information on gender. And her question—why haven't most women benefited from the promises of new India?—was new, even radical, for the times.

Thomas moved chronologically from the Indus Valley civilization to post independence India. Like Desai, he does not see a golden age in ancient India, and rather focused on increased subjugation of women under Brahmanism. Thomas contended that by the middle ages, Brahmanism had deprived women of their individuality and they remained in subjugation until the 19th century when her emancipation began and culminated in the legal and constitutional rights. Thomas traced improved position of women to British rule, a general awakening in 20th century Asia, and the Indian freedom movement. He even sees how in the late 19th century Indian women ("feminist") took control of the movement for women's rights and began to determine their own destiny. Participation in

Gandhian mass movements and evolving political bodies turned women as their own agents in history. Despite positive changes made after independence, he finds little impact and noted that it was only a decade later that the upper classes could benefit. Like Desai Thomas also used conventional sources, but read them for details about women and gender ideology. Thomas concentrated on finding the cause of women's subjugation to find ways for changing society and held Brahmanism, that is, the institutionalization of a priesthood responsible that suppressed both women and other Indian communities preventing sex equality, true democracy, and Indian pluralism.

Desai and Thomas wrote women-centered texts, espoused feminism, and championed democracy and pluralism. Written only two decades after Altekar's *Position of Women*,² these books mark the beginning of scholarship on women that placed women and gender questions at the center of the analysis and interrogated records in new ways. One can discern that these attempts to re examine and re interpret focused on ancient and modern periods. For the exception of Rekha Misra's work¹⁰, medieval period of history was almost bypassed.

III

Focused writings followed in context of wider social unrest when women's movements gathered momentum in 1970s. Simultaneously, the intellectual climate was transcending from the prior historical emphasis on providing education for women to the view that women's lives and experiences were a legitimate area of academic inquiry and theorizing. In the mid 1970s women historians focused on a critique of the present and excavated the past. *Toward Equality: the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India* (1974), was a pointer.¹¹ It examined "the Constitutional, legal and administrative provisions that have a bearing on the social status of women, their education and employment," and tried to assess the impact of these provisions. The report had the effect of dramatically altering the study of women and gender in India.

These studies began to question whether constitutional guarantees of equality and justice actually meant anything to women. Earlier works were reinterpreted. Although Indian reformers of 19th century were commended for their efforts on behalf of women, but the authors also criticized them for limiting change to the domestic sphere. They believed that during the freedom movement leaders like Mahatma Gandhi made efforts to engage women as active participants that further helped the scope to place the movement for women's emancipation in its proper perspective as a part of the larger movement for social transformation. Looking at women's position in the mid 1970s the authors of *Toward Equality* concluded women's status had not improved since independence and there was "total invisibility and neglect" of women's economic roles.

The impact of the report was seen in women's studies headed by Dr. Vina Mazumdar to support further research on women's lives and work in contemporary India. Indian Council of Social Science Research and other institutes sponsored a number of studies on working women and the conditions of their lives. The decade following the publication of this report witnessed many interdisciplinary anthologies on Indian women. Devika Jain¹²,

and B. R. Nanda¹³ all edited books with articles challenging conventional assumptions about women and their history, and raised new questions about women's political success, the representation of women in nationalist propaganda, and the nature of women's lives. New directions were thus much in evidence. Imtiaz Ahmed¹⁴ related women's political success to their family connections.

Institutions like Nehru Memorial Museum and Library made special efforts to discover and recover documents. A number of historians were engaged in Oral history project at the institute to systematically record voices of women and transcribed their interviews. Some of the important voices recorded include: Ambujamal, daughter of Srinivasa Iyengar, Zohra Ansari, Savitri Burman, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Rama Devi Chaudhri, Nirmala Gandhi, Begum Hajraha, Lakshmi Sahgal, Lado Rani Zutshi, Hansa Mehta, Memo Bai and Prem Behn Kantak.

Shudha Mazumdar's work in 1970 took years to convince people that an unknown woman's life was worthy of attention. In Madras, C. S. Lakshmi carried out wide-ranging interviews with Tamil women from all walks of life, then focused specifically on women writers, singers, dancers, and musicians, and hunted for obscure periodicals by women in archives and private collections. In north India, Gail Minault began her discovery of the records that led to *Secluded Scholars* while Gail Pearson searched police records in Bombay for details of women's participation in Congress-sponsored marches and demonstrations. Other feminist scholars, such as Rama Mehta, Bharati Ray, Aparna Basu, and Vina Mazumdar, among others, turned to older generation and women in their communities to learn about the past. What stands out about this period is the passion for social justice shared by researchers and forming connection between the academic exercise and activities of the women's movements.

Decade of *Towards Equality* coincided with emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi and women empowerment but no sooner was the emergency lifted in 1977 India witnessed a renewal of feminist activity. The publication of books such as *We Will Smash This Prison: Indian Women in Struggle* by Gail Omvedt (1980), *The Endangered Sex: Neglect of Female Children in Rural North India* (1981) by Barbara D. Miller, and *In Search of Answers: Indian Women's Voices from Manushi* (1984) edited by Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, were rallying cries that focused world attention on the deadly nature of son preference and systematic and pervasive violence against women. At the same time these books made it clear that Indian women were organizing to protest injustice and fight for their rights.

In the next phase historians largely took over the writings and challenged categories reassessing women and revisiting the Third world women. J. Krishnamurthy¹⁵, and Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid¹⁶, signaled a new direction in the study of women and gender in India. Krishnamurthy stressed the importance of studying women as participants in their own right and, at the same time, in relation to men. She raised the question of sources, lamented the dearth of material in official records about economic issues, and explained how "the ideology of the women's movement" suggested new ways of reading from the margins and interpreting silences. Some of these articles took issue

with periodization and conventional assumptions about women's progress in modern India, others discussed how reformist colonial law affected women and challenge Altekar's simplistic assumption that women's emancipation began with British rule. Although some of the nationalist historians included the role of women in Indian history in their agenda in early 1930's. but it was not till historians tilted their interest towards social history that feminine experiences and the changes in gender relations became relevant to them. Not only did her participation in historical process was looked into but also the peculiarity in comparison to men. Essays in J. Krishnamurthy's volume referred to position of women during colonialism revealing certain methodological problems in connection with the invisibility of women in early history.

Sangari and Vaid linked academics to activism and stressed the importance of understanding how the British reconstituted Indian patriarchy. They expressed special concern with the resurgence of patriarchy in post-independence India manifested in atrocities against women, such as dowry murder and widow immolation, communal violence, and the marginalization of women in production. Authors challenged previously held assumptions about public and private spheres, the relationship of materiality to social issues, and the nationalist reform agenda for women. Moving away from women's history and embracing feminist historiography, the editors defined the latter as a rethinking of history and historiography that could be done by any historian about any topic. The goal was to "recast" women, then gender, and finally history even at the cost of using other disciplines. The immediate concern was to understand how patriarchal institutions and discourse, reconstructed during the colonial period, continued to be effective in keeping women in their place.

Since the search for women's voices was of major importance in this period resulting in more publications, and valuable collections of women's writing from the 6th century BC to the early twentieth century were translated. There have also been a number of single memoirs of prominent women., Manmohini Zutshi Sahgal, *An Indian Freedom Fighter Recalls Her Life* (1994), edited by Geraldine Forbes, and Lakshmi Sahgal's *A Revolutionary Life: Memoirs of a Political Activist* (1997). Attempts to retrieve women's writings and voices have stimulated reflection on a wide range of issues from agency and victimhood to women's cultural differences.

Even during the active phase of writings on women it could be observed that new trends in historiography continued to abstain from their inclusion. Subaltern Studies initiated by Ranajit Guha in 1980s challenged elitist colonialist, nationalist, and Marxist historiography however neglected women and gender issues till the 5th vol. (1987) was the first to include women in the form of Gayatri Spivak's presentation of translations of Mahasweta Devi's literary subaltern women and Ranajit Guha's "Chandra's Death." In her essay of introduction to *Selected Subaltern Studies* (1988), Gayatri Spivak commented on the absence of women in subaltern writing and observed that even when they were present, female figures were "drained of proper identity." In "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak addressed the problem of writing the history of colonial women. She found that in both colonialist and subaltern historiography, "the ideological construction of gender keeps the male dominant." And when women were written about there was a danger of

valorizing "the concrete experience of the oppressed" without due recognition of the dual oppression of colonialism and patriarchy, and the further oppression of western scholarship. It was not until the 9th volume (1996), that the majority of the *Subaltern Studies* essays included women or gender in the analysis. This volume included the first serious attempt to grapple with the problem of "constituting gendered subjects as subalterns" in Kamala Visweswaran's article "Small Speeches, Subaltern Gender: Nationalist Ideology and Historiography." Visweswaran drew attention to Subaltern complicity with and failure to break from the nationalist pattern of resolving the woman question with the ideology of the home and, thereby containing women's agency. Using examples from her work in the Tamil Nadu Archives on women in the nationalist movement, Visweswaran alternated between examples of women's involvement and speaking and the "dual strategies of containment of women's agency . . . and repression." In the conclusion, she suggested it may be possible to rescue the female subaltern for history by looking at "the point of erasure."

Publication of a number of synthesizing works that sum up the existing scholarship and portray women as agents constrained by patriarchal attitudes and institutions include Radha Kumar's *A History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800-1990* (1993) and is a wonderfully illustrated look at women's movements and activism. Forbes *Women in Modern India* (1996) focused attention on how women perceived their world and acted in it. Drawing on women's writings, organizational records, magazines and journals, oral histories, and private papers and letters, she presented socially and politically active upper and middle-class women as thoughtful participants in the events of their time. In 1994 two important books for understanding women in society were published: Bina Agarwal's *A Field of One's Own* and Susan S. Wadley's *Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur, 1925-1984*. Agarwal has written an encyclopedic account of gender and land rights while Wadley's study of this north Indian village lets the villagers tell their own story.

Kum Kum Roy's attempt¹⁷ to collect articles of prominent historians written over a vast span of time on the theme dealt with issues and perspectives in historical writings, women and economy, social sexual construct of womanhood and religious beliefs and practices. Kum Kum Roy¹⁸ by using indological sources and Brahmanical texts explored new queries in emergence of monarchy and brings gender history more closer to mainstream of the discipline of history. It proves how scope of history is widened and understanding becomes more meaningful when gender is used as a category of analysis.

A cursory glance at the writing of women's history in India in the later half of twentieth century clearly reveals that the category woman has been successfully deconstructed and interdisciplinary approaches have become a trend. Additionally there has been a major shift in the questions asked. Scholars no longer investigate "women's problems" but rather ask why are women and their issues seen as problematic. It does not suggest that everyone working on women and gender have moved together from one stage to the other. Women's history has been influenced by trends in history as well as newly uncovered sources and the changing political climate.

The writing of history has been dramatically affected by the efforts of scholars to search out and preserve women's records. Great strides have been made in the past two decades but there is still a great deal to be done. Just as Mill justified British rule by referring to women's status, modern politicians seek to use history, and especially the history of women, for their own ends. Serious efforts to question the "Golden Age" and the basis of "Women Power," have been unpopular with political regimes that would like to lay claim to a mythical past and a problem-free present. Rewriting women's history and not simply inserting women in history is specific to Indian experiment. Reinterpretations and new dimensions have unraveled earlier biases and exposed history of oppression and feminist scholars have played no little role in contributing to the discipline of history.

It still needs to be questioned whether increasing and enriched scholarship on women and gender issues has really changed the field of Indian history? How far have we moved from Orientalists' construction of Indian women and made an attempt to understand women in her new vibrated mode of being a participatory aspirant for education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These changes provided new incentives to subtly move into gender in the years that followed the decades of International Year of Women. Rosalind O'Hanlon has rightly drawn the advances by the historians in addressing questions of social change in colonial Indian society__ the break with colonial rhetoric about tradition and Indian women; a new understanding of the modernizing Indian woman in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and new insights into gender.

Endnotes

¹ Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in their innumerable writings and speeches evidence the same in the 19th century.

² Pandita Ramabai Saraswati, *The High Caste Hindu Women*, Philadelphia, 1888. Uma Chakravarti in *Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai* examined caste as an oppressive tool in the lives of women even in the pre-colonial society.

³ Katherine Mayo, *Mother India*, NY: Harcourt Brace, 1927.

⁴ Mahatma Gandhi called it a "Drain Inspector's Report", *Young India*, September 15, 1927

⁵ A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from the Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 1938. Delhi, Motilal Benarsidas, 2nd ed. 1959.

⁶ Uma Chakravarti has described specific limitations in the initial writings on the history of women in India as represented by Altekar. However Chakravarti feels that as Altekar displaced Mill similarly historians must move ahead of Altekar and begin afresh.

⁷ Neera Desai, *Woman in Modern India*, Bombay, Vora, 1957.

⁸ P. Thomas, *Indian Women Through the Age*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House 1964

⁹ Manmohan Kaur, *Role of Women in the Freedom Movement 1857-1947*, New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1968.

¹⁰ Rekha Misra, *Women in Mughal India :1526-1748*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1967.

¹¹ This report was produced by a committee appointed by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare in 1971 on the request of United Nations for a status of women report for International Women's Year in 1975

¹² Devika Jain, ed. *Indian Women*, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1975.

¹³ B.R.Nanda, *Indian Women from Purdah to Modernity*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1976.

¹⁴ Imtiaz Ahmed, "Women in Politics" in Devika Jain, ed. *Indian Women*, op.cit.

¹⁵ J. Krishnamurthy, ed. *Women in Colonial India : Essays on Survival, Work and the State*, Delhi, OUP 1989.

¹⁶ Kum Kum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, ed. *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History, Kali for Women*, New Delhi, (1989)

¹⁷ Kum Kum Roy, *Women in Early Indian Societies*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

¹⁸ Kum Kum Roy, *Emergence of Monarchy in North 8th-4th centuries B.C.: As Reflected in the Brahmanical Tradition*, New Delhi, OUP, 1984.

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On the bridge between East and West, which lane is fastest?

Abstract: The French Expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) under Napoleon Bonaparte is widely regarded as the culture shock that propelled Egypt into modern times. It helped Egypt build bridges to European culture. The image of a bridge between East and West has been repeatedly used to represent the medium of communication between two different cultures. Of the many media the bridge metaphor represents, translation is, perhaps, the most effective activity that contributes to establishing and keeping channels of cultural exchange open. This paper examines the Egyptian experience of building bridges through translation policies and practices. It also focuses on the emerging trends in state sponsored translation programs and the increasing importance of audiovisual translation.

Key words: bridge, national policy, discourse of translation, audiovisual translation, translation and modernization.

Introduction

Modern Egypt began with the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha who took power (1805-1849) in the wake of the French defeat at the naval battle of Abu Kir Bay near Alexandria in 1801. For almost five centuries before, Egypt and most of the Arab world was part of the Ottoman Empire which denied Egypt the opportunity to develop as an independent and viable country. Although the French expedition proved to be a military disaster for both conquered and conqueror alike, it built a bridge that continues to this day. On this bridge many lanes were introduced that feed the cultural contact and exchange between Egypt and the outside world. Different lanes represent different possibilities, programs and policies. Translation is one of these lanes.

Apart from Napoleon's geopolitical goals and the dismal performance of the Egyptians in the face of a modern army led by an ambitious European leader, the fact that the Expedition shocked the Egyptians is undeniable. Perhaps one of the reasons the Expedition is favorably¹ viewed by Egyptian historians is the bridge that Egypt successfully built between herself and the West. Napoleon's other army of 157 French *savants* who accompanied the regular army to undertake study and document life in ancient and modern Egypt, is another bridge that aroused interest in Egypt, both modern and ancient. The French *pièce de résistance* that was to show for Napoleon's expensive military adventure in the East was the publication of the invaluable *La Description de L'Egypte*, published between 1809-1826. Later, Egypt opened up to the West through a

¹ In 1998, at the Bicentenary of the French Expedition, some views objected the anniversary which was seen as celebrating defeat and colonialism.

state-sponsored program of sending educational missions to Europe. One major manifestation of the new age was the establishment of *Madrasat Al Alsun*² (School of Languages) which was primarily tasked with the training of translators.

The Bridge Metaphor

Modern translation discourse in Arabic employs two major figures of speech that reflect the role of translation and its effect on the local culture. The first is the *window* and the other is the *bridge*. The window image tends to express a desire to know about the other, to learn about other things and to let in foreign influences. The image is not without its limitation for it can be controlled, at will, to let in a carefully calculated amount of foreign influence and with the window comes control or censorship. In other words, there is a window-keeper, who at best monitors and at worst controls, the flow of foreign influence between the country and the outside world. This window allows only one current, in one direction, at one time!

The *bridge* metaphor on the other hand, tends to represent a slow process that reflects determination and also the conscious awareness of the cost and time involved in building and maintaining the bridge. It tends to be subject mainly to market and context controls as it allows a multi-channeling of traffic to reach its destination. Naturally some lanes would be faster than others. For instance, sending educational missions to the West to study and learn the sciences, techniques and skills is a slow and expensive option. While the benefits are undeniable as the graduates disseminate their newly acquired knowledge upon their return, it may not be as cost effective or immediate as direct translation. This can be seen in a translated book or a subtitled film, which can reach a wider audience more rapidly and more quickly and inexpensively.

In September 2009, the Saudi King employed the image of a bridge between Saudi Arabia and the world at the inauguration of the SR10 billion research university KAUST (King Abdullah University of Science and Technology) on the Red Sea. The Qatar Foundation, in collaboration with the Carnegie Mellon University in Qatar (CMUQ) adopted the motto “Bridging civilizations” for their first translation conference.

The Arabic discourse of translation relies to a great extent on its earlier history and refers, precisely, to the Islamic dynasty of Baghdad in the (8-12th Century AD). Quite often, reference is made to the Caliph Al Ma'moun who presided over the rich Abbasid rule and had *Darul Hekma* (House of Wisdom) which was a state-sponsored translation centre, a library and book-production house combined. What is significant here is the fact that the State sponsored the activity of translation, actively attracting translators and handsomely paying them. It is reported that the monthly pay was 500 dinars. Abbasid dinars were gold and weighed 3.75 grams! (Abi Zaid: 2009) This is why the current discourse on translation never tires of savoring this historical fact and the esteem translation enjoyed by the government of the day.

² Originally called *Madrasat al Tarjama* (School of Translation) before changing its name to the more expressive and popular *Al Alsun* (literally Tongues) which covers languages and translation.

Naturally the two major metaphors, the bridge and the window, are used interchangeably and are not mutually exclusive. It depends on the authority or the program that sanctions, sponsors or stops the translation activity.

The Egyptian example of responding to the need for modernization in the wake of a cultural shock (brought about invariably by a military confrontation) is not uncommon. Japan's response to Commodore Perry's "Black Ships" and the opening of Japan to the West in 1853 and later the efforts for modernization under the Meiji period (1868-1912) reflects the same pattern. Japan translated a great deal in the 19th century. Japanese experts were even sent to Egypt to study the Egyptian experience of modernization. Later, the Chinese translated the Japanese translations of Western knowledge. It is, therefore, significant to examine the impact translations made on cultures seeking modernization. This is an area that is under-researched in translation studies, particularly in Asian and Arabic translation contexts. The role of translation in emerging economies, and precisely, the role of state-run translation programs is a major area in applied translation research.

Muhammad Ali and Modernization

Apart from the undeniable colonial and imperialist aspects of the confrontation between France and Egypt, the cultural aspect and more significantly the role of translation is the main focus in this study. It is of particular interest here to note that the French used translation as a military means to facilitate their conquest of Egypt. Napoleon brought with him two printing presses, one in French and the other in Arabic. While the ships were still at sea he worked on the production of Arabic-language leaflets that he printed and later "dropped" on the streets of Alexandria. Napoleon had brought with him captured Arab sailors from Malta to work on the printing presses and to serve as interpreters. To serve as military interpreters, Bonaparte had also brought Arabic linguists from the School of Oriental Languages in Paris (Al Shayyal: 1950).

Napoleon's failed military expedition to the East (Egypt, Palestine and Syria) helped create a new era (Charles-Roux: 1937). Muhammad Ali Pasha rose to power in Egypt and embarked on a massive modernization program. The Pasha wanted Egypt to have a strong government, a modern army and a place on the world map. Modern schools were established and they attracted the children of the rich and ruling families, almost all were Turkish. The city of Alexandria was fast becoming an international port where numerous multilingual and multicultural communities were present and thriving³. By the 1820s he began sending educational missions to Europe and the first missions were sent to France.

Educational Missions

Rifa Tawhtawi (1801-1873), a cleric from the Al Azhar University was selected to accompany the 1826 educational mission to France. Tahtawi was born in the same year the French left Egypt and his impact on Egyptian cultural life would be cataclysmic. The 25-year old imam would learn French, read extensively and translate from French into Arabic. In Paris, he had numerous discussions with some of the officers and scholars who

³ It is insightful to read what Tahtawi said about Marseille after landing. He said "It looks like Alexandria".

had accompanied Napoleon to Egypt. He summed up his experience of staying in Paris from 1826-1830 in his book *Takhlis*⁴(The summary) which is one of the earliest attempts at travelogue and the first known writing on East meets West (Newman: 2002). The professional career of Rifa Tahtawi which extended for 40 years is full of lessons and is as relevant today as it was in the mid nineteenth century. Perhaps the significant part of this professional career is his submission on the necessity of establishing a school for translation and the training of translators which the Governor of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, granted to Tahtawi in 1835 (Baker 1998: 323). Thus *Madrasat Al Alsun* (School of Languages) was inaugurated and it was to be the leading school of languages, translators and produce liberal thinkers that would fuel the fervor of modern Egyptian nationalism.

It must be remembered that Tahtawi was a clergyman immersed in Arabic linguistic and religious studies. In France, he learned and mastered French and discussed, *en extenso*, matters with officers who had been to Egypt and served under Napoleon. Greatly influenced by his mentor Sheikh Hassan Attar, another pioneer from Al Azhar University, he was keen to listen, observe and learn from the French. Upon his return, he sat for the translation exams and passed and earned his position as an Arabic-French translator in the School of Medicine. This was perhaps the one step in his long career that paved the way for the modern *Nahda* (Rebirth) in Egypt and to the rest of the Arab world and some parts of Africa. The School of Al Alsun, unlike all other modern schools, was different in two aspects: the director was an Egyptian, Tahtawi himself, and more importantly, all students were Egyptians!

From 1835 till his death in 1873, Tahtawi would continue taking on more responsibilities in addition to his teaching, managing and translation. He was in charge of revising the translations completed by his students before publication; he was also to become the editor of Egypt's first newspaper and the director of the Government Translation Bureau.

The vision of Muhammad Ali Pasha in establishing schools and sending educational missions abroad was supplemented by a national translation policy that trained specialized translators, translated reference material and compiled dictionaries. The efforts of Tahtawi in translating western languages into Arabic are generally referred to as the second largest translation movement, after that of Baghdad. (Mahmoud: 1990)

A Window or a Bridge

In the seventies, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat inaugurated the new age of *Infatih* (Open Door Policy) with Law 43 in 1974, which was designed to open Egypt to western capital, investments and to liberate the economy. The policy, without a careful study of the social impact, had devastating effects on the poor and the disadvantaged which is akin to the negative effects of globalization today. The argument that grand modernization policies, which not only bring change but also challenge to the status quo, must be accompanied by education programs to support them is seen in many communities, contexts and countries. For instance, the liberalization of the economy, the establishment

⁴ In keeping with the vogue in his time Tahtawi chose a long title for his book "The Extraction of Gold in the Summary of Paris".

of a multiparty system and the introduction of the market economy etc were deemed daring changes that came, too quickly, in the wake of a socialist government that lasted for almost a generation. All these well-intended initiatives may have fared a lot better if the necessary literature was made available or indeed translated and made accessible. In the mid-seventies, calls were made for a national translation policy that would cater for the changing needs of society (Falasteen: 1976). In the late eighties and early nineties of the last century, and again in Egypt, the government tried to reverse the negative effects of the Open Door Policy by further economic liberalization through Thatcher-like privatization of public sector companies, the introduction of the share market and the encouragement of foreign investment; almost all of which spelt *Globalization*. Here, the lack of national translation policy in providing the public with the necessary background information, to understand and to be prepared for the social and economic changes, once again undermined government efforts. What the public required was the basic knowledge that to understand and appreciate the implications of a changing economic climate. For instance, the spreading effects of globalization created a different environment that demanded explanation. That explanation was acquired later but not without paying a high price as young graduates discovered the need for English language skills, better computer skills, business specialization, understanding of economic pressures and the ability to understand what changes the new policies would bring. The Egyptian example can be seen elsewhere with varying degrees of similarity, in many parts of the Arab world.

The 2003 United Nations report into Human Development in the Arab World points out that the current translation effort is not conducive to development. It estimates that more books are translated into Spanish each year than have been translated into Arabic for the past millennium. The report shook many quarters in the Arab world out of their comfort zone and the need for the state to take up the national responsibility of translation came to the fore.

Translation did not stop in Egypt with the death of Tahtawi in 1873 but the modernization momentum was suddenly switched off with the occupation of Egypt by the British in 1882. Before the occupation, industrial schools were linked to the needs of the national modernization program and the School of Translation was producing the necessary technical material for the knowledge being acquired. Medicine was being taught in Arabic and Tahtawi's translation was making the terminology accessible and available. It is insightful to note that the two disciplines of Egyptology and medicine were introduced to Egypt prior to the advent of the British. However, the two areas of knowledge took two different roads afterwards. Medicine became more and more dependent on English and today instruction in medicine at all Egyptian universities is carried out in English. Egyptology became 'Egyptianized' and through the earlier translations, from all languages, it took root and has become an Arabic discipline where academic instruction is in Arabic and there is now a thriving body of knowledge through writing and publishing in Arabic.

It may be worthwhile to pause here and to re-examine the bridge metaphor as far as it is related to the teaching of medicine in English. It had been suggested that by teaching medicine in English a bridge would be established to the West were Medicine is more

advanced. The argument has been that it is easier, faster and more economic as doctors become the subject specialists and the *interpreters* of the acquired knowledge as they see their patients. This argument gained more credence with the increasing importance of English as the international *lingua franca* of science and technology and indeed as the majority of academic and professional research is published in English. However, such a suggestion is criticized as flawed at the social, economic and educational levels: the bridge did not benefit the community but only the professionals who accumulated not only the knowledge but also the wealth of applying this knowledge through the confines of the English language. Egyptian doctors, in the course of their daily work, talk medicine to each other in English while they talk *about* medicine in Arabic to their patients. This limits the diffusion of medical knowledge not only among other allied professions such as nursing, health care, pharmaceutical and chemistry but also among the masses which may have devastating effects varying from knowledge of simple hygiene rules to necessary measures in dealing with new epidemics such as SARS, Avian Flu or N1H1 or the other ‘silent’ epidemics like obesity and diabetes which have become national public health crises.⁵

Virtual Bridges

There is no doubt that the digital revolution of the last decade of the Twentieth Century has helped make the world a lot smaller and more attuned to the common issues facing the globe from greenhouse effects to the scarcity of water and the need to find renewable energy sources. Digital technology in this respect has created a bridge, a virtual bridge, which links many parts together. Powerful personal computers, the development of multi-media technology, and faster Internet have all contributed to the many screen-based gadgets that we have at our disposal today from public multilingual touch screens to DVDs, satellite channels and laptops.

The coverage of the Gulf War in 1991, primarily by American news channel CNN, became the first ever televised war as a direct result of unprecedented levels of investment in digital satellite technology. When the Arabic language channel Al Jazeera was launched in 1996 it challenged the authority of the monolingual American channel. Today, CNN has a web site in Arabic and Al Jazeera has a dedicated channel in English. What can be discerned here is that the idea of a virtual bridge was born with two distinct forms: partial and whole. Some of the big news corporations implemented what is called “versioning” i.e. creating a version of the ‘relevant content’ into a target language. The BBC for instance, heralded this trend and now has its main specialized news translated into 32 languages. CNN by contrast, has only two versions: Arabic and “Mexican”⁶. Al Jazeera has an English version that is a lot more than a version of its original content. This partial virtual bridge has the mechanism of a ‘reverse lane’ where readers can write and share their views in their own language. Despite the significant benefit, Egyptian web sites which offer versioning in more than two foreign languages are very scarce. This is at

⁵ A recent study by the Arab Genomic Studies (CAGS.org.ae) in Dubai estimates that 73% of the population suffer from Obesity and 23% from Diabetes.

⁶ The CNN web site shows Arabic and “Mexico” rather than Spanish. (Site accessed April 2010)

odds with the potential the country already has both linguistically, and historically. Popular and important organizations such as the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Tourism Organization, the Antiquities Organization, Cairo airport, Egyptair and Al Azhar University all need to not only have a fresh, contemporary on-line presence but also be equipped with numerous languages. For instance, the Korean Tourism Organization (www.visitkorea.or.kr) has its content available in twelve languages including Arabic and the culture magazine *Koreana* is also published in print and online in nine languages including Arabic⁷. Similarly, the United Nations has an internet presence in the six working languages of the world: English, French, Russian, Spanish, Chinese and Arabic, although not all versions are kept up-to-date. The other form of the virtual bridge was the creation of a dedicated cultural and/or news channel in the Arabic language by a foreign country. Thus the United States, Iran, Russia, France, Germany, United Kingdom, China and Turkey have all launched their dedicated Arabic satellite (news) channels thus 'narrowcasting' to the Arab viewer who is eager to know more and learn more about the outside world. Israel and Korea are also currently studying the launch of their own Arabic language channel.

In the Arab world however, there are now 750 satellite channels beaming Arabic content, some of which is subtitled into English, French and Spanish, and foreign programs subtitled or dubbed into Arabic.⁸ The large number of satellite channels attest to the new audiovisual culture that is now sweeping the world. Some of the channels that broadcast subtitled Arabic programs are the 'national' channels such as Nile TV or *Al Masriya* (the Egyptian). These two Egyptian channels which commenced broadcasting in 1990 and 1994 respectively, broadcast subtitled Egyptian programs for expatriates residing or working in Egypt and for the rest of the world. The style and practice of the subtitling remains an area that has been neglected given the long history of both channels. The potential role these two channels can play in building bridges with the East and West rely heavily on the quality and style of the subtitled material. At a time of religious and racial disagreement and the inescapable socioeconomic impacts of globalization and the global financial crisis on those from Manhattan to Moscow and from Kiev to Kuala Lumpur, the quality and style of translated messages are critical be they in politics, sports or films.

The Digital Versatile Disc (DVD) which celebrated its first decade in 2008 has had a tremendous effect on accessing not only professional and technical knowledge but also cultural and historical. The DVD remains one of the most powerful tools available to universities, companies and governments seeking to reach millions of people quickly, efficiently and economically. The simple DVD can store sufficient data (4.7 GB) to carry subtitles in up to 40 languages (Carroll: 2004) and the soundtrack in up to eight languages. While American films on DVD come with subtitles in as many as 16

⁷ I am indebted to Professor In Seop Lee, the dean of the Graduate School of Interpretation and Translation at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, for his assistance regarding the state of Arabic in Korea.

⁸ Dubbing in Arabic is another area that has not received its fair share of academic attention. Dubbing of Spanish and Turkish drama has gained a lot of popularity in the past decade. The practice, though of professional quality particularly in Syria, has not been examined professionally or linguistically. Dubbing Arabic films or drama into other languages is scarce.

languages, most national cinemas including the Egyptian, subtitle their films into a handful of languages only. The reasons are primarily economic, yet despite DVD production costs being relatively low, the exploitation of this medium has yet to be fully actualized.

Audiovisual Translation

Although Egyptians have been reading subtitled foreign films since the first all-talking feature film *Lights of New York* (1928) and subtitled foreign TV programs on their televisions almost daily since 1960⁹, little attention has been given to audiovisual translation. While it is true the activity of subtitling was a one-way direction all the time, the digital revolution has opened lanes on the bridge between East and West. Here the direction of traffic on the bridge is very significant: it is reversed, as Arabic audiovisual programs are now being subtitled for target audiences all over the world.

Egyptian cinema, the oldest and largest in the Middle East has more than four thousand titles to its credit. This heritage is the main entertainment content upon which all Arab televisions rely. In 2002, Egyptian films began to appear on DVD. The style and practice of 'film translation' as it is called in Arabic, is still a theme that is unrepresented in the translation literature and is barely examined at Arab translation conferences (Gamal: 2008). The potential that audiovisual translation offers Arabic culture from literature to film and from investment to tourism is immense. It may very well be the case that major religious, racial or political issues are better understood or at least better managed, through the production and subtitling of a single DVD. As a means of cultural exchange it offers a vehicle that is affordable, durable and portable. DVDs have more technical features which allow translation production more effective and accessible. In an age where most content is going digital and online, Egyptian culture needs to invest in the policies and practices of examining audiovisual translation to compliment the already internationally respected productions of Naguib Mahfouz, Yousif Chaheen and actors such as Omar Sharif (Gamal: 2009).

Exporting subtitled Egyptian cinema into major European and Asian languages is an untapped potential despite the already available resources of translation schools, film industry and potential markets. Over the past few years, attempts at creating national translation centers in Egypt and other Arab states such as Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have been warmly welcomed. However, most of the efforts appear to be dedicated to translation into Arabic and with casual disregard to the rising importance of audiovisual translation.

For instance in Cairo, the National Translation Centre (established in 2006) has produced a list of one thousand titles with an obvious bias towards literary translation though it moved away from English and French and turned its attention to other languages. In its focus on translating books into Arabic, the Centre does not concern itself with translating into foreign languages or into means other than print translation. The same can be said of

⁹ Egyptian television began broadcasting in July 1960. The first Arab television broadcast was in Baghdad in 1956.

the two more recent and much more ambitious translation initiatives in Dubai (Tarjem) and in Abu Dhabi (Kalima)¹⁰ were they are equally concerned with translating books into Arabic. Both initiatives from the United Arab Emirates promise to add a new translated book each day on the Arab shelf for the next three years. This comes at a time when the UAE is also showing great interest and making huge investment in film festivals and media production.

In building bridges between East and West, it is crucial to bear in mind the whole picture. In an age of globalization, students need to be aware of a new set of business skills such as time management, foreign languages, research skills and life-long learning. The economic environment has changed where permanent part-time jobs are now the norm; outsourcing is a fact of life and multi-tasking is a prerequisite in any job. This picture will also point to the fact that 40% of the Arab population is under the age of 15 and this age bracket requires a completely different mindset to cater for its needs and requirements. Audiovisual culture as can be seen through the today's technology, from Youtube to Facebook and from iPhones to iPads, is increasingly replacing print media. The main source of information is shifting; no longer from books but from screens.

Screens Everywhere

Gambier points out that “we are surrounded by screens” (2003:171) and despite the fact that subtitles have been around for a long time it was not acknowledged by academia till very recently and at selected European institutions only (Diaz-Cintas: 2006). Subtitling has been the preferred mode of film and drama translation in the Arab world despite the brief albeit popular Mexican and Turkish dubbed TV drama. The subtitling of Arabic filmic material into other languages, and not that of just English and French, is the challenge ahead. Over the past decade, the number of Arab film festivals in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Syria and The United Arab Emirates has increased. Film festivals showcase the local production and strengthen the metaphor of a bridge to other cultures. The *raison d'être* of these festivals is to show subtitled films both in Arabic and in English and despite the obvious relevance and importance of audiovisual translation no investment has been made by the film industry in the newly emerging specialization of film translation. With the large number of Arab satellite channels which primarily rely on subtitled foreign films and drama, there is an over-reliance on the commercial sector to provide the translation service. In the absence of a strong academic tradition of examining audiovisual translation, the current commercial situation amounts to “an industry without a profession”(Gamal: 2007). The only valid, and coincidentally the longest-running training program in audiovisual translation, is currently at the American University in Cairo where the program continues to grow from strength to strength.

¹⁰ http://www.kalima.ae/new/index_ar.php and
<http://www.mbrfoundation.ae/English/Pages/default.aspx>

Conclusion

Cultural bridges are often built through travel, marriage, trade, migration or war. History shows that quite often a bridge is built when relevant stimuli are present. However, this could be a slow process and with negligible benefits. The distinction between a window on the West and a bridge to the East, is more than the simple semantics. Without well-planned objectives and programs the results may backfire. Antony and Cleopatra had all the right stimuli but even their marriage was not enough to cement the bridge between East and West.

In discussing cultural bridges it is perhaps a testimony to human endeavor and spirit to note that as Egypt was rediscovering its future with the translation efforts of Rifa Al Tahtawi, another young Frenchman was doing his best to help Egypt rediscover its past. For this, Jean Francois Champollion (1790-1832) had successfully found the key to decipher the ancient Egyptian language in 1822, only three years prior to Tahtawi's landing at Marseille.

In this paper, two ideas were presented. The first is the need for translation to be state-sponsored and not to be left to the whims of the market. The second is the significance of the new genre of audiovisual translation which reflects the shape of the new digital revolution.

Translation will continue to be a bridge between nations, cultures and may even cross over troubled waters. Translators, as diplomats and trainers, are now replacing military interpreters in capacity-building programs in Iraq. Covering new topics and themes from human rights to governance and from quarantine to agriculture, interpreters and translators are charting new terrains in Iraq - this time, as peace time interpreters and translators.

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Chinese Humanitarianism and Human Sustainability: An Explanatory Study on the Europeanization of Chinese Humanitarianism through a Comparative and Historical Approach

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Chinese Humanitarianism and Human Sustainability: An Explanatory Study on the Europeanization of Chinese Humanitarianism through a Comparative and Historical Approach*

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Abstract: Humanitarianism is an essential and integral part to ensure human sustainability. In some degree, China's modern humanitarian approaches are mainly the byproducts of westernization or Europeanization during Chinese pursuit of sustainability. Given the characteristic traditions and political development, China shows a special picture characterized of atypical dialogue, dramatic collision, and disjunctive inheritance between humanitarianism and Europeanization. This research will further depict a detailed roadmap i.e. how the European human-centered elements affect the Chinese people-based and government-dominated disaster-response system, which have finally changed Chinese traditional response styles and improved its humanitarian effectiveness on the human sustainability.

Key Words: Humanitarianism, Sustainability, Europeanization, Dialogue, Collision, Disjunction

1. Introduction

Human community has been moving to the globalized “risk society”. In the era of risks, natural catastrophes and human-made disasters have posed serious challenges on human sustainability. As a general disaster-response approach, humanitarian assistances are assumed to positively and quickly alleviate human suffering and provide necessary public goods in emergency situations. Even in some emergencies, humanitarian aids are almost the single hope of victims. Humanitarianism plays an essential and integral part to ensure human sustainability.

With its vast geography, billions of people, and complex climate conditions, China has been one of the most frequent and serious disaster-affected countries in the world. In some sense, the history of China is actually a history filled with kinds of natural and human-made disasters. From BC 206 to AD 1936, there were at least 5,150 natural disasters (including floods, droughts, hurricanes, earthquakes, grasshoppers, plagues, etc), which means there was at least one disaster per 4 months in China.¹ However this number hasn't even included human-made disasters like several tragic wars. Therefore, China provides a platform to launch diverse humanitarian practices by different actors, *esp.* the European humanitarian actors, which finally impulse Chinese to handle western humanitarian aid and examine Chinese traditional disaster response system critically.

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¹ Deng, Yunte (1984), *History of Disaster Relief in China*, Shanghai: Shanghai Bookshop Press.

As a result that modern humanitarianism and sustainability root from the West while China is a traditional country in the East, this research will try to answer the following questions, i.e. how and to what extent have western (especially European) humanitarianism shaped Chinese humanitarian approaches, both as a relief target and as an aid provider in the pursuit of a sustainable country as well as a harmonious world? How have the European human-centered elements affected Chinese people-based and government-dominated disaster-response system, which have finally changed Chinese traditional response styles and improved its humanitarian effectiveness on the human sustainability?

2. European Footprints: Modern Humanitarianism and Human Sustainability

To define humanitarianism is a tricky thing. However in accordance with a more recognized definition by International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in late 1980s, humanitarian actions mean the impartial, independent, and neutral provision of relief to those in immediate need because of the human-made and natural disasters. In a short, the essence of humanitarian actions is “to save lives at risk”.² As a representative humanitarian organization, ICRC proposed seven core principles that construct the prevailing humanitarianism, i.e. humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, and universality.³ Although the definition has been in debate since 1990s,⁴ the core that *humanity* is the fundamental principle and *humanism* is the philosophical foundation can't be removed, only if the humanitarian actions exist. The proposition of humanity requires casting all the attention to people, which means to “prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found”, “to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being”, and “to promote mutual understanding, friendship, cooperation and lasting peace amongst all peoples.”⁵

“Sustainability” is a more complex term, which has brought hot debates as well, both practically and theoretically, called the ambiguity of ‘sustainability’.⁶ It is an integrated concept as well, which generally includes tri-aspects, i.e. economic, environmental, and social dimensions. Additionally, it especially emphasizes “how these different systems interact, interlock and affect each other”.⁷ When sustainability turns out, “it must occur simultaneously in each of the three dimensions.”⁸ At present, a great plenty of challenges to sustainability source from a number of extreme natural hazards (like earthquakes, volcanoes, tsunamis, extreme weather and climate change, etc),⁹ which may causes thousands of victims trapped on the edge of death and suffering, namely the humanitarian emergencies.

² Barnett, Michabe and Thomas Weiss, “Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present”, in Barnett, Michabe and Thomas Weiss eds. (2008), *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*, Cornell University Press, p.11

³ Pictet, Jean, (1979) *The Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross: Commentary*, Geneva: Henry Dunant Institute

⁴ The debate mainly includes two aspects, i.e. firstly some scholars and practioners required to extend the definition to the linkages of relief, reconstruction and development (LRRD); secondly, the relevant principles are also criticized esp. with the rising of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), which actually go beyond the orthodoxy that politics should not be regarded as a part of humanitarianism, as a kind of “more rebellious and rowdy humanitarianism”. See Barnett, Michabe and Thomas Weiss, “Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present”, p.37

⁵ Pictet, Jean (1979), *The Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross: Commentary*

⁶ Keiner, Macro, ed.(2006), *The Future of Sustainability*, Springer, p.1

⁷ Whitehead, Mark (2007), *Spaces of Sustainability: Geographical Perspectives on the Sustainable Society*, London and New York: Routledge, p.14

⁸ Gary L. Larsen, “An Inquiry Into the Theoretical Basis of Sustainability: Ten Propositions”, in Dillard, Jesse, eds. (2009), *Understanding the Social Dimension of Sustainability*, New York and London: Routledge, p. 48

⁹ Frey, Hildebrand, and Paul Yaneske (2007), *Visions of Sustainability: Cities and Regions*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, pp.95-96

Humanitarianism seems to have a close relation with sustainability. On the first hand, human sustainability is one of the goals of humanitarian actions, which aims to provide reliefs and recover a sustainable condition for the victims in disaster. On the other hand, humanitarianism and sustainability interact and intertwine a lot when they accessed into China through a perspective of the social analysis. Firstly, both share some common values like human-centered development, human well-being, equity, community well-being and human security, etc.¹⁰ Moreover, they emphasize a series of social dynamics including “discourses in society, social actions, their consequences, and the associated learning and adaptation.”¹¹ Lastly, regarding the actors, they both call for “a broad participatory process involving all layers of societies, both in the public and private sectors”.¹²

In respect to the current humanitarian system, it has also been a product of western creations since its birth, and Europe has been playing a significant role and contributing a lot to the development of humanitarian system.¹³ Moreover most of professional expertise in current humanitarian actions is also marked “*Made in Europe*”. Just like H. Slim mentioned, “the formal [humanitarian] system has adopted many of the routine practices of modern welfare provision in Western states.”¹⁴ In addition, most of famous relief agencies also have their origins or headquarters in Europe, such as ICRC, Oxfam, MSF, Actionaid International, CARE, and Catholic Relief Services, etc.

3. People versus Human, Government versus Society: Sino-European Disaster Responses

To deliver relief for the disaster victims is a basic governmental function. However when a state designs the relevant disaster response system, they will refer to some values and define the actors. Traditional China had built their disaster and famine response systems, which put emphasis on the people-centered principle and government-dominated basis; while Europe had made many relief related laws, policies and rules, which takes human-centered/humanity and social participation for granted. Hereby the “people-centered” (*Minben*) is an abstract and political term compared with the rulers, like emperor (*jun*) and minister (*chen*); while human-centered (*renben*) value puts various actors on an equal position. And these two disaster response systems finally demonstrate different results.

Chinese complex system and its detailed disaster response laws couldn't guarantee the effectiveness of relief delivery, especially when a dynasty moves to its end. Take Qing Dynasty as an example, it has the most complete disaster relief system, including related bureaucratic structure and laws, however the perfect system can't maintain; and more seriously, it even caused human-made disasters, especially when the dynasty was involved into corruption and weak governmental capacities. In fact, the complete system was unenforceable and existed in name

¹⁰ Kristen Magis and Craig Shinn, “Emergent Principles of Social Sustainability”, in Dillard, Jesse, eds. (2009), *Understanding the Social Dimension of Sustainability*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 20-39

¹¹ Gary L. Larsen, “An Inquiry Into the Theoretical Basis of Sustainability: Ten Propositions”, in Dillard, Jesse, eds. (2009), *Understanding the Social Dimension of Sustainability*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 61-63

¹² Tatsuro Kunugi, (1992) The Roles of International Institutions in Promoting Sustainable, *Ambio: Population, Natural Resources and Development*, Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 112

¹³ Barnett, Michabe and Thomas Weiss, “Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present”. This argument is not intended to deny the humanitarian spirits such as life saving and suffering relief embedded in diverse cultural traditions and different civilizations, however modern humanitarianism (not only its philosophical root but also organizations) can definitely date back to some Christian thoughts like caritas and the history of the Renaissance and Enlightenment when humanism started to become popular.

¹⁴ Slim, Hugo (2006), “Global Welfare: A Realistic Expectation for the International Humanitarian System?”, *ALNAP Review of Humanitarian Action in 2005*.

only. It is incredible but true that this system and its actors became the crucial killer in the emergent disasters. G. Staunton once confirmed Chinese related system was in a lower level of effectiveness to meet victims' needs compared with European system, in spite of its perfect and complete nature.¹⁵ K. Wittfogel pointed out the advantages of Chinese relief system, i.e. stronger central authority and administrative capacity, which can mobilize plentiful human capital and money etc. in a emergency; however when central authority is weakened, all the advantages will transform to serious disadvantages with prevailing corruption, information control and complicated bureaucratic procedures.¹⁶

A different story was told in Europe although its relevant laws seemed to be rough and the disaster response system depends on the local governments and churches. England created its relief related law in 1601, i.e. the *Poor Law* or *43 Elizabeth*, which was a most influential relief law in Europe. This law with its amendments (1723 & 1834) legally guaranteed the relief as a governmental function and set relevant governmental agencies, which includes the poor and disaster victims into the system of social security. This measures defined governmental relief actions and make sure a good resource allocation to disaster relief,¹⁷ which finally became a model of western disaster response system.

Since 18th century, China was gradually trapped into a stagnant situation with the dream as a "Celestial Empire" (*Tianchao Dagu*); meanwhile, Europe moved into its Industry Revolution. China as the world power center gradually declined. After warships and cannons destroyed China's isolate policy by Britain in First Opium War in 1840s, European culture was unavoidable to access into China and a process of westernization is started, "Europeanization" to be exact. During Europeanization and power transferring, European elements were slowly or quickly, completely or partly, or successfully or failingly embedded into Chinese comprehensive structures, which triggered series of cultural conflicts between China and Europe in a large scale. In fact, the introduction of European humanitarian approach and the subsequent reform of Chinese related humanitarian traditions were the byproducts of this westernization process.

4. European Humanitarian Actions in China

4.1 Go With Empire: Missionary Involvement and Church Charity

Christian charity (especially Catholic) was the first approach that accessed into Chinese humanitarian arena. It is necessary to note preaching often lay on the top of missionary agenda and their relief actions were just regarded as a subordinate and supporting instrument. From 16th to 18th century, there were more than 800 missionaries to come to China and Sino-European communication moved into "Missionary Era".¹⁸

In the missionary era, Missionary staffs took the responsibility as the humanitarian technician, church acted as the humanitarian agencies, and catholic communities are the humanitarian vector.

¹⁵ Staunton, George (1998), *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, translated by Ye Duyi, Shanghai Book Shop Press

¹⁶ Wittfogel, Karl (1958), *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power*, New Haven: Yale University Press

¹⁷ Bu, Fengxian (2007), "Comparative Research on the Reason of Natural Disaster in Ancient China and European Countries", *Ancient and Modern Agriculture*, No. 3, 2007

¹⁸ Ren, Dayuan (2005), "The Influence and Contributions of Chinese Scholars on *Huayi Xuezh*", *Beijing Forum: Academic Atmosphere and Traditions*, Fu Jen Catholic University, September 11, 2005, pp. 39-44

Matteo Ricci was the first person who attended to participate in humanitarian relief in China, who was called the first “home universale”.¹⁹ He is also recommended as his merit of “inculturation”²⁰ and the pioneer of communicating China and western cultures.²¹ In 1583, Michele Ruggleri and Ricci built their first church in Southern China. And they demonstrated the first relief attempt in 1586, that is, Ricci provided the shelter service for the victims who were trapped in the flood in Zhaoqing. When he moved to Beijing, the capital of Ming Dynasty, Ricci once assisted the governments to deliver relevant relief to the flood victims in 1604.²²

A second relief by missionary happened in 1634, when a serious famine hit Shanxi. Alfonso Vagnoni tried his best to help the affected people and even built an orphan asylum that was financed by missionaries and local Christians.²³ Compared with charity action provided by Ricci, Vagnoni contributed a larger-scale and more organized relief in China.

A much larger scale humanitarian action organized by Europeans with official appointment happened during Kangxi Era (1661-1722). Joachim Bouvet, Petrus Jartoux, Dominique Parennin and Jose Suarez started their humanitarian actions in Beijing after a serious flood and subsequent famine in Shandong, when millions of displaced people flowed to the capital. Jartoux thought this official appointment by Emperor Kangxi indicated the emperor's trust on foreign missionaries. The Fathers designed a good procedure about relief signal and delivery address. With the money from government and public collection, they made a good job to deliver food for the victims and meanwhile to provide sanitation service. These hungry people were in a good order, which made Chinese officials a little jealous, argued by Jartoux. This action last for 4 months and deliver the food for more than one thousand victims.²⁴

Timothy Richard was an epoch-making figure in the Chinese humanitarian actions, who had lead a largest-scale relief actions with John Nevius in the drought-famine-plague disaster complex in nine provinces of North China, especially in Shanxi Province. This drought last more than 3 years and finally caused a most serious famine, namely “*Dingwu Qihuang*”.²⁵ In this drought and famine disaster, there were 200 million people affected and 13 million killed. 1/3 population in Shanxi Province lost their lives. The dying Qing government was incapable to handle it as a result of fragile governmental capacity, internal and external threats. In order to deal with the catastrophe, they had to take foreign assistance by the catholic missionaries into a relief system. This relief is the first “organized and planned” disaster relief activities that took foreign missionaries into account in China. During the relief, on the one hand, Richard urgently called for the money collection in Britain and “London Major Disaster Relief Foundation” was built, which provide millions of money for the disaster victims. On the other hand, he advised Qing government to migrate people to some places with low food price and meanwhile recommended the measurement, i.e. Food for Work (*Yigong Daizhen*), meaning give people work in place of

¹⁹ Hirakawa, Sukehiro (1999), *Matteo Ricci*, translated by Liu Anwei and Xu Yiping, Beijing: Guangming Ribao Publisher

²⁰ Pope John Paul II (2011), *Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Fourth Centenary of the Arrival in Beijing of the Great Missionary and Scientist Matteo Ricci*, S.I., Vatican, 24 October 2001

²¹ Fang, Hao (2008), *Communication History between China and West*, Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Press

²² National Library of China, Introduction of Matteo Ricci, Dataset of Foreign Sinologists, National Library of China

²³ Pfister, Louis (1997), *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773*, translated by Mei Sehngjun, Shanghai: Catholic Shanghai

²⁴ Jartoux, Petrus (2008), “Conflict between Bouvet and Qing Prince”, in Bouvet, Joachim, etc., *Emperor Kangxi: A Perspective of Elder Foreigners*, Beijing: People Daily Press

²⁵ “*Dingwu*” stands for years of 1877-1878; “*Qi*” means unusual, most surprising and incredible, and thoroughly serious, etc; and “*Huang*” is a complex of many disasters including natural and human-made.

relief subsidies.²⁶ However the cultural collision between Chinese and European perspective on humanitarian actions frequently occurs, which was just a brief interlude.²⁷

Table 1 Brief Situation of Western Humanitarian Actions In China by 1937		
Assistance Items	Number	Note
Hospitals	70 (5000 sickbeds)	French Catholics
Hospitals	300 (21,000 sickbeds)	Britain and US Christian
Clinics	600	
Orphan Asylums	306	Data in 1930
Orphans or Abandoned Infants	74,752	Data in 1930
Catholic Welfare Homes	232	Data in 1930
Source: Chen, Jianming, (2007) "Brief Discussion of the Conflict and Adaptation between Christian and Chinese Society", <i>Religious Studies</i> , No. 4,		

In sum, social welfare and charity events by Christians mainly focused on three aspects, i.e. medical service, children and elderly charity, and relief service. (Table 1) They provided technical conditions and experiences for Chinese humanitarian actions, directly and indirectly. The building of European medical facilities promoted the development of medical technology in China and raised the public health awareness.²⁸

4.2 Humanitarianism Modernization: Enlightenment, Organizations & Socialization

The birth of "International Committee for the Relief of Wounded Combatants" in 1863 indicated the appearance of Red Cross Society and the modern humanitarian system turned out. When the first *Geneva Convention* was signed, this humanitarian system was finally recognized by international laws.

The enlightenment about Red Cross spirits for Chinese was triggered during Sino-Japanese War in 1890s. It was already more than two decades after the birth of Red Cross Society when Chinese started to acknowledge this organization. A series of articles about Red Cross Society were published on *Shen Newspaper* (1898-1899) and other newspaper like *Takungpao Newspaper*, which existed from 1872 to 1949. These articles are mainly about the nature of humanitarian spirits in Red Cross Society, and the aims, missions and functions of the organization, etc., which attracted public attention and Chinese awareness. Meanwhile, some Chinese attempted to introduce relevant relief technologies like medical services and some of them tried to appeal to Qing officials for the organizing of Red Cross committee in China. Sun Yat-sen, who became a famous revolutionary leader in China afterwards, once translated one of medical relief books of Red Cross into Chinese; and Sun Gan, a Chinese businessman in Japan and a staff in Japanese Red Cross as well, sent an appeal about building Red Cross organization in China to some officials in 1897.²⁹

²⁶ Richard, Timothy (2005), *Forty-Five Years in China*, trans. by X. T. Li. Tianjin: Tianjin Renmin Press.

²⁷ Dgerton-Tarpley, Kathryn (2007), "Famine and Ideology in Late-Qing China: Contending Interpretations of Famine Causation and Prevention during the 'Incredible Famine' of 1876-1879", in Li, Wenhai and Xia Mingfang, *Disaster and Famine in Qing Dynasty and Chinese Society*, Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company

²⁸ Chen, Jianming (2007), "Brief Discussion of the Conflict and Adaptation between Christian and Chinese Society", *Religious Studies*, No. 4

²⁹ Chi, Zihua (2004), "The Origin of the Red Cross and Its Spreading in Modern China—to Commemorate the 100th

Finally with the onset of Russo-Japanese War in Northeast China in 1904, a lot of Chinese refugees and victims lost their home. In order to save the victims, the first China Red Cross organization, namely, International Red Cross Society of Shanghai, was established, with the joint efforts of Britain, France, Germany and United States.³⁰ This event indicated the origin of modern humanitarian aid system in China, which went beyond Chinese traditional or pre-modern charity organizations.

In addition to Red Cross Society of China, a few important relief organizations were established with both Chinese traditional characters and western features. On January 26, 1878, China Disaster Relief Foundation was built in Shanghai by Christian missionaries as the main force, and diplomatic men and businessmen, which was mainly engaged in money collection and food delivery, etc. From the perspective of humanitarian actions, the relief actions indicated the European humanitarian approaches were officially recognized and accepted by Chinese. From then on, missionary and church involvement into Chinese disaster relief hasn't been strange for Chinese any more.

Subsequently the westernization and organization of Chinese humanitarian activities continued. After the 1931 flood relief in China, some people who participated in the relief activities thought it was necessary to build a permanent organization to deal with the future disasters and deliver relief to victims. Then China International Famine Relief Commission (CIFRC) was built, which played a great role in the first half of 20th century. It was argued to be a relief organization "with complete disaster response mechanism". It existed as the "first scientific and professional" non-profit charity organization until Shanghai was occupied by Japanese and CIFRC transferred to part of International Red Cross of Shanghai.³¹

4.3 European Elements in Collision with European Elements?

Something interesting took place when China moved forward. Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as the ruling party in China has been regarding Marxism as its leading theory. However with its typical revolutionary approach and class analysis perspective, mainstream European humanitarian approaches were mostly abandoned as the "bourgeois humanitarianism" that is "a tool used by the bourgeoisie" and "to cover up capitalism's merciless exploitation and oppression, to cover up class contradictions, and to deceive the proletariat and the working people."³²

Within this kind of political atmosphere, all the things that had plausible relationship with western countries were destroyed or repudiated, whatever tangible or intangible, during in the typical Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) and some other unusual moments. However it was not the success of Chinese traditions, which had to confront the same tragedy either. The humanitarian system since the beginning of 20th century was thoroughly abandoned by ultra-Left trend of thought as well. In the 1959-1961 Famine and Tangshan Earthquake in 1976, the government even refused all the possible humanitarian assistance, regardless of the hungry

Anniversary of the Red Cross Society of China", *Journal of Hefei University (Social Sciences)*, Vol. 21, No. 1

³⁰ Chi, Zihua (2004), "The Origin of the Red Cross and Its Spreading in Modern China—to Commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the Red Cross Society of China", *Journal of Hefei University (Social Sciences)*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2004

³¹ Huang, Wen De (2004), *Non-Governmental Organizations and International Cooperation in China: A Study on China International Famine Relief Commission*, Showwe Technology Limited, pp.315-317.

³² Cited from Hirono, Miwa (2009), "China's Conception of Humanitarianism in Africa: Root of Anti-Western Discourse", in Kwabena Akurang-Parry, ed., *China in Africa: A Moment of 'Second Imperialism' or Progressive Partnership*, Edwin Mellen Press (forthcoming)

people and the misery deaths.³³ At the same time, this government sent a lot of foreign aid to its third world brothers in Africa and socialist friends such as Albania and Vietnam etc. in spite of its own economic shortage. In this period, the humanitarianism was actually kidnapped by politics, just like an old saying, that is, castle gate fires, fishes in moat suffer.

4.4 Back to Track?

With the development of Chinese Open Policy, China accelerated its pace to come back to global families. Although the debate about Marxist humanism and humanity was still hot, Chinese attitude to international humanitarian relief changed step by step. China has finally got rid of the humanitarian isolate policy.

When a big disaster complex of “drought in North meanwhile flood in South” and subsequent famine hit China in 1980, Chinese government realized the necessity of urgent international humanitarian actions. It is “the first time that Chinese government accepts international assistance” and China began “to deal with disasters with the hand of assistance”. However the humanitarian assistance was restricted in a given province and limited on specific aid materials through a single channel, which indicates a conservative attitude of government.

The first time that China actively asked for international aids through multi-channels can date back to May 1987, when a serious forest fire last a month, killed more than 200 people and 50,000 people lost their home. Afterwards in 1991 flood in East China, Chinese government began to “directly and in a larger-scale” ask global community for aid.³⁴

In the following years, China encountered SARS Crisis, many earthquakes and other natural disasters, especially Wenchuan Earthquake in May 12, 2008. To deal with them, China government and China Red Cross would actively require international assistance. On the other hand, China also continues to deliver relevant humanitarian aid as an aid provider for the foreign disaster-affected countries, such as the Indian Ocean Tsunami in 2004.³⁵

Regarding the humanitarian system in China at present, it has been re-established with the new actors like international and native local Non-governmental Organizations. A few famous relief NGOs like Oxfam, Actionaid, World Vision, etc. have established their office in China for many years however with Chinese official acquiesce rather than formally legal acceptance. Some disaster-response NGOs also have a feasible relationship with governmental departments that are part of national humanitarian system. Take Oxfam Hong Kong as an example. It has been an active role in China humanitarian system; however it hasn't registered in Chinese government. After Wenchuan Earthquake Oxfam Hong Kong has built an official cooperation with The State Council Leading Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development and International Poverty Reduction Center in China, which is allowed to participate in the reconstruction projects in earthquake-hit region.

³³ Zhan, Yijia (2006), “Thirty Years After Tangshan Earthquake: The Process of Chinese Acceptance of Humanitarian Assistance”, *World Knowledge*, Vol. 14; Wang, Shuo and Zhang Xu (2008), “The Process of PRC Confronting International Relief”, *World Newspaper*, May 27

³⁴ Zhan, Yijia (2006), “Thirty Years After Tangshan Earthquake: The Process of Chinese Acceptance of Humanitarian Assistance”

³⁵ Mao, Weizhun & Que Tianshu (2005), “Disaster Diplomacy: A New Diplomatic Approach?—The Apocalypse Of the Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami”, *World Economics and Politics*, Vol. 6, pp. 158-162.

5. ECHO on Action & China: “From Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration”³⁶

A few decades ago, European Community began to participate in the worldwide humanitarian affairs as a loosely unitary actor. In April 1992, an official organization within EU structures was built, named European Community Humanitarian Aid office (ECHO), with the aim to handle humanitarian issues and enhance its effectiveness on behalf of European Commission in the world. In fact, ECHO usually functions as a feasible role in the world to promote the three pillars of EU. It is regarded as a most robust part targeting to advocate EU’s values and demonstrate its “soft power” globally.

As a single entity, ECHO takes about 16% of global humanitarian aid from 1995 to 2007 on average and even accounted for about 32% in 1996 according to financial contributions; and as the world's largest humanitarian donor, ECHO with EU members usually contribute about 30% of global humanitarian donor share and even provided more than 52% in 1998.³⁷

Relevant to the Sino-Europe humanitarian activities, ECHO has been deeply involved into the China’s disaster response and humanitarian activities since its birth. During the last nearly 20 years, ECHO has been gradually acknowledged by more and more Chinese, including scholars, governments, NGO professionals and the publics.³⁸ From 1998 to 2008, ECHO has input about 21.73 million Euros to China in almost all the serious natural disasters in China, especially for the floods in 1998 and Wenquan Earthquake in 2008.³⁹

With Regard to the typical Chinese humanitarianism, ECHO has exerted its influence through at least three ways, i.e. the advocator of EU’s values on human sustainability, the humanitarian standards designer, and the regional disaster-response model for China.

Firstly, as one of the most feasible and characteristic actors, ECHO undertakes the tasks to advocate EU’s value on human sustainability, which rooted from the *EC 1257/96 of the Council* on 20 June 1996. It has been cooperating with international humanitarian agencies (like OCHA) and relevant Chinese official agencies in Chinese humanitarian activities as a donor.⁴⁰ As a pioneer on humanitarian relief and general human values, EU may positively motivate the Chinese humanitarians and even the affected people in the disaster-hit areas, on the general human values (like human security, rights to survival, and human rights based approach, etc.) and on the common humanitarian principles (such as humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence, etc.). ECHO approaches like people-oriented and need-based have greatly spread among related agencies in China as well.

Second, ECHO is a major humanitarian standard designer in global humanitarian affairs. ECHO has been emphasizing the issues like the speed and quality of humanitarian delivery. ECHO calls for relevant agencies to follow “a set of internationally recognized standards and principles” like the *Sphere Project*.⁴¹ Some relief NGOs and staffs have begun to apply the

³⁶ The title is borrowed from Cowan, Geoffrey and Amelia Arsenault (2008), “Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy”, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 616, No. 1, pp. 10-30

³⁷ Calculated according to the data from in ECHO (2008), *Financial Report 2008*, Directorate General for Humanitarian Aid (ECHO), European Commission, p. 20.

³⁸ See http://www.mfb.sh.cn/mfbinfoflat/platformdata/infoplat/pub/shmf_104/docs/200807/d_59340.html

³⁹ Calculated according to the data from ECHO, *ECHO Annual Review (1998-2008)*, ECHO, EU.

⁴⁰ ECHO usually didn’t directly intervene in China. ECHO (2008), *Annual Report on Humanitarian Aid*, 2008, ECHO, EU, p. 87

⁴¹ EU (2007), *The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid*, Joint Statement by the Council and the Representatives of the

relevant standards in some cases.

Third, ECHO has constructed a regional and institutional model to deal with humanitarian emergencies for China and its neighboring countries, especially when the regional integrations are booming. With this successful experience, some Chinese scholars in think tanks appeal to build one kind of international cooperative disaster response system. The significance of disaster preparedness in ECHO approaches has been emphasized by Chinese scholars as well.⁴² With its largest and charming humanitarian power in the world, ECHO also provides a model for China to consider this kind of feasible approach in pursuit of its dream as a strong power.

Furthermore, China started to cooperate with ECHO on some humanitarian issues in the global scale, which indicates an interactive effect, such as in the relief activities after India Ocean Tsunami etc. In addition to the relief cooperation in the natural disasters, China also began to cooperate with EU on some certain human-made emergencies. Following the deteriorating situation of Darfur, China and EU collaborated with each other on the political dialogue, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and refugees aid etc. regardless their potential difference.

However ECHO is still in collision with China on several aspects, especially like the attitude to the humanitarian intervention and the tricky relationship between human rights and sovereignty, etc. These divergences are not only from the fundamental values between western and eastern countries but also triggered by the political consideration from a perspective of *realpolitik*.

In sum, the relationship between China and ECHO seems to be an epitome of the long history of Sino-EU humanitarian interaction in fact. As a traditional and powerful humanitarian actor, ECHO demonstrated an unsymmetrical interaction with China through its humanitarian fund and value input, which is defined as “Monologue” in an initial phase; later China started a “Dialogue” phase with ECHO, during which China would re-examine the humanitarian inputs, reflect the cons and pros about the response systems, and try to deal with the humanitarian assistance on an equal level; finally, China and ECHO move to a Collaborate phase and cooperate on some humanitarian issues.

6. Concluding Remarks

European elements acted as the main pulse that has been promoting Chinese modernization and development in a comprehensive scope, especially the modernization of humanitarian system and the value of sustainability. Chinese humanitarian aid system was modernized by “European elements” through the steps as followed, i.e. cultural buildup in a strange background; the enlightenment of humanitarian thoughts; buildup of charities and other humanitarian practices; acceptance by Chinese publics and governments; and finally the establishment of professional humanitarian organizations.

During this long process, Europe and China have played different roles in varied phases, which told a story about roles transition, such as the enlightener or teacher versus a student, a competitor versus another competitor, and the collaborating relationship in the world.

Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission, 18 December 2007

⁴² Conference on Asia-Europe Disaster Response Capacities Building, 29 May 2009, Chengdu, China, available at: <http://www.chengdu.gov.cn/govAffairInfo/detail.jsp?id=259191>

As the pillar of global humanitarian actions since 19th century, Europe has directly and indirectly affected Chinese humanitarian approaches on several aspects as followed. First, Europe took the leadership in humanitarian actions on modern humanitarian value and organizational structures, which established a model for China and other countries. Under the setting of “strong state versus weak society”, European intervention greatly improved the degree of socialization of disaster relief with the mobilization of other agencies.

Second, Europe provided humanitarian experts, advanced humanitarian technologies and plentiful relief experiences, which has been shared and contributed to the development of modern humanitarian system like China. And Europe has made a lot of disaster response and relief laws that has become the legal model of other countries including China.

Besides the direct influence, European cultures also contribute to raise human awareness and reflection about Chinese traditions and stimulate the growth of Chinese civil society. European humanitarian approaches that emphasize the human-centered and broader participation of various actors have changed Chinese traditional disaster-response ways featured of people-centered and government-dominated.

Generally, the bilateral value interaction is characterized the atypical dialogue, dramatic collision, and disjunctive inheritance, which depicts a characteristic picture. First of all, the dialogue of two culture centers is an atypical process. The arrogance and superiority of both civilizations encountered in an atypical way and through the atypical approach. The Ritual Controversy when George Macartney came to visit Emperor Qianlong made the Europeans realize the fragility of China and the impossibility of a peaceful dialogue.⁴³ Therefore warships and cannon knocked the door of China and forced the Chinese to take the dialogue. In the development of Chinese humanitarian system, European discourse dominated the whole process actually. But humanitarian actions should base in the local culture “to have the necessary resource or technology”, and western models of aid are not always “transferable”.⁴⁴

Moreover, a lot of dramatic collisions occurred when two civilizations met. When politics with religion play a significant role in the bilateral interaction, the collisions would be intensified. When the humanitarian relief and charity were interrelated with Christian preaching, and when the Christian activities were binding with imperial interests and colonizing behaviors, how could the disaster-hit countries and their people accept the humanitarian actions with the given principles? When the pendulum goes to another side, the extreme nationalism will come true just like the anti-Christian especially anti-Catholic movements in the end of 19th century. In this sense, the tension between Euro-centrism and localization of Chinese humanitarianism experienced a series of dramatic episodes.

Lastly, the inheritance of humanitarianism has often been disrupted due to diverse causes. On the one hand, Chinese haven't found an integrated framework for European elements and Chinese traditions in its humanitarian system and two parts are disjunctive; on the other hand, the most significant disjunction surprisingly rooted from the interrupts owing to political reasons that

⁴³ Peyrefitte, Alain (1993) , *The Immobile Empire: The First Great Collision of the East and West*, translated by Wang Guoqing, etc., Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company

⁴⁴ Neal, Joan (2007), “Transformation from Relief to a Justice and Solidarity Focus”, in Cahill, Kevin (2007), *The Pulse Of Humanitarian Assistance*, Fordham University Press.

regard Europeans as one kind of threats. This kind of perception made Chinese officials to reject all the stuffs marked “Made in Europe”, typically like the Catholic prohibition in 1715 and the dispute between Marxism and mainstream European thoughts after 1949. These events finally made China isolate with humanitarian actions.