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# Table of Contents

13704		
	<i>Hate Speech or Voice from Minority? - Media's Dilemma under Multicultural Pressure</i>	
	Yoshie Niijima	pp. 1 - 8
15282		
	<i>Organizational Culture as a Primary Driver of Organizational Success: The South African University Experience</i>	
	Zenia Barnard	
	Derek van der Merwe	pp. 9 - 21
15946		
	<i>K.J.Yesudas: The Discursive Formation of the Cult of a Playback Singer in the Kerala Public Sphere</i>	
	Navya. V.K	pp. 23 – 32
16002		
	<i>The Way of Music: Phraya Phumisewin</i>	
	Pongsilp Arunrat	pp. 33 - 41
17773		
	<i>Anthropological Approaches to Cross-cultural Communication: Implementations in International Business</i>	
	Camilla H. Wang	
	Robert G. Tian	pp. 43 - 59
17813		
	<i>Performance of the Kindergarten Teachers and its Relation to Pupils Achievement in Different Learning Areas</i>	
	Mary Luna M. Ninal	pp. 61 - 68



*Hate Speech or Voice from Minority? - Media's Dilemma under Multicultural Pressure*

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The European Conference on the Cultural Studies 2015  
Official Conference Proceedings

This research examines the mass communication discourse on Japanese hate speech incidents and briefly sketches the related arguments. The analysis seeks to offer insights into the recent backlash against minorities. The incidents appear to be the product of a combination of contemporary deprivation and systematic racism, compounded by neo-conservative xenophobia and ethnocentrism which are fundamentally caused by the jus sanguinis (Latin: right of blood) law<sup>1</sup>. Despite these occurrences, media discourse tends to downplay the problem of Japanese harming the ethnic Koreans, portraying these racists as alienated youth who consider hate speech as one form of identity politics. Facile multiculturalists let these racists speak and act freely, as if the facts about mistreatment of minorities and their being were merely options. This creation of a new, disadvantaged minority may lead to further hostile responses and strengthen existing ethnic divides; often it causes members of the general public to distance themselves from the issue.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a principle of nationality law according to which citizenship is determined not by one's place of birth but having one or both parents who are citizens of the state..

## What Is Hate Speech?

The Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers Recommendation 97(20) on "hate speech"<sup>2</sup> defined the term "hate speech" as all forms of expression that spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, or discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin. National hate speech laws have progressively been invoked to criminalize speech that is deemed insulting to one's race, ethnicity, religion, or nationality.

There are considerable differences between the United States and other Western democracies in terms of their responses to hate speech. In the United States, speech in general is attached broad constitutional protection. Hate speech is accepted from a legal viewpoint as protected by the basis of the First Amendment. Contrarily, in other Western nations such as Canada, Germany, and the United Kingdom, it is largely prohibited and subjected to criminal sanctions under international human rights treaties.

The recent Japanese proliferation in street protests using hate speech against ethnic minorities has attracted worldwide attention. The U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the U.N. Human Rights Committee on Racial Discrimination have called on Japanese authorities to investigate and, where appropriate, prosecute individuals as well as organizations responsible for hate speech and to combat hate speech in the media including the Internet. Moreover, the U.N. Human Rights Committee on Racial Discrimination urged specific and comprehensive legislation prohibiting racial discrimination.

## Cultivation Of Racism

### ◆ From Xenophobia to Ethnic Cleansing

Japanese hate speech has become more aggressive recently, with protesters openly advocating ethnic cleansing. Finally, following some initial reluctance, the Japanese media have begun to cover this issue. However, sociologists and others have expressed

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<sup>2</sup> Council of Europe Committee of Ministers Recommendation No.R(97) 20 to Member States on "Hate Speech," adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 30 October 1997 at the 607th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies.

concern that the government has yet to take the situation seriously and consider whether rethinking the legality of hate speech might be worth the risk of reducing the freedom granted to legitimate expression<sup>3</sup>.

Most of the protests appear to have been organized by a vocal new group, Zaitokukai, whose website boasts of almost 14,000 members. The protestants believe that their unfortunate status is caused by foreigners especially those ethnic Koreans who believe that their misfortunes have been caused by foreigners, especially ethnic Koreans, who perceived to be receiving favorable treatment from the Japanese government. The protesters are relatively small in number, and their strident anti-Korean stance is viewed with contempt by most Japanese. It is widely believed that the members of Zaitokukai tend to be young Japanese men who feel alienated by personal failures and their inability to land stable corporate jobs and who express their resulting frustration by blaming foreigners. The media coverage of hate speech inclined to treat Zaitokukai as a minority activist group (as will be explained later). When we closely observe the media discourse on hate speech, it is understood that the media have tended to portray the members of Zaitokukai as a marginalized minority. But then, why are their views getting wide spread attention? Are they really a marginalized minority?

#### ◆ A Revisionist Trend

The discussions regarding Zaitokukai demonstrate the complexity of racism in Japan. Some sociologists and Journalists say they are to mistake the problem of economic deprivation, unequal distribution of wealth and racial hierarchy (see Kayano 2011<sup>4</sup>). Some say that its members lack a clear ideology but usually step forward to violence, unlike traditional right-wing groups. However, a closer look at the group reveals that its members have been politically awakened by historical revisionism<sup>5</sup>. Because Right-wing historical revisionism set its targets on Korea, Zaitokukai s began targeting ethnic Koreans<sup>6</sup>.

This revisionist trend has blanketed Japan. Books and periodicals highly critical of both China and South Korea are bestsellers, prompting leading publishing companies to the bandwagon and take advantage of the trend<sup>7</sup>. The weekly magazines in isolation

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<sup>3</sup>Asahi Newspapers, March 16, 2013. Section 37.

<sup>4</sup>Kayano, Toshihito. 2011 *Is Nationalism Evil?*NHK Publications.

<sup>5</sup>Higuchi, Naoto, 2013 “To Capture the Core of Ethnocentric Movement :Research on Zaitokukai” *Journalism* no.282, pp.66-73. Asahi Shimbun.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 71

<sup>7</sup> “Publications disparaging S. Korea and China are hot sellers in Japan” Feb. 12. 2014.

have not created this boom. At the root of the trend is the mass media's tendency of to report public characters' discriminatory remarks without criticism.<sup>8</sup> Also, Japan has systemically discriminating against ethnic Koreans residing in Japan.

#### ◆ Systematic Discrimination on Ethnic Koreans

Koreans, who constitute Japan's largest minority group, still face discrimination in Japan. Ethnic Koreans have the legal status of foreigners even though many of them have been living in Japan for generations, as descendants of those forcibly brought to Japan during its 1910-1945 colonial rule of Korea. They are called "Zainichi" which means "residing in Japan". The use of this term reflected the overall expectation that Koreans were living in Japan on a temporary basis, and this expectation has precluded their full membership in Japanese society. Their status is not parallel to that of immigrants in other countries, such as Korean Americans in the U.S. The vast majority of ethnic Koreans are legally classified as foreigners and hold foreign passports.

Nationalization as a Japanese citizen often emerges as a central issue with regard to the role of state institutions in marginalizing ethnic Koreans, because it is perceived as "the only option for many in the full attainment of rights as citizens of Japan."<sup>9</sup> This kind of systemic racism against ethnic Koreans may also be a root to cause for the prejudice against them.

Japanese sociologist Shiobara Yoshikazu explains, that discussion of racial/ ethnic issues needs to begin from the assumption that inclusion and recognition of ethnic minorities have not made much progress in Japan.<sup>10</sup> The existence of ethnic minorities is still unrecognized. The circumstances under which such groups can engage in public discourse as equals while expressing their identity have not yet been established.

The following sections will examine in detail the media discourse on hate speech issues in Japan.

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<[http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind\\_news/social\\_affairs/AJ201402120004](http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind_news/social_affairs/AJ201402120004)> accessed in July 7, 2015.

<sup>8</sup> Mori.Chikako, 2014 "Relationship of Hate Speech and Racism: why we need to understand" in Kim (ed.) *Hate Speech Legal Approach*. Pp3-14.

<sup>9</sup> Chapman 2008: 62, Yoshioka 1978: 27. Chapman, David. 2008 *Zainichi Korean Identity and Ethnicity*, N.Y: Routledge. Yoshioka, Masuo. 1978. "Zainichi Foreigners and Japanese Society, Shakaihyoronsha.

<sup>10</sup> Yoshikazu, Shiobara. 2013 "Hate Speech and Sociology of Vulnerability" <<http://synodos.jp/society/5846>> accessed Oct. 11, 2014.

## Analysis: Media Discourse On Hate Speech

Initially, the mass media was reluctant to report on activities expressing hatred toward particular social groups, because they did not want to spread information that was harmful to people's self-esteem and dignity fearing their reports be triggering. However, Zaitokukai was able to reach a broader audience effectively by using video sharing sites. Its growing visibility both on the Internet and on the street garnered maximum public and media attention.

### ◆ Hate Speech as Activism by a Minority Group in a Multicultural Society

Zaitokukai attracted attention by marching in Tokyo's ethnic Korean neighborhood of Okubo, shouting anti-Korean slogans. Several protesters were arrested after a confrontation with counter-activists. In this incident, the mass media framed Zaitokukai as minority in Japanese society and positioned the counter-activists and victims in the same way. The following comments are typical of the mild media criticism of the protest:

“There would be some people who are offended by the demonstration.”

“Freedom of expression” is important, however offending one's heart or stirring up hatred is disappointing.” (Yomiuri Newspapers, August 7, 2013, Education section)

#### Minority1 Zaitokukai: Someone who is not us

The media have dubbed Zaitokukai the Net far right, because they are loosely organized via the Internet, and gather together only for demonstrations. They function as a virtual community that maintains its own websites to announce the time and venue of protests, exchange information, and post video recordings of their demonstrations. Here are two examples of how Zaitokukai has been described in the media.

“A group brandishing xenophobic claims...Why do they throw such violent expressions out?” (Asahi Newspapers, April 28, 2013, Section 39 ).

“It is certain that their demonstration would harm the national interest” (Asahi Newspapers, March.16, 2013, Section 37).

Minority2: Shibakitai—counter-group---

“Shibakitai” is the shortened form of “Racist wo Shibakitai.” Shibaki means to punch. This group describes itself as a resistance movement opposing those who discriminate. Media coverage has not been any more favorable to this group than to its opposition.

I get the impression that demonstrating group and Shibaki (counter demonstrators) are both to blame. (Asahi Newspapers August.10 2013 section13)

Police began breaking up the fight and started arresting some members of both groups, including *Zaitokukai* leader Makoto Sakurai and three of his members, along with the counter-protest leader Kenji Kubo plus three members of his group as well. They were all detained on suspicion of criminal assault. (Yomiuri Newspapers June.17, 2013, Osaka local).

Mainichi Newspapers wrote a feature article on a member of the resistance troops. In this article, a leader of the counter-group is portrayed as an outsider character.

“<70years of peace> never to repeat Korean Massacre after the Great Kanto earthquake<sup>11</sup>... now hate speech”

Here is a right-wing youth who is against hate speech: the leader of “Yuukokukadoukai,” Jiro Yamagushi (29). He does not stop his actions even his right-wing friends call him a betrayer. “Emotionally I can’t ignore the situation that [the demonstrators] are crowds bullying the weak.” He started his counter racist activity in February 2013 opposing the hate speech groups

screaming “North and South Koreans must die.” He stands in front of them before they throw out expressions of hatred. “For the time being, I try to be non violent,” he said. Still, sometimes the counter-activity produces a major fight. Participants include a man

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<sup>11</sup> After the earthquake, the mindless slaughter of thousands of ethnic Koreans. Rumors spread that Korean residents in Japan had poisoned wells that provided drinking water or attempted to foment rioting through attacks of arson. The government declared martial law, which led to a wave of killings of Koreans in the disaster areas (Koji Kitabayashi “Remembering Koreans massacred after Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923” *Asahi Newspapers* 2013. 9.1. ).

with a tattoo who be mistake as mafia. “My look is not great, so I am okay with being the bad guy. But I want to stop it if someone is being discriminated against, no matter what.” He expresses his anger towards the racists who threaten students at Korean schools by spitting on the storefront.(Mainichi Newspapers, September 1, 2014, Gunma local)

At this point, the mass media are equating, with regard to status, the group which engages in hate speech and the counter-protesters, casting both of them in a marginal position. By placing both groups of actors in the same minority status, the mass media process the issue as a standardized collision between minorities lacking full understanding of racism or multiculturalism.

#### ◆ **Multiculturalism?**

This minority vs. minority depiction is often criticized by researchers on race relations as leading both groups to amplify hatreds toward each other. Both groups are perceived to be outside the majority of “normal” Japanese as they trade barbs in a culturally marginal setting..

In media discourse, solution to this problem of hate speech can be expressed in the word “kyosei”, the term used to symbolize a multicultural society. It can be translated as multicultural co-existence or multicultural integration.

In Everyone’s Park: Japanese and Koreans, Should Happily Coexist by Korean student JAEWOO JEONG (age 19) says, “Is there any way to have reconciliation with those Japanese who hate us? I heard there was a counter demonstration regarding hate speech toward Koreans in Okubo Park a few days after my arrival. Will someday Japanese and Koreans coexist happily together some day? If another demonstration should occur, I would join it. I wish from the bottom of my heart that Japanese and Koreans could coexist without any hard feelings. (Mainichi Newspaper October.26, Tokyo, Section9)

A third generation Ethnic Korean Mr. No speaks regarding hate speech, “Do we need to have ethnic identity which lead to confrontation? We need to think of the ways to coexist in same society.” (Mainichi Newspaper, June 18, 2013, West Section25).

However, this ideal of coexisting and inclusion in the host society is possible only if the minority compromises by giving up its ethnic distinctiveness. This coexisting inclusion undermines the minority group by asking it to align itself with the majority. In this way, the promotion of multicultural coexistence by both the media and the government aims at integrating non-Japanese residents rather than creating a society that is truly amenable to all types of ethnic backgrounds.

## Conclusion

The systemic ethnocentrism that is currently prominent in Japan and the rise of neo-conservative xenophobia together have fanned the flames of ill feeling against minorities. Correspondingly, the traditional right wing's current version of historical revisionism has set its targets on Korea.<sup>12</sup> The right wing has not only emphasized confrontation between racial groups but also media discourse has failed to consider seriously the problem of Japanese who harm ethnic Koreans.

The Japanese mass media have viewed counter-protesters as equivalent to violent street protesters and positioned both as minority activities while reinforcing the view of victims as members of marginalized ethnic groups. This positioning potentially encourages apathy among the general population. This creation of a new minority may lead to further hostile responses, strengthen existing divisions, and cause the general Japanese public to feel distanced from the issue. Portraying Zaitokukai's hate speech as a result of more stratified society reflects another dilemma brought on by multiculturalism, the dilemma of identity politics.

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<sup>12</sup> Higuchi 2013 71-72.

*Organizational Culture as a Primary Driver of Organizational Success: The South African University Experience*

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Derek van der Merwe, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

The European Conference on Cultural Studies 2015  
Official Conference Proceedings

**Abstract**

This paper discusses the influence that organizational culture has on an institution's success. Success is defined more broadly than mere material gain to encompass the notion of wealth creation. Against this background culture surveys conducted at the University of Johannesburg from 2008 to 2014 are examined. An explanation is provided for the apparent discrepancy in the findings between low morale, yet high performance, namely that the two levels of cultural awareness exist in organizations that have not yet embraced the holistic concept of wealth creation. They continue to promote material gain as an end in itself thus creating an environment where constant competitive pressure negatively influences inter-personal engagement in the workplace. These findings, it is suggested, can be extrapolated to organizations that seek to embrace an innovative and dynamic paradigm within the wealth-creating knowledge economy.

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## **Introduction**

Profit (material gain) matters. It matters exclusively in commercial corporations. In non-commercial corporations, material gain is of dominant importance. In both commercial and non-commercial organizations, therefore, executive and managerial attention is focused (exclusively or dominantly) on the enhancement of the material wellbeing of the organization in the competition for (often diminishing) global resources (Barnard & Van der Merwe, 2014a). Material wellbeing is equated with success (Nold III, 2012). Strategic investment, strategic goals, (short, medium and long term) planning, performance assessments, appointments, remuneration, incentives, education and training: these are the stuff of executive decision-making because they are the drivers of success (Hogan & Coote, 2014).

An organization's culture (Bartlett (2014) refers to it as "that's how we do things here") receives attention to the extent that it contributes to or detracts from the organization's success in competitive pursuit of the material gain that enables it to fulfil its core function.

The University of Johannesburg in South Africa is a non-profit, state-funded organization that, like all universities, actively pursues material gain as a means to fulfil its core teaching, learning and research mandate. It was established in 2005 as part of the radical transformation of higher education in post-apartheid South Africa. It was the result of an amalgamation of three pre-existing universities each with a widely different institutional ethos. Since 2008 the university executive recognized the importance of a proper understanding of its institutional culture for its overall wellbeing as it sought to establish itself as a leading institution of higher learning in South Africa.

The results of the biennial surveys conducted since 2008 have proven instructive in a number of respects. This paper discusses some of the results within the context of the growing global acknowledgment that organizational success is not solely dependent on the successful competition for material gain. Increasingly, success is being measured by an organization's ability to be genuinely accountable, transparent and sustainable. It argues that an organization's culture significantly influences an organization's ability to be accountable, transparent and sustainable – and therefore successful. Far more attention should be paid and far more resources expended on the non-material wellbeing of its workforce in the competitive, global business environment of the 21st Century.

## **The University Of Johannesburg And Its Culture Surveys**

The University of Johannesburg (UJ) was established in 2005. It was the result of a merger of three higher education institutions. The incorporation and merger was part of the radical restructuring of higher education in post-apartheid South Africa, which led to the 36 higher education institutions in apartheid South Africa being reduced to 23 (Barnard & Van der Merwe, 2014b). Three categories of institution were recognized in the new dispensation: traditional universities providing formative education; universities of technology providing vocational or technological education; and so-called comprehensive universities, that provide a mixture of traditional formative and vocational education. UJ was classified as one of five comprehensive universities (Van der Merwe, 2012).

The three higher education institutions that amalgamated to form UJ were all to a greater or lesser degree creatures of the apartheid ideology. Each had had a very distinct institutional ethos. Establishing a new institution that was more than merely the sum of its parts, reflective of the constitutional democracy South Africa had embraced since 1994, and doing so within the ill-defined context of 'comprehensivity' was no easy task (Van der Merwe, 2012).

In the first three years of its existence executive and managerial energy was spent on establishing an academic 'architecture' for the new university; on the complex integration of the human resources, finances, ICT and operations support structures; on a marketing campaign to promote the new university and the values and ideals it stood for. The work was done commendably well and by the end of 2007 much of the structural groundwork had been laid. Today the university reaps the benefit of the hard work done in those early years. It is one of the biggest universities in South Africa with some 50 000 students and an operating budget of around R1.5 billion (*University of Johannesburg Annual Stakeholder Report 20xii*, 2013).

Towards the end of 2007 it became clear that many of the workforce (academic and support staff) experienced a sense of *alienation* from the institution (Barnard & Van der Merwe, 2014b). There seemed to be a pervasive sense among the staff that they were being discriminated against on a range of grounds: race, gender, language, campus affiliation, programme affiliation (traditional formative versus technology). They felt themselves unable to identify with the new institution and unable to properly articulate their concerns about the massive new and different institution that was developing in their very midst.

An executive decision was taken in early 2008 to conduct a so-called 'Culture Survey' (Barnard & Van der Merwe, 2014a). Due care was taken with the proper construction and formulation of the survey questionnaire and with the manner in which it was disseminated and its results collated and analyzed. The survey nevertheless did not pretend to be more than a management tool to assess the extent of alienation of the workforce and the disaffection among staff and to provide indicators on redress measures.

The survey was conducted in October 2008. A set of some 80 statements were formulated to which the participants had to provide standard Likert-style responses. The statements were arranged and analyzed according to seven selected themes:

Fairness and Equity;  
Transformation;  
Trust, Respect and Support;  
Valuing/Accommodating Diversity;  
Values and Vision;  
Management; and  
Job Satisfaction.

All of the themes form part of the collective understanding of what organizational culture is (Bartlett, 2014; Ismail, Romle & Azmar, 2015). The responses were reduced to a percentage 'score' for each theme and an overall 'score'. This was meant to reflect the 'Culture Index' of the institution. A 'culture index' of higher than 70% was indicative of an institution with a workforce

that was generally happy and experienced a sense of institutional wellbeing; a score of below 50% indicated an institution with a disaffected workforce.

The survey was repeated in 2010 and again in 2012. Although some tweaking of statements had taken place and some had been omitted and some added, the surveys were similar and the number of staff who participated in all three surveys sufficient and sufficiently representative to constitute valid samples. As a result comparative analyses of the results of the three surveys could reasonably be undertaken for purposes of managerial intervention.

In 2010, after the second survey, the Council and Executive of the institution recognized that after five years, steady state had been achieved after the merger. The university had overcome the most serious of the merger obstacles, in fact had become recognized as a merger success story within the higher education sector. The time was ripe to develop an overarching strategic plan for the university and for it to face the future with confidence and a sense of strategic purpose. A set of eight Strategic Thrusts were developed, each with its own set of strategic objectives and numerical targets to be achieved in the short, medium and longer term (Barnard & Van der Merwe, 2014a). These Strategic Thrusts were launched in 2011 and were meant to guide the institution for the next ten years.

Within the space of two years the Strategic Thrusts were replaced by a Strategic Plan even more ambitious than the Strategic Thrusts. There were two reasons for this: Many of the targets set had already been reached or were soon to be reached, way ahead of the timespan set for their achievement. Also, UJ had embarked on an ambitious academic project. This was namely to achieve global academic prominence. It had participated for the first time in 2012 in the QS University Rankings System. It had performed creditably in the exercise: a placing in the top 650-700 universities worldwide, which translated into the top 4% of universities (*University of Johannesburg Annual Stakeholder Report 20xii*, 2013). It repeated this performance in 2013. Some of its faculties had propelled themselves into the top 200 in the world. This was no mean feat for a university not yet a decade old, established in the cauldron of post-apartheid politics with its demand for higher education to thousands of disadvantaged learners, and with a 'comprehensive' academic remit.

All of this meant that the University executive and its Council saw fit to pursue the aim of global excellence and stature and to design strategic objectives that would reflect this desire for global recognition. It was a clear institutional change of gear. It also meant that institutional endeavour would gradually be re-directed, from a focus on national and local priorities to global competitiveness. This would require the maintenance of a balance that would place unrelenting performance pressure on the workforce (Awadh & Saad, 2013).

The 2014 Culture Survey was conducted against the background of the strategic shift the university had undertaken. The survey itself was re-designed; some of the themes were retained, but the changes were such that comparison with the results of previous surveys was fraught.

### **Results Of The Uj Culture Surveys 2008-2014**

On the basis of detailed biographical information obtained from the participants it was possible for the university to develop fairly comprehensive analyses of the results of each of the surveys.

What follows is a high-level summary of some important results for purposes of this presentation.

### **2008 survey**

Some 36% of staff participated in the 2008 survey. The 'culture index' was measured at a lowly 52%. The scores for the individual themes ranged from 45% (for *Fairness and Equity*) to 63% (for *Job Satisfaction*). The score for three of the themes was below 50%.

The results occasioned anxious reflection among the university executive. A range of interventions were undertaken. These included cultural integration workshops, 360 degree leadership surveys, conciliation engagements in identified environments where inter-personal relationships were poor, an annual staff day devoted to integration and togetherness and an annual Diversity Week devoted to a range of social and academic events designed to improve inter-cultural understanding and strengthen the building blocks of nation-building captured in the South African Constitution.

### **2010 survey**

The second survey was conducted in 2010. The staff participation rate had dropped to 20% - acceptable to achieve statistically valid results, but disappointing nevertheless. The 'culture index' increased to 57%. This improvement in the index, statistically significant though it was, did not produce executive cartwheels. The theme scores ranged from 48% (for *Fairness and Equity*) to 65% (for *Job Satisfaction*). Only one theme scored below 50%. On the strength of these results the university established a Transformation Office. This Office coordinates all activities related to transformation, cultural integration, social cohesion and affirmative action in the university. Under its auspices, too, a Transformation Charter was drafted and approved and the Vision, Mission and Values statement of the university was fundamentally revised.

### **2012 survey**

The third survey was conducted in 2012. It took place after the Strategic Thrusts had been launched and just prior to the drafting of the new Strategic Plan that heralded the institutional change of gear with its focus on global excellence and stature. The participation rate was 30%. The 'culture index' stood at 69%. This caused executive cartwheels and ululations. It represented a massive increase in the sense of wellbeing enjoyed by the UJ workforce. Although still short of the magical 70% mark, there was much to be satisfied with. The themes scores ranged from 61% (for *Fairness and Equity*) to 76% (for *Values and Vision*).

It is possible to draw the following general conclusions from a comparative analysis of the first three surveys (interesting detail conclusions, based on responses of staff with different demographic, work-related and seniority profiles, were also drawn, but will not be discussed in this presentation):

- The majority of UJ staff felt proud to work at UJ and were happy to promote it as an employer of choice. This sense of pride grew over time and peaked at 91% in 2012.
- There was a general sense of job satisfaction and a sense that core academic values (such as academic freedom and creativity) were valued. This too increased over time and peaked at close to 80% in 2012.
- Acknowledgment was readily given by the participants to institutional efforts to achieve transformation of the staff and student profile of the institution that better reflected the

race and gender composition of broader society. Similarly, there was appreciation for efforts aimed at acknowledging and celebrating diversity.

- Against these broadly positive results the following consistently negative responses were recorded:
  - Staff from different race groups did not trust each other;
  - A culture of trust was absent in the institution;
  - Staff from different race groups did not feel equally valued;
  - Staff from different race groups were not viewed as equally competent.
  -

The responses for each of these statements 'scored' consistently below 50%. In general, responses within the themes of *Fairness and Equity*, *Transformation* and *Trust, Respect and Support* scored consistently lower than the other themes.

A conclusion that can be drawn from the three surveys is that scores were high where respondents were asked to evaluate managerial and executive steps taken to instil in the institution a sense of direction and purpose and to put formal structures, rules and policies in place. The scores were low where respondents were asked to evaluate inter-personal relationships and individualized execution of formal policies and frameworks. Thus: good marks for formal management, poor marks for execution and 'living the values'.

#### **2014 survey**

Subsequent to the 2012 survey the new UJ Strategic Plan was launched with much fanfare and executive 'sell'. At national level the Minister of Higher Education and Training established a national Transformation Oversight Committee in 2013 with the brief to monitor and report to the Minister on the pace and extent of transformation in the racial and gender composition of the students and staff at South African universities. A (controversial) 'transformation barometer' commissioned by the Committee was published in 2013. It analyzed official data submitted for government subsidy purposes by universities. It used a range of variables in the analysis, such as staff and student composition, pass rates, graduation rates, success rates, staff academic and support profiles, academic staff seniority, productivity and qualifications. The results showed that UJ was among the universities that had been most transformed in the country and had done so while also improving its academic productivity in terms of research output and graduation rates. Prior to the 2014 survey the QS Ranking System had once again placed UJ in the 650-700 category of universities worldwide.

It was against this background that the 2014 survey was conducted. The participation rate was 37%, the highest for all the surveys. The 'culture index' had dropped to 54% and the theme scores diverged widely: the highest score was 78% and the three lowest scores were below 40%. Significantly, the respondents expressed strong negative sentiment towards statements associated with trust, respect and support in the institution. The unremitting pressure to perform at the global level while retaining local relevance had clearly begun to tell.

The 2014 survey results, although different in many respects from the previous surveys, allow similar conclusions to be drawn:

- Staff were impressed (in fact mightily impressed) with:
  - the (new) strategic direction of the university and executive efforts to promote its global excellence and stature;
  - with its vision, mission and values statements and attempts to embed this in the institution;
  - with their employment circumstances ('job satisfaction');
  - with the extent of transformation in the institution and the active promotion of diversity; and
  - with the institutional commitment to academic freedom, individual thinking and creativity.
  
- Staff were unimpressed (in fact mightily unimpressed) with:
  - the lack of a culture of trust in the institution;
  - the lack of trust between races;
  - the lack of fairness in the way they are treated individually (in respect of such matters as remuneration, performance assessments and ethical behaviour);
  - with the extent of victimization in the institution (in respect of such matters as bullying, sexual harassment, blaming, stereotyping, verbal abuse, 'back-stabbing' and humiliation); and
  - managers adopting a dictatorial rather than a consultative style.

Again it seems clear that a distinction can be drawn between a general sense of appreciation for formal, structural and strategic arrangements that are in place for the institution to flourish and a sense of disgruntlement with inter-personal relationships and their proper or adequate management.

### **Lessons Learnt From The Uj Culture Surveys**

Granted, in many respects the University of Johannesburg is a uniquely-situated institution. Its size, its demographic profile, its location, its history, its academic remit, its ethos as a product of and torch-bearer for the new democracy in South Africa, all mean that race, transformation, diversity, challenges to the status quo and muscle-building will feature prominently in any assessment (whether internal or external) of its cultural wellbeing. Despite this distinctiveness, though, we believe that some lessons can be extracted from the four culture surveys conducted at UJ over the period 2008-2014 that can be generalized to produce an improved understanding of the role of organizational culture in medium and large organizations.

We propose the following:

#### *1. An organization's workforce has two levels of cultural awareness*

Workplace awareness manifests itself at two distinct levels, at two frequencies, if you will. The one is at the *formal, core-function level*. There is general recognition that a job needs to be done and the resources and means need to be in place for it to happen. An effective and efficient management and an effective and efficient workforce generally produce measurable, recognizable

results that reflect a go-get culture. It is the domain where *thinking* and *doing* dominate. At this level of awareness the frequency level of the mind is low, it reflects active intellectual (and/or physical) engagement with the immediate concerns of the workplace. It is where common sense prevails and where matter-of-fact activities take place.

The other is the *situational, inter-personal level*. This is the fragile, sticky domain of trust, respect, fairness and equity. At this level people primarily *feel*. The transient, fragile nature of *feelings*, of emotions, passions, sentiments, sensations and attitudes, means that they tend to become (or to be) submerged beneath the activity level where process, structure, timeline, work schedule, goals, instructions and decision-making dominate. At this level of awareness mind frequency is high. The feelings inhabit a realm of the mind that transcends the material realm of job-related activity. Because they are so readily submerged, they are not easily identified. Attempts to apply to them the very processes, structures and schedules that produce their submersion will not and do not succeed. They are as it were drowned out by the noise at the lower levels of frequency. And even if they are identified the tendency is to process them, to structure them, to schedule them, to harness them in the cause of common sense. Common sense is not sympathetic. When these feelings are negative – and they often are – they lie dormant, they fester and their negative influence on workplace contentment and productivity is not recognized or acknowledged (Wang, Su & Yang, 2011). Demotivation and resentment result in patchy performance and high turnover and the application of ever more managerial pressure and artifice to achieve success (Awadh & Saad, 2013).

The UJ Culture Surveys provide evidence of this. Racial and gender transformation of the institution is praised, and the active promotion of diversity acknowledged, yet at the same time the lack of inter-racial trust is indicted and a perception surfaces time and again that competence is equated with racial profiling. The Values Charter is praised for its progressive statements and its capturing of essentials, yet the surveys provide evidence of a pervasive lack of a culture of trust in the institution. Incisive strategic management and the creation of an environment where job satisfaction flourishes is approved, yet serious concern is expressed at wide-ranging instances of harassment, victimization, rank-pulling and blaming.

## 2. *Commonality between organizational culture and organizational transformation*

There is a commonality between ‘culture’ and ‘transformation’ that is often overlooked or at best underplayed.

An organization’s culture is sometimes facetly defined as ‘the way things are done around here’ (Bartlett, 2014). A static definition, therefore, one that describes patterns of behaviour within a community cohered by a shared business purpose. Yet the root meaning of the word ‘culture’ (‘cultivation’) has a *dynamism* attached to it. It denotes animation, development, improvement, growth, formation, attainment of a higher state of being than the present (Büschgens, Thorsten Bausch & Balkin, 2013). In this sense it shares much with ‘transformation’. Transformation, too, whether used in the narrow sense of racial and gender redress or in the broader sense of a qualitative process of institutional and personal development, denotes *mobility*. It denotes movement from one institutional state to another that better reflects the social, political and economic environment within which that institution exists. In a well-functioning organization there is natural progression at play rather than an imposed, managed transfer from one time- and

place-bound institutional state to another time- and place-bound institutional state.

If, beyond the descriptive meaning attached to 'organizational culture', one were to use more regularly as a tool of analysis its normative sense of development, growth, attainment, then, we submit, deeper managerial insights would be obtained. An organization's culture would then also be an indicator of the urgency or importance attached to transformation of the organization to enable it to remain competitive. It would then become possible to make sense of the two levels of cultural awareness discussed in 1. above and which the UJ surveys so trenchantly highlighted.

Patterns of behaviour that statically reflect an organization strategically placed to successfully pursue success through process, structure and decision execution readily translate into a positive, healthy organizational culture. But it is in the analysis of the dynamic interaction between members of the workforce in the execution of their duties, of the manner in which engagements take place – rather than of the achievements that result from those engagements – that the important, underplayed second level of cultural experience manifests itself. Such an analysis cultivates an understanding of how patterns of behaviour can be elevated, improved, developed, to pursue a higher and better state of behaviour. It is at that level that the stuff of authentic transformation lies: in the greater or lesser exhibitions of fairness, trust, respect and support lie true (or artificial) accountability, true (or artificial) transparency, true (or artificial) sustainability and the creation of wealth (or the mere pursuit of material gain).

*3. Organizational culture/organizational transformation directly affects, not the pursuit of material gain, but the creation of organizational wealth*

'Culture' and 'transparency' share another commonality and a strange one it is too. This is namely that there is no *direct* or *necessary* correlation between an organization's dynamic, normatively determined culture and the successful achievement of an organization's core goals; nor between the extent or otherwise of its institutional transformation (both narrowly and broadly defined) and the successful achievement of an organization's core goals. As the UJ culture surveys have highlighted, even within a perceived culture of pervasive unfairness, lack of trust and interracial tension an organization can still perform successfully. An organization can remain fundamentally at odds with its social, political and economic environment and still achieve market success.

Equally, though, success achieved under such conditions cannot be sustained (Shahzad, Luqman, Khan & Shabbir, 2012). The artifice and managerial pressure required to achieve success becomes too heavy a burden for an organization's executive to manage and for its workforce to endure (Tsai, 2011). Progressive organizations have recognized this. In these organizations importance is attached to the core role played by the 'submerged', dynamic, fragile components of workforce culture. Those interactions, where trust is earned and lost, where fair decisions breeds contentment and unfair decisions resentment, where managers make decisions and execute policies mindfully and empathetically or abusively and humiliatingly, where colleagues share and support or victimize and harass, become areas of dedicated focus

They are recognized as the 'hard' issues they in fact are rather than as the peripheral 'soft' issues most management believes them to be. They are embedded into the interstices of the organization

rather than imposed or regulated by means of processes and structures. In an environment where time, energy and resources are spent on these issues - at the expense, let it be said, of more material gain - accountability, transparency and sustainability are genuine building blocks of organizational success. They are not mere instruments of formal compliance. 'Success' is no longer narrowly defined as the extent of profit or material gain or material wellbeing. It is defined more broadly, more *deeply*, as *wealth creation*, the organization's ability to produce abundance of value: for its workforce, its shareholders and other stakeholders, for society more generally.

An organization that is mindful – institutionally mindful – of the fragility of trust and of perceptions of fairness and the effects thereof on workplace productivity; of how layered, multi-dimensional, proportioned and interpretative decisions and actions really are; of how fundamentally – rather than peripherally - important *attitude* is, is an institution on the move. It is transformative, cultured and open in its practices and decision-making. It is open to knowledge sharing (Allameh, Zamani, & Davoodi, 2011) and innovation (Abdi & Senin, 2014). It forsakes short-term material gain for long-term wealth creation. It recognizes that material gain is not an end in itself, but rather a means (a crucial, vital means, but a means nevertheless) to a deeper purpose, namely to create an abundance of value.

Too often, though, organizations that function within an ultra-competitive, resource-scarce global environment do not engage with these issues with the dedication demanded. Too often the need for efficiency and effectiveness trumps the time, energy and resources required to be truly accountable and transparent and to pursue long-term sustainable business strategies. It is within such business environments that sub-cultures develop, where the higher cultural frequencies of the mind and the spirit are submerged within the lower frequencies of material process and material gain. In such environments the insidious effects of these sub-cultures on organizational wellbeing are recognized only too late or engaged with only sub-optimally.

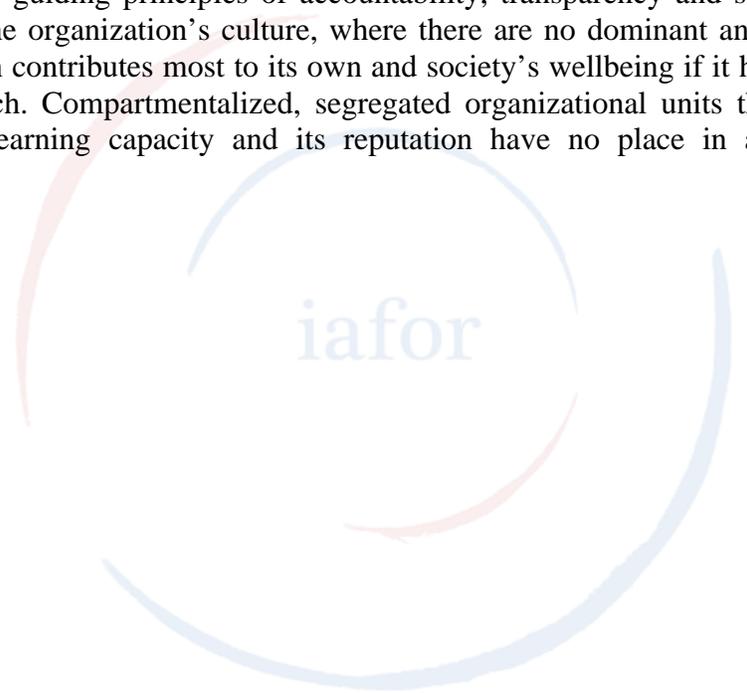
## **Conclusion**

The UJ culture surveys starkly highlight two distinct levels of organizational culture. At one level there is a goal-driven culture of performance, where executive management, structure and process guide patterns of behaviour geared towards the achievement of maximum material gain (Martinez, Beaulieu, Gibbons, Pronovost, & Wang, 2015). At another level there is a culture of attitude, one where trust, respect and support exists either wholly, partially or not at all, where a sense of injustice can cause numbing resentment, where proportions and perspectives determine levels of understanding and execution, where passions and feelings materially influence performance (Awadh & Saad, 2013).

These manifest in two distinct sub-sets of organizational culture. Invariably, the one subsumes or submerges the other; invariably the one that best contributes to the achievement of material gain dominates. Our contention is that such a manifestation is indicative of an outmoded business paradigm. It is a paradigm in which those attributes, attitudes and competencies in the workforce that most directly contribute to profit or material gain are privileged above those that make no such contribution. The latter are treated as 'soft' concerns to be managed away or harnessed in the service of material gain (Prajogo & McDermott, 2011).

We argue that in a progressive business paradigm there is no duality of organizational culture of the kind highlighted in the UJ culture surveys. There is no ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ culture; there is no distinction between a practical and an idealist mindset; no difference between material and spiritual approaches; no distinction between a public persona and a private persona; no artificial categorization between mind, body and spirit; no ultimate substance to the distinction between those who wield power and influence and those who do not.

There is but one integrated culture in which trust, respect, support, fairness and equity – *mindfulness*, in a word, enjoy as much dedicated, resource-rich attention as managerial prowess, strategic guidance, process and structure. This concept of *mindfulness* is well captured in the southern African philosophical concept of *ubuntu* (“a person achieves excellence insofar as she or he shares a way of life with others and cares for their quality of life”). Each individual employee is a whole being whose wholeness is recognized and developed. Each organization functions optimally if the guiding principles of accountability, transparency and sustainability reflect the wholeness of the organization’s culture, where there are no dominant and submerged elements. An organization contributes most to its own and society’s wellbeing if it has the same integrated, holistic approach. Compartmentalized, segregated organizational units that serve to bolster an organization’s earning capacity and its reputation have no place in a progressive business paradigm.

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***K.J.Yesudas: The Discursive Formation of the Cult of a Playback Singer in the Kerala Public Sphere***

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**Abstract**

Kattassery Joseph Yesudas, the popular playback singer<sup>1</sup>, has been a central figure in the realm of popular culture constituted by Malayalam film music industry for more than half a century. Yesudas has entered the field of playback singing in 1961 and in the preceding four decades, the singer has virtually monopolized the field of Malayalam film singing and he could become a hegemonic presence in the realm of popular music. The singer's voice is accorded the status of 'the representative modern voice of Kerala' by the journalistic and critical discourses in the Kerala Public Sphere. The voice that has been occupying a central place in the site of the popular music for nearly half a century and the representative status of modernity accorded to this voice owes to different socio cultural and historical factors apart from the musical talents of the singer. This paper will focus on one of the specific elements in the making of the figure of the modern singer that is the singer's unique balancing of the classical and popular music in his career. To understand how and why this factor helps the discursive construction of the modern singer, this study will look into ideological concepts and discourses that are constructed and employed in the field of music by the forces of cultural nationalists in India in the late 19th and early 20th century.

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<sup>1</sup> He predominantly sings for South Indian films and he has sung over 50,000 film songs in his five-decade long career. He has won 7 National Award and several award from the Kerala State Government.

The ideological underpinnings of nationalist music cannon formations are studied and critiqued by scholars like Janaki Bhakle (2005), Amanda.J.Weidman (2006),Lakshmi Subramanian (2011) etc. In the nationalist phase and later in the post-colonial context, India as a nation was in need of its own cultural and aesthetic forms to represent its modernity. Reinventing and reconstructing existing art forms as modern nationalist art forms that has evolved to represent the modern nation was a part of the project of Indian cultural nationalism. The project of cultural nationalism was largely a brahminical one in nature, hence in the process of creating the modern musical culture, music was imagined as a forte of upper caste Hindu practices and ideologies and other musical traditions and voice cultures were gradually excluded from the modern nationalist musical culture. That is to say, the realm of aesthetics was not deprived of the play of cultural politics and the 'nationalist music' culture was selectively formed by excluding other traditions of music and voice cultures and the 'purist' policies largely disinherited non-Hindu practitioners of music. However, as a part of these cultural discourses, the category of 'the classical' has placed as representing the nation and is imagined as very distinct from 'the popular music'. The classical/popular binary, is ideologically constructed by culturally disadvantaging 'the popular' including film music, which is at one point of time even banned from the national broadcasting by minister B.V.Keskar (1957).This paper would like to locate how this classical / popular binary operates in the culmination of Yesudas as a cult figure in the Kerala Public Sphere. I would like to argue that the classically trained Latin Catholic singer, who ventures into the field of popular music, becomes a representative modern singer of Kerala by closely associating himself with the Carnatic music tradition and by bringing in the practices and ideologies of Carnatic music to the field of film singing. Though the singer's affinity to the popular Hindu religious centres (Guruvayoor, Mookambika) and the popularity of the Hindu devotional songs he sings are some of the supplementary factors that help the Latin Catholic singer to negotiate his lower caste status in the Kerala Public sphere, this paper chooses to focus on the musical factor.

One of the unique features of the singer is that unlike many of the other popular playback singer's in India, the singer could excel in the dual spheres of the Carnatic (classical) and the film music (popular) traditions. These two traditions of music differ from each other in terms of composition, training, performance, appreciation etc. When the Carnatic tradition remains close to the upper caste elite Hindu tradition and is often performed for a specialized audience, film music in India is a hybrid musical form that is widely enjoyed by the public. In this paper, I would like to argue that the unique balancing of these apparently different musical traditions is one of the key cultural factors that have constituted the cult of the modern singer in Kerala. The analysis will focus on the figure of the Modern Singer in Kerala as a discursive site of the 'popular' and the 'classical' musical traditions and attempt to understand how the popular singer's affiliation with the Carnatic tradition works to make him the voice of the Modern Singer in Kerala. How do the singer places himself in relation with the seemingly opposite musical traditions? The first part of this paper will look at the construction of the singer's connection with the classical tradition by closely looking at the selection of photographs and literary texts in order to make sense of how this 'belongingness' to the Carnatic tradition operates in the construction of the cult of the Modern Singer. The second part of the paper problematizes the singer's relationship with other popular music traditions in Kerala.

Yesudas is a classically trained popular singer; he has received academic training from institutions like RLV Academy and Swathi Thirunal Academy in Kerala. Apart from these modern institutional spaces, he was also trained under famous teachers like Chembai Vaidyanatha Bahagavatar (Carnatic maestro) and Semmangudi Sreenivasa Iyer. This paper analyses how the connections with the classical guru works out to make Yesudas the representative modern voice in Kerala in the realm of popular music. Does this connection and its projection of association with the classical guru's a component of his iconic status? Does this help him to get more acceptances in the public sphere by generating consensus from certain sections of society? Amanda.J.Weidman (2006) in her ethnographic work on Carnatic music analyses the logic of cultural nationalism in India that has redefined the practices of Carnatic music in the late 19th and early 20th century. She proposes that the discourses of modernity have instituted a new singing subject with the logic of interiorized aural modernity, where voice became a metaphor of self and authenticity. The study critiques the ideological underpinnings of nationalist discourses that have simultaneously excluded the subaltern singing subject from the norms of musical behaviour. In the case of K.J.Yesudas, the dominant male singing voice of Kerala, his aurality represents a similar modernity at the realm of the popular that simultaneously excludes the subaltern singing subject/styles by placing the interiorized singing subject at the centre stage.

Connection with guruparambara is generally a cultural mark as far as classical singers are concerned. This connection can largely determine the kind of exposure and the future of the classical performer whereas popular singing tradition may not work in the same fashion. Yesudas's wider acceptance and popularity rests on his fame as a film singer and what is unique about his career is that he equally maintains his association with Carnatic music too. I would like to argue that this connection with the Hindu upper caste gurus and its public projection and representations through Media is culturally operating in a way to give the singer's persona a wider acceptance in the Kerala Public Sphere. Amanda Weidman discusses how the nationalist project of modernity started discussing authentic Indian music by adding new meanings to the already existing traditional terms like guru-shishya relation:

At the turn of 21st century, the term has acquired a certain semantic destiny; not only does it refer to a specific sense of fidelity, that of a disciple to guru, but the enactment of gurukulavasam signifies, at a broader level, a fidelity to "tradition" an adherence to the element that makes this music truly Indian. Gurukulavasam is imagined as the mode through which the essentially oral tradition of Indian classical music is passed on. This is in distinct opposition to the modes of teaching western music, which, as the common stereotype goes "can be played out from looking at the written score". (p 84)

Therefore, when the concept of guruparambara is brought into the discourse of popular music in Kerala, it operates to generate a public consensus on the cult of the singer, who is a Latin Catholic Christian. This ensures his affiliation with the hinduised, nationalist concept of music and makes his presence more acceptable for a certain section among the listeners. It can also be argued that this affiliation with 'gurus' is a way through which the Christian singer negotiates his 'otherness' from the dominant upper caste Hindu classical singing tradition in the cultural sphere/public sphere. Yesudas in his early phase of his learning faced difficulties as a Christian and

he was advised by his well-wishers to not to pursue Carnatic music as a profession as the venues of performances like temples are not open to non-Hindus. These initial responses and his problems in entering the Guruvayoor temple premises show the nature of secularism in Kerala that still cannot accept a Christian Carnatic singer. The singer is a self-proclaimed devotee of the Hindu god Guruvayoorappan and he has sung many devotional Hindu songs that is played in many famous Hindu temples including Guruvayoor. When the voice of the singer is allowed inside the temple, his body is still not allowed inside the temple either for worshipping or for giving concerts. In the context of such public discourses that throws light to the cracks behind the seemingly smooth surface of the modern secular public sphere of Kerala, the association of the singer with the Carnatic gurus can be seen as a discourse that generates certain sort of acceptability.

The public display of his affiliation with gurus and its media representations gives us specific instances of discourses that can be used to problematize the way in which the popular has to get itself associated with the classical singing tradition to construct the figure of the modern singer. Below given images 1 & 2 that shows the relation between the Christian singer and the Hindu guru. When image 1 depicts the guru honouring the disciple by gifting a golden cloth as a token of appreciation, the second image depicts a concert where the guru and his disciple perform together with the instrumental accompaniment. Both these images convey how his 'belongingness' to the classical tradition is publicly acknowledged by the guru.



Image 1 :Chembai honouring Yesudas by gifting him Ponnada<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ponnada is a piece of cloth with a golden colour boarder, which is presented to eminent artists as a token of honour



Image 2 :Chembai performing with Yesudas

Malayali writer Subhash Chandran in his work *Das Capital* describes a scene where Yesudas performs a concert with his guru Chembai in 1973 January. He gives a literary representation of an instance where the interaction between the singer and his guru Chembai Vaidyanatha Bhagavathar takes place. The guru mediates the relation between the singer and the audience. Chembai speaks to the audience:

Today is our Das's 33rd birthday... (Claps from the audience) and particularly this is why today's concert has been organized. Especially, I present him this Tamburu (claps)...I am asking him to sing more Carnatic music while presenting the Thamburu (the audience are silent and Chembai gives the Tamburu to Das)...Accept this (claps)...this Thamburu is sponsored by our T.V.Gopalakrishnan. (as sounds and claps raises, Chembai turns his head away from the microphone and asks the organizers) should I ask my boy to sing? Should I? (he turns to the orchestra and asks) Ready? Please don't ask (Das) to sing any film songs (sighs from the audience)..Towards the ends of the programme, I will ask him to sing a few film songs as per your demand. Till then please listen patiently (Long claps)! (p 13)

This is quite an interesting scene as it brings in a complex situation where a Carnatic maestro and his disciple who excels in both popular film songs and classical singing appear and interacts. The public discourses about the 'popular' and the 'classical' are present in Chembai's talk. Chembai calls him 'our Das' and 'my boy' and thus publically display his relationship with the singer. By calling him 'my boy', the guru-shishya relation is made visible and consequently the guru shows his willingness to share his possession, that is his shishya with the audience who are closer to the singer both through his films and through concerts. So a strange equation of the pop and the classical emerges here. Chembai presents Das with a Tambura (musical instrument) wishing that his disciple would sing more Carnatic songs in future. Clearly, his preference is for the classical and by publically announcing it in the concert venue; he implies that Yesudas has the potential to continue in the field of classical singing. This instance, as well as the previously discussed images gives a statement on the singer's 'belongness' to the classical singing tradition.

The relation between film songs and the nationalist imagination of modern classical music was never a smooth one from the beginning itself and the formulation of the national broadcasting policies in the post independent period formulated by the minister of Broadcasting B.V.Keskar. The ideals of cultural nationalisms at work behind the policy formulation can throw light on the nature of relation between these two musical traditions in relation to the formation of a 'national music culture'. Dominant nationalist project has appropriated the traditional art forms including music and selective classical music traditions in India are modernized to create new nationalist music culture. Scholars like Amanda Weidman and Janaki Bhakle theorize the nuanced cultural politics behind the formulation of the classical traditions in India (North India and South India). These works reveal the ideological underpinnings of the nationalist project of modernity that has gone into the 'purification' of existing musical practices that has cultivated a modern music culture which was a more hinduised and upper caste one by nature. The juxtaposing of the popular and the classical as extremely opposing musical traditions was a part of creating a 'national culture' of music by the nationalists from the preceding decades of independence onwards.

Dr. B.V.Keskar, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting (1950-62), has formulated national broadcasting policies of music that has initiated the processes to modernize the musical practices in India by categorizing them as classical and light song sections. Film songs were seen as not fitting into the scheme of national music culture at that point of policy making by Keskar. He ideologically preferred hinduised classical tradition of music over a diverse set of musical practices arising from different social locales. This policy making of national music can be seen as one of the earliest debates on the classical/ the popular hierarchizing. Lelyveld (1995) in analysing the broadcasting policies comments on the tension between the popular music and the national culture and states how the film song was perceived in the process of broadcasting the national music - "the great enemy to construct a new music by administrative decree was increasingly popular new style of film song" (Lelyveld,1995). But it is also to be noted that how he fails to make an 'alternative light music tradition' which can replace the "cheap and vulgar" film songs with its high literary and moral quality as people have chosen Radio Ceylon for consuming film songs. This failure in understanding the potential of the popular medium of film songs has reduced AIR's popularity among the listeners and the national policies on music were forced to respond to the needs of the time by opening Vividh Bharathi that have broadcasted film music in 1957.

Therefore, while placing Chembai's speech at the track of these nationalist debates, it can be seen that the classical-popular relationship has changed over time and now these practices can happen in the same stage but the power relation operates in such a way that the classical is still considered as having a higher status than that of the popular. The classical maestro's disapproval of the popular and the preference given to the classical shows the primary status accorded to classical music. This discourse hierarchically places the film song category as secondary to the Carnatic tradition. Finally when the Guru has to accommodate film songs into the schedule and the consequent positive responses from the audience shows how far 'popular' K.J. Yesudas as a film playback singer than as a classical singer. K.J.Yesudas has become a site where the discourses of 'the popular' and 'the classical' take place and this

scene shows how these discourses complement mutually to establish him as an iconic figure in the Kerala public sphere.

### **Problem with the Modern Voice: Can the Subaltern Sing?**

The modern male singing voice of Kerala as represented through Yesudas is situated in a popular film song tradition. As the hegemonic singing voice that occupies the site of 'the popular', its relation with the classical tradition has been examined in the previous session. It is evident that Yesudas as a popular playback singer holds a very close relation to the classical tradition and this section will look into his relation with other popular singing traditions. Here, Yesudas's comments on 'work out music' is analysed in order to understand his position vis a vis another popular singing tradition. The video documentary 3D-Stereo Caste by A.S.Ajith Kumar focuses on the caste discriminations prevalent in the musical arena of Kerala offers an advanced form of resistance against the mainstream mediated stereotyping of lower caste music. The documentary addresses the politics of classification of music in relation to the sound and body movements in the lower caste art forms. Yesudas's response to the culture of 'work out music' is incorporated to the documentary.

What I have understood is that now there is a tendency of 'work out music'. For instance, great film songs like 'parijatham', such a great composition by Devarajan master or 'thamasamenthe varuvan' are not good for work out. Can one exercise playing these songs? (audience laughs) Before you take single step you will fall down. (he makes a comic sound and laughs). If that is the other songs 'tak it konki konki' (he makes some absurd sounds and actions to mock and the audience laughs). In the work out music, one does not need any musical note, pitch or rhythm. We can just manipulate it in the computer. (17.56-18.45)

The laughs and mockery Yesudas and the audience share clearly can be located within the elitist nationalist discourses of non-democratized, casteist classic art paradigm. The singer's comment unconsciously follows the 'purist argument' in the nationalist discussions of classical art forms and smoothly covers up the casteist, savarna attitude of the art practitioners. 'Work out' doesn't refer to any particular genre of popular music but a trend in film music that is more fast paced songs that uses heavy western orchestration and involves vigorous dance movements. Unlike the melodies, these songs enable the mixing of voice and body both onscreen and when the singer performs on stage. When the singer rejects the 'work out music' which involves sounds and body movements, he is arguing in favour of interiorizing the art form and shares the fear for 'body' and 'movements'. Amanda Weidman in her seminal work *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern* maps out how the nationalist project 'sanitized' classical music from body by separating it from dances and 'movements', which she argues, was not an innocent separation but a move biased towards the subaltern performers whose art forms often mixes dancing with singing. The ideal form of rendering became 'a kind of performance of non-performance', the voice is interiorized in the singing subject, and the body movements are totally wiped out of the performer. She argues that the shift of performance venues from temple to more public concert venues are made in favour of the urban, largely Brahmin middle class and the singing subject was never imagined as the subaltern one. The singer/artist in the modern classical musical paradigm is imagined as a non-subaltern subject as the

capacity of interiorized music production is not a quality that is attributed to the subaltern subject by the formulators of the nationalist classical singing tradition.

At this point, It is interesting to incorporate Sanjay Srivastava's(2004) observation on the veteran Hindi playback singer Lata Mangeshkar's physical posture while giving public performances - 'she would stand rigidly on stage and sing with her head buried in a note book' (p 2022). The posture of the singer foregrounds her voice and subdues her body and the adherence to the 'notebook' make her more committed to the mode of singing the classical that is bound to the literary part of the music. In other words, Lata the film singer internalizes the discourses of 'interiority' of performance and unconsciously follows the logic of the classical performance even while performing film song that falls into the category of the light/popular music tradition. Similarly, Yesudas in his performance of songs on stage keeps a relatively stiff position and his body movements are restricted to the movement of his hand that hold the mike.

Coming back to Yesudas's contempt/mockery to the music that makes possible movements which is placed in contrast with the 'great music' composed by G.Devarajan and V.Dakshinamoorthy, who were Malayalam music composers with a very strong classical foundations is a problematic disposal. He sees some fundamental problems in the 'work out music' or he points at some absences or lacks in the structure of the 'work out music':

1. Unlike those 'great' film songs, these songs are good for work out.
2. These songs are composed without musical note, pitch or rhythm.
3. These songs can be simply manipulated by using a machine like computer.

The statement and these three propositions give hints about the singer's concept of the film music. The songs that are hailed as 'great' are melodies and composed by people who has strong classical foundation in music and by labelling them as 'great', he stands close to the form of melodies. The second problem he finds is the absence of 'musical note', 'pitch' etc., these technical terms are also closely related to the modern notion of classical music and it gives a 'literary' notion of music, both these are generally absent in subaltern musical forms that work out entirely different notions of musical practices. The third comment he passes with sarcasm is that these forms of 'work out' music can be simply manipulated by using computer. Of course, the context in which he makes the comment may be referring to the increasing trend of digital plagiarism in the field of film music and new trends of sound mixing but the totality of the statement made in association with the term of 'work out music' enable us to read the third preposition in a different way. The 'work out music', as he terms it, stands close to the subaltern/ folk tradition, in his opinion lacks 'originality'. When the 'great music' needs originality and other authorial qualities, work out music is just a machine manipulation or the people producing this music have no capacity to create so called 'original' and 'great' music.

Though the singer is prominent in popular film music which is often conceived as very different from the classical music, his comments further marginalizes the other popular singing traditions including the folk songs or the so called 'work out' or 'adipoli music' which is more faithful to the lower caste traditional art forms. His preference as illustrated by the examples are more close to the more 'interiorized',

melodies and semi classical film songs. This classification themselves bears some caste biases in it. The director of the documentary Ajith says:

The 'classical' music discourses asks you to control your body and voice, it tries to separate the voice from the body, it prevents you from shaking your body while singing; but in Dalit music, body and voice are not separated. They dance while they sing; they are loud and full of energy. So my documentary is about the politics of sound as well. (<http://utharakalam.com/?p=811>)

There is another observation by music critic Ramesh Gopala Krishnan that can further help one to locate singer's position vis a vis the two different musical traditions. The comment point to one of the limitations of the singer's singing style: "Yesudas cannot effectively render voice to the raw musical forms of the subalterns that express in full vigour the basic expressions of their life. Musical genres such as the Panan Pattu, Pulluvan Pattu, Sarppa Pattu, Nadodi songs etc., are not very suitable to the refined voice and singing style of Yesudas." (p 51)

His voice has been the dominant singing voice of the heroes in Malayalam films and in most of the Malayalam films, the hero's songs are melodies and the folk or the other kinds of songs are distributed to comedians or lesser characters. The singer's seminality was determined by his ability to render 'interiorized' singing voice to the individual modern hero in Malayalam cinema and the subaltern voices largely never constituted the hero's voice. It can be argued that the voice that has become a hegemonic influence in the film singing for almost fifty years and constituted the site of the popular by representing the modern subject was not the subaltern's voice and further the singing style was never close to the other traditions of the lower caste. So, the singer's response to the 'work out' music and the limitations of his style trained by the Carnatic tradition together shows how the modern voice is an 'interiorized' one and how by means of its limitations it excludes the subaltern music traditions from its interiority.

To sum up the arguments in the above sections, it can be said the figure of the modern singer in the Kerala public sphere may not be able to negotiate his modernity in public unless he could establish a close relation with the classical tradition of music. The visibility of association with the classical singing tradition is established by the demonstration of his affiliation with classical maestro like Chembai. The Christian singer, performing in the film music manages to negotiate his identity as a Christian and as a popular singer by enhancing a sense of 'belongingness' to the classical hinduised music tradition. Hence, I would argue that the balancing of the classical along with the popular is a vital factor in the construction of the figure of the modern singer in Kerala. The nature of modernity he represents through his voice in the realm of the popular stands close to the classical tradition than to the other regional/folk tradition and to see how far classical oriented is the modern popular male singing voice, the singer's attitude to one strand of other popular music is analysed. The second argument is that this modern representative voice works out the logic of the nationalist construction of 'interiorized' voice as a norm and hence excludes subaltern music styles and voice cultures in that process. The realm of 'eclectic' film music culture again enables internal divisions of genres in accordance with their closeness to the classical and regional traditions. The hegemonic singing voice speaks in the language of the nationalist arguments and disapprove the 'work out music' that is closer to the subaltern musical traditions as it is not 'interiorized' sort of musical practice.

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*The Way of Music : Phraya Phumisevin*

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**Abstract**

The performance of “The Way of Music: Phraya Phumisevin” is produced by Associate Professor Pongsilp Arunrat to celebrate and honor the 120 year-anniversary of Phraya Phumisevin (Jit Jittasevi), the Rattanakosin Saw sam-sai master. His life and works are exhibited through lecture and multimedia presentation. The music presented in this performance, with no repetitions from the 100-year anniversary, is creatively united and generated into a modern Thai music performance, divided into 3 acts: cultivation, creation, and propagation.

Keyword : Thai traditional music, Thai Traditional song, Siamese fiddle, Sawsamsai, Thai performance, Phraya Phumisevin, Pongsilp Arunrat

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Figure 1 : Poster of The Way of Music



## Introduction

Phraya Phumisewin, also known as Chit Chittasevi, (13 June 1894-5 January 1976) was a master of Thai classical music, particularly of the saw sam sai (สามสายซออู้ : three-stringed fiddle), during the Rattanakosin period. He was the second son of a musician, Luang Khontuapwatee, also known as Jang Chittasevi, and began learning from his father in early childhood. Later, he studied under such well-known musicians as Praya Prasarn Suriyasap (Plaek Prasarnsub), from whom he learned kluy (กลุ่ย), and Princess Thepkanya Buranaphim whose style and method of playing the saw sam sai originated during the reign of King Rama III.

Praya Phumisewin's musical talent shone through from a very young age. By the age of 12, he had joined the Royal Pipat Luang and, by 15, had won a number of prestigious musical awards. He served as a page to King Rama VI, a lover of the arts, who greatly appreciated Praya Phumisewin's talent. He was often called upon to lull His Majesty to sleep with the soothing sounds of the saw sam sai. When he was 31, King Rama VI bestowed upon Praya Phumisewin the high rank of 'Praya'.

Not only could Praya Phumisewin play the saw sam sai and kluy like a master, but he was a pioneer in exploring musical theory and teaching methods. The methodology developed by Praya Phumisewin became the standard methodology for teaching the

saw sam sai. He also composed and arranged music for players at all levels, compositions and arrangements which remain in use today.

Praya Phumisewin also conducted research which continues to be invaluable in the study of Thai classical music. Among the pieces of music rediscovered through his research, brought back to life and made famous by Phraya Phumisewin, is the beautiful Royal Lullaby, which had fallen into disuse over time.

Praya Phumisewin continued his research while working as Chief of the Text Book Section of the Music Division of the Department of Fine Arts and later became the first musician to write articles about Thai classical music, including the biographies of many famous musicians, for the cultural magazine, Wattanatam Thai Journal.

After he left the Department of Fine Arts, Praya Phumisewin was invited by Radio Thailand to promote Thai classical music on-air. He formed a small orchestra of equally talented musicians who performed live on the radio each week. Praya Phumisewin also educated listeners about the different forms of Thai music and the instruments used.

Praya Phumisewin was known for his skillful solo performances on the saw sam sai. His moving rendition of “Phrayasoke” or “Mourning for the Lord” on the occasion of the death of King Rama VI was regarded as a particularly fine and notable performance. He was also asked by the Thai Government to perform for many State Visitors, including, in 1930, for the Crown Prince of Denmark.

Aside from being a musician, composer, researcher and writer, Praya Phumisewin was also a great teacher. Among his most famous students of the saw sam sai were Professor Udom Arunrattana, Dr. Utis Naksawadi, Tuen Pathayakul, Charoenjai Sunthornwatin, Chalerm Muangpraesri , Siriphan Palakawong Na Ayudhaya and Professor Dr. Natcha Pucharoen.

### **The format of “The Way of Music”**

#### Act I Cultivation

Act I of the performance presents Praya Phumisewin’s life and family, his Thai music learning from Phraya Prasarnduriyasap (Plaek Prasarnsap), his page duty to King Rama VI, and his saw sam sai study with Chaotepkanya Buranapim. A list of compositions accompanying act I include Homrong Phoomthong, klui solo on Nok-khamin, saw sam sai solo on Hok-bot song-chan, and saw sam sai solo on Ban-tom prai.

#### *Homrong Phoomthong*

Homrong Phoomthong performed by large mahori ensemble of Faculty of Arts, Silpakorn University, under the direct of Associate Professor Pongsilp Arunrat

#### *Klui solo on Nok-khamin*

Passed down from Phraya Prasarnduriyasap to Praya Phumisewin are several solo pieces including Nok kamin, khaek mon bang chang, phayasok, and kheak morn.

*Saw sam sai solo on Hok-bot song-chan*

This Saw samsai solo is a fundamental solo repertoire developed by Praya Phumisewin from the Pii-nai solo composition of Phraya Prasarn Suriyasap. For this performance, Pheem Supachalasai from Triam Udomsueksa school is the saw sam sai soloist. Pheem has studied saw sam sai with Siripan Palakawong na Ayutthaya.

*Saw samsai solo on Ban-tom prai*

This solo piece is one of the major compositions of Praya Phumisewin which originated through the expansion of Tra Banthomprai, from the Nha-paat repertoire accompanying theatrical mask performance.

It is one of his favorite pieces and has been performed several times by his students. Occasionally, he sang the vocal part himself. Later on, he developed the piece to be a solo repertoire for saw sam sai with a remarkable characteristic of its sentiment and expressive melody. The saw sam sai soloist in this performance is Satitsataporn Sangkoranee from Piyamaharatcharomaneekate school, a student of Pongsilp Arunrat.

## **Act II Creation**

Act II presents the period of creativity, inspiration, and productivity of Praya Phumisewin's musical achievement, even though he was not well positioned in his career. Several works created in this period consist of the research in Hey-klom phrabanthom repertoire, participating in the first Siamese film, as well as several compositions for saw sam sai solo. The compositions performed in this second act are Hey-klom chang-look-luang, Mahori luang "O-rachorn," and Chaa look-luang.

These works are all compositions by Praya Phumisewin and regarded as significant Thai compositions, especially his research on Hey-klom phrabanthom, which is the functional composition for honoring the King's heir. The repertoire has disappeared since the reign of King Rama V. His research interest derived from a publication of Hay-klom repertoire book as a memoir of Prince Kromluang lopburiramet's birthday anniversary, March 7, 1929.

The prince was truly interested in Hey-klom repertoire and had requested Praya Phumisewin to perform research and bring back its performance to him.

Beginning his research from the lyrical verses collected in Hay-klom repertoire book, he conducted his research by consulting court saw sam sai musicians including Phra Ramperi, court musician for royal ceremony who inherited Chaa look-luang melody from his father, Phra Petcharakan, music teacher to court officer and surrogate mother. Another source Praya Phumisewin sought advice from was Plaak, a lady in waiting to Queen Sukumarnmorasri (Prince Boripatra's mother). Lady Plaak remembered some verses, hence, she added to Praya Phumisewin's compilation. When he finished his research, he organized a performance of Hey-klom phrabanthom for Prince Klomluang lopburi ram-mate and other royal heirs at Suan-sunantha Palace. The performance on that day received a gigantic applause and awards.

As for the occasion of *Hey-klom phra banthom* performance, the royal custom has specified the occasion of one month birthday anniversary of royal heirs. The ceremony "long phra-uu" is performed, having a Brahman religious court ceremonial master designate the ceremonial date. At the right time, the Brahman master swings

the royal cradle while reciting chants inviting Hindu Gods, Shiva and Visanu to the auspicious ceremony. The recitation of sacred chant is accompanied by saw sam sai and Ban-dau drum. When the ceremony is completed, the royal nurse sings the Hey-klom repertoire such as Jab-ra-bam, I-nao (Soonthornphu's version), and Anirut with saw sam sai accompanying the singing.

Figure 2 : Hey-klom "Chaa look-luang and O-rachorn"



The most popular song in Hey-klom repertoire is Chaa look-luang in which Praya Phumisewin had received its remarkably beautiful melodies, both the vocal melody and Saw samsai melody, from Phra Ramperi. Praya Phumisewin included the technique of "New-chang," and advanced bowing techniques of 16 and 32, making "Chaa look-luang" an extraordinary composition, valued for its theory and practice.

In this recording, "Chaa look-luang" is chosen as the main composition representing Hey-klom repertoire with additional Hey-klom compositions at the ending, following the royal norm and regulations that, if the Hey-klom song has already ended but the royal heir is still awake, a royal baby sister has to keep singing until the heir falls asleep. These additional songs include of Padcha, Kam-hwan, Nok-jaak, etc.

In addition to "Chaa look-luang," "O-rachorn," one of the songs in "Tab" Mahori Aytthaya repertoire with the same title "O-rachorn" is chosen. Tab "O-rachorn" is comprised of 8 songs: O-rachorn, Kuu O-rachorn, Sai-samorn, Pa-tong oad, Pa-tong pan, Pa-tong rueay, Pa-tong lakorn, and Pa-tong huan. The song "O-rachorn" is constructed in one section. Jang-wang Tua Patayakosol (1881-1938) had enriched the performance of this song to the students in his cult through oral transmission, until it was passed down to one of his students, Samran Kerdpol who notated the melody and handed it to Professor Udom Arunrat (1935-2006). O-rachorn is considered one of the Thai ancient songs that barely known to Thai people; therefore, it is important to record this significant song. The following are the lyrics of both "Chaa look-luang" and "O-rachorn."

*Hey-klom “Chaa look-luang”*

Suam cheep bang-kom ba-at  
pu-chong wong pra-yoon  
Phra yod yao-wa yu-pin  
chern sa-dej kuen sai-ya

Phra yao-wa-rat ti-ben soon  
i-sa-ra rat rueang dey-cha  
nhor puu-min maen am-ma-ra  
ban-tom sook sam-ra-an-rom

*“O-rachorn”*

Phra uu e-ek ae-em sa-ad  
phra-soot rood bang-lom  
kha no-oi nang a-nong  
ban-leng pleng o-od pan

yii-puu la-ad so-od sii-som  
luad-lai tong krong kruea-wan  
pro-om fao oung phra chern kwan  
ni-pon kab glom glao ga-an

“*Saen sa-nau*” is a solo saw sam sai composition Praya Phumisewin had modified from the song “*Saen sa-nau*” sam-chan of master Bua, originally composed for singing and performing in *Sa-ga-waa* performance. Its lyric is famous for its beauty as well as its instrumental response marked with clearness, sharp and playful techniques and ornamentation. Praya Phumisewin intended to add “*Saen sa-nau*” as a new song to the solo saw sam-sai repertoire, rather than basing his composition on two popular melodies — “*Khaek morn*” and “*Surintarahuu*” — as other contemporary composers preferred to do. More over, he has changed the character of the piece by adjusting the cadential pitch (look tok) to be performed with “oad loi” finger (the index finger played on ‘sai ek’ meaning main string, similar to the index finger of ‘pii-nai’). As a result, “*Saen sa-nau*” is unique in its character and has become the most important composition inherited within Phumisewin’s saw sam sai cult.



Figure 3 : “*Saen sa-nau*”

For this performance, Associate Professor Pongsilp Arunrat has created a new arrangement combining Thai and western instruments using 2 saw sam sai of different sizes (saw sam sai and saw sam sai lib), cello interpolating the bass line, and piano providing harmony in the accompaniment. Traditional techniques of Saw sam sai,

“look lor” and “look khad,” are used in the “keb” section to add a joyous character to the performance.

### Act III Propagation

The third act aims to present Phraya Phumisewin’s teaching in several institutions. He had standardized saw sam-sai teaching methodology, including saw sam-sai position and bowing, and establishing saw sam-sai repertoire for beginner, intermediate, and advanced level. His pedagogy and repertoire are preserved and are being practiced within his cult until the present. Compositions performed in the third act are “Khaek morn bang-chaeng” sam-chan with “Pad-cha” and “Ta-yoi deo.”

#### *“Khaek morn bang-chaeng” sam-chan with “Pad-cha”*

“Khaek morn bang-chaeng” sam-chan with “Pad-cha” is performed with mixed string ensemble by music students of the *Pau-chang* school, having Suporn Chanapan direct the ensemble. Accompanying the performance is the crayon painting by Somyot Khamsaeng.



Figure 4 : “Khaek morn bang-chaeng” sam-chan with “Pad-cha”

#### *“Ta-yoi deo”*

“Ta-yoi deo” (deo refers to “solo”) is a composition written by Phra Praditpairau (Mii Duriyangkul), developed from “Ta-yoi nai,” a composition for solo pui-nai because Phra Praditpairau is a virtuosic pui-nai player. This acclaim is evidenced in the ‘Wai khru sepha’ chant by Thailand’s most renowned poet, Soonthornphu: “The master Khaek is excellent in his Pii performance.” “To-yoi deo” has been acknowledged as a highly advanced solo composition which is rarely heard in the society. Phra Praditpairau created the saw sam sai solo of this song and passed it down to Lady Sud (one of the King’s concubines) during the time when he was a court saw sam-sai teacher.

Phraya Phumisewin learned this composition from Chao Thepkanya Buuranapim and passed it down to his students, Professor Udom Arunrat, Tuean Patayakul, and Siripan Palakawong. In his teaching, he has reinforced Phra Praditpairau’s curse that “Whoever attempts to modify this song, may the person be doomed in life and have no success and glory in the art of Thai music.”

Hence, none of his students and later generations dare to challenge his master's word and whenever the song is passed down to any of the students, the ceremony of *wai khru* has to be conducted first.

Typically, in performing "Ta-yoi deao" on saw sam sai, the *Cherd-nok* techniques are applied along with a saw sam sai's notably difficult technique of "New chang," on the 16 bow. In order to acquire this technique, Phraya Phumisewin had to pay 1 chang (80 bahts) as a study fee (part of wai-khru) to Chaochom Prakong; hence, the technique was named according to the amount of the payment. Besides "New chang," other advanced techniques are "New aae," "New-pra new-prom," and "New nark sa-dung." These techniques requires a highly skilled musician since its bowing techniques are extraordinarily difficult such as "Nguu leoy," and "Kan chak jab kra-tua taeng kra-tua," which are considered as advanced as Pii-nai's technique. Any saw sam sai soloist who performs this piece has to master all saw sam sai skills at a remarkable level in order to present the correct structure of the composition, which is similar to the structure of "Thao" that begins the piece from slow to fast, along with the retarding passage. Thus, the retarding passage has to finely blend with the designated tempo to create a sublime flow to the overall piece. The soloist in this performance is Siripan Palakawong Na Ayutthaya, a direct niece to Phraya Phumisewin.

## Conclusions

The performance of "The Way of Music: Phraya Phumisevin" is produced by Associate Professor Pongsilp Arunrat to celebrate and honor the 120 year-anniversary of Phraya Phumisevin (Jit Jittasevi), the Rattanakosin Saw sam-sai master. His life and works are exhibited through lecture and multimedia presentation. By divided into 3 acts: Cultivation : Homrong Phoomthong, Klui solo on Nok-khamin, Hok-bot song-chan and Ban-tom prai. Another is Creation : Hey-klom "Chaa look-luang" and "O-rachorn" and "Saen sa-nau" which created a new arrangement combining Thai and western instruments. At last is Propagation : "Khaek morn bang-chaeng" sam-chan with "Pad-cha" is performed with mixed string ensemble and accompanying the performance is the crayon painting, "Ta-yoi deo" which a saw sam sai's notably difficult technique. This presentation is creatively united and generated into a modern Thai music performance.

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***Anthropological Approaches to Cross-cultural Communication:  
Implementations in International Business***

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This paper probes some key elements of cross-cultural issues in international business communication and provides a framework for creating competitive advantage for firms engaged in international business. Culture affects many aspects of international business communication. It impacts free trade policies, localization and standardization strategy decisions, advertising, brand effectiveness, business relationships, international business management, international marketing, international negotiation, and consumer behavior. Seven themes are suggested as guidelines for further research: cultural impacts of markets, international versus domestic business communication, standardization versus adaptation in cross-cultural communication; cross-cultural dimensions of business communication research, cross-cultural aspects of the business communication mix (advertising, promotion, sales, public relations, trade shows, and commercials), cross-cultural aspects of business communication in the service sector, cross-cultural communication implications of the aftermarket, and cross-cultural business communication education and professional training.

Keywords: cross-cultural communication, business anthropology, business communication, international business

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## **Introduction**

Communication is one of the most important functions to master in order for any business to be successful in today's increasingly competitive markets, particularly for firms doing business internationally. A firm's profitability is in part determined by its business communication strategies and skills. However, top managers in companies working internationally sometimes neglect the significance of the invisible barriers that cultural differences create in business communication. Cultural factors play an important role, functioning as invisible barriers. Even as the world is becoming globalized, many nations have increasingly voiced their claim to "a right to culture" in international businesses. It is predicted that national culture will be a critical factor affecting economic development, demographic behaviour, and general business policies around the world. Such claims at the macro level will be important for making trade policy, protecting intellectual property rights, and creating resources for national benefits. At the micro level these claims could be invisible barriers for firms working in or wanting to enter international markets. (Lillis and Tian, 2010).

The last summit of francophone nations in the 20th century called for a "cultural exception" in GATT/WTO rules governing trade of goods. This type of claim will affect public policy on international trade rules in these nations and might initiate worldwide cultural protectionism for trans-national trading. Footer and Graber (2000) discuss the conflict between liberal trade policies pursued by the WTO and national policies aimed at protecting cultural diversity, culture identity, and cultural heritage. As the voice of cultural rights increases, firms doing business internationally will face other challenges from other dimensions of culture. From a management perspective, it is important for companies to realize that markets today are worldwide and cross-cultural. Being aware of and sensitive to cultural differences is a major factor for success in the world marketplace. Failure to put marketing strategy in a cross-cultural context of the countries where a company is doing business will work to the detriment of brands and business relationships (Emery & Tian, 2003; 2002; Tian, 2000a). Mooij and Hofstede (2010) have studied several of the Hofstede model's constructs which are most relevant to branding and advertising, and have suggested that those constructs be used in the pursuit of a localizing, adaptation strategy with reference to branding and advertising, citing recent studies which have demonstrated that an adaptation strategy is more effective than a standardization strategy. These studies tend to prove that culture does matter when advertising and brands are processed by consumers. Mooij and Hofstede (2010) also reviewed other studies which have put Hofstede's model to the task of distinguishing cultures for the purpose of advertising and brand effectiveness. In addition, Lowe, Purchase, and Veludo (2002) report that cross-cultural relationships are one of the major issues facing multi-national organizations.

If globalization is an inevitable process, then cross-culturalization will also be inevitable. On the one hand, the world is becoming more homogeneous, and distinctions between national markets are fading and, for some products, disappearing altogether. This means that business communication is now a world-encompassing discipline. On the other hand, the cultural differences between nations, regions, and ethnic groups, far from being extinguished, are becoming stronger (Lillis and Tian, 2010). This means that global/international business communication, a cross-cultural process, requires managers to be well informed about cultural differences nationally,

locally, and ethnically in order to win in global markets. Cross cultural solutions to international business therefore are increasingly being suggested as a valid and necessary method in enhancing communication and interaction in and between business partners, between companies and customers, and between coworkers.

International business communication is communication that crosses national boundaries for business purposes. Communication among people from the same culture is often difficult. Therefore, communication between people from different cultures from the point of view of language, values, customers, and ways of thinking, will be far more difficult, a degree of miscommunication being almost inevitable (Ferraro, 2002). Business communication literature focused on advertising supports the hypothesis that advertising content differs between countries. International advertising research has confirmed differences in advertising content between countries. The premise upon which these studies predicated is that advertisements, in part, reflect individual countries' social systems (Emery & Tian, 2003; McLeod & Kunita, 1994; Mueller, 1992; Ramaprasad & Hasegawa, 1992; Zandpour, Chang & Catalano, 1992).

Research has shown that changing cultural values can be detected by a change in advertising content. Four hundred advertisements in Bengali (India) periodicals, taken from four different time periods ranging from 1947 to 2005, were content analyzed to determine whether advertising appeals concerning cultural values had changed during these years. The findings suggested that advertising trends relating to traditional and collective values had changed over the years by advertising trends that reflected modernization, westernization, and priority of the individual over the collective. (Gupta & Sonali, 2007) A study which compared cultural values in Chinese television advertising with American television advertising found that traditional Chinese values were portrayed as expected, but that changes in Chinese culture could be detected in Chinese television commercials. This was especially true of the trend in China towards youth and modernity. These results have implications for the perennial conflict between globalization and standardization. If an advertiser is already advertising in a modern, Western, individualistic culture, and other cultures traditionally different are moving towards the advertiser's culture, the advertiser will be freer to standardize. (Lin, 2001)

Values, norms, and characteristics embedded in advertising messages appear in various cultures to a greater or lesser degree (Emery and Tian, 2003; Mueller, 1993). Therefore understanding the importance of cultural values in advertising has great practical value in business communication. Determining differences in cultural values should guide the formulation of international business communication strategies (Munson and McIntyre, 1979). Ignoring the cultural meaning embedded in advertising could lead to a misinterpretation of the firm's intended message (McCracken, 1987). Such miscommunication is responsible for many businesses failing in international markets. This paper, from an anthropological perspective, examines cross-cultural business communication issues in "borderless" markets where national boundaries are no longer the only criterion to consider when making international marketing, economic planning, and business decisions. Consequently, understanding political and non-political borders is important for "culture bound" products and industries and those requiring local adaptation.

It probes the implications of a right to culture in international business practice by discussing the impacts of cultural values on communications. It will analyze several key cross-cultural matters in international business communication imperatives from an anthropological perspective. It examines several strategies of cross-cultural communication in today's world marketplace. Based on this examination, the authors construct a framework for firms to use to break through the invisible cultural business communication barriers.

### **Cultural Impacts on Cross-Cultural Communication**

The globalization of the economic world had made it important for marketing managers to understand how to do business in different cultures. The ability of marketers and consumers to communicate cross-culturally is critical for success. Business communication is two way interactive communications. Marketers deliver information to the market, and they gather and collect, interpret, and put the information they gather from the markets to use. Failure to do either may lead to a loss of business. The observation of a young professional businessman in China supports this point (Tian, 2000). In the late 1980's and the 1990s, the Japanese-made color TV sets which dominated the imported TV set market in China. In the early 1980s, Japanese and European TV manufacturers made comprehensive studies of the Chinese market. Based on their research, the European marketers decided not to market their products in China. They concluded that, given the low GDP per capita in China, it was unlikely that the Chinese people would be willing to buy luxuries like color TV sets. The Japanese TV set marketers decided otherwise, based on their research and observations that the Chinese have a cultural tradition of savings being handed down from generation to generation. In addition, the Chinese save money for future consumption, unlike western culture where people spend future money for present consumption. Almost every family in China had been saving for two to three years to realize their dream of owning a color TV set. Moreover, their research revealed that although Chinese companies manufactured color TV sets, Chinese consumers had more confidence in imported products. Accordingly, the Japanese marketers concluded that the Chinese families would buy high quality Japanese color TV sets. As a result, the Japanese color TV marketers profited greatly in China because they understood a facet of Chinese culture that their European competitors did not.

In an intriguing research study, Sheer and Chen examine the extent to which Chinese and Western international business negotiators note the influence of cultural and professional preferences on the process and outcomes of their interactions. The results of the investigation showed some rather significant differences between Chinese and Western negotiators' expectations and strategies. For instance, westerners expressed more emphasis on adaptation than did Chinese negotiators. Such examples are endless. For instance, Martin reports that to succeed in the Persian Gulf, most American franchisers have had to put some adaptability and flexibility in their Middle Eastern operations. American franchisers have had to be culturally sensitive, making sure that their operations and policy are adapted to the culture and flexible (Martin, 1999).

The impact of culture on business is obvious. To study these impacts we need to study culture itself first. Marketing scholars define culture as that which gives people a sense of who they are, of belonging, of how they should behave, and of what they should be doing. It provides a learned, shared, and interrelated set of symbols, codes, and values that direct and justify human behavior (Harris and Moran, 1987). In marketing and consumer behavior research the concept of culture has traditionally been minimal; commonly, marketers and consumers have ignored the depth and importance of the concept and its place in analyzing human behavior (Douglas & Craig, 1995; Griffith & Ryans, 1995).

The continuum of culture runs from tradition-based to modern-based. This classification incorporates the related dimensions of economic and cultural boundedness. African, Asian, and Middle Eastern societies are categorized as tradition-based, being centralized, cooperative, agrarian, pre-industrialized systems. Economically, modern-based cultures are characterized as market-driven, competitive, post-industrialized economic systems. The United States, Canada, and other Westernized societies are examples of modern-based cultures.

Regarding cultural boundedness, tradition-based cultures emphasize their history, traditions, and established conventions. By contrast, modern-based cultures have weaker ties to their history and traditions. Conventions are ever-shifting. (Bandyopadhyay & Robicheaux, 1993; Harris & Moran, 1987). The cultural boundedness of tradition-based societies produces market systems that differ markedly from modern cultures' market systems. Samiee suggests that economic and social factors influence the development and adaptation, of marketing institutions Samiee (1993).

A business' understanding of cultural boundedness (i.e., the degree to which a culture is unwilling to relinquish its traditional methods and adopt new ones) is imperative for successful international business communication and for marketing to ethnic populations domestically (Reese 1998). Research conducted by one of the authors (Tian 1987) in a minority region in China (a tradition-based culture) demonstrates that culture influences consumer behavior in the area of product distribution. He noted that the cultural orientation of the ethnic group consumers helped establish and maintain, through vendor loyalty, plenty of small retailers supported by inefficient, multi-tiered distribution networks. This makes the Chinese state-owned retail business and foreign commercial institutions less profitable than they could be.

Similarly, Griffith and Ryans report that cultural overtones in marketing operations derive, to some extent, from consumer preferences. They suggest that "the cultural characteristics of a target market will be responsive to certain culturally bound channel structures, such as local stores, or bazaars..." (1995, p. 62) It will be difficult for marketers from Western countries to understand the market system in developing countries. As an instance, Griffith (1998) reports that U.S. marketers were hard-pressed to understand the French government's decision to restrict retail store size and protect local mom-and-pop retailers, especially considering the success of supermarkets there. He suggests that the government's decision to forego the economic efficiencies of distribution obtained by large-scale retail distribution systems is in part cultural in nature. Unless perceived and understood, profound

differences in attitudes, expectations, and unworded messages will frustrate firms' effort to do business with China, a huge and developing market, and elsewhere in tradition-based cultures. (Emery and Tian, 2003).

It can be argued that government intervention as in the case of France is intended to protect its society's culture within the existing market system or structure (Griffith & Ryans 1995). However, in spite of some conflicts, there are societies in which traditional market bazaars and modern, efficient supermarkets co-exist, as in some areas of China. This harmony is achieved only when the two systems become interdependent and supplementary (Tian 1988). Accordingly, the authors argue that although cultural factors impact marketing, their affects can be minimized when marketers are aware of and sensitive to cultural differences.

Cross-cultural business communication is business communication among consumers or customers whose culture differs from that of the marketer's own culture in at least one fundamental aspect of cultural such as language, religion, social norms and values, education, and living style. Cross-cultural business communication demands that firms be aware of and sensitive to cultural differences. To respect the right to culture by consumers in various cultures and marketplaces, marketers should understand that their customers have a right to their cultures. If the marketers want success in cross-cultural marketing they must work in a way that respects the consumer's values and the right to their culture. For example, for Western marketers to communicate in a business setting, it is important for them to respect the Chinese government's claim for *guoqing*, which means that they must "consider the special situation or character of China." (Yang, 1994). Business communication is not an independent behavior, but related to all other business or market behaviors. From the anthropological perspective, all market behaviors are culture-bound. Buying and selling take place within the culture (Hamilton, 1987).

Therefore, in order to match marketing with consumer preferences, purchasing behavior, and product-use patterns, marketers benefit from understanding the market's cultural environment. Business firms should not focus on cultural differences only to adjust business communication programs to make them acceptable to consumers. It is to suggest that firms should also identify cultural similarities, in order to identify opportunities and modify standard marketing strategies based on business communication theory informed with cultural information. To skillfully work with these cultural similarities and differences in the worldwide marketplace is an important marketing task for businesses, such as McDonald has done in its international marketing entering strategies. .

### **Key Issues in Cross-Cultural Business Communication**

Cross-cultural business communication requires that firms discover if markets are viable by including the study of the culture in which the company is going to do business in its business and marketing planning. To do this, the firms should identify cultural factors that can be employed to support business communication in proposed markets. To succeed, the business uses already existing factors and creates new ones that suit the situation. Classic anthropological theory claims that while all human behaviors, including market behaviors, take place within a cultural context, people are

able to influence and even change, through their behaviors, the cultural context within which their behaviors take place (Hall 1976; Hamilton 1987; Harris & Moran 1987).

Accordingly, culture influences business communication and business communications influences culture. Firms can be agents of changes within a culture. The interactions between business communication and culture can be examined from three perspectives. First, culture affects consumer behavior, by defining acceptable purchasing and product-use behavior for consumers and business. Based on their analysis of data they collected in Denmark, Great Britain, France, and Germany, Brunso and Grunet found that cross-cultural factors impact people's shopping for food (Brunso & Grunet, 1998). Culture also affects business behaviors, using the practice of giving business gifts as an example, in cultures where a business gift is expected such as in Japan, a host who is not presented with a gift will be insulted. An important feature of business communication will work to the detriment of the company seeking business, in other cultures offering a business gift could be interpreted as a bribe, inappropriate, and would offend the recipient (Arunthanet et. al., 1994).

Secondly, culture affects the effectiveness of advertising. Advertising, for instance, is strongly influenced by language, which is one of the key elements of culture. Moreover, advertising budget and structure are based on buying habits and consumption style. These, in turn, are influenced by values and norms, on the media available, and the state of the material culture. Theorists including Albers-Miller (1996), Hofstede (1991), Pollay and Gallagher (1990) claim that culture affects the kind of roles and the choice of themes depicted in advertising. These are related to underlying cultural values and norms; thus, every element of culture influences each facet of advertising, which is a key component of business communication.

Thirdly, business communication influences culture, contributing to cultural borrowing and change. As more markets become global and the marketing mix standardized, the rate of cultural change will increase. Cultural changes in contemporary China illustrate this point. For instance, it was widely believed that gender identity might affect consumption behavior. However, a recent study of masculinity appeal by Emery and Tian (2003) demonstrated that American respondents and Chinese respondents act the same when presented with such appeals, in other words, the masculinity appeal is not as effective as they expected. A possible explanation for this could be that the gender status in Chinese traditional culture has changed. Business communications by Western firms could account partly for such a cultural change. Therefore, American marketers may succeed using the same masculine appeals to the Chinese youth market that they do in the U.S.

Nonetheless, cultures tend to change slowly, and specific products may meet with protracted resistance. Therefore, the primary task for firms is to locate similarities in various markets and strategically make them available for entering into new cross-cultural markets. In cross-cultural communication, marketers need to continually adjust their behaviors and marketing programs to suit target markets. However, when entering foreign markets, firms frequently fall into the trap of the "self-reference" criterion, which means their business representatives might be unconsciously applying one's own cultural experiences and values to business communication in another

culture. Even more dangerous than self-reference criterion is ethnocentrism, the belief that one's own culture is superior to any other which will ruin efforts at business communication.

Based on his wide experience, Gesteland (1996) identified four paired cultural models that require special attention when doing business in diverse cultural settings, namely: 1) deal-focused vs. relationship-focused cultures; 2) formal vs. informal business cultures; 3) rigid-time vs. fluid-time cultures; 4) expressive vs. reserved cultures. In relationship-focused cultures, firms do not do business with strangers. In such cultures, it is important to develop good contacts with the right people. It takes time to develop a personal relationship. This is important before entering into business discussions. These features are predominant in most of Asia, Africa, Middle East, and Latin America. In deal-focused cultures, the emphasis is on getting down to business right away, even with strangers. Rapport between the parties develops during discussions. By contrast, in Germany, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and North America, the written agreement is considered most important and constitutes a bond.

Regarding formal vs. informal business cultures, in formal cultures, mainly in Europe, most of Asia, Middle East, and Latin America, societies are hierarchical, status conscious, and follow strict protocols. In informal cultures such as the USA, Australia, and to some extent in Canada, Denmark, Norway, and New Zealand, societies are egalitarian, open, and value individual competence more than connections and status.

Gesteland also classified the cultures according to their views of time. In a monochronic culture, time is important. Discussions follow agreed-upon agendas and move rapidly in linear fashion. Countries having this orientation to time are mainly in North America, West Europe, and North East Asia. In polychronic cultures, business discussions tend to follow their own logic rather than a fixed outline. In these cultures, relationship is more valued than deadlines. For business firms planning to negotiate in a polychronic culture, it is wise to build a substantial margin of time into agendas. Polychronic cultures are mostly in Africa, Southeast Asia, Middle East and Latin America.

Although what Gesteland suggests is useful and practical, it is good to be aware of the danger of stereotyping people from other cultures. Anthropological theory suggests that it is unwise and short-sighted to project our own behavior onto substantially different cultures (Giovannini & Rosansky, 1990, Hall, 1976, Hamilton, 1987). People in different cultures have different market values and behaviors. For example, through long observation, it has been found that consuming and buying patterns and other social/economic behaviors of Chinese immigrants living in Canada are completely different from the patterns of people living in China. Therefore, business firms need to have different market communication strategies for each group (Tian, 1999). In some cases, the firms know that cultures are different, but do not know how they differ. Research is the way to find out and to know what levers to use in moving buyers/consumers. We assert that the anthropological approach is an especially effective way to carry out cross-cultural marketing research (Tian, 2000a; Weise, 1999).

## **The Implications of Cross-Cultural Communication in Business**

In the 1950s, anthropologist Edward T. Hall was beginning a career that would be highly influential in business in terms of cross-cultural communication. From 1950-1955 Hall served as director of the U.S. State Department's "Point Four" training program, a training program designed to teach technicians who would be working outside North America. Hall clearly understood the significance of the cultural influence on communication effectiveness. Hall built a career in the cross-cultural communication field and eventually wrote several seminal works well in business, in anthropology, in communication, and in many other fields (Jordan, 2003).

Hall's practice and influence in the fields of cross-cultural communication and intercultural training has been monumental. He clearly understood that errors in cross-cultural communication could destroy a business deal or a peace agreement. In his first book, *The Silent Language*, he explained culture as communication and communication as involving much more than just language. Communication included nonverbal characteristics and had to be understood in cultural context (Hall, 1981). In later books, he explored the culturally different ways of conceiving space and time, as well as the implications in business practice. Hall's practice in and theoretical contributions to the business communication generated great impact and international value in terms of cross-cultural factors.

Many other anthropologists, such as Gary Ferraro among others, have continued Hall's work on communication in international settings (Ferraro 2002). The most famous cross-cultural business communication researcher Geert Hofstede (1991) has created a global model for the purpose of helping business professionals to distinguish the culture differences for individual countries. This most cited cross-cultural communication model is commonly called the four-dimensions of culture model, which contains power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity. Moreover, some researchers such as Redpath and Nielsen (1997), Rhodes, Emery, and Tian et al. (2005) among others have added one more dimension into Hofstede model called Confucian dynamism with the special intention for differentiating Chinese from Western cultural values.

The Hofstede model, as well as other models, has been used in recent research to explore the effect of cultural differences on negotiations. Following are examples of such studies, which explore cultural effects upon negotiation styles, negotiation planning, and negotiation strategy. Sobral, Carvalho, and Almeida (2008) described the negotiation style employed in Brazilian culture, basing their description upon the nature of the negotiation activity, the role of the individual, uncertainty and time, communication, trust, protocol, and outcomes. Weber and Tarba (2011) researched the effect cultural differences had on negotiation planning during mergers and acquisitions, as well as the effect on negotiation outcomes. Ott (2011) determined that cultural differences influenced buyer-seller negotiation strategy by affecting initial offers, strategic approaches, the valuation of time, the frequency of rejection and the objectives of the negotiation.

Two recent studies discovered that the religious beliefs of negotiators influenced negotiation strategy. Tu and Chi (2011) compared the negotiating styles of Taiwan, Hong Kong and China, and found that religion had imbued the people there with a specific set of values and attitudes, which caused the negotiation style in each place to vary in significant degrees. Farazmand and Daneefard (2011) compared and contrasted the effects of religious orientation on the negotiating styles of Iranians, Taiwanese, and citizens of the United States. The authors discovered that the negotiation styles in these three places varied significantly depending upon their religious culture. In business practice, it is necessary to be aware of the difference in terms of communication, especially when conducting a business negotiation. A recent study by Chang (2003) has concluded that in Chinese society, people emphasize their desire for a "zero-sum game" in most of their business competitive activities. It is suggested that a successful negotiation should create a "win-win" situation.

As Thompson (2001) noted, a true win-win negotiation is that any agreement reached by negotiators should cover most interests from both sides. However, it is very difficult if not impossible to improve one party's outcome while simultaneously not hurting the other party's outcome. As such, honesty could be the first step toward a better agreement with the Chinese business community. To be honest about one's intentions, goals and interests can help both to build trust and a positive bargaining zone. Respecting their culture and being patient to wait for their responses will be the second step toward a successful negotiation. Lastly but not finally, an extra service or practical favors will need to be provided in order to show friendship and sincerity.

In a previous study, Emery and Tian (2003) demonstrated that the significance of cross-cultural differences in advertising, one of the most important business communication formats, has become even clearer as we continue to move toward a globalized marketplace. It is important that marketing personnel should not let old stereotypes drive their advertising strategies. This is particularly important in the Asian market, as China and Taiwan become formal members of the WTO. The findings indicate that heuristics such as Hofstede's cultural dimensions are too broad to capture the detailed differences required in launching an effective advertising campaign. While Emery and Tian's findings do not provide unequivocal recommendations for developing advertising, they do provide some general information for marketing practitioners seeking to do business in China. For example, one should consider the seven appeals (i.e., effectiveness, safety, tamed durable, natural, nurturance and assurance, in descending order of importance). Conversely, those ten appeals (i.e., casual, distinctiveness, community, status, adventure, dear, family, untamed, magic and popular, in descending order of least importance) should be avoided. It is strongly suggested the need to consider market segmentation and to consult with an expert in Chinese consumer behavior before developing ads for their market.

These recent studies suggest that in the real business world if firms study Hofstede's culture model, accept cultural differences and practice cross-cultural skills in their business communications, results will be optimal. Apparently, there are many factors that affect international business, but a fundamental precondition of any successful international business enterprise is effective communication, which more or less involves businesspersons' awareness of other cultures. As such, solving cross-cultural

problems definitely provides many challenges and opportunities to business firms in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. There are many unsolved problems or issues that need to be solved and discussed by scholars and marketing professionals in theory and in practice as well. In the theoretical area, the following themes and issues need to be probed and discussed:

- Cultural impacts of markets: international versus domestic business communication;
- Standardization versus adaptation in cross-cultural communication;
- Cross-cultural dimensions of business communication research;
- Cross-cultural aspects of the business communication mix (advertising, promotion, sales, public relations, trade shows, and commercials);
- Cross-cultural aspects of business communication in the service sector;
- Cross-cultural communication implications of the aftermarket;
- Cross-cultural business communication education and professional training.

The seven topics or themes listed above can be viewed as guidelines for further theoretical studies although they should not be treated as exclusive for marketing scholars. More themes and topics will be discovered as theoretical discussions continue. As marketing professionals, we need to clearly know that although marketing principals will stay the same, there inevitably will be some new challenges to marketing in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The impact of cross-cultural factors on marketing is one such new issue that requires serious study. In terms of marketing practice, we will suggest the following points as guidelines for marketers to minimize possible cross-cultural marketing mistakes:

- Be sensitive to do's and taboos. Develop cultural empathy in terms of business communication;
- Recognize, understand, and respect another's culture and difference;
- Be culturally neutral and realize that different is not necessarily better or worse;
- Never assume transferability of a concept from one culture to another. For instance, if local business people in developing countries indicate that they do not like Americans, they may not mean that they do not want buy American goods. It simply means they are expected to say certain things in public, but that they may operate differently in private;
- Get cultural informants involved into the decision-making process. Cultural informants could be local businesspeople or very well trained anthropologists. As claimed above, the anthropological approach is one of the best approaches to cross-cultural marketing. One of the authors has made some insightful studies on this topic; interested persons can discuss this with us individually.
- In fact, although the anthropological approach to marketing is by no means entirely new to the business world, it is nevertheless not been used widely in the past. However, it is becoming more popular and is perceived as more reliable by more and more business leaders and marketers. (Jordan, 2010; Bronitsky, 2010) How to apply anthropological approaches into cross-cultural business communication practice is a topic that should be looked at in every theoretical area of business communication.. The potential of anthropological approaches to cross-cultural business communication is unlimited. Anthropologists and business communication professionals together should exploit that potential.

## **Conclusion**

Culture is deeply rooted in the life of each organization member and exerts tremendous influence on a variety of day-to-day activities, such as: how decisions are made, how resources are allocated, who gets promoted and what behaviors are considered appropriate. As such, culture can have a profound impact on outcomes that are vitally important to an organization, including job satisfaction, turnover, productivity and profitability. Clearly, if cultures are such powerful influencers of behavior, managers must work hard to understand and manage them. To that end, both ideational and adaptationist definitions provide a useful starting point for enhancing one's understanding of organizational culture. From a practical standpoint, building an awareness of both visible and invisible manifestations of culture is an important first step in determining how to manage this key institutional resource.

Business communications involve communications from company to customer (such as advertising), internal business communications (such as from senior management to first-line management), and business-to-business communications (such as negotiations). Other business communications include business-to-government communications. All of these various kinds of communications are fraught with the risk of miscommunication, even when they are inter-cultural. When those communications are carried out cross-culturally, the chances of miscommunication rise exponentially. Therefore, there is a large payback for reducing such cross-cultural miscommunication. It is our contention that since the science of anthropology was created for the distinct purpose of understanding culture, it is quite reasonable to look to that science, with its special-purpose procedures and methodologies, to attempt to understand the deep cultural processes that inform communication across the cultures in which international businesses must operate.

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*Performance of the Kindergarten Teachers and its Relation to Pupils  
Achievement in Different Learning Areas*

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**Abstract**

This study aimed to determine the performance of the kindergarten teachers and its relation to pupils' achievement in different learning areas in the Division of Kabankalan City. Using the standardized assessment and evaluation of the Department of Education secondary data, 100 kinder teachers and 2901 kinder pupils were investigated to determine the performance of the kindergarten teachers based on their Competency-Based Performance Appraisal System for Teachers and the periodic assessment of kinder pupils collected as secondary data. Weighted mean, Pearson-r, chi-square, Analysis of Variance were used in the study. Findings revealed that the kindergarten teacher respondents were 26-31 years old and most of them were female and married; they spent teaching for two years and less and passed the Licensure Examination for Teachers. They were very satisfactory as to instructional competences, school, and home and community involvement, personal, social, and professional characteristics. It also revealed that performance of the kindergarten pupils on their period of assessment shows that they were slightly advanced in their development. It also shows that domain as to performance of the kindergarten pupils were average overall development. Based on the results, it is recommended that Kindergarten teacher must augment their educational qualification and pursue their graduate studies and must develop the total personality of the children for them to achieve high advanced development to become productive individual.

Keywords: performance, kindergarten teacher, learning areas, professional, pupil

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## Introduction

Early childhood educators face tremendous challenges in supporting children's development. Given the task that children must acquire learning best in meaningful contexts, through conversational interactions, and through encounters with written language, these must be the focus of instruction for teacher. Teachers of young children must obtain more education, better compensation, and greater respect; their role in supporting children's well-being and future potential (Taylor, 2003).

A kindergarten teacher must forthrightly hone his/her skills in promoting parenting knowledge, parenting skills, collaborating with parents in instructional decisions, communicating between home/school, advocating for increased parent involvement. Many early childhood professionals succeed in these areas through newsletters, phone calls, and parent/teacher communication folders, emailing, hosting parent/child activities at school, parent/teacher conferences, parent-focused workshops, and continual, in-service professional development.

Considerable evidence exists that high-quality early childhood education programs for children from birth to age five can have long-lasting, positive consequences for children's success in school and later in life, especially for children from low-income families (Raver, 2009).

The researcher observed that the kindergarten teachers are striving hard to do their part in molding the young minds and hearts of every learner to achieve quality learning and academic excellence. Despite of the efforts exerted by the teacher, there were learners who could not cope up with the ideas and still difficult to learn, during seminars and meetings a lot of kindergarten teachers were also facing the same problem thus, the researcher finds it interesting how the kindergarten teacher performance affects to the pupils achievement in developing young learners to become productive citizen in the country. Teachers play an important role in fostering the intellectual and social development of children during their formative years. The education that teachers impart plays a key role in determining the future prospects of their learners and it is said as the weapon in the battle called life, teachers provide the tools and the environment for their learners to develop into responsible adults.

The main purpose of this study is to appraise the performance of the kindergarten teachers and its relation to the kindergarten pupil's achievement in the different learning areas.

### Conceptual Framework

Teacher of Kindergarten pupils play an important role in fostering the intellectual and social development of children during their formative years. The education that teachers impart plays a key role in determining the future prospects of their students. Whether in preschools or high schools or in private or public schools, teachers provide the tools and the environment for their students to develop into responsible adults it advocates educational programs that, like Head Start, take into account not only academic needs but conceive of children as whole persons with social, emotional, and physical needs and strengths, in a family context (Hodgkinson, 2003).

Although most kindergarten teacher preparation programs address language development, little emphasis is given to the role of experience and learning, especially within the social and cultural context because this dimension of language acquisition is overlooked, many teachers do not know how to support children's language learning at various levels of development nor recognize when language development does not proceed as expected. Kindergarten teachers need to talk with children in ways that ensure that their language continues to develop, their vocabulary increases, and their grammar becomes more complex. By school entrance, the processes of socialization and language development are well under way. When children are

served in programs outside of the home beginning as babies, toddlers, and preschoolers, socialization occurs simultaneously in two environments. It is especially important to respect students' home languages and cultures.

The figure below shows Kindergarten Teacher Performance and Pupils Achievement. Independent Variable

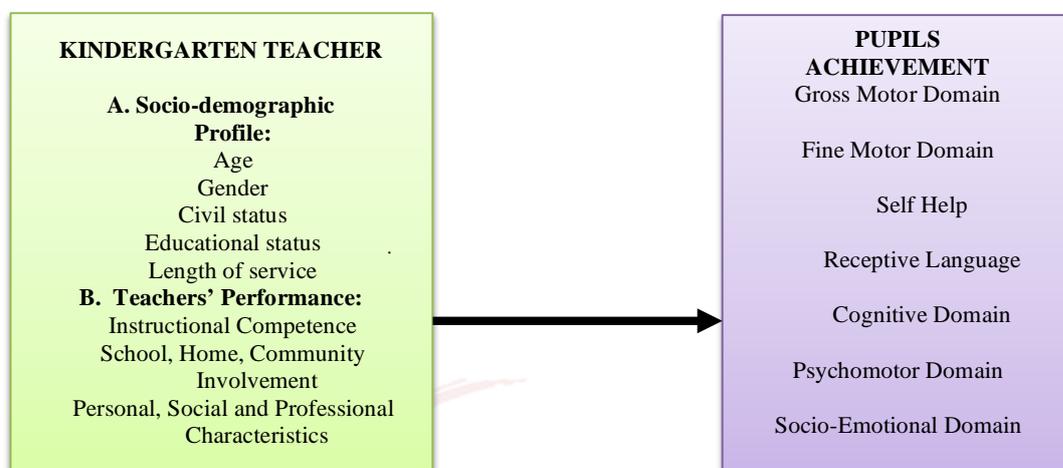


Figure 1

A Schematic Diagram Showing the Relationship of the Variables of the Study

### Methodology

#### *Research Design, Instrumental and Responsibility of the Study*

This study utilized the standardized questionnaire on Competency-Based Performance Appraisal System for Teachers used as the principal mean of collecting data. It allows a better description and understanding of the study that assist the researcher in interpreting the data. Descriptive research can be either quantitative or qualitative. It can involve collections of quantitative information that can be tabulated along a continuum in numerical form, such as scores on a test or the number of times a person chooses to use a-certain feature of a multimedia program, or it can describe categories of information such as gender or patterns of interaction when using technology in a group situation. It often uses visual aids such as graphs and charts to aid the reader in understanding the data distribution. Because the human mind cannot extract the full import of a large mass of raw data, descriptive statistics are very important in reducing the data to manageable form. When in-depth, narrative descriptions of small numbers of cases are involved, the research uses description as a tool to organize data into patterns that emerge during analysis. Those patterns aid the mind in comprehending a qualitative study and its implications. For the selection of respondents, 100 kindergarten teachers and 2,901 kindergarten pupils of the Division of Kabankalan City, Negros Occidental, Philippines.

### Data Analysis

To measure the socio-demographic profile of the kindergarten teachers, frequency counts were utilized. To assess the performance on kindergarten teachers in the Division of Kabankalan, weighted mean was utilized. To determine the significant relationship of the performance of the kindergarten teachers to the pupils learning achievements, ANOVA was utilized.

## Findings

Findings revealed that the kindergarten teacher respondents in the Division of Kabankalan City were 26-31 years old (fc=45%) and most of them were female (fc=97%) and married (fc=53%). Kindergarten teachers in the Division of Kabankalan were baccalaureate degree (fc=58%); they spent teaching for two years and less (fc=43%) and passed the Licensure Examination for Teachers (fc=61%).

Table 1  
Mean Performance of Kindergarten Teachers

Teacher's Performance	Mean	Interpretation
Instructional competence	2.99	Very Satisfactory
School, home, community involvement	2.67	Very Satisfactory
Personal, social and professional characteristics	3.03	Very Satisfactory
<b>Grand Mean</b>	<b>2.89</b>	<b>Very Satisfactory</b>

The Performance of the kindergarten Teachers in the Division of Kabankalan City were very satisfactory as to instructional competences, school, home, and community involvement, personal, social, and professional characteristics.

Table 2  
Mean Performance of the Kindergarten Pupils in Terms in Period of Assessment

District	1 <sup>st</sup> Assessment		2 <sup>nd</sup> Assessment		3 <sup>rd</sup> Assessment	
	Average of Standard Score	Interpretation of Standard Score	Average of Standard Score	Interpretation of Standard Score	Average of Standard Score	Interpretation of Standard Score
<b>K1</b>	65	slight delay in overall development	86	Average overall development	119	slightly advanced development
<b>K2</b>	88	Average overall development	90	Average overall development	119	slightly advanced development
<b>K3</b>	71	significant delay in overall development	92	Average overall development	118	Average overall development
<b>K4</b>	73	slight delay in overall development	92	Average overall development	118	slightly advanced development
<b>K5</b>	88	Average overall development	115	Average overall development	119	slightly advanced development

Table II reveals that the performance of the kindergarten pupils in Kabankalan district were improving as to the period of assessments. Furthermore on the on the third assessment period the performance of the kindergarten pupils in the division of Kabankalan were slightly advance in development except Kabankalan District 3. It implies that the kindergarten performance as to the different period of assessment was increasing and the children were ready for the next grade level.

Table 3  
**Mean Performance of the Kindergarten Pupils in Terms of Selected Domains**

<b>Domains</b>	<b>Kindergarten Performance</b>
<b>Gross Motor</b>	9.61
<b>Fine Motor</b>	10.54
<b>Self-Help</b>	10.16
<b>Receptive Language</b>	10.01
<b>Expressive Language</b>	9.21
<b>Cognitive</b>	11.58
<b>Social Emotional</b>	11.49
<b>Total</b>	<b>72.60</b>
<b>Standard score</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Interpretation</b>	<b>Average Overall development</b>

It reveals that the performance of the kindergarten pupils in Kabankalan district as to domains were average over all development with the total of 72.60 out of 100 as the standard score. It implies that the kindergarten performance as to the domains of assessment was in average overall development and the pupils were eligible to proceed on the next grade level.

Relationship between the performance of the Kindergarten teachers to the pupils learning achievements .The ANOVA presents the significant difference between teachers performance to gender of teachers with the p-value less than 0.01. This means that there are no significant differences on the teacher's performance to the teacher's gender in their means, to accept the hypothesis and concluded that there is no significant difference of teacher's performance to their gender.

According to the gender-stereotypic model, boys fare better academically in classes taught by males and girls fare better in classes taught by females. The gender-invariant model suggests that the academic motivation and engagement of boys and girls is the same for men and women teachers. We also examine the relative contribution of student-, class-, and school-level factors, finding that most variation was at the individual student level. Of the statistically significant main effects for gender, most favored girls. In support of the gender-invariant model, academic motivation and engagement does not significantly vary as a function of their teacher's gender, and in terms of academic motivation and engagement, boys do not fare any better with male teachers than female teachers (Martinez, R., and Dukes, R. L.2001).

Analysis of variance between performance and the civil status of the Kindergarten teachers. The ANOVA shows the significant difference between teacher's performance to teacher's civil status with the f tabular value of 3.488 and with a significant difference of .034. This means that there is a significant differences on the teacher's performance to the teacher's civil status, this means to reject the hypothesis and concluded that there is a significant difference of teachers performance to their civil Status.

Furthermore, early childhood interventions help develop "soft skills." A mother kindergarten teachers helps her students learn patience, discipline, time management and persistence — hugely important skills in the workplace and in life. Starting one's school career on the right foot, (Banks, J.A. 2003) adds, "Changes the way a student sees himself, and that changes the way other people see him. It leads to this virtuous cycle" that has profound implications that continue into adulthood.

Table 4  
Performances of the Kindergarten Teachers to the Pupils Learning Achievements

	<b>t</b>	<b>Sig. (2-tailed)</b>	<b>Decision</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>
<b>Teacher Performance – 1st Assessment</b>	-15.901	.000	Reject Ho	Significant
<b>Teacher Performance - 2nd Assessment</b>	-18.205	.000	Reject Ho	Significant
<b>Teacher Performance - 3rd Assessment</b>	-386.453	.000	Reject Ho	Significant

It presents the significant relationship between performances of kindergarten pupils to pupils learning achievement in the different assessment periods. It reveals that there are no significant differences on the performance of kindergarten pupils to pupils learning achievement in the different assessment periods accept the hypothesis and concluded that there is no significant difference of performances of kindergarten pupils to pupils learning achievement in the different assessment periods.

Kindergarteners are constantly developing in the different domains (cognitive, language, physical, creative and aesthetic, socio-emotional, and values and character). Thus beginning at an early age the child must be cared for and given all the opportunities to address current developmental needs and prepare him/her for lifelong learning. Kindergarten classrooms, therefore, should multi-level because kindergarteners will differ in their development in each domain (Cummins, J. 2005).

The ANOVA revealed the significant difference between teachers performance of kindergarten teachers to pupils learning achievements, with a significant difference of .000. This means that there is significant differences on the teacher's performance to the kindergarten learning achievements reject the hypothesis and concluded that there is a significant difference of teachers' performance to the pupils learning achievements.

Many factors contribute to a student's academic performance, including individual characteristics and family and neighborhood experiences. But research suggests that, among school-related factors, teachers matter most. When it comes to student performance on reading and math tests, a teacher is estimated to have two to three times the impact of any other school factor, including services, facilities, and even leadership (Chan, K. S. 2006).

## Conclusion

Based on the above findings, this study concludes that kindergarten teachers in the Division of Kabankalan City were at legal age, most were female and married and a baccalaureate degree holder with two years below of experience and a licensed teachers. It is also revealed that kindergarten teachers were performing very satisfactorily to their teaching profession in developing young children, out of the efforts excreted the children were average overall development.

Finally, there is significant difference as to civil status, educational attainment, length of service and eligibility, and there is no significant difference as to age and gender of the teacher respondents. There is no significant relationship on the teacher's performance to pupils learning ability for pupils has its learning style and abilities and the pupils' achievement has its significant difference on teacher performance. It is recommended that Kindergarten teacher must augment their educational qualification and pursue their graduate studies and must develop the total personality of the children for them to achieve high advanced development to become productive individual.

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