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Integration of English language and Music Literacy as Innovative Pedagogy for the 21st Century Learning

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Abstract
Teachers are facilitators of learning. As a catalyst of learning, innovative pedagogy is needed to add flavor, light and life in the classroom. As individuals develop, there are different opportunities and constraints for learning. Learning is most effective when differential development within and across physical, intellectual, emotional, and social domains is taken into account. Hence, this study aims to analyze how relevant is the integration of English language and music literacy as innovative pedagogy for the 21st century learning. This 21st century learning refers to the 21st century student outcomes and supporting system. The method used in this study is empirical and theoretical exploring to the content analysis of the different literature review articles supported with interviews from the participants who are pre-service education students of Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology, Iligan City Philippines during the academic year 2015-2016. Based from the thematic and content analysis, findings reveal that English language and music literacy as innovative pedagogy, enhances the promotion of 21st century skills, such as interactive communication skills, interpersonal skills, technology literacy skills as well as language skills. In conclusion, it is important for teachers to use their knowledge on English language because it opens the door for learners to acquire knowledge that others already have. Learners can use English language to know and understand the world and solve problems with music literacy as innovative pedagogy. Thus, English language and music literacy as innovative pedagogy is very useful in the 21st century learning.

Keywords: 21st Century Skills, Integration of English Language, Music Literacy and Pedagogy

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Introduction

Music educators serve their students and themselves well when they use the valuable tool of music to enhance a child's ability to read and appreciate literature. The magic of music can entice a child to practice various reading-related tasks, often without the child even being aware of the learning objective (Darrow, 2008). This implies that music is very useful in learning the acquisition of English Language. In fact, in teaching reading, music is also used as springboard to develop the comprehension skills of the learners. Thus, literacy is naturally developed through music education. By adding rhythm, music, and movement to a learning experience, messages are sent to the brain through various pathways, creating a richer learning experience (McIntire, 2007). According to North, Hargreaves, & O'Neill (2000), *"music is important to adolescents, and that this is because it allows them to (a) portray an ' image' to the outside world and (b) satisfy their emotional needs"*.

Moreover, *"focuses on the use of music can develop literacy in children through emotive quality and structure of musical composition, gaining of skills in listening, and steps toward integration of songs into the reading curriculum"* (Kolb, 1996). This means that through listening the beauty of music, learners will become very motivated and inspired to learn the lessons in all subject areas of their curriculum. This indeed, explains that music literacy is always in the heart of pedagogy which is an innovation way of teaching and learning.

Accordingly, *"music education discourse is marked by frequent comparisons of music to language, and of music notation to written language"*(Waller, 2010). It implies that using music and English language must go hand in hand as an innovative pedagogy particularly in this 21st century education where teaching and learning needs to fit to the 21st century learning skills. Not only the innovative pedagogy is needed, but also the learning environments that will affect the learning process of the learners. This is supported by an article stated that *"music can transform classrooms into positive learning environments where children thrive academically, socially, and emotionally"* (Paquette & Rieg, 2008). In fact, *"music is beneficial in teaching both social and academic skills to young children"* (Register, 2004). Based from these articles I have read, I am very interested to come up this present study about integration of English Language and music literacy as an innovative pedagogy for the 21st century learning.

Literature Review

In this present study, I have been reviewing then analyzing the different articles that served as the basis of the findings of this study through thematic analysis. Accordingly, students that participate in music education programs develop strong decoding and comprehension skills for both music and literature. This explains that participatory approach and interactive strategy of teaching with the integration of music can help develop the comprehension skills of the learners. That is the reason why integration of English language is needed in decoding the message while reading the content of the lyrics at the same time listening then singing the song whose content relate to the topic of the curriculum. In the same way, *"music educators should understand the global, segmentation, and distinctive features inherent in the*

language and music hierarchy, which underlie both literacy for language and music reading" (Bernstorf, 2008).

In addition, Ronald Carter highlights key issues for the study and teaching of 'English' for the year 2000 and beyond, focusing in particular on its political and ideological inflections. *"Investigating English Discourse is of relevance to teachers and students and researchers in the fields of discourse analysis, English as a first, second and foreign language, language and education, applied and literary linguistics"* (Carter, 1997). I strongly agreed to the ideas of Ronald Carter because in this 21st century learning, learners should be exposed to globalization and internationalization where English language is needed in the communication process of understanding the different people throughout the world. Indeed, English language is the only language that can be used towards attaining the quest of effective 21st century learning. This will be achieved through the integration of English language and music literacy as an innovative pedagogy across the curriculum in the global arena. Thus, teachers must be creative and innovative in their teaching profession on how to integrate the critical thinking, communication skills through collaboration among learners as well as the other 21st century skills.

As a matter of fact, Morrell (2005), *argues that "what the education sector need in English education is an increased emphasis on critical English education"*. Like language, music is a human universal involving perceptually discrete elements organized into hierarchically structured sequences. *"Music and language can thus serve as foils for each other in the study of brain mechanisms underlying complex sound processing, and comparative research can provide novel insights into the functional and neural architecture of both domains"* (Patel, 2003). *"The content of texts, or the abstract prescriptions of disembodied grammars, genre pedagogies enable teachers to ground their courses in the texts that students will have to write in their target contexts, thereby supporting learners to participate effectively in the world outside the ESL classroom"* (Hyland, 2007). David Crystal, world authority on the *"English language, presents a lively and factual account of the rise of English as a global language and explores the whys and wherefores of the history, current status and future potential of English as the international language of communication"* (Crystal, 2005). *"English is the only valid language that can be understood by everyone all around the world* "(Sarica & Cavus, 2009). Popular media and new technologies can provide a basis for ELLs to develop valuable print literacy as well as other 21st-century skills (Black, 2009).

"A new generation of assessments is making it easier and more reliable to test students' higher-order thinking skills" (Saavedra & Opfer, 2009). Every 21st century skills implementation requires the development of core academic subject knowledge and understanding among all students. Those who can think critically and communicate effectively must build on a base of core academic subject knowledge. *"Within the context of core knowledge instruction, students must also learn the essential skills for success in today's world, such as critical thinking, problem solving, communication and collaboration"* (Partnership for 21st Century Learning Skills, 2011). According to Thang, Sim, Mahmud, Lin, Zabidi &Ismail, (2014) argue that digital storytelling which combines the art of storytelling with a variety of interactive media tools can benefit language learning in a variety of ways. It has been found to encourage and motivate students and at the same time enhance their

communication skills and enable them to build conceptual skills and technological skills – all in- line with 21st century skills required by the job market. *"Project-Based Learning (PBL) is an innovative approach to learning that teaches a multitude of strategies critical for success in the twenty-first century"* (Bell, 2010). *"Digital storytelling can motivate and engage students and create a community in the classroom" (*Brenner, 2013).

"It is likely that the sensory dissonance produced by the spectral manipulation was at least partly responsible for this effect, suggesting that consonance and permanent sensory dissonance universally influence the perceived pleasantness of music" (Fritz, Jentschke, Gosselin, Sammler, Peretz, Turner, Friederici, & Koelsch, (2009). According to Brandt, Gebrian, & Slevc (2012), *"musical hearing and ability is essential to language acquisition. Music learning matches the speed and effort of language acquisition. We conclude that music merits a central place in our understanding of human development".*

Findings and Discussion

The findings of this study have been drawn from literature on 21st-century skills, Integration of English language and music literacy pedagogy as a framework for exploring the innovative and creative method of teaching for the 21st century learning. In particular, this research study is a theoretical exploration of themes that emerged while reading and analyzing the different scientific and refereed journal articles. Based from the content analysis of the literature review articles the following themes have been drawn:

1.English language and music literacy as innovative pedagogy, enhances the promotion of 21st century skills, such as interactive communication skills, interpersonal skills, technology literacy skills as well as language skills.

2.Music can transform classrooms into positive learning environments where children thrive academically, socially, and emotionally.

3.The benefits of incorporating musical experiences into daily instruction and provides practical activities for classroom implementation, e.g., reading, writing, and singing songs for language skill development, reading fluency, and writing progress.
The results imply that the integration of English Language and Music Literacy is very interesting pedagogy in the 21st century learning.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important for teachers to use their knowledge on English language because it opens the door for learners to acquire knowledge that others already have. Learners can use English language to know and understand the world and solve problems with music literacy as innovative pedagogy. According to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "Music is the universal language of mankind". It means that music can have a similar effect on people from completely different cultures. Thus, English language and music literacy as innovative pedagogy is very useful in the 21st century learning.

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Music Pedagogy for the 21st Century Globalized Curriculum

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Abstract

Teaching in the 21-century is an altogether different phenomenon. Teaching strategies would always vary based from the learning styles of the 21st century learners and other factors affecting the learning environment. In order to produce 21st century teachers, the teacher education curriculum and instruction must also focus on how to teach 21st century learners. There are different characteristics being a 21st century teacher. These are "Learner-Centered Classroom and Personalized Instructions, Students as Producers, Learn New Technologies, Go Global, Be Go Digital, Collaborate, Project-Based Learning, innovate and keep learning". Hence, teachers must use innovative pedagogy that fits to the needs of the 21st century learners. Accordingly, this study aimed to analyze the use of music pedagogy for the 21st century learners. This study used theoretical research design through analyzing articles relating to music pedagogy in education. Thematic analysis was used in determining the concepts that emerged from the literature review articles. Based from the literature review analysis, the results of the study are as follows: popular music strategy through role production plays in contemporary music making; pedagogical approach based on the creation of a scaffolded self-directed learning community; meta-pedagogy which embraces informal learning and pedagogy in music; critical pedagogy encouraging students to develop their own forms of creative expression; Feminist Music Therapy Pedagogy; music in a group synchronization; using some other brand of musical paraphernalia while studying. In conclusion, music pedagogy gives strongly impact to the 21st century learners is a globalized curriculum.

Keywords: Globalized Curriculum, Music Pedagogy, 21st century learners

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Introduction

Does music pedagogy contribute impact towards 21st century education and globalized curriculum? This essential question reminds the curriculum designers, school administrators and teachers on how to make an innovative method of teaching in getting into internationalization. Music can enhance the comprehension skills of the learners. Thus, in the twenty-first century learning, music gives impact to a globalized curriculum. It means, in the advent of internationalization, music pedagogy plays an important role in the teaching and learning process. In fact, music inspires people, and cures the passive learners into active participants. Music pedagogy develops the cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains of the 21st century learners. This music pedagogy involves the use of feminist music therapy in enhancing critical literacy skills (Hahna, 2011). The study of Hahna, supports the content of globalized curriculum in the twenty-first century because it develops creativeness, innovativeness, critical thinking and communication skills. Hahna emphasizes *"music therapy will raise awareness regarding the possibilities of using feminism in both teaching and dierapy as a potential method for teaching and working with clients and to promote the equality of all people"*.

Another music pedagogy is the meta-pedagogy (Finney & Philpott, 2010). According to the study of Finney & Philpott, facilitating learning activities inside the classroom contribute to the positive learning environment where learners are motivated to learn through reflective learning experiences in digging the concept of music as part of human life. It means that human being must be passionate to music as part of their culture. Finney & Philpott argued,*" 'living' and 'excavating' musical learning as part of a meta-pedagogy for teacher education is most likely to impact on the habitus of developing music teachers such that they can in turn impact upon an un-alienated learning for their pupils"*. This means that, teacher education program in the higher education of learning, needs to apply the music pedagogy for the twenty-first century globalized curriculum . This is supported from the study of VanAlstine (2011), *"An internationalized approach will enable classroom teachers to confidently integrate music within their classroom content and pedagogical approach to teaching within an international framework"*.

From the literature review of (Hahna, 2011, Finney & Philpott, 2010, & VanAlstine,2011), theme about the relevance of music pedagogy emerged. Hence, this present study aims to analyze the impact and contributions of music pedagogy for the twenty-first century globalized curriculum. It is strongly emphasized in this present article that music pedagogy gives strong impact to the 21st century learners in a globalized curriculum.

Types of music pedagogy

- Internationalized approach to instruction: This means that an internationalized approach to instruction is important in globalized curriculum. When we say globalized, learners must study the different cultures around the world. This is needed in the teacher education program particularly in exchange students who will do their practice teaching in the other country. So, learners can understand the different cultures using the history of music and the genre and styles of music around the world. Through using music pedagogy, learners'

cultural awareness is developed. Thus, respecting one another is internalized in the hearts of every individual regardless of cultures. Indeed, according to VanAlstine (2011):

"pre-service elementary classroom teachers need to integrate music from an international perspective into their instructional content and pedagogy".

- Popular music strategy: In this pedagogy, critical thinking is needed to come up with unique and innovative creative output of producing popular music that represents cultural identity of the different countries (Elafros,2011). So, this pedagogy fits to the 21st century skill, "critical thinking". Similarly, learners study and analyze the content and sounds of the different songs across the global arena. Through comprehension analysis, they also generate concepts from the songs and express through cooperative learning strategy. This is also supported by the study of Enriquez (2014), emphasizes the meaning of symbols, gestures and forms of cultural production created from the content and genre of music. According to Enriquez:
  "music as a semiotic form which gives insights into how actors envision and evaluate the social order".

The statement of Enriquez depicts about creativity of something new "improvisation". This refers to improvising music using critical thinking analysis which is also skill of the 21st century. Moreover, a study of Jones (2013), stipulates that mobile device is considered as new folk music instrument. This means "live electronic music making". It implies that learners are already equipped with innovative knowledge of producing music out of mobile device. As a matter of fact, all people around the world are users of cellphones whereby they enjoy texting while listening to music from their mobile device.

- Facilitative and scaffolded Pedagogy: This type of pedagogy is one stone that hits two birds. Meaning, one music teacher uses two approaches in teaching: the facilitating and scaffolding pedagogy. This is effective in learning instrumental music while playing different music instruments. In order to attain the philosophy of constructivism, facilitating learning activities are needed for diverse learners with individual differences. However, if learners have difficulty in learning musical instruments, scaffolding strategy is recommended. Thus, teachers must be vigilant of analyzing the different learning styles then use pedagogy that fits to the learning environment. Accordingly, Andrews (2013) suggested:
  " music teachers could develop their pupils' capacity for autonomous learning by taking opportunities to adopt a more facilitative role, providing the learning context and assistance when required, but allowing the pupils to direct their own learning".

In addition, music pedagogy could also influence context in communication process through"musical performance and cultural performance"(Blau,2007).The combination of music and culture content knowledge is considered as musically and culturally responsive pedagogy in a globalized curriculum.

Globalization and 21st Century

Cultural groups known as indigenous people around the world, have language barriers in expressing their thoughts and feelings to the different people across the globe. In the study of Krejci (2010), explains that the different cultural groups could not express their ideas because of the absence of a common language. Thus, they used "musical activity to serve as an important means of communication and increase awareness of the world". From this context, it emphasizes the power of music as language across world diversity. Indeed, Krejci emphasizes that music and dance can inspire diverse people around the world. Krejci stipulates: *"Music and dance helped to promote social bonding, trade, and religion. They also expressed cultural identity and contributed to ethnic differentiation"*.

The statement of Krejci implies the importance of music, dance and cultures towards globalization and 21st century skills. In realizing this globalized curriculum, the integration of music education is needed. Johansen (2013) said: *"Music education in our time faces a wide array of challenges that can be related to the contemporary condition of globalization and its dynamics"*.

This means that in music education curriculum needs to emphasize globalization and glocalization. Globalization means 21st century learners learn world music through internet while in glocalization learners learn music based from their cultures. Thus, it is the content and pedagogy of the curriculum to emphasize the concept of world music through internet learning activity and music cultures inside the classroom environment. Hence, in defining 21st century globalized curriculum, it is the role of music pedagogy coupled with the integration of other disciplines through culturally responsive facilitating learning activities that fit to the 21st century skills. Estevez (2011) stresses that the school philosophy must emphasize the preparation of the learners to have globalization in education. Estevez said: *"To determine what the curricular elements, organizational structures and student behaviors are being implemented in schools that state that they have a globalized curriculum and are preparing students for the 21st century"*

According to Estevez, in implementing the globalized curriculum, integration of educational technology(internet) as an instructional material that helps learners' cultural awareness. Besides, globalized curriculum program emphasizes international exchange through partnership linkages among international countries. Not only international partnership, but also facilitating learning activities focusing on problem solving, critical thinking, digital literacy and communication. These are 21st century learning activities for the 21st century learners. Thus, we strongly argue that music education and pedagogy is the best for a globalized curriculum in preparing students to have 21st century skills.

Impact of Music Pedagogy

We argue that music pedagogy gives strong impact to the 21st century learners in a globalized curriculum. Indeed, popular music can be heard everywhere and it touches the minds, hearts and souls of the listeners. So, music plays an important role in child and adolescent development in terms of cognitive, social, emotional and moral

development. That is why, in the teaching and learning curriculum, music pedagogy is culturally responsive pedagogy to the needs of the learners(Anonymous; Council on Communications and Media, 2009). Likewise, Travis (2013) suggests that "rap music is a discourse in lifespan development". This means that music contributes to the human development. *"Music is used as a tool to promote and research positive change strategies for individuals and the communities that they value"* (Travis, 2013). Indeed, Moore (2013), suggests that learners must be exposed to different learning activities using music pedagogy in order to feel and experience the essence of positive contributions of music towards the effective learning in a multicultural settings. Meaning to say, educators will use music which has positive effect of sounds, meaningful lyrics with moral lessons and therapeutic music. Hence, in music pedagogy, it must be an culturally responsive intervention strategy.

Conclusion

The different articles used as the basis in analyzing the impact of music pedagogy for 21st century globalized curriculum, give a great avenue of discussing the entire concepts of this present article. We strongly argue that music pedagogy gives strong impact to the 21st century learners in a globalized curriculum. Through keen review and thematic analysis of the different articles, findings reveal the following:

- in the advent of internationalization, music pedagogy plays an important role in the teaching and learning process

- music pedagogy develops the cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains of the 21st century learners

- music pedagogy involves the use of feminist music therapy in enhancing critical literacy skills

- music pedagogy develops learners' cultural awareness

- the combination of music and culture content knowledge is considered as musically and culturally responsive pedagogy in a globalized curriculum.

- music plays an important role in child and adolescent development in terms of cognitive, social, emotional and moral development

The findings may suggest that the philosophy of higher education institutions across the global arena must also emphasize the music pedagogy in the 21st century and globalized curriculum because through music as pedagogy relates to musical and cultural facilitating learning activities that enable to discuss the globalization and glocalization by means of interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary in order to sustain the impact of music pedagogy for 21st century globalized curriculum.

However, even if music pedagogy gives strong impact to the 21st century learners in a globalized curriculum, still problems in educational system may arise due to the efforts extended by the higher education institutions in the implementation of the said globalized curriculum. This resistance to change is always the cause of the new curriculum implementation. We consider this problem as research gap from this

present article. Hence, further researches maybe conducted to answer the research gap stated in this article.

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Refugees Crisis in the Human Security Agenda of South-East Asian Countries

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Abstract

Despite Southeast Asian countries, with the exception of Cambodia and Philippines, aren't a part of the 1951 Convention related to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol. The refugee crisis remains one among the most influenced issues that the Southeast Asian region faced until now. This research paper seeks to explore and discuss the response of the Southeast Asian governments on the critical refugee crisis in the light of Human Security context. Moreover, it aims to address the major factors that affected the Southeast Asian policies to deal with this issue. To meet these aims; the Human Security Approach has been adopted as a theoretical framework, while the research design has been based on qualitative research approach, and its data have been collected using different types of documents; such as, governmental and NGO's reports, journal articles, newspapers, books, official and political speech. This paper argues that the role of Southeast Asian governments in the refugee crisis was limited because it didn't sign the refugee convention and its protocol; therefore, refugees are deemed to be illegal immigrants by law. Moreover, the Southeast Asian historical experience about the negative effects of refugees on its economy, society and security, played an important role in determining its dealings with the current refugee issues. This research paper attempts to raise the scientific discussion among researchers who are interested in issues linked to Refugees, Human Security, and the Southeast Asian Region.

Keywords: Refugee Crisis, Human Security, Southeast Asian Studies, ASEAN.

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Introduction

For more than four decades, the Refugee Crisis in Southeast Asia has gained a considerable intention from various actors, disciplines, and perspectives. Likewise, since the mid-nineties, when the Human Security concept emerged, there has been a growing interest in its understanding, formulation, and implementation in different parts of the world including the Southeast Asian countries. Despite, the both concepts have not been yet adopted by ASEAN organization documents, their relevant issues have been widely discussed and attempted to handle in many ways. A close looks at the recent NGO's, UN reports, and a significant literature on the refugee crisis in the region, indicates that, although, the Refugee Crisis and Human Security are both not new issues challenging the security policies in Southeast Asia, the dealing with the first is and continued to be a complex, a chronic and critical issue that highly impacts the Southeast Asian region, states, societies, and individuals. In a fact sheet published in September 2014 which covered 13 Asian countries, including 11 Southeast Asian countries, (namely: Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste and Viet Nam.), the UNHCR regional office for South-East Asia highlighted 523,592 people as refugees and asylum seekers, by country origins: Myanmar 500,364, Sri Lanka 4,786, Afghanistan 4,282, Pakistan 3,077, Others 11,083. A total of 2.7 million people of concern, including 1.4 million stateless and over 700,000 internally displaced. (UNHCR, 2014).

This research paper mainly aims to explore and discuss the governmental response of Southeast Asian countries to the refugee crisis in the light of Human Security Approach. Moreover, it seeks to address and determine the major factors that affected this response. To this end, the question under discussion is: In the Human Security context, how do the policies of Southeast Asian country's response to the regional refugee crisis? And what are the major factors that influenced these responses? In order to answer this question, the Human Security Approach, which basically formulated by United Nations Development Program UNDP (1994) and the Commission on Human Security CHS (2003) has been adopted as a theoretical framework, while the "refugee" has been defined by the same definition that has been adopted by Amnesty International, and formulated by the 1951 Convention related to the Status of Refugees, and its 1967 protocol, which is "a person who is outside their own country and, has a well-founded fear of persecution due to his/ her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, and is unable or unwilling to return". (UNHCR, 1951; Amnesty International, 2016, online)

The notion of Human security has been increasingly discussed since the end of cold war, by many policy makers, international relations scholars and foreign policy advisors. The United Nation Development Program (UNDP) and the Commission on Human Security (CHS) has been highlighted what human security should involve. According to UNDP Human Development Report (1994), Human security means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life whether in jobs or in communities. While according to HSC Human Security Now report (2003), the notion means the protection of the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security, called for people-centred, holistic actions that helped Governments and communities to

strengthen early warning about looming crises, identify the causes of insecurity, and take steps to close policy gaps, this concept provided a viable framework to bring various approaches into a coherent and concerted effort that put people at the forefront of decision-making. (UN, 2012, online) Human security is more than the absence of violence and conflict. It is not the total absence of state security; it depends on state security: the state has to provide order, the state has to provide protection, the state has to provide the legal process to protect the human beings inside its jurisdiction; not only physical protection, but intellectual and spiritual growth and the well-being of the total human being. Human security is not state-bound, it must be inter-state, because each state is no longer adequate to face the challenges to human security today. (Pitsuwan, 2007, 68) The concept of human security is not exclusive of state security; it is not exclusive of state roles; it incorporates all these in order to focus (or refocus) on the individual, rather than on the sovereignty of the state. (Pitsuwan, 2007, 68)

Research Methodology

Since this research paper is a pilot study, the research design has been based on qualitative research approach, and its data have been collected using the review of different types of documents; such as, governmental and Non-Governmental reports, journal articles, research papers, newspapers, books, official and political speech. While the analysis has been conducted using a thematic analysis. The paper has been structured based IMRaD format,

Finding and Discussion

The discussion starts with addresses the links between Human Security concept and Refugee Crisis, particularly in the context of Human Security Approach. And then gives an overview of the Human Security Agenda in Southeast Asian countries, it further provide the Refugee status and the governmental responses in the region.

The nexus between Human Security and Refugee Crisis has been viewed from two sides. The first side is when the Refugee Crisis has seen as a threat to the Human Security in the hosting countries, including its national security. And the second is when it has seen as a threat to the Human Security of the refugees themselves. This research paper will not consider the first view deeply, while, more focus will be given to the second view. Because as noted previously in the introduction this paper has adopted a Human Security Approach. The second view is well fits the major idea behind Human Security concept, which is protection and empowerment of people to operationalize the security. However, in the analysis section we will take in account that, Refugees have never been far from international and domestic security discussions, whether they are positively or negatively viewed as victims of security deficits or as potential threats to national and international security.(Edwards, 2009, 774-775) The first view, have been considered the refugees as a sources and subject of threats, and it gives a priority to the national security and focuses on the hosting state as a referent object of security. This point was illustrated by Alice Edwards, when she indicated that, Refugees in the 1990's have been viewed as threats to national borders and security, perceived as criminals and terrorists, and, collectively, viewed as threats to international peace and security. Refugees in that time no longer offer the same geopolitical benefits to state interests as they did in the politics of the

Cold War. (2009, 774-775) By contrast, in the second view, the refugees have been considered as victims and a referent object of the security, this view has called for more effective mechanisms to protect the Human security of refugees regardless to their backgrounds. This point has been provided by many scholars and activists engaged in support of refugees, they argued that the securitization of the policy debate on refugee movements in the 1990s, served to reinforce the restrictive asylum tendencies in Europe during that decade, and manifested themselves during the Kosovo refugee crisis as well. (Suhrke, 2003, 96) In other hand, the first time the High Commissioner systematically sought to relate Human Security concept to refugees was at the meeting of the ''human security'' coalition of states in 1999 by the High Commissioner, Sadako Ogata. In her keynote address, Sadako Ogata, emphasize two types of situations and related policy needs that must be addressed in order to improve the human security of potential or actual refugees: (Suhrke, 2003, 102)

> (a) prevention of conflict and peace-building to protect and assist internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees in areas of conflict; states and organizations should form strategic partnerships with UNHCR for this purpose; (b) filling ''the gap'' between relief and development in the aftermath of a violent conflict so that returning refugees and IDPs could more readily be integrated and not risk repeated displacement. Both were high-priority items on the UNHCR's agenda. (Suhrke, 2003, 102)

In a recent literature, Aramide Odutayo, Donald Kerwin has well addressed the links between Human security and Refugee Protection. To Odutayo, Human Security offers a new vocabulary with which to appeal to states for protection of refugees. (2016, 373) And to Kerwin, refugee protection can advance both human and state security. (2016, 84) Refugee protection and national security respond to the aspiration for human security, albeit from different perspectives and with different emphases. National security underscores the responsibility of states to protect the lives and safeguard the rights of their residents, while refugee protection speaks to the responsibility of states to defend the rights of persons who are at risk of persecution, either by their own states or by groups that their states cannot or will not control. (Kerwin, 2016, 84) As Robyn Lui have highlighted, protection does not only mean defending legal rights, but also means monitoring borders to ensure that they remain open when refugees cross them; demanding access for food and medicines needed for assistance; fighting discrimination; counseling on legal procedures; deciding when to advise refugees when to return home. Refugee protection is a set of legal instruments, operational activities and material contributions that can restore a sense of security in people in whom flight has deprived of everything, sometimes, even of their identity. (2002, 105)

To quote Alice Edwards again, she is concluded that, the people-centered focus of human security, irrespective of one's attachment or allegiance to the State, is conceptually powerful for refugees that are generally outside the remit of a State's national interest. This concept further embraces multilateralism, international cooperation, and interdependence, recognizing rightly, that threats to human security in one part of the world affect persons in other parts and that this needs to be taken into account in designing solutions and responses.(2009, 802-804) Today's internally displaced persons can quickly become tomorrow's refugees if the factors causing their human insecurity are not resolved. Moreover, the human security framework is

oriented toward early action and response. However, national borders are increasingly irrelevant in the face of transnational threats. Theoretically, Responsibility to protect (R2P) offers some potential for enforcement action in the face of serious threats to human insecurity. Protection and empowerment, the concept of human security aims to foster long-term solutions to refugee problems.(Edwards, 2009, 804-805).

Despite, the term Human Security Agenda didn't yet adopted officially by ASEAN and Southeast Asian countries collectively, due to the lack of consensus on its definition and the challenge of implementation since it would involve the notion of sovereignty of its member states. ASEAN has directly and indirectly addressed many agreements and programs that presented a significant policies and cooperation connected to Human Security issues in the region. (Zainal Abidin, 2012, 62)

First thing to remember is that, since 1967, ASEAN has placed the promotion of regional peace and security at the forefront of its endeavors (ASEAN, 2015, 12), it stresses the referent of security is the sovereign nation-states and in some occasions the peoples of Southeast Asia. (Feigenblatt, 2009, 12) After few years, The Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality ZOPFAN 1971 was signed as the first document that set ASEAN's vision towards security cooperation in the region. it was aims to ensure the region's freedom from any form or manner of interference by outside powers, in addition at broadening the areas of cooperation that would contribute to the strength, solidarity and closer relations among the Member States. (ASEAN, 2015, 12) Asian countries in general, have been familiar with comprehensive security, which means that security goes beyond military means, and embraces political, economic, and socio-cultural means of providing security. In the mid-1980s, the ASEAN member states adopted the notion. Later on the comprehensive view of security has been influencing member states' policy and behavior. (Cheeppensook,2007) The previous statements prove that, security issues were not a new trend of cooperation between Southeast Asian Countries; on the contrary they were in the bottom of concern in regional cooperation. However, the collective adaptation of the human security concept as a priority in security agenda is relatively new.

The following table shows the status of Human Security of each Southeast Asian country by international rank order and level of Human Development in 2015.

Country	International Rank on Human Security Index 2015	Human development Category
Singapore	5th	Very high Human Development level
Brunei Darussalam	30th	
Malaysia	59th	High Human Development level
Thailand	87th	
Indonesia	113th	Medium Human Development level
Viet Nam	115th	
Philippines	116th	
Timor-Leste	133th	
Lao PDR	138th	
Cambodia	143th	
Myanmar	145th	

Sources: Data collected from (UNDP,2016, 242-244)

Table (1): Human Security in Southeast Asian Countries

It is clear from data in the table (1) that, there are considerable ranking gap in the Human Security levels from one Southeast Asian country to another, according to that gap they could be categorized to 4 groups as follows: 1: Singapore and Brunei Darussalam. 2: Malaysia and Thailand, 3: Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines. 4: Timor-Lest, Lao PDR, Cambodia and Myanmar. The table also shows that, among the eleven Southeast Asian countries there are 4 of them with a very high or high level of human development, which are respectively ordered: Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia and Thailand, while the rest of countries are classified under the medium level of Human Development. The general image indicate that there are still an acceptable performances in Human Security because non state from this region in the Low Human Development category.

In the trend of Human Security Agenda in South east Asian countries, a growth efforts have done to approach it the region at civil, political and academia levels. Some interesting effort have been reflected in the declarations and works of the former secretary generals of ASEAN Surin Pitsuwan and Ong Keng Yong, in addition to Amitave acharya, the well-known researcher who is interested early in human security in southeast Asia.

Surin Pitsuwan, the former Secretary-General of ASEAN and former Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs and member of the Commission on Human Security indicated that, in South-East Asia, the traditional way of dealing with non- traditional security issues is no longer adequate. All of these issues have human security dimensions. All the crises the region have experienced in the last years have human security dimensions, this overlap between non-traditional security and human security makes it easier to promote the substance, if not the exact terminology, of human security in the region. (Acharya, 2007, 29) It is worth to be mentioned, that Thailand, with its Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, have perhaps the first human security ministry in the world (Pitsuwan, 2007, 68) And it was also the first to use the term 'human security' at ASEAN level in 1998, when Surin proposed that an ASEANPMC Caucus on human security be set up. And argued that, the human costs of the economic crisis would impact upon all the achievements that the ASEAN member

states have made together so far, and would inevitably threaten the region as a whole. Therefore, those members who are interested and ready should join hands in mapping out steps and strategies for long-term approach to the cure for and prevention of human security in the region. (Cheeppensook, 2007, online) In Surin Pitsuwan view, Thailand unfortunately, was focus on Human security with the understanding that human security equals human welfare/social welfare. Human security is more than social welfare. Because social welfare is what the state provides, the individual just waits and receives largesse from the state. But in human security there is an element of fulfillment, there is an element of human rights, there is an element of human development, there is an element of fuller freedom (2007, 68) Another view to human security in this region has come from the former Singaporean Secretary-General of ASEAN, Ong Keng Yong, when he has stressed a 'human security' approach to combating terrorism in South-East Asia. (Acharya, 2007, 29) Coupled with this view, the Philippines was practically support it by its human security act in 2007 which make it an Act to secure the State and protect its people from terrorism. (Philippines e-Ligal Forum, 2007, online) To amitav acharya, a regional perspective to human security in South-East Asia is justified because the region has a well-established institution in ASEAN, with an experience of dealing with security challenges with a regional focus. Moreover, ASEAN has developed new institutional mechanisms enable it to rethink its principles to make them more attuned to a human security agenda. (2007, 21) Acharya addressed some reasons makes the human security concept find a little resonance in the thinking and approach of South-East Asian governments.(2007, 25) one reason is that, most South-East Asian policy-makers argue that national and state security need not be incompatible with human security. Another reason is that, some of the initial Western articulation of the concept of Human Security associated it with humanitarian intervention. And this is a key reason for the wariness of governments, with their deep attachment to Westphalian sovereignty, to embrace human security. As Surin Pitsuwan, put it: If there is any region that is suspicious of external involvement or jealous of the concept of sovereignty, it is Southeast Asia. The concept of sovereignty is still very sacred here. ASEAN is yet to adopt human security. (2007, 26) In the 20th anniversary of the Human Security concept, Surin and Mely Caballero-Anthony argued that in order to advance human security, ASEAN states must be imbued with the political will to act decisively in addressing human insecurities and to work with other actors in promoting protection and empowerment of people and communities.(Pitsuwan and Caballero-Anthony, 2014, 199)

Country	Refugees status and Governmental Responses
Viet Nam Myanmar Cambodia*	In 2015 Refugees by country origins was 313.2 thousand from Vietnam, 198.7 thousand from Myanmar and 12.8 thousand from Cambodia. The same countries have also the worst records of state compliance with international human rights and they are not bound by humanitarian or refugee conventions either.
Indonesia	Refugees by country origins 9.3 thousand in 2015. Hosting more than13,800 refugees and asylum seekers, mostly from Afghanistan and Pakistan, but also from Myanmar, Iraq, Iran, Sri Lanka and other countries.
Lao PDR	Refugees by country origins 7.4 thousands in 2015
Philippines*	Refugees by country origins 0.6 thousand 2015. In Indochina era, the government declared that reception and processing facilities for refugees had been overwhelmed by the refugee crisis long before arrivals peaked. The country remains plagued by widespread poverty and a violent political culture.

Malaysia	Refugees by country origins 0.4 thousands in 2015. Hosting more than 150000. 139780 from Myanmar, the others from Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Palestine and other nations. By the end of 1977, the Indochinese refugee population had increased. The number of boat people had risen from 1157 at the beginning of the year to 6974 by December. Within the first six months of 1978, 13,219 boat people sought refuge. It also had approximately 90,000 Filipinos seeking refuge from the conflict in Mindanao Island at the same time.
Thailand	The Thai government defines the Refugees as "displaced persons" and accommodates them in places referred to as "temporary shelters". The largest groups are those displaced by fighting in Myanmar in recent decades. But there are also Hmong stranded after the wars in Indochina, and recent influxes of the Rohingya minority from Myanmar. In 2015, there were 0.2 thousand refugees by country origins. In Indochina era, the refugee population had risen from 25,000 at the beginning of 1977, to 97,600 on January 1978, and 113,300 on June 1978. The ethnic breakdown of this large refugee population in June 1978 was 96,000 from Laos, 14,000 from Democratic Kampuchea and 3200 from Vietnam.
Singapore	Refugees by country origins 0.1 thousands in 2015. In Indochina era, the government of Singapore has not allowed many refugees to land on its territory. Although rich by regional standards, the city-state is very small in area and cannot accommodate a large number of unwanted people. Singapore has, however, provided significant funding for the support of refugees elsewhere. Singapore was also unwilling to risk relative political and social stability with an influx of refugees of unknown background and temperament. It was thought that the presence of large numbers of refugees might lead to social unrest and an increase in crime. In 1977, a small group of Vietnamese sought asylum in Singapore after they had murdered the Vietnamese crew of the aircraft they had just hijacked. Such actions served to harden public opinion against other Vietnamese asylum-seeker.
Timor-Leste	Refugees by country origins 0 thousands in 2015.
Brunei Darussalam	Refugees by country origins not available in 2015.In Indochina era, it has received very few refugees, and despite the tremendous wealth of the nation, appears to have provided little for refugee relief elsewhere

* Signatory part of the 1951 convention on status of refugees.
Sources: the data collected from (B, 2016, online; Davies, 2006, 13; Lavoie & Knock, 1990, 46-49; Song, 2015,51; UNDP, 2009. 75; UNDP, 2016, 242-244;)

Table (2): Status of Refugee Crisis in Southeast Asia and some governmental responses

In the era of Indochina War, and exactly after 1978, the refugee problem in ASEAN countries grew in both scale and intensity. In light of costs, ethnic conflicts, and security threats, ASEAN member states have been at best unwilling, and often unable to provide asylum to large numbers of refugees. (Lavoie & Knock, 1990, 45) In Lavoie and Knock research, it had been mentioned that, Indonesia has received smaller numbers of refugees than Thailand and Malaysia, their presence has disrupted national life, and in particular population resettlement programs which had been implemented to avoid Overexploitation of Javanese agricultural lands. The influx of boat people to Indonesia was seen as a serious threat to the fragile economies of affected regions. (Lavoie & Knock, 1990, 46)

With the exception of Cambodia and the Philippines, the Southeast Asian countries not a signatory part of 1951 refugee convention. This situation makes the label "refugee" not officially adopted by these countries. As the table 2 shown, among the 11 Southeast Asian countries, 5 of them which are respectively Vietnam, Mayanmar, Canbodia, Indonesia and Lao PDR have the largest number of refugees by country origin in the region,

Neither Indonesia nor the Philippines are stable politically, and both countries must contend with significant violent guerilla movements. Military budgets are already high for countries where serious poverty is widespread and the governments of both countries are anxious to avoid any further threats to national security and political stability. In light of the economic, political, and social pressures that the presence of large numbers of refugees might impose upon the precarious security of these two countries, both are very reluctant to allow large numbers of refugees to settle within their borders. (Lavoie & Knock, 1990, 49)
under the circumstances emphazed in table 2, the Response of the Southeast Asian governments to the refugee crisis.

In 2015, when the recent Rohingya refugee crisis was in the top, the effect of refugee policies in Southeast Asian region has been widely criticized, by Amnesty and UNHRH, the world witnessed harrowing scenes as fishing boats crammed with refugees and migrants from Myanmar and Bangladesh were pushed back to sea by Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Desperate children, men and women were left without food, water and medical care for a week, before the Philippines and later Indonesia and Malaysia offered to take them in. (Amenesty international, 2015, online) Amnesty International, with Auckland Refugee Council and the Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network (APRRN) strongly supported a regional approach towards improving the protection of refugees and asylum seekers. They believe that this displacement crisis will not be solved unless states recognize it as a regional problem and deal with it as such. A constructive regional approach, would positively impact not only on the well-being of refugees and asylum seekers but also on the stability of the region as a whole.(Amenesty international, 2015, online) UN warns of humanitarian disaster after Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia turn back boatloads of refugees fleeing Burma, leaving 6,000 people stranded at sea (Tisdall, 2015, online)

In that time, ASEAN has published its Security Outlook, it highlighted the issue of refugees (by term of irregular movement of persons) as a major concern to ASEAN. The Outlook stressed the need for ASEAN to immediately identify the root causes and other contributory factors to the recent irregular influx of persons and work together in concert to find a solution to the crisis. this will help ASEAN in addressing the issue more effectively and in a holistic manner.(ASEAN, 2015, 81)

Response of the Southeast Asian governments to the past (Indochina) and recent (Rohingya) refugee crisis has been shaped or influenced by different and interdependent factors.

In the late 1970s, as refugee movements in South east Asian region peaked, the economic, social, and political stability of first asylum countries was threatened; several wealthy Western nations with a tradition of immigration and emergent economic interests in the area were confronted with a complex and unwelcome

dilemma (Lavoie & Knock, 1990, 43).After the Indochina refugee conference, the first negative outcome which shaped future Southeast Asian state responses on refugee crisis. was that Southeast Asian states were successful in arguing at the conference that this crisis and its solutions were and therefore they would not take part in old solutions, such as the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. Southeast Asian states had watched how African states were forced to accept the entire refugee burden facing that continent during the 1960s and they were not going to be the next developing region to be burdened with problems beyond their capacity. This point was made regularly by all Southeast Asian states present at the 1979 conference. (Davies, 2006, 22) Southeast Asian states learned that 'hard hearts could drive hard bargains'(Davies, 2006, 23)

In addition, today's refugees living in protracted camps may become tomorrow's irregular migrants, or they may be recruited by non-state armed groups or the state military and paramilitary groups and prolong armed conflict. It acknowledges that the failure to deal with the human security issues of individuals and refugees can have an impact on national, regional, or global security. (Edwards, 2009, 804).The movement of refugees is a security threats that transcends national borders and draws attention to the impact of intrastate conflicts on national, regional and international order. In this context, the refugee problem represents a danger to the national security of receiving states and to common security.(Lui, 2002, 98). Five broad ways has been identified in which migratory movements can threaten security: when refugees and migrants are working against the regime of their home country; when they pose a risk to their host country; when immigrants are seen as a cultural threat; when they are perceived as a social or economic threat; when the host country uses immigrants as instruments to threaten the country of origin (Freitas, 2002, 38)
Many Southeast Asian states believed that complying with international refugee law would compromise their sovereignty, their security and their development.(Davies, 2006, 24)

Conclusion

The purpose of this research paper was to explore and discuss the way that the governments of Southeast Asian countries does response to the Refugee Crisis in the context of Human Security. The paper was also aims to address and identify the main factors influencing these responses. As already noted previously, in the context of human security, the state is no longer the only referent object of security. Moreover, it became well known todays that, human security in one part of the world influence persons in other parts. Much literature has emphasis that, these facts needs to be taken into account in order to design solutions and responses.

Regarding to the nexus between Human Security and Refugee Crisis. It is clear from the provided literature that, while the traditional view seen the refugees Crisis as a cause of Human Insecurity, the Refugee Crisis and Human Security can be linked in the human security context through many concepts as well as, Protection and responsibility to protect, Empowerment, Freedom from fear, Freedom from wants, and freedom to live in dignity. In other words, the Refugee Crisis in the Human Security context has viewed as a part of the human insecurity.

In Southeast Asia, some states were more ready than others to accept, to incorporate, to accommodate the concept of human security, Surin recognized. With the exception of Thailand, the governments in that region do not prefer to use the term "Human Security" in its official documents. Likewise, with the exception of Cambodia and the Philippines, the terms "Refugee" not legally recognized in the region. To express the stats of refugee in official documents of the Southeast Asian governments, the terms, Displaced Persons; Irregular Influx of Persons; Irregular migrants; Non- Citizens; are likely to be used, but not the term "refugee". For most of these countries, discussions of refugee Crisis have been separated from Human Security planning and debates. Moreover, it has limits its official dealing with the issue of refugees under the rights of children and human trafficking contexts only, instead of dealing with it under the whole Human Security context for long term resolution. On other hand, despite the overall positive performance of Southeast Asian countries in Human development, and so far in Human Security level in some of them, the most governments has not given preference to the blooming refugee Crisis that the region experiencing for more than four decades.

Nevertheless, a considerable evidences provided in this paper including the table (1), ASEAN calls, and Acharya and Surin notes, confirmed that, the absence of the terms "Refugees" and "Human Security" in the governmental documents does not necessary means the absence of Human Security policies or dealing with refugee issues. Some experiences as has been indicated have brought about a gradual shift to being more comfortable with the idea of sharing the responsibility to protect, to prevent calamities, and to rescue people from their fate; due to the various challenges, threats and calamities coming towards the region, not as countries any more.

As it has been shown in the finding and discussion section, and based on a tracing literature have done on Indochina and Myanmar Refugee Crisis, a juridical supported with Historical, Security, political, Societal and Economic, factors has been well influenced the worries and consequently the response of the Southeast Asian governments,

In order to contribute raising the discussion among researchers who are interested in this topic, this research paper suggests the following relevant problems to be questioned in further research: 1) We call for questioning again the extent of the incompatibility of the protective Human Security and the ASEAN way. Because some literature has stated that "protective Human Security" is incompatible with the "ASEAN way" theoretically and, to a certain extent, also in practice. The differences in temporal frame and points of reference regarding standards to be followed are important obstacles for the application of this version of Human Security in Southeast Asia. 2) How could Southeast Asian Countries collectively, create strategies enable them to settle the Refugee Crisis in a human security context without threating the human security of the hosting countries in the region? The reason behind asking this question is that, the human security context considers the human security of all Humankind, so treating of refugee crisis without taking into account the negative effects on the human security of people in the hosting country will create a continued problem could be called "Human Insecurity Dilemma".

Acknowledgements

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Patriotic Rhetoric in Chinese Public Space

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Abstract

This paper begins with the analysis of the socio-cultural phenomenon known as "public space." This analysis is followed by the reflection on distinctive features of public space in contemporary China. Subsequently, I focus on the use of the public space by the authorities for spreading of official political and ideological discourse. For this purpose, I analyse form and the content of the message displayed in the places of public utility. I conclude by showing what, how and why is being displayed and widely promoted by authorities. I argue, that the public space in China, on the one hand is "public" in the sense that is accessible and used by citizens; on another is "arrested by authorities" and used for their socio-political and ideological purposes. Such an arrangement is a statement of the unvocalised agreement between the authorities and citizens that allows the former to avoid major conflicts and legitimise political power. In return, the latter enjoy a wide range of socio-cultural freedom and are being provided with psychological comfort resulting from identification with a greater endeavour of restoring the glory of the Chinese nation.

Keywords: Chinese rhetoric, Chinese Nationalism, Ideology, Chinese Values, Socio-political Slogans

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Introduction

In 20th-century China propaganda and rhetoric force of the slogans used by authorities, have played a major role in establishing and legitimising political and ideological leadership. Besides newspapers, radio, television and recently the internet, the public space have also been employed as a mean of communication between the authorities and the society. The analysis of the form and the content of the message displayed in the public space is then not less important that studying newspapers, tv news or official speeches. It not only reveals the content, and motivation behind socio-political discourse promoted by the authorities but also show how public accommodate the space employed by the authorities for their political and ideological purposes. Concluding from the data obtained in several geographically distant location in China, we can then state that the public space in China, is "public" in the sense that is accessible and used by citizens to conduct non-political socio-cultural activities. However, the design and control of socio-political and ideological messages displayed is entirely controlled by authorities. Such an arrangement rarely if at all challenged by the public, is a display of the unvocalised agreement between the authorities and citizens. It allows the former to avoid major conflicts and keep political power. In return, the latter enjoys a wide range of socio-cultural freedom and psychological comfort of identification with a greater good of "nation's rejuvenation".

What Is "Public Space"?

Public space is a term that appears across a wide range of academic disciplines. The idea as such does involve quite a few aspects of the physical and social life, and single approach could hardly exhaust the meaning of the concept. The adjective "public" turns our attention to the socially shared nature of the space, and the noun "space," on its behalf indicates the necessity of the spatial factor for the social interactions to happen. "Public" then includes roads, squares, parks, beaches, government and privately owned buildings, places of religious cult and all access-free zones and buildings with all instalments that are accessible to members of the society. Even if some of them are not equally available to everyone, the message presented in their visible and accessible parts does influence the society. It brings us to another feature crucial for the space to be considered "public" which is its relation with "public sphere," understood as "forums of public discussion" (Habermas, 1998). It has even become a task for the practitioners and academics alike, to "conceive spaces that are at once accessible to everyone and which also foster a sense of shared concern, the emergence of a local public sphere" (Tonellat, 2010). Any form of fully -, or partially opened space that "fosters a sense of shared concern" can then be considered public. The accessibility of public can be moderated or negotiated. Especially in the era of the on one hand appreciation of the private property, and growing regulatory efforts of governments on another, what makes space "public" is more a shared image than a physical "here and now." Another interesting observation of researchers in recent years is the fact that the "focal" point somehow moved from the open space towards accessible "zones" with clearly marked boundaries and limited capacity of accommodating participants. Schools, hospitals and even public buses are good examples here. Despite all these limitations, public space must be in some way

accessible to an at least certain number of citizens who are not the owners of that particular place. French philosopher Henry Lefebvre went even further arguing that public space is what he called "right to the city," the right of the inhabitants to have better control over the production of the space of their daily life. In Levebre thinking, public space is then an object of creative transformation remaining in a dialectical relation with the notions of power and control. It is not just a physical vacuum that can be utilised by the society for certain purposes but is the *sine qua none* condition for the emergence and existence of a particular type of society (Levebre, 1991).

To conclude, public space is then an arena of social interactions for which the presence of actual space is desirable. However, public space to be considered truly "public" must be more of a part of the shared mental landscape of the attendees than just a physical place that human beings pass through.

Public Space in China

Without a doubt, the concept of the public space is a product of western civilisation derived from the notion of Agora, the place of citizens interactions in ancient Greece. Habermas argued that it was the Agora, the spatiotemporal and mental construct with all the socio-political interactions taking place that led to the emergence of the public sphere and phenomena like civil society and democracy (Habermas, 1989). Public space as phenomenon also occurred in other time zones as well, but at different times and not in the quite the same forms. In China, for instance, despite the long history of its civilisation, public space as a publicly used and imagined place is a quite recent invention. A family oriented lifestyle, ruled by the strict socio-ethical code to a large degree limited citizens' activity to strictly drawn boundaries beyond which the world often virtually did not exist (Sun, 2004). It is not to say, that people in the Imperial China did not know the concept of a greater, going beyond the boundaries of their family business world. Quite to the contrary, the notion of *tianxia*, "under the heaven," had been a concept recognisable to most of the even poorly educated Chinese. However, the concept itself was referring to such a geographically and mentally broad scope that it remained somehow "aloof" (Sun, 2004). As the famous proverb says, "The Heaven is high (above us), the Emperor is far away (from us)," is and exemplification of such thinking. The proverb then "recognises" the importance of these two factors for the perseverance of the very existence of the cosmos. However, their significance for the everyday matters seems to be of little importance. Such perception of *tianxia* contributed to a further expansion of the realm of a family on the cost of the space shared by the members of different households. The model of Changan, the ancient capital, displayed at the City Musem in Xi'an provides us with a visual representation of the way the urban space was arranged and perceived in Imperial China. The massive city walls surround the city. Inside the city walls, we see the space divided by smaller walls creating separate segments with the Imperial Palace that overlooks the entire city from behind another wall. The everyday day experience of a common citizen was then confined to the boundaries of walled part of the city they lived in. He, and even to a greater degree she, rarely was leaving their compounds making the encounters with the individuals from beyond these inner walls sporadic. Streets, markets, temples and schools that were certainly used by the public

could hardly compare with Athenian Agora. For instance, the markets that emerged during Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) were controlled by guilds and "native-place associations" (*xiangtong hui*) (Gaubatz, 2008). Temples on their behalf were either family-owned, or they belonged to a particular religious denomination. Moreover, starting from the times of Ming dynasty (1368–1644), they were put under strict control, that furthered limited the free exchange of ideas and possibility of creating an independent public sphere. The actual civic public space emerged in China as a result of modernisation movements of early 20th century. The event that could be classified as a first example of an active participation of the citizens from different classes that utilised larger space for public purposes was May 4th Movement. On 4th May 1919 students of universities in Beijing, followed by the merchants and ordinary citizens brought up their political agenda to the streets. Soon, the people of Shanghai and other larger cities followed them. May 4th Movement paved the way towards wide usage of the open space for socio-political movements and propaganda. Situation rather unknown in Imperial China, soon became a norm leading to the great concern of the ruling class. As a result, the open space for socio-political activity was soon "arrested" by the government forces (Zarrow, 2005). The similar situation repeated few more times in the following history of China with three instances of the particular importance. The first one was the beginning of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when the groups of young Red Guards took the streets making them a scene for the display of their political agenda. Originally not very well controlled by the central government, young "guards" soon ignited a quasi-civil war. The authorities had not much choice but to take over the control of the public space again and send most of the "active" participants out of towns and cities. The second was the so-called Wall of Democracy between November 1978 and March 1979. Citizens were then encouraged to put forward petitions and critique of the ruling regime. Shy at the begging but soon growing, the critical tone of the petitions and street banners makes authorities to retake the control again (Vogel, 2011, pp. 250-257). The public space in a sense presented in the first part has emerged in China one more time in the 1980's when after the era of hard-core communist intellectuals, partly supported by the authorities were searching for a "new identity" (Schoppa, 2006). As Philip C.C. Huang has pointed out, it was "a space intermediate between state and society in which both participated," "a third realm" (Huang, 1993: 224). According to Edward Gu, it was "an intellectual space comprising (1) state generated public space, (2) society-originated, officially-backed public space, (3) societal public space and (4) dissident public space." (Gu, 1999, p. 391) The Tiananmen tragedy was, on the one hand, a culminating point of display and utilisation of such understood public space. At the same time, it was a final breakaway from it. As a consequence, it meant eliminating of "dissident public space," or at least restricting its scope to the secret, underground zones.

The doubts about the applicability of the Habermas theory of public sphere in regards to China put forward by Huang, can easily be applied to the public space as well. Public space in China, at least to a degree, is designed, overlooked and simply controlled by the authorities. It is almost impossible to find a place of public use, especially in urban China that has been designed without a state permit. The state strictly controls any, public or private, display of pictures, art, written messages and

slogans. No art or music performance, not to mention any religious activities, can happen without an involvement of local government. With occasional exceptions, this rule is generally observed by citizens. Such an observation corresponds with the theory that Asian cultures have a collectivist element playing a greater role and are inclined towards authoritarian (Pye, 1988). However, it would be an oversimplification to conclude with such a statement. A short look at the variety of activities in the public places and the way they are being performed brings us to a slightly different conclusion.

Writing about the use of public space in China, Stephen McDonell, a BBC reporter, quite correctly noticed a core feature of the Chinese public, namely *renao* (lit.: "hot-noisy"). As he put it: "To be 热闹 (*renao*) is to be bustling with noise and excitement" (McDonell, BBC News, 11 March 2017). The space in China to be called "public" must be loud and ideally full of people. One visit to Starbucks or McDonald"s, must-go places for Chinese middle-class is always full of people speaking loudly, making their phone calls equally loudly, provides a sufficient proof of such a claim. Public squares, streets are not different. It is quite difficult to see an empty street in any even mid-size city or town, and there are always people dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, doing *Taiji* or simply chatting or conducting commercial activity in public parks. Shopping malls, markets and even hospitals are the places of public encounters were the all sorts of social interactions can be seen and heard. In short, in China, there are always people where there is any place or a zone that they can or must go. Moreover, those people are visible, hearable and not shy to interact with others. Even the interactions are usually limited to the group of familiar acquaintances (Sun, 2004), the public space in China is very much "alive," *renao*. The number of participants often organised in groups spending their times and money on a specific activity, the obvious opportunities for interactions and deliberation could then suggest that the public space in China is very close to the Habermas"s ideal type. Some researchers then would like to see the public space in China as a place of the display of the individuality of the citizen, and even the birthplace of the future "democratisation." However, the design and control of this flooded with citizens who use it to display their lifestyle, aspirations and individuality space, is in the hands of authorities. Moreover, the authorities, following the steps of the past regimes, do not hesitate to use it for their particular purposes that we try to analyse below.

Patriotism in Chinese Public space

Methodology

In China, the access to public space is opened to every citizen. However, we would call this access "passive" or at least "conformed", since the right to design it and determine the message that can be spread through it is in the hands of authorities. The focus of the present research is then on the official slogans promoting patriotism and appreciation of Chinese culture and current politics. These slogans are widely distributed and can be seen in the parks, public squares, buses, streets and public buildings. The banners, posters, plank and similar displays of official propaganda have been photographed and translated by the author. The acquired results were

consulted with other (native) Chinese speakers with a high command of English for accuracy. Another source of the material for the current study were the talks, discussion and short verbal exchanges of ideas between Chinese citizens that can often be heard in the parks, public squares and other places of public use. All the material analysed in this study had been collected during author's trips to different locations in China, such as Fuzhou, Xi'an, Chengdu, Shanghai, Xishuangbanna and Suzhou between Feb 2015 and March 2017. For the sake of accuracy, the author consulted the transcribed content and acquired translations with Chinese native speakers with a high command of English.

Findings

So what is the message that the authorities try to disseminate among the citizens with slogans displayed in public space? How is the message justified? What is the motivation of such actions? What do the banners, posters, plank and similar displays of official propaganda tell us about the authorities that put so much effort into popularising particular values? Probably the most appeal slogan that is being constantly reproduced through the entire spectrum of public space is *Zhonghua Minzu de Weida Fuxing* (中华民族的伟大复兴), that can be translated as a *The great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation*. In recent years it is usually paired with a main ideological slogan of the current administration *Zhongguo meng* (中国梦)*, The China Dream.* It was originally mooted by Jiang Zemin after he came into power, replacing *Invigorating China* (振兴中华) that was used by Sun Yat-sen back in 1894, and later by CCP (Ho, 2014: 176). The original slogan of Sun Yat-sen was a call for "awakening" a sense of Chinese national identity among the subjects of Qing Empire (Harrison, 2001). Nation-building rhetoric was never actually abandoned by Chinese Communists (Wu, 2014, p. 63). However, for Jiang Zemin, who took over the power from Deng Xiaoping in 1990's, appeal to "rebirth of nation" became necessary for at least two reasons. First, it legitimised him as the one in the line of "great leaders of new China." Second, it justified his departure from the communist principles and further development of market economy. The thing that was making him "great," was his work towards "rejuvenation" of the most precious Chinese nation. This "great" task could have been accomplished only through proper socio-economic policies. Even though Jiang Zemin is probably the less favourite leader in the recent history of China, his call for national revival seems to find a resonance among citizens (Link et al., 2013, p. 3), and the current administration made it also into a crucial element of its ideological agenda.

Another essential term commonly used in regards to making China into a "strong country" (强国, *qiangguo*) is t*uanjie* (团结), "unity" or "solidarity", almost indispensable element in public space in China, especially in regions populated with ethnic minorities. One of the commonly seen banners then reads *Jiaqiang minzu tuanjie, cujin minzu jinbu* (加强民族团结，促进民族进步，*Strengthen national unity, expedite national progress*). The term *minzu* in the first part of the sentence refers to all ethnic groups living in China. In the second part means the Chinese nation in general. The People's Republic of China, as its constitution states "unitary multi-

national state built up jointly by the people of all its nationalities" (Preamble). China then currently recognises 55 ethnic minorities, besides dominant Han (Macceras, 2011, p. 111). The authorities that often face socio-cultural and political conflicts in some areas inhabited by minorities try then to spread the message that only through "unity and solidarity" among different ethnic groups the "progress", economic and political can be achieved. Knowing the level of tension in areas such as Xinjiang, and Tibet (Xizang), the message and the purpose of such slogan is clear. Not only the "solidarity" between ethnic groups will bring prosperity to the entire nation, including those minorities, but also, since the "progress" is the most desired historical necessity, such a "unity and solidarity" is also an unavoidable historical necessity.

*Zhongguo jingshen, zhongguo xingxiang, zhongguo wenhua, zhongguo biaoda (*中国精神，中国形象,中国文化，中国表达) that renders as *Chinese spirit, China"s image, China"s culture, Chinese expression*, is another example of the appeal to the Chineseness as the value of utmost importance. This appeal to Chinese values, national character and Chineseness in general, has become an integral part of the socio-political agenda of the regime after Jiang"s call for national rejuvenation. Chinese values, lifestyle, a way of communication and culture in general, have been officially recognised as if not superior so at least equal to their western counterparts. Through slogans like the one above, the authorities try then provide the psychological comfort to the citizens who on the one hand are "proud descendants of Yellow Emperor", on another face the hardships of everyday life. A socio-psychological aspect of such move is apparent. However, there is also a political consideration hidden behind this appreciation of Chinese values, culture and lifestyle. Chinese ambitions to become a world superpower, to a great extent can be realised using soft-power. Language and culture are primary tools that can be utilised. It is then the concern of the utmost importance to preserve and cherish this language and culture among Chinese themselves. Another worth notice fact is the appreciation of hierarchy and social inequality in traditional Chinese culture (Pye, 1985). Despite claiming equal status for every citizen, starting from the time of Deng Xiaoping Chinese authorities accepted not the only market economy, but also social inequality, expressed in Deng's claim that some must get rich first. Following administration went further and put way more emphasis on "harmony" than "equality." An appeal to Chinese character of such an arrangement seems to be a very handy justification of such shift.

Renmin you xinyang, minzu you xiwang, guojia you liliang (人民有信仰， 民族有希望，国家有力量)，is another slogan that can be seen in many places around China. It renders as follows *(If) People have faith, there is hope for the nation, and the country is powerful.* As we can see the future of the nation, its prosperity and very existence depend on the "faith of people." The "strength of the country" also can only be assured by the faith of the "people." However, what faith is this slogan referring to? For those living in China, this "faith" refers to the policies pushed forward by the current regime. Not always popular reforms marking the transition from the centrally planned to the market economy "reinstalled" the class division (Goodman, 2013), and left many citizens economically and socially behind. This faith in the right direction of the socio-economic changes is presented as necessary for the happiness and success

of the entire nation and the country. Even the one left behind, struggling with day to day survival citizen should recognise the utmost importance of such endeavour.

Another slogan, which has been around for decades and still is visible in many parts of the country. *Mei you gongchangdang, mei you xin zhongguo* (没有共产党，没有新中国*), without Communist Party, there would not be/is no new China,* is interesting for at least two reasons. First of all, it emphasises the value of this "New China," that in Mainland is equal with PRC, the state established by Mao Zedong. "New China," a term widely used since then, means the state of equal rights and opportunities when the exploitation of one class by another has been/will be eradicated. PRC is then this "New China," the promised land of equality and happiness. The second interesting feature comes from the enigmatic character of Chinese grammar in which the tenses are not very distinct. The second part of the slogan can be then translated as "there would not be" or as "there is no new China." As the first translation praises CCP's contribution to establishing this "promised land of Chinese people," the second bears a strong political message. Although indirectly, it states that without CCP the New China, to remind so much desired by everyone, is impossible to exist. In other words, the leadership of CCP is unreplaceable, and any move towards such a replacement would endanger the entire project.

Due to the limited scope of this paper, the transcripts from the discussion regarding the importance of Chinese nation, identity, patriotism and China in general recorded cannot be fully presented here. It is worth a notice though that if the "officials" are often subjects of criticism from the common citizens, the historical role of a great Chinese nation is almost never questioned or denied. Quite to the contrary, Chinese across classes, genders and different age groups are almost unanimously proud of their Chineseness, cherish Chinese values and believe that China and Chinese nation should play a greater role in the future history of the world. It does not mean, that common Chinese is aware of the nature of Chinese values or knows the history. It does not also mean that often ostensive demonstration of class differences and despise for the compatriots of lower status is inexistent. It is not also the case that Chinese is not keen on obtaining foreign passports. Quite to the contrary. Many Chinese know very little about "Confucian values." Chinese also love to display their social status and are not shy to let everyone around feel their superior position. Finally, Chinese are more than keen to become citizens of a foreign country. However, all this does not prevent them from "being proud of being Chinese." It leads us to the conclusion that this appraisal of Chinese is a result of an unwritten agreement with authorities and peers and it does not stem only from the official discourse.

Discussion

From the message displayed in places of public utility, we can learn quite a few things about the aims and objectives of authorities. First of all, it becomes apparent that the appeal to the "traditional" culture is a vital element of the current regime's socio-political agenda. The appraisal of Confucian values such as family and social harmony stays very much apart from the basic principles of communism. Except for remains of old murals, often remembering the times of Cultural Revolution and barely

readable, we could not find any examples of call for the class-struggle, overthrowing bourgeoisie elites or call for social and economic equality. Instead, the emphasis on harmonious (hierarchical) family and harmonious (economically unequal) society is overwhelming. Moreover, the love of the country and the nation, the concern of the future and international recognition are also leading themes to be pushed forward by the authorities. At the same time, the leading role of CCP is being emphasised. CCP is then presented as a guard of the interests of the masses, the only guarantor of socio-political stability. Moreover, CCP and the government is praised as the only power struggling for the honour and international recognition of the "Great Chinese nation" (Gries, 1996). Any sign of counter-arguments can be barely, if at all, found. It is mainly due to the fact that authorities design and control the physical aspect of the public space. However, authorities also do grant citizens the certain level of freedom in the way the use public space. It makes places *renao*. The audience then becomes bigger and the peer pressure overwhelming.

The citizens on their behalf, remain self-restrained and respect the boundaries in exchange for the freedom to perform the activities that make place *renao* that on its behalf satisfies they need of affiliation. Intentionally or not, citizens by physical presence in the places of public utility do consume, digest and reproduce the message from the authorities. Even they do not always find it plausible and convincing; they seem to be quite cosy with most of the ideas presented to them. In result, both parties attain their goals. Authorities spread their message through which they legitimise their right to rule and control the public space by drawing the boundaries for citizens' activities. Citizens on their behalf, through at least verbal and superficial acceptance of such arrangements, are granted considerable level of freedom to use the public space the way it suits their needs (entertainment, socialising, commercial activity). Moreover, the content of the message that is no more an appeal to the class-struggle, but directs citizens' attention to the "greatness of Chinese Nation" provides a sense of belonging and psychological comfort (Ho, 2014). Of course, the whole process is an ongoing "negotiation" and a result of an un-vocalised compromise between two parties. Looking at the content of the internet discussions, still largely dominated by the official discourse reproduced by the authorities and the citizens alike, the different voices can be heard. They might be difficult to identify, especially for ones unfamiliar with the modes of Chinese communication that are very much fond of indirect speech, using euphemisms, quotations from the literature and applying numerous nicknames (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2012). The authorities, on the one hand, draw the bottom line of the acceptable criticism, on another take over the anti-establishment discourse by informing almost every day about another high-rank state or party official being investigated for "corruption and other crimes." Authorities then apply the well-tested strategy of controlling the discourse and the criticism directed towards themselves. Especially since current leader assumed the post and the anti-corruption campaign became a vivid element of his political agenda, the anti-establishment, voiced as "anti-corruption," discourse has been incorporated into a state-sponsored propaganda. Similarly, the authorities leave some room for the unhappy voices, designing and controlling the shape and the size of it. The citizens intentionally or not reproduce the official discourse procured by the authorities and make it the integral part of their political and socio-cultural perception.

Conclusion

Contemporary Western inquiry into the nature of public space in China focuses much more on the specific exemplification of the public space than on the utilisation of commonly accessible places for a specific political and cultural purposes. The structure of shopping moles, public parks, and the social dynamics of these places have become the object of numerous studies and reporting (Jewell, 2016; J.P. Sniadecki, 2012; 2015). With some notable exceptions (Pan, 2011), most of them pay more attention to the activities performed by the attendees and discursive interrelation between the physical setup and these activities, than to the way the public space is being used for the political purposes. What I tried to do in above verses, was to pay some attention to the message transmitted through arrangements of the public space and with the specific instalments that are being deployed. We then investigated the content and sources of the message, the rationale behind particular instances and the intended aim/purpose. The importance of such an analysis lays in the fact that, through ages, politicians, educators and religious leaders use all the possible channels of communication to propagate their doctrines and ideologies. Through the analysis of the relation between the message itself and the mode of its presentation, not only the addressee of the message can be identified, but also the motivation behind the specific instances can be revealed. Political elites in contemporary China, employing *renao* places of public utility, through semantically simple message try, on the one hand, spread the official cultural and national discourse. On another, they try to provide socio-psychological comfort to prevent masses from focusing on the ideological and practical contradictions of the system. Citizens, on their behalf, prefer not to go openly against the official discourse, finding it often quite appealing and in a way being in line with their necessity of higher self-esteem. In other words, psychological comfort of "gaining face" prevails over freedom of (anti-government) speech, and the authorities do not hesitate to utilise this socio-psychological need for their agenda.

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A Study of User Behavioral Intention to Use LINE's Ugly E-Stickers Based on Technology Acceptance Mode

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Abstract
As development of technology and popularity of mobile device in recent years the way of communication between people has been a great change, in which the demand for mobile communication applications have gradually increased. Among the many social communication applications in Taiwan, LINE is the most frequently used communication application. In addition to convenience and easy to use, LINE has varied and interesting e-stickers which allow users to pass messages with more fun. Recently, the trend for "ugly e-stickers" emerged in the Line network. These ugly e-stickers feature simple lines and graffiti-like art styles and thereby exhibit an unrefined, childlike appearance. Thus, these e-stickers achieve ugliness from the conventional visual perspective and subvert the general impression that e-stickers should be designed and applied through artistic foundations. Moreover, with jokes and fun slang embedded within them, these ugly e-stickers have attracted people's interests, comments, and attention. Today, ugly e-stickers are prominently featured in the official list of hot e-stickers in Line. However, the phenomenon of popularity of ugly e-stickers has not been studied, the study therefore applying Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) to explore the behavioral intention to use ugly e-stickers.

Keywords: LINE, ugly e-sticker, technology acceptance model (TAM)

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Introduction

Over recent years, the percentage of people using communication software via a mobile device has been increasing. According to the statistics in a survey, Taiwan was ranked first worldwide in terms of the average daily hours of going online via a smart phone. On top of it, the use of communication software featuring socializing was most prevalent when people were online (United Daily News Focus, 2016). In the first half of 2014 in Taiwan, five out of the top 10 popular mobile apps were designed for socializing and they were LINE, Facebook, Facebook Message, WhatsApp and WeChat. Among them, LINE was the app most frequently used for socializing, ranking No. 1 at a usage rate of 66% (Institute for Information Industry, 2014). Even today, the number of LINE users remains high. Its stickers are ubiquitously accepted by users. This shows that E-stickers have become an indispensable element for people while using communication software.

However, the recent use of "ugly" stickers has triggered another fad both on LINE and the Internet. This fad resulted from a bet between a sticker creator and his friend who didn't think that such ugly stickers could be approved by LINE (see Figure 1). To their surprise, LINE agreed to release those stickers to the market so the creator's friend had to buy the stickers and gave them away via an online announcement. This event also caused strong feedback from Internet users. From then on, users started paying attention to ugly stickers with a similar style (Hanrock, 2016). The creators of "ugly stickers" use simple lines close to children's graffiti to present a childlike style without complicated arrangements. Though these stickers are not good-looking works and even considered ugly, their "bad-looking" style has drawn users' attention and infused social communications with a bit more fun. Until now, ugly stickers have accidentally become popular among users. In LINE's official rankings of popular stickers, this type of ugly stickers is apparently gaining higher visibility.

The massive exposure of these ugly stickers within a short period of time can be attributed to the text's being entertaining and useful in addition to the interesting drawing style. The use of stickers is often affected by the factors such as background, functionality, entertainment and perceived values. However, ugly stickers, being different from other types of stickers, are preferred by the public mainly because of their usefulness and functionality rather than aesthetic standards. This study aims at exploring the popular phenomenon of ugly stickers and user intentions to use these ugly stickers. In this study, the Technology Acceptance Model proposed by Davis (Davis, Bagozzi, & Warshaw, 1989) serves as the basis to conduct a survey via an online questionnaire. Then, SPSS is applied for making a quantitative analysis. This study aims at analyzing why there is such a phenomenon and what are the motivations behind the use of ugly stickers. The results obtained from this study will be able to bring up some suggestions for creators or designers in designing e-stickers or other items in the future. The findings can also serve as a reference for future industrial marketing and research.

Literature Review

Phenomenon of Line's Ugly E-Stickers

According to the annual sticker rankings released by LINE in 2015, 15% of its users expressed a particular preference for "interesting/funny" stickers. These "unique/ugly" stickers helped enhance the intimacy between friends while chatting or interacting with each other (Chung, 2016). Among these ugly stickers, many were designed by using simple lines which are similar to children's graffiti. They don't have complicated designs but simple images with a childlike style. These ugly stickers have flipped over the public's stereotype that "one should have basic drawing skills to file an application for releasing his/her stickers online". At first, many users expressed their doubts on how come such stickers qualified to be released to the market. What were the aesthetic standards of sticker buyers? Afterwards, some people said that they liked these childish and graffiti-like stickers because they featured useful online catchphrases and simplicity and were entertainingly ugly.
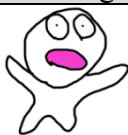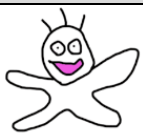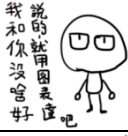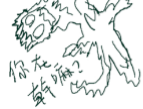
In April 2015, a set of stickers named "Invisible Person" were posted and widely discussed on PTT, a big Bulletin Board System (BBS) in Taiwan. The main issue being discussed was that "why would it be possible to release such lousy stickers to the market?" or "they're drawn by a kid" or "even I can draw something better", etc. As the discussions were carried on, different voice like "maybe they're really drawn by a kid, why mocking?" or "I think they're cute", etc. These discussions later drew the public's attention and the stickers were once ranked among the top 16 LINE stickers. During the same year in July, the creator URA accepted an interview by LINE and expressed that almost no one bought the stickers during the first three weeks and he never expected that his works would become an overnight sensation in Taiwan (Tt. Mei Gen, 2016). Another story was about the stickers named "Foggy Ghost". They became popular because of two friends betting on a set of ugly stickers being believed no chance to pass LINE's official reviews. The creator's friend said that she would buy 20 sets of the stickers and give them away if the stickers got LINE's approval. As a result, the stickers passed the reviews and became quite popular. The interesting betting process also triggered a hot debate among Internet users (see Figure 1 below). The discussions over the stickers in terms of aesthetics aroused Internet users' strong feedback and thus caused users' interests. Consequently, similar ugly stickers then became a part of the discussions (hanrock, 2016).

Figure 1: LINE screenshots showing the betting process between the creator of "Foggy Ghost" and the friend

Why are ugly stickers attractive enough to stimulate Taiwanese users' intentions to buy? This may be related to the national conditions in Taiwan. The surveys made by LINE found that sticker purchases illustrated various preferences due to different national conditions. For example, Taiwanese like funny and humorous figures while Japanese prefer white and round figures. Thai people favor 2D female characters. Indonesians prefer stickers in European and American styles. Funny and humorous stickers have been the first choice by Taiwanese (LINE, 2016). Therefore, the surveys by LINE revealed that Taiwanese liked KUSO stickers with underlying meanings. The above may be the explanation for Taiwanese' overnight sensation to the "Invisible Person" designed by the Japanese creator URA. Since ugly stickers drew the public's attention, more and more stickers of this type have been released to the market. Among the rankings of LINE stickers, there were "White Stuff" series, "I have nothing to say to you" series and the "Foggy Ghost" which finally made it onto LINE's official fans page (See Table 1 below). However, the above sticker series contain Chinese characters, most of them are catchphrases, which is the biggest difference from "Invisible Person". This explains that ugly stickers not only feature childish drawings but also useful catchphrases to present a sense of humor. Today, "ugly" works enjoy excellent sales. Meanwhile, everyone has a chance to become a LINE sticker creator regardless of being a professional illustrators or an ordinary person.

Table 1: Ugly Stickers on LINE Rankings

Sticker Title	Creator	Representative Sticker Drawing	Sticker Drawings
Invisible Person	URA		
White Stuff G3	Kimi Bro		
I have nothing to say to you!	sboypeorth		
Foggy Ghost	Lance Yang		

Source: compiled by the author

Technology Acceptance Model

In 1986, Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) was extended by Davis based on the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA). TAM has been modified and proved to be a research model which is applicable to explaining user acceptance process of information technology systems (Davis, 1986). In this model, "perceived usefulness" and "perceived ease of use" are considered to be two essential factors affecting user intentions. Later, Davis et al. proposed a modification on this model in 1989 (see Figure 2). External variables were introduced into the new model. It was thought that external variables could affect internal variables (perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use) reflected from users (Davis et al., 1989). TAM has been considered a complete model for years and adopted to study user acceptance of new technologies. Since then, it has been widely applied to many fields such as social media, E-commerce, software applications, system quality and so on (Lorenzo-Romero et al., 2014; Pavlou, 2003; Zhang et al., 2008).
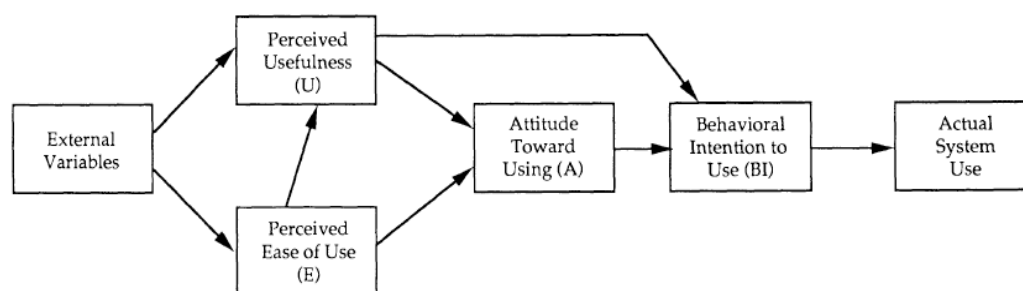
Figure 2: Technology Acceptance Model Davies (1989)

As time progresses, the external variables affecting user behavioral intention may become diverse. Accordingly, Venkatesh and Davis developed a new technology acceptance model (TAM2) in 2000. This model explained that two variables including "social influence processes" and "cognitive instrumental processes" would create effects on perceived usefulness. Social Influence Processes contained several constructs such as subjective norm, voluntariness, image and experience (Venkatesh & Davis, 2000). "Social influence" was an important factor dominating human behavior and decision-making. Meanwhile, TAM2 proved that "subjective norm" under social influence caused effect on "user intention" at a significant level. In general, people often respond to social norm by establishing or maintaining a good image in a group. Venkatesh and Davis (2000) found that subjective norm could create a more significant effect when there were restrictive conditions. Being limited by subjective norm, to a certain degree, effects on user behavioral intention would be seen when new things or systems were introduced. In recent years, TAM has been applied in a great number of studies to explore the phenomena concerning communication software – LINE (Battarbee & Koskinen, 2005; Narkwilai, Funilkul, & Supasitthimethee, 2015; Lin, 2016; Chung, 2016). Based on the above facts, this model has been widely recognized for verifying user acceptance of new technologies.

Research Methodology

Research Framework and Hypotheses

This study applies Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) proposed by Davis (1989) as the fundamental theoretical framework. This model consists of six major constructs including external variables, perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use, attitude toward using, behavioral intention to use and actual system use (see Figure 3 below). Based on TAM, researchers are able to introduce external variables into the model by considering research background and needs in order to achieve better predictions and analyses. By referring to the above mentioned constructs and combining them with the "subjective norm" under social influence as one of the external variables (Venkatesh & Davis, 2000), it is expected that the extension of TAM with external variables can establish better ground to explore the mindset and motivation of using ugly stickers. Furthermore, the study aims at finding out the effects of LINE ugly stickers on users. Next, the following hypotheses are proposed to present the correlations between the variables based on the above mentioned research framework:

H1: "Subjective norm" in relating to LINE ugly stickers creates positive effect on users' "perceived usefulness" at a significant level.
H2: "Subjective norm" on LINE ugly stickers creates positive effect on users' "perceived ease of use" at a significant level.
H3: "Perceived usefulness" of LINE ugly stickers creates positive effect on users' "attitude toward using" at a significant level.
H4: "Perceived ease of use" of LINE ugly stickers creates positive effect on users' "attitude toward using" at a significant level.
H5: "Attitude toward using" LINE ugly stickers creates positive effect on users' "behavioral intention" at a significant level.
H6: "Behavioral Intention to use" LINE ugly stickers creates positive effect on "actual usage" at a significant level.
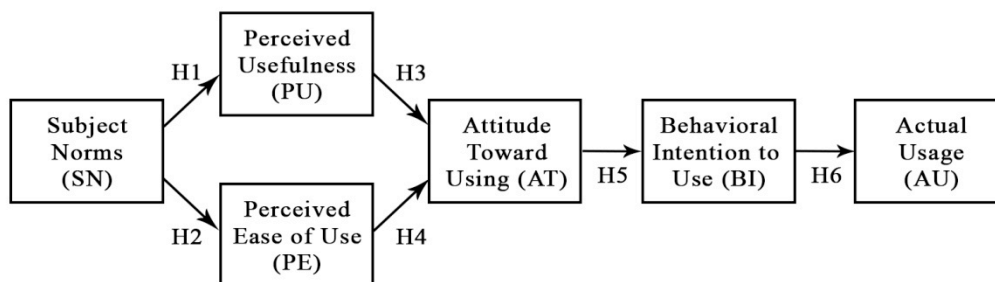
Figure 3: Research Model Hypotheses

Questionnaire Design

The users who have had user experience in LINE communication software and its ugly stickers were covered in this study. Data is collected by way of convenience sampling via an online questionnaire. Regarding the design of the questionnaire, Likert 5-point scale was adopted as a measurement for each item. The content of the questionnaire contains two major sections. The first section is designed to collect the information on demographics and user behavior. The items aim at surveying respondents' age, gender, personality traits, past experience in using LINE, number of LINE friends, frequency of use, and use of LINE ugly stickers. The collected data is used to classify the characteristics of LINE sticker user groups. The second section is designed to explore the motivations and intentions of LINE sticker users. The six dimensions constructing the research framework are applied by the author to operationalize and define the variables. Modifications are further made to fulfill the needs of this study in order to clarify user acceptance of LINE ugly stickers. The reliability of the questionnaire is estimated based on the coefficient Cronbach's α. In the test, Cronbach's α varying between 0.7 and 0.9 stands for satisfied reliability (Nunnally, 1978). In this study, the reliability denoted by Cronbach's α of each of the six constructs is greater than 0.7, which proves satisfactory internal consistency of the items corresponding to related constructs.

Data Analysis

Basic Descriptive Data Analysis

The questionnaire was sent to LINE ugly sticker users. As many as 120 copies of the questionnaire were collected with a total of 111 valid ones. With respect to demographic variables, females accounted for 66.7% while male 33.3%. Respondents aged between 20 and 30 accounted for 55.9%, followed by 20 for 36%. The above figures explain that LINE ugly stickers users were mainly young people. As to personality traits, introverts accounted for 50.5%, almost equal to 49.5% identifying themselves as extroverts. Regarding user experience, 21.6% pointed out that they had used LINE for 1~2 years followed by 18% 3~4 years, 17.1% less than 0.5 year, 15.3% 0.5~1 year, 15.3% 2~3 years and few more than 5 years. Most LINE users (57.7%) had more than 91 LINE friends. 42.3% of LINE users spent more than 1~3 hours on LINE. As high as 27% of LINE users bought stickers every half a year and 25.2% every three months.

On the other hand, 22.5% of LINE users rarely bought stickers. As to the remaining respondents, 12.6% bought stickers every year and 12.6% every month (See Table 2).

Table 2: Analysis of Demographics of Respondents

Item	Choices	No. of people	%
Gender	Male	74	66.7
	Female	37	33.3
Age	Below 20	40	36.0
	21~30	62	55.9
	31~40	8	7.2
	41~50	1	0.9
Personality trait	Extravert	55	49.5
	Introvert	56	50.5
Length of use (seniority)	< 0.5	19	17.1
	0.5~1 year	17	15.3
	1~2 years	24	21.6
	2~3 years	17	15.3
	3~4 years	20	18.0
	5 years and more	14	12.6
No. of LINE friends	1~10	4	3.6
	11~30	16	14.4
	31~50	4	3.6
	51~70	12	10.8
	71~90	11	9.9
	91 & more	64	57.7
Average daily time of using LINE	< 1 hr	18	16.2
	1~3 hrs	47	42.3
	3~5 hrs	25	22.5
	> 5 hrs	21	18.9
Frequency of Buying LINE stickers	0	25	22.5
	Every year	14	12.6
	Every half a year	30	27.0
	Every 3 months	28	25.2
	Every month	14	12.6

The averages deriving from the six TAM constructs are compared versus respondents' demographic characteristics and ANOVA was carried out accordingly (see Table 3). By observing the averages of the six TAM constructs, perceived ease of use (PE) gained the highest average while social norm (SM) the lowest. In terms of age and frequency of buying, users aged below 20 showed a higher average in each of the six TAM constructs. This explains that ugly stickers were more popular or used among young people. Meanwhile, LINE users who showed a higher frequency of buying ugly stickers consistently gained a higher score in each of the six TAM constructs. It can be speculated that these users held a more positive attitude and inclined towards using ugly stickers. The findings obtained via ANOVA revealed significant differences between actual usage and frequency of buying.

This pointed out that the users who bought ugly stickers more frequently were more likely to use ugly stickers (gender and frequency of buying affected TAM more).

Table 3: ANOVA by Demographics and TAM Variables

Characteristics	Category	SN	PU	PE	AT	BI	AU
	All respondents	3.59	4.01	4.25	4.11	4.02	3.70
Gender	Male	3.62	3.98	4.18	4.09	4.12	3.74
	Female	3.60	4.03	4.29	4.14	4.08	3.72
Age	< 20	3.74	4.18	4.40	4.25	4.15	3.86
	> 20	3.53	3.92	4.18	4.05	4.07	3.65
Personality trait	Extrovert	3.64	3.98	4.23	4.15	4.10	3.81
	Introvert	3.57	4.04	4.29	4.09	4.09	3.64
User age	< 1 year	3.59	3.92	4.27	4.03	4.01	3.68
	> 1 year	3.61	4.06	4.25	4.17	4.14	3.75
No. of LINE friends	< 91	3.67	4.04	4.17	4.11	4.04	3.59
	> 91	3.56	4.00	4.32	4.14	4.14	3.83
Daily time of use	< 1 hr	3.68	4.03	4.19	4.15	3.98	3.52
	> 1 hr	3.59	4.01	4.27	4.12	4.12	3.77
Frequency of buying LINE stickers	Less than 0.5 yr (seldom buy)	3.50	3.93	4.20	3.96	3.91	3.35**
	More than 0.5 yr (often buy)	3.66	4.06	4.29	4.21	4.20	3.93**

**$p < 0.01$

Correlation and Regression Analysis

For avoiding multi-collinearity, Pearson correlation coefficient analysis was conducted before making a regression analysis for discussing causes and effects. Then, the results will be used to verify the hypotheses. In addition, Pearson Correlation coefficient which is greater than 0.7 stands for high correlation, 0.4~0.7 for medium correlation, and smaller than 0.4 for low correlation. Pearson correlation coefficient analysis was shown below in Table 4, in which medium or high positive correlations were shown between the six TAM constructs. However, attention should be paid to multi-collinearity when there is a high correlation. Variance inflation factor (VIF) was applied as a basis to examine multi-collinearity. According to Chatterjee & Price (1991), VIF greater than 10 denotes multi-collinearity exists between variables (Chatterjee & Price, 1991). The findings obtained from the VIF tests showed that VIF did not exceed the standard so no multi-collinearity existed.

Table 4: Correlation Analysis

	SN	PU	PE	AT	BI	AU
SN						
PU	.732**					
PE	.683**	.837**				
AT	.779**	.793**	.768**			
BI	.738**	.823**	.781**	.894**		
AU	.741**	.709**	.696**	.769**	.846**	

**p.< 0.01 (two-tail)

For exploring the correlations and effect levels among the variables, perceived usefulness (PE), perceived ease of use (PE), attitude toward using (AT), behavioral intention to use (BI) and actual usage (AU) were introduced as dependent variables in order to check if the corresponding independent variables created significant effects on and make contributions to these dependent variables. The analysis for obtaining five regression lines was made accordingly as shown in Table 5. The regression analysis was applied to explain the hypotheses in this study. It is found that Hypotheses 1 to 6 were highly explainable and presented positive correlations. The result obtained when BI was considered as a dependent variable in the model showed that $\triangle R2$ value increased to 0.83, the highest in comparison with others, when AT was introduced into the regression analysis. This indicates that users' attitude toward using (AT) created significant effects on behavioral intention to use (BI). The above result proved that this model was more explainable and predicable. The regression analysis on the dependent variable AU presented that BI was highly explainable and could create significant effect with β value at 0.74.

By referring to the Table, the effect of subjective norm (SN) can be observed. If we compare the effect of SN on both PU and PE, it is found that SN could explain PU better. Meanwhile, SN also creates effect on both AT and AU at a significant level. Based on the regression analysis with AT as a dependent variable, SN has a higher β value at 0.38 and a higher level of significance. In addition, SN's β value is 0.29 based on the regression analysis with AU as a dependent variable. The findings shown in Table 5 reveal that subjective norm acted as an important factor in the TAM, which not only initially affected perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use but also attitude toward using and ultimately the final actual usage.

Table 5: Model Regression Analysis

Independent variable	Dependent variable				
	PU	PE	AT	BI	AU
SN	0.73^{***}	0.68^{***}	0.38^{***}	0.01	0.29^{***}
PU			0.29^{**}	0.25^{**}	-0.10
PE			0.25^{**}	0.08	0.08
AT				0.61^{***}	-0.11
BI					0.74^{***}
△R2	0.53	0.46	0.72	0.83	0.73
F	125.74^{***}	95.28^{***}	97.93^{***}	135.74^{***}	62.88^{***}

$**P < 0.01$ $***P < 0.001$.   The variable value in the Table is β.

Conclusions and Suggestions

The usage rate of LINE has been remaining high. In particular, LINE stickers are preferred by users. Furthermore, LINE ugly stickers recently emerging have become widely accepted within a very short period of time. Therefore, this study is designed to discuss the above said phenomenon and reasons why LINE users love using ugly stickers. Literature review has discovered that the national conditions in Taiwan laid the ground for Taiwanese users in favor of kuso and humorous stickers. This study adopted the technology acceptance model to explore why LINE ugly stickers have been quite popular and the users' intention to use them.   The findings reveal that ugly sticker users featuring "age below 20" and "higher frequency of buying stickers" are more easily acceptable to ugly stickers. This shows that ugly stickers are more popular among young generations and those who are frequent sticker users. The results of the study also demonstrate that actual usage is significantly correlated with the frequency of buying. Users who bought ugly stickers more frequently indeed used them too.

Apart from the above, the study also finds that users' attitude can most affect behavioral intention to use followed by perceived usefulness. This result translates that users pay more attention to perceived value and functionality of stickers when they are using ugly ones.   This means that users intend to use stickers when they consider those stickers being valuable and functional regardless of their being ugly or beautiful. The results of this study verify the same. Besides, subjective norm creates effects on perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use and attitude toward using at a significant level. That is, other people's comments on ugly stickers and the popularity of ugly stickers would affect users' intention to use ugly stickers.   In other words, subjective norm has become another important factor affecting users' motivation apart from perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use. Others' opinions and level of acceptance have deeply rooted in users and further affect their intention to use.

In this study, people's motivations of using ugly stickers were discussed. While "subjective norm" has been verified to be effective on "user motivation", it is yet to be explored whether other social norms affect user motivations or not. It is suggested

that researchers focusing on social media could discuss the effects of external social factors on user motivations or the relationships between human beings and the society in future studies. Subjective norm may play an important role affecting social behavior on communication software and social media. Therefore, the author would like to release the results of the study as a reference so that the researchers focusing on other related academic fields are able to make in-depth discussion on the phenomenon in this regard. Some improvements can be made on this type of study. For example, future researchers can refer to more information on related theories in order to compare the definitions and results obtained in this study with those being brought up in other studies. By doing so, the operationalized definitions of the theoretical model constructs shall be more precise and the items covered in a questionnaire can be more explicitly designed. Then the respondents will be able to answer the questions with better intuition. In addition, the sampling of respondents can be expanded by considering age, personality traits, experience of use, etc. in order to enrich and diverse the data collected. It is also suggested that a total of more than 200 copies of valid questionnaires are required in order to obtain analytical results with higher accuracy and achieve a more comprehensive research.

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Perceptions of the Pre-Service Teachers on Multi-Cultural Education

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Abstract

Multicultural education was created to provide educators with a platform for working with such diverse school populations and achieving justice within societies marked by inequalities based on language, gender, socioeconomic status, or religion (Banks, 2004; Alanay & Aydin, 2016); democracy (Ozen, 2016); respect and togetherness (Salgur, 2015); and equality (King, 2004). This concept is relevant considering that most pre-service teachers are well-equipped with the principles and techniques of teaching but unaware that the classroom is comprised of students representing different cultures. Understanding the various cultures of the students is vital because it can spur and boost the personal development and the progress of students' academic success (Salgur, 2015). Hence, this paper focuses on the perceptions of pre-service teachers about multicultural education. The participants of this study were the teacher education students of Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology. They were randomly selected and answered a semi-structured questionnaire. The findings revealed that pre-service teachers believed that showing fairness and equality to students who come from various cultural orientations, and understanding or respecting their beliefs are means in which teachers meet the diverse needs of an increasingly multicultural student population. Secondly, they believed that multicultural education has a great role in achieving peace, unity and equality in the society. To achieve this, they believed that improvement in the curriculum is necessary to provide a different perspective in education. The study concludes that the pre-service teachers demonstrate understanding on the importance of multicultural approaches in education.

Keywords: Curriculum, Multi-Cultural Education, Pre-Service Teacher Education

Introduction

The Philippines is composed of many island groups inhabited by people of diverse ethnic or racial backgrounds. Some examples are the Igorots from the Benguet, the Yakans of Basilan Island, the Mangyans from Mindoro and many others. Moreover, the intermingling of native elements with foreign influences produced a mixed culture. The country has approximately 15 million indigenous people who are the so-called agents of cultural identity (SEAMEO-INNOTECH, 2016).

In particular, Iligan City which is located in the northern part of Mindanao is a home of the tri-people: Christian, Lumad (Higa-onon) and Maranao (Iligan Today, 2016). Children from these various cultural groups influence the school system in the locality as well as the dynamics in the classroom (Alismail, 2016). This implies that teaching profession becomes more and more challenging. Teachers especially novice ones must be adept in terms of the knowledge of content area, learning environment, and nature of the learners including their diverse cultural backgrounds.

Such concerns are what pre-service teachers should also look into while taking education courses and training. On the contrary, most pre-service teachers are well-equipped with the principles and techniques of teaching but unaware that the classroom is comprised of learners representing different cultures. They enter teacher education programs with preconceptions about teaching based on their personal experiences, values, and practices of the dominant culture. Others even expressed resistance to cultural diversity (Rose & Potts, 2011; Spader, 2015). As a result, teachers – including pre-service teachers – must understand how racial, ethnic, and religious differences impact the child's school experiences, life (family and personal) experiences, and the school system as an organization (King, 2014).

For this reason, researchers have suggested that there is a general need to prepare pre-service teachers for teaching a culturally diverse population of students (Chicola, 2007; Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Spader, 2015). Hence, this paper aimed to explore the perceptions of pre-service teachers about multicultural education. This can also provide insights about how prepared they are to handle classrooms with culturally diverse learners.

Multicultural education was created to provide educators with a platform for working with diverse school populations and achieving justice within societies marked by inequalities based on language, gender, socioeconomic status, or religion (Alismail, 2016; Banks, 2004). A multicultural educator can spur and boost the personal development and the progress of students' academic success. Since teacher's competences are directly proportional with students' achievements, Salgur (2015) believes that a teacher who possesses the multicultural component can use knowledge and skills by organizing his/her teaching environment in order to communicate with students coming from different cultures.

Since the current study focused on investigating the awareness of pre-service teachers about multicultural education, it sought to answer the following questions:

(a) How can teachers meet the diverse needs of an increasingly multicultural student population?

(b) Discuss the role of multicultural education in the transformation of society.

This study is anchored on the following theories: Social Cognitive Theory, Socialization, and Multiculturalism.

Albert Bandura's Social Cognitve Learning Theory provides a framework for understanding, predicting and changing human behavior (Green & Peil, 2009). Bandura argues that individuals learn both behaviors and cognitive strategies by observing the behavior of others, and these acquisitions can be learned without being directly reinforced. Social cognitive learning theory attempts to explain socialization broadly, including processes whereby individuals acquire their society's norms of thought and action. Within this broad agenda, he attempts to explain four types of learning effects.

The four features for phenomena on SCLT are as follow: (1) Observational Learning Effect refers to acquiring new behavior from model; (2) Response Facilitation Effect pertains to the increased frequency of learned behavior after model is reinforced for same behavior; (3) Response Inhibition Effect is the decreased frequency of learned behavior after observing punished model; and, (4) Response Disinhibition Effect is described as the return of inhibited response after observing model behave that adverse consequences.

Secondly, Socialization is influenced by the structural positions of children and by the cultural patterns related to various positions. It is a lifelong process in which individuals, through interactions with one another and social institutions learn the norms, customs, and ideologies deemed important within a particular social context (Clausen, 1968; Billingham, 2007; Richards, 2015).

Some texts emphasize that the primary function of socialization is the acquisition and internalization of shared morals and common normative patterns. "Primary socialization occurs during childhood and is when a child learns the attitudes, values and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture. The basic socialization agent moulding the child is the family. On the other hand, Secondary socialization came later and was related to agents as significant others, educational institutions and the media; others argue that peers are at the core of primary socialization since they are at the centre of children's development of self understanding and identity (see, e.g., Harris 1998). For most children the teacher will be a secondary socializing agent, but for some the teacher may have primary functions, which illustrates that the borders between primary and secondary socialization are blurred (Socialization in Sociological Perspectives, 2000).

Lastly, multiculturalism is a systematic and comprehensive response to cultural and ethnic diversity, with educational, linguistic, economic and social components and specific institutional mechanisms. Multiculturalism as one model of democratic policy

response to culture and ethnic diversity is of interest to UNESCO, in so far as it corresponds to the ideal of a culture of peace, based on respect of diversity, as well as universally shared values and norms (Vega et. al., 2006).

Multiculturalism does not contain only elements pertaining to culture but it also includes elements referring to different religions and different identities. Multiculturalism takes into consideration race, ethnic structure, language, gender, age, disability, social class, education, religious orientation and dimensions of other cultures (Salgur, 2015).

According to Alismail (2016), multicultural perspectives should prepare teachers to critically reflect on the power and privileges of dominant culture, their own place within these systems, and to deconstruct them to create social equality through teaching practice. Jenks et al. (2001) identified three theoretical frameworks of multicultural education in teacher education: conservative, critical, and liberal multiculturalism.

In the conservative multiculturalism framework, marginalized groups are expected to assimilate into the mainstream culture (Gorski, 2006); their voices and perspectives are neither accepted nor appreciated (Kanpol, 1994). Conservative multiculturalists see themselves as committed to equality, but that equality comes from assimilation to the ''mainstream culture and its attending values, mores, and norms''.

Critical multiculturalists directly challenge conservative multiculturalism. For instance, they claim teachers and students must not assume that because there are laws to promote justice and democracy that justice and democracy exist. Teachers and students should explore social inequalities and critically examine what is meant by democracy and how to achieve it. To do this, teachers must stop working towards "building a common culture" and begin teaching the value of multiple identities and multiple perspectives (McLaren, 1999).

Liberal multiculturalism is based on a human relations approach that recognizes cultural diversity and pluralism, and accepts and celebrates difference (Grant & Sleeter, 2006). Liberal multiculturalists argue that our primary goal ought to be the creation of conditions for equal opportunity by recognizing and valuing diversity. However, while liberal multiculturalists support diversity programs that encourage an appreciation of difference, McLaren (1994) says they do so in a manner that ignores the ways that difference plays into inequality.

Critical multiculturalists challenge liberal multiculturalism by emphasizing that underlying diversity are inequalities in power, control, and access. Liberal multiculturalism celebrates democracy but is not transformative because it does not address barriers to equality. Critical multiculturalism questions the fabric of our educational system, from both critical and social justice viewpoints, including anti-racist practices in the classroom (McLaren, 1994).

Based on the data gathered the present study would benefit the following:
Pre-service teachers. The results they would increase their awareness about the diversity of pupils attending the class. So, they would consider several opportunities

to learn about effective techniques and skills in teaching multi-cultural classrooms while they are enrolling in teacher education programs.

In-service teachers. The findings would provide them wider understanding about learners coming from different cultural contexts which influence the learning environment of the classroom. Thus, teachers would provide them learning experiences which address cultural differences and issues.
Teacher Program Coordinators. The outcome of this study would give them information about how important trainings and experiences on multicultural education to teacher education students or pre-service teachers in preparation for teaching profession. Therefore, program coordinators should see to it that curriculum programs are implemented well especially on multicultural education and suggest recommendations when necessary.

Literature Review

This section deals with the relevant concepts and principles related to multicultural education and teacher characteristics in multicultural environment.

On Multicultural Education

Multicultural Education is defined as being meaningful for different lives and different ideas, respectful as to otherness and envisaging ethnic groups for the purpose of individual development. Multicultural education encompasses a concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. It also implies that all students, regardless of their gender, social class, and ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school (Salgur, 2015; Banks, J.A., Mcgee Banks, C.A., (2010).

According to Hunter (1974) and Baptiste (1979), multicultural education is the construction of education based on pluralism in the context of the principles of equality, mutual respect, acceptance, understanding and ethical dependence to realize democratic ideals, to meet the needs of various groups that build the society, and to ensure social justice (Gay, 1994; Polat, 2009). Multicultural education seeks all students to have academic success and prepares all young people to become democratic citizens of a pluralist society (Gay, 2004; Mwonga, 2005; Özen, 2016).

Cultural differences in society also bring together new challenges in education. Dialogue and peace in societies depend on the training of individuals dealing with education. Individuals who respect each other and see the cultural differences as a fact of life can establish social peace. The democratic educational environment has been effectuated with the help of multicultural education. Thus, it ensures equality of opportunity in education and makes each student benefit from the opportunity education. While transformation and process in education, multicultural education strains to change and configures the school's environment. Gay defines various purposes of multicultural education, as follows:

Developing ethnic and cultural literacy: in this way, students learn about their own and other's languages, cultural characteristics, critical events, significant individuals,

historical backgrounds, majority and minority ethnic groups. Thus students learn to respect the others and recognize their own identities.

Personal development: in this way, students are offered more opportunities to themselves. Students are provided "greater self-understanding, positive self-concepts and pride in one's ethnic identity". Students are motivated to work hard and succeed and can achieve academic success.

Attitudes and value clarification: students are encouraged to embrace and hold in high regard ethnic pluralism and diverse cultural milieus. Students will be taught to respect other people's attitudes and values. They will have to realize that cultural differences are not synonymous (mean the same thing) with deficiencies and inferiorities.

Multicultural social competence: another aim of multicultural education, students are stimulated to learn techniques of communication for interacting with people who are different from themselves. Students can develop their own academic and analytical skills in this way. Thus students are supported to adopt cross cultural communication, interpersonal relations, alternative points of view, and so on and so forth.

It also ensures the sharing and understanding of different values, customs, cultures, traditions, religions and faiths. In Multicultural Education politics, a democratic education is aimed at. Equal opportunities shall be granted to all the students, the goal being that each and every student with different cultural identity benefit from these equal opportunities (Salgur, 2015).

The expert in multicultural education, Banks (2004) has outlined the four stages that may be employed in the adaptation of school programs to multicultural education

1. The Contributional Approach: In this approach, themes that bring attention to the culture such as special days, activities and traditions pertaining to that culture, and important people, types of food and music that have formed an impression (on other cultures) may be expressed in a superficial way.

2. The Additional Approach: In this approach, the structure of the original program is not altered; however, certain content elements, concepts, themes and viewpoints may be added.

3. The Transformative Approach: In this approach, the structure of the program may be changed. Students are assisted in seeing concepts, topics, themes and problems from the points of view of other groups.

4. Social Action Approach: In this approach, students make decisions about social topics and develop actions to realize solutions (Alanay and Aydın, 2016; Vega, V. A., et.al., 2016).

On Teacher's Perceptions about Multicultural Education

The educator who perceives the terms and components of culture can better support the students who learn their own cultures. An equipped teacher who styles his / her own student's behavior and understands well enough the components of culture can

follow a path more patiently. Boldley mentions that culture styles the students' personal development and relations among people's opinions, behaviors, productions and values, assumptions, and perceptions in society. Also Boldley states that it is determined that culture can be affected by education and likewise education can be affected by cultural factors (Salgur, 2015)

Rose and Potts (2011) concluded that culture does matter in the classroom and recommended that teacher educators provide a framework for deconstructing the similarities and differences among individuals for teacher candidates. A culturally responsive pedagogy would help student teachers to become more socioculturally conscious, to distinguish between similarities and differences among individuals, and to understand that cultural identities do affect life circumstances.

Teacher modifications, such as the way teachers teach, assess, and facilitate learning in the classroom are the highlight of the equity pedagogy dimension. Lastly, the dimension labeled empowering school culture and social structure involves "restructuring the culture and organization of the school so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and gender groups will experience equality" (Banks, 2001).

According to Spader (2015), one of the reactions pre-service teachers had of the diverse learners was that they needed to adapt to the learning styles and ability levels of the students. That is why, aside from attaining knowledge about other cultures, teachers must learn how to design programs according to multicultural educational principles and learn know how to change the way students (think and behave) through adaptations in their style of lesson delivery (Gay, 2002; Alanay & Aydin, 2016)

However, Spader (2015) discovered that student teacher stereotyped the differences between the interaction styles of students at her assigned school but did not recognize how race could impact lifetime opportunities for certain individuals. In connection, Fueyo and Bechtol (1999; as cited by Alismail, 2016) found out that teachers who do not value bilingualism not only have lower expectations of linguistically diverse students in terms of achievement, but often discourage these students from using their primary language for academic purposes.

Methodology

The present study used a qualitative research design. The participants of this study were the pre-service teachers (or education students) who took up Social Dimensions of Education subject (in second semester 2016-2017) in which the topic multicultural education is introduced. The pre-service teachers were randomly selected (using stratified random sampling) obtaining 9 respondents who answered a semi-structured questionnaire. The responses were coded and analyzed thematically to easily understand the findings. After the analysis of the data, interview was conducted in order to validate the results of the study.

Results and Discussions

In this section, the results were analyzed and summarized through themes reflected from the data gathered.

Research Question 1: How can teachers meet the diverse needs of an increasingly multicultural student population?

- **Showing equality and fairness**

Respondents believed that *"Teachers can provide equal attention to students from different cultures and being fair."* They explained that *"without favoritism every pupil has equal chance and opportunity to develop skills they need to learn regardless of race or beliefs."*

This belief is in line with the concept of multicultural education. According to Spader (2015), the main premise of multicultural education is the idea that all children deserve an equitable learning environment that will prepare them for living in a culturally diverse society. Students have a right to an equal education can be a beneficial element and can be successful persons with their personal development within the society (Salgur, 2015). It is for this purpose that multicultural education was created to provide educators with a platform for working with such diverse school populations and achieving justice within societies marked by inequalities based on language, gender, socioeconomic status, or religion (Alismail, 2016; Banks, 2004).

- **Using common language**

Other participants responded that *"A common language should be used so they can understand each other."* Being concerned with children who use other language, they suggested that *"Teachers should use a common language so that students with different dialects can easily understand the lesson."* This reaction may be because of their previous experiences in elementary classrooms where pupils from different cultural groups such as Higa-unon, Meranao, and Christian speak different dialect.

Since students in multicultural classrooms are speakers of different languages, decision on the use of specific language can be a hindrance to learning. In this respect, Salgur (2015) found out that language problem is one of the struggles that teachers deal with students coming from different cultures. For this reason, in a multicultural environment, teachers should have many multicultural competences to solve the problems related to the students whose language, learning styles among others may be different than the normal or ordinary classroom environment.

- **Understanding and respecting different cultures**

In this theme, they reported that *"Teachers have to understand and respect different cultures, attitudes and skills." They* further noted that with the culture of respect, *"Teachers are able to create a friendly environment in which students interact with each other despite having different backgrounds."*

King (2004) and Carpenter (2000) suggested that pre-service teachers are expected to understand that individuals are unique in order to promote tolerance of differences, especially individual differences. To achieve this Rose and Potts (2011) recommended that pre-service teacher should be immersed to a culturally responsive pedagogy. This pedagogy helps student teachers to become more socio-culturally conscious, to distinguish between similarities and differences among individuals, and to understand that cultural identities do affect life circumstances.

- **Being flexible and caring**

Some of the respondents stressed that *"Teacher have to be flexible to easily adjust to the different cultures and be considerate about students' different attitudes."* In this respect, they added that when are sensitive and learn to adjust to different backgrounds*, "Students will not feel isolated or inferior. They feel comfortable. They fell that they belong."* Such idea is corroborated by Spader (2015). He observed that one of the reactions pre-service teachers had of the diverse learners was that they needed to adapt to the learning styles and ability levels of the students. That is why, aside from attaining knowledge about other cultures, teachers must learn how to design programs according to multicultural educational principles and learn know how to change the way students (think and behave) through adaptations in their style of lesson delivery (Gay, 2002; Alanay & Aydin, 2016). Moreover, Salgur (2015) also specified that cultural awareness makes room to the flexibility attitude, tolerance and cultural intelligence which translate gradually into economic and political option developments.

The respondents also attempt to explain how care can influence learning*. "Being considerate about students' different attitudes"* can help teachers to address student needs. This also led them to argue that *"Lessons should not only be taught but also felt."* Unfortunately, when teachers did not understand such unique need, they expressed resistance to cultural diversity (Rose & Potts, 2011). Similarly, Spader (2015) discovered that student teachers stereotyped the differences between the interaction styles of students at her assigned school but did not recognize how race could impact lifetime opportunities for certain individuals.

- **Collaborating and socializing**

The respondents claimed that *"teaching students to be collaborative with one another in spite of having different cultures and enhancing socialization process to understand members of different cultures"* can be effective to answer students' diverse needs. They believe that collaboration and socialization is *"the application of fourth pillar of education which teaches learners to learn to live together."*

Multicultural educators believed that one way to address diversity is to establish inclusion within a lesson by using collaborative learning, which involves having students work in small groups to share ideas about a topic of research classrooms (Wlodkowski & Ginseng, 1995; Spader, 2015). Additionally, classroom environments are communities of learners in which all students are encouraged to learn from each other. Within these communities, students learn to be responsible for each other and learn collaboratively (Ladson-Billings, 1995). In this way, teachers provide students with background knowledge, or scaffolded instruction, to facilitate the learning

process. It is also suggest that teacher use variety of assessments to evaluate student learning (Spader, 2015) especially in collaborative activities.

Furthermore, teachers and peers are important in socialization because they are considered significant agents which help the child develop self-understanding and identity (Harris 1998). Research showed that the significance of socialization on education since it is through interactions with one another and social institutions that students learn the norms and customs of others as well as the ideologies deemed important within a particular social context (Clausen, 1968; Billingham, 2007; Richards, 2015). This concept of socialization is supported in the area of multicultural education which emphasizes that it is important that individuals socialize with other persons, hold in high regard universal values and envisage human nature as a precious asset (Salgur, 2015).

Research Question 2: Discuss the role of multicultural education in the transformation of society.

- **To Understand cultural differences and create change in the curriculum**

The respondents stated that the role of multicultural education to promote positive change in the society is *"to educate people about other cultures and correct misconceptions about other culture."* In this respect, they further discussed that *"Pupils will have tolerance with individual differences which may prevent stereotyping."*

Multicultural education plays a pivotal role in understanding cultural differences. Salgur (2015) claimed that multicultural education ensures the sharing and understanding of different values, customs, cultures, traditions, religions and faiths. It also is the construction of education based on pluralism in the context of the principles of acceptance, understanding and ethical dependence to realize democratic ideals, to meet the needs of various groups that build the society, and to ensure social justice (Hunter, 1974 & Baptiste, 1979).

In addition, the pre-service teachers also stressed that another role of multicultural education demands "to have a shift in the curriculum and different perspective in the education system" in order to transform the society. In the interview, they recommended that "The curriculum must be child-centered so that learners will be imbued with 21st Century Skills necessary for personal and communal development."

Moreover, they believe that *"a shift in the curriculum and different perspective in the education system"* is very much needed in order to transform the country. They see that traditional methods of teaching do not work in multicultural education. For multicultural education to be effective, the curriculum must be reform from content-based to outcomes-based so that children work together and learn from each other including the values or ethnic-origin each come from. Therefore, they said that *"The curriculum must be child-centered so that learners will be imbued with 21st Century Skills necessary for personal and communal development."*

Multicultural education encompasses a concept, an educational reform movement, and a process (Salgur 2015; Banks, J.A., Mcgee Banks, C.A., (2010). Banks (2001)

highlighted that equity pedagogy dimension in multicultural education structure involves "restructuring the culture and organization of the school so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and gender groups will experience equality. This pedagogy also includes teacher modifications such as the way teachers teach, assess, and facilitate learning in the classroom (King, 2004).

In connection, Banks (2004) has outlined four stages that may be employed in the adaptation of school programs to multicultural education. Among these stages, the third stage which is the Transformative Approach suggests that the structure of the program may be changed. Changes are necessary so that students are assisted in seeing concepts, topics, themes and problems from the points of view of other groups (Alanay and Aydın, 2016; Vega, V. A., et.al., 2016).

- **To establish communication**

Some of the respondents argued that multicultural education is important *"to help in communicating with different cultures using a common language."* It shows that strong society can be achieved with good communication. Hence, they believed that *"People can get along better with people in the society, thus, promoting unity that leads to development."*

Gay (2004) defines that one of the purpose of multicultural education is multicultural social competence in which students are stimulated to learn techniques of communication for interacting with people who are different from themselves. Students can develop their own academic and analytical skills in this way. Thus, students are supported to adopt cross cultural communication, interpersonal relations, alternative points of view, and so on and so forth. In addition, Salgur (2015) suggested that dialogues and communication are compulsory in living together with different cultures. The multicultural concept or approach may boost the development of new opportunities for sharing each individual's values and for understanding each other in a society. He added that in a multicultural environment, there should be no assimilation, exclusion or fusion but rather communication, tolerance, dialogue and interaction

- **To foster peace and equality**

The respondents also believed that multicultural education aims "to achieve peace as part of a growing and transforming society". Apparently, peace is highlighted in the concept of multicultural education. With this knowledge, they considered that *"It prevents misunderstanding between people of different views which help build rapport."*

Multiculturalism is one model of democratic policy in response to culture and ethnic diversity. In UNESCO, it corresponds to the ideal of a culture of peace, based on respect of diversity, as well as universally shared values and norms (Vega et. al., 2006). It enhances the respect for diversity and celebrates it, stimulating people to live in a peaceful coexistence. Salgur (2015) pointed out that these should be the goals of all the societies in which there are wars and injustices in many parts of them. However, he suggested that dialogue and peace in societies depend on the training of

individuals dealing with education. Individuals who respect each other and see the cultural differences as a fact of life can establish social peace.

Peaceful coexistence can be derived from the idea of equality especially in rights and privileges. In this respect, the pre-service teachers recognized that multicultural education serves as an avenue *"for students to have equal opportunity to learn"* regardless of gender, beliefs or economic status. They even concluded that when equality is taught in classroom, *"It helps each other grow and become productive citizens."*

In multicultural education, a democratic education is aimed at equal opportunities that shall be granted to all the students, the goal being that each and every student with different cultural identity benefit from these equal opportunities (Salgur, 2015). It also implies that all students, regardless of their gender, social class, and ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school (Salgur 2015; Banks, J.A., Mcgee Banks, C.A., 2010).
Spader (2015) also believes that multicultural education is a philosophical concept built on the ideals of freedom, justice, equality, equity, and human dignity.

- **To appreciate diverse cultures**

Finally, the pre-service teachers believe that multicultural education is a way *"to appreciate different cultures of the people in the society"*. To create a society that erases biases, the respondents think multicultural education *"allows children to appreciate the uniqueness of their culture which cultivates cultural pride. Having such pride encourages members of the community to nurture their tradition and practices."*

In Aristotle's opinion through education people should learn not simply to read and write, but also to appreciate the beauty of the world around them and to gain some understanding of how the universe works. Hence, the primary function of educational system today is inclusion wherein the main objectives are the promotion and appreciation of diversity and equal rights (Salgur 2015). Researchers explained that the concept of Liberal Multiculturalism is based on a human relations approach that recognizes cultural diversity and pluralism, and accepts and celebrates difference. Liberal multiculturalists also support diversity programs that encourage appreciation of differences (Alismail, 2016; Grant and Sleeter, 2006).

Conclusion

Based on the responses gathered and the prevalent themes that emerged, this study concludes that the pre-service teachers demonstrate understanding on the importance of multicultural approaches in education. They can use this knowledge to prepare for the diverse needs of the pupils in the classroom not only academically but also culturally. Being sensitive to cultural differences that affect teaching and learning, these pre-service teachers will be able to effectively motivate pupils to learn by appreciating and respecting differences as well as promoting a community of fairness and equality. This can be done when they allow students to work harmoniously with other through classroom activities.

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Maritime Diplomacy: The Significance of ASEAN's Single Political Action towards the Dispute Settlement of South China Sea Conflict through Maritime Security Approach

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Abstract
South China Sea conflict has become a significant discourse among international community, not just because China's claim has breached the sovereignty of several states and shifting the world's balance of power, but also because it challenges the stability on one of the world's most important sea routes. South East Asia is the region with the most concerns toward the issue, since all of the claimant states directly involved in the conflict against the 'nine dash line' claim by China come from the region. Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as the sole regional organization in South East Asia whose mandate is to maintain the stability of the region, has the responsibility to take action towards the conflict itself. This paper will deliver the arguments on the hypothesis whether the conflict has implications towards the unity of ASEAN or not; which later argue that the disunity became a more tangible threat rather than the territorial breaching conducted by China itself. Beside analyzing the implications of the conflict toward the Unity of ASEAN, this paper will also elaborate the possibility of using of maritime diplomacy as a significant tool for the settlement of dispute and how to apply the concept through maritime security approach. One of the discussion will regard the role of non-claimant states as the neutral parties in contributing to the conflict resoutions as well as promoting the idea of ASEAN taking single political action in dealing with South China Sea conflict.

Keywords: maritime diplomacy, South China Sea, ASEAN, dispute settlement, single political action

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Introduction

South China Sea extends as far as 3.5 million square kilometers from South East to East Asia regions, bordered by Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, The Philippines, Vietnam, China, and Taiwan. The sea is very vital to international shipping since one-third of the international shipping sails across the sea from Europe and Middle East to East Asia and vice versa. Besides being the Sea Lanes of Trade (SLOT), South China Sea is also rich with the natural resources; the fisheries and it is believed to contain huge oil and gas reserves under its seabed (Beckman, 2012).

South China Sea dispute started since 1947 along with the claim of eleven dash line by Republic of China (now Taiwan) which had been occupying Itu Aba (the biggest island on the Spartlys islands) before it lost power on mainland and fled to Taiwan. On 1947 Chinese soldiers called People's Liberation Army (PLA) casted Southern Vietnam armed force out from Paracel Islands. After the incident, claims from the other countries surrounding South China Sea were starting to appear to the surface, one of them was the construction of tourism area on Swallow Reef inside the Spartlys Islands by the government of Malaysia on 1991.

China's aggresiveness began as early as 1992, the time when China to take assertive actions over their claim on Spartlys and Paracel Islands; even though it meant that it would against the international law. On 1994, China took its action to build two concrete buildings on Mischief Reef which was located only 135 kilometers from Palawan Island of the Philippines. This incident was only discovered on February 1995, which drew a concern from ASEAN to finally react towards Chinese agresiveness (ISEAS, 2016).

ASEAN has undergone several efforts to establish a common ground and promote a single political action to face Chinese claim. But on the development, each of member country has its own national interests which are considered to be bigger than the regional interest. Therefore, the decision making process to establish single political of ASEAN was interrupted. One of the example is the effort to bring the South China Sea dispute and to formulate the Code of Conduct (COC) and ask for commitment from both claimant states and China, COC would be legally-binding and more specific in nature (Joshi, 2016).

The escalating dispute then developed to be a physical contact among the armed forces of the disputing countries. For example in 1988, there was a military contact between Vietnam and China around the area of Fiery Cross Reef of the Spartlys Islands, 70 Vietnam armed forces were dead in the incident (Joshi, 2016).

On 12 July 2016 the Permanent Court of Arbitratrion (PCA) whose headquarter is in The Hague, issued the Award in which the PCA in general has refused the historical based claims conducted by China. The case was submitted by The Philippines on 22 January 2013. The ruling considered that the historical based claims was extinguished and no longer be regarded once the country ratified UNCLOS, ratifying countries should have the commitment to comply with the international law and norms. China did not present at the proceeding of the arbitration hearing and chose to not to recognize the result of the arbitration ruling, although it has ratified UNCLOS and

thus it also has the obligation to comply with the dispute settlement mechanism that UNCLOS offered. (ISEAS, 2016)

As what have explained earlier, The South China Sea is an important sea lanes and source of natural resources. This fact motivates all countries surrounding it to have concern toward its own jurisdiction on the sea. But, the perspective of the countries will be different once the claimant states were seeing this from maritime security approach: the issue of jurisdiction would become leaser element to be prioritized than the stability of the region.

On every discourse of maritime security, the scholar who was trying to define maritime security will not stop at mentioning the effort of every country to fight for its own jurisdiction. For example, Allen et al (2010) stated that maritime security is all of operation that is conducted by a country to maintain its jurisdiction, but also to support the free flow of maritime trade, as well as to tackle down the non-traditional threats. Roell et al (2013) also explained that the first element included in maritime security is the national and international peace and security, Roell also mentioned about the security of the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) as well as the protection from the maritime crimes and other threats.

Therefore, maritime security has provided the holisitic perspective towards the use of maritime domain, which is not mainly talking about how each country is trying to protect its own jurisdiction, but also talking a lot about how the stability of SLOC is maintained and to promote and protect maritime trade, as well as to eradicate the non-traditional maritime threats.

If maritime security approach is put as the fondation to settle the dispute of South China Sea, the writer argues that the all claimant and non-claimant states which have the interest on the region would prioritize the stability and security of SLOC on top of their own national jurisdiction. In every practice of dispute settlement, the arbiter would always recognize the interest of the disputing parties, thus if the claimant and non-claimant states of South China Sea dispute should also consider the regional interest of ASEAN beside their national agenda. The main interest of ASEAN as a community will be discussed later on the other subtitle.

ASEAN, South China Sea Dispute, and its Implications

The first Chinese assertive action on South China Sea was shown in 1992 by passing the *Law of the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone of the People's Republic of China*, ASEAN then responded by issuing the 1992'a Declaration on the South China Sea. The declaration was mainly based on the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, which suggested all disputing parties to settle their 'sovereignty and jurisdictional issues' through peaceful meaning.

ASEAN's trace of willingness to have a unified diplomacy action towards the dispute was shown again after the illegal Mischief Reef occupation by China in 1994 (later discovered in 1995). The ASEAN foreign ministers issued a joint statement regarding their serious concern towards the case and encouraged China to participate 'a network of regional organizations' and promote the multilateral approach to settle the territorial dispute. Although until now, China is reluctant to take multilateral

negotiations and prefer to undergo on bilateral negotiations. This most likely to be assumed because China will have bigger bargaining power against individual claimant states rather than to face the whole pack of ASEAN countries (Collinson & Roberts, 2012).

On the chairmanship of Vietnam on the year of 2011, Hanoi pushed ASEAN to have a unified stance on the South China Sea dispute, it resumed the ASEAN-China Joint Working Group based on 2002 Declaration of Conduct (DOC). Unfortunately, this effort has weak impact since Beijing requested to remove the consultation between China and ASEAN member states once the agreement signed, this request was supported by one of ASEAN member state which is Cambodia. DOC did not stop China to display its assertiveness on the dispute, in 2012 the Chinese vessels (both fishing vessels and law enforcement vessels) were involved in a standoff on Scarborough Shoal against a single Filipino naval vessel. After the incident, some of the member states were alarmed and sought to renew the formation process of Code of Conduct (COC) and the clarity of the DOC guidelines.

The Arbitration Ruling has failed to impose China to take a more subtle approach towards the South China Sea Dispute. After delivering her rejection through statements of its head of government institutions, China has not surredered to be assertive in executing its strategies to claim the disputed area. Meanwhile, most of claimant states are trying to play safe in dealing with China's power in the current development after the Arbitration Ruling. Although the Ruling has technically won The Philippines over China (ISEAS, 2016) but there was none of the claimant-states to take initiative to use the opportunity to strengthen its bargaining power against China. Therefore the Ruling is just like a passing wind, it does not have significant contribution whatsoever in resolving the dispute. Both parties were taking the matter for granted, one side rejected to obey and the other neglect the opportunity.

Even though the escalation of the dispute on South China Sea has been quite significant, but the territorial breaching of the countries involved are not the main problem of the region. Indeed, China has shown its eagerness to cross into others' territory and the tention surrounding the borders of South China Sea is escalated. However, the dispute escalation has spilled its implications towards the stability of the region and caused the diversities among the member countries of ASEAN. The said implication is the main problem faced by ASEAN currently.

ASEAN is the single regional organization whose almost half of the member states is involved in the South China Sea dispute, ASEAN's role is actually quite essential in dispute resolution. Unfortunately, ASEAN has been trying to maximally utilize the position to obtain bargaining power in demanding the resolution of the dispute, but China rejects such proposal to settle the dispute regionaly. China demands the South China Sea disputes to be resolved bilateraly, which is quite obvious that ASEAN member countries do not have sufficient bargaining power to counter China one on one.

Seen from the history of different approaches of ASEAN member countries to deal with South China Sea dispute, it is safe to assume that the dispute implication has been testing ASEAN unity. As long as each of ASEAN member country perceives and faces this dispute on their own; the real and tangible threat may not be the

sovereignty dispute, but the disunity of ASEAN itself. As ASEAN also entering the new phase of regionalism, which is the ASEAN Community, therefore its member countries should take step ahead in rethinking about regional security. Moreover, one of ASEAN Community's three pillars is ASEAN Political-Security Community. Such establishment shall be utilized by ASEAN countries to take a collective response towards political and security issues, internally or externally.

Along its history, ASEAN had only been looking at security inward; the member countries are busy with their internal affairs, disputes and conflicts among themselves or even instability within their own state. In his writing, Richard Cohen defines this kind of security as collective security, which is the attempt to make sure that the security within a group of states are maintained (Cohen, 2001). Therefore, collective security focuses on preventing enmity conducted one or more member countries against the other member countries within a group.

ASEAN member countries should not stop their efforts to settle the dispute on the South China Sea, knowing that the sea route is one of the regional interests. ASEAN is required to move quickly in practical way, not by making China says "yes" to obey the international law and to respect the sovereignty of each party, but how to make it impossible for China to say "no" (Nankivell, 2017). In her lecture in Indonesia Defense University, Professor Nankivell delivered the idea that ASEAN needs to learn from the cleverness of China, meaning that when the negotiation and agreements do not seem to move it, the members of ASEAN should take steps administratively.

Role of ASEAN as a community on the settlement of dispute of the South China Sea dispute has been explained in a journal written by Limaye, the journal argues that the dispute among member states and the promotion of a unified ASEAN should remain to be the centre of gravity for ASEAN. The regional organization transformed to be a community by the ASEAN Charter with tree community councils established under this charter: Political-Security, Economic, and Socio-Cultural Community Council. It is becoming more logical that in the form of community, shared voice and cooperation of ASEAN is the basic precondition as well as fundamental goal that should be pursued by ASEAN before achieving further through the councils. Limaye expresses their arguments as follows:

> *"if one takes the position that ASEAN should be what the charter lays out – a community, then unity on the South China Sea is a logical objective"* (Limaye, 2017)

Therefore the unity of ASEAN is essential not only to deal with South China Sea dispute, but also because ASEAN naturally requires it, as a regional organization which soon turn to be a community. Amitav Acharya frames ASEAN's contemporary problems in terms of the duality of external and internal issues. He writes that ASEAN's challenges "have less to do with its external environment, such as great power policies and interactions [and] more [to do with] strains in ASEAN's internal cohesion and capacity, especially owing to its expanded membership and agenda" (Acharya, 2017). As elaborated with Cohen's theory above, ASEAN is in state of collective security which is always looking at the security inward, focuses on how to maintain internal stability. Biggest obstacle of regional security in ASEAN is not

coming from outside of the region, but rather is raising from among the member countries themselves causes by different perspectives on certain issues, which has possibility to lead to conflict.

Based on these arguments, the unity of ASEAN is not a mere option of dispute settlement, it is not just an ideal goal set by the ASEAN leaders. The unity of ASEAN is an obligation and a precondition for this regional organization to survive, to be ready of external threats, to have stronger position in international community. The next subchapter will discuss about how to utilize maritime diplomacy in order to maintain ASEAN unity.

Using Maritime Diplomacy in Establishing ASEAN Unity

On the discourse regarding both maritime and diplomacy, the term of maritime diplomacy might not as popular as naval and gunboat diplomacy. Maritime diplomacy has just became "a thing" when K. Rowland's book was published in 2014 entitled *Maritime Diplomacy in the 21st Century*. Even so, the discussion on the book is still on and around the use of navies, which in the end creates no differences between maritime and naval diplomacy.

Naval diplomacy and maritime diplomacy should be differentiated; viewed from the term itself, naval diplomacy is the domain of navies. In his book, Ken Booth explains the naval function trinity which are constabulary, military, as well as diplomacy function. Diplomacy function of navy is the utilization of naval power in order to support foreign policy of their nation. This kind of diplomacy only covers the affairs of the navies which is related to defense and security affairs, including and not limited to military cooperation, military campaign, joint operation, joint exercise, and others. Navy elements and personnels posting is not based on the presence of threats but to shape opinions and develop trust among nation states. Both gunboat and naval diplomacy are sometimes considered related to each other, since both of the terms are utilizing naval power to influence other nations' behavior (Booth, 1977).

Seeing from its familiarity, maritime diplomacy is considered younger term than naval diplomacy, which means this term is still lacking of definitions and concepts. This paper will base the definition of maritime diplomacy from a scholar from Indonesian Institute of Sciences (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia*/LIPI), CPF Luhulima. He wrote a definition of maritime diplomacy which is close to what the world has practiced in his article:

> *"Maritime diplomacy is the management of international relations at sea and the use of ocean-related resources to manage such relations"*(Luhulima, 2017)

By this definition, maritime diplomacy is closely related to International Relations, whose actors are both state actors as well as non-state actors. Since it is the relations among nation states thus there are broader maritime-related affairs than those in naval diplomacy; there are economic, political, trade, cultural, communication, and others. Maritime diplomacy also enables the other actors outside navy to talk or negotiate about maritime affairs, which is including and not limited to: state leaders, ministries,

government bodies/institutions, non-governmental bodies, regional bodies, or even multinational cooperation.

There are stages of dispute in South China Sea, as has been discussed in the introduction of this paper. It is not enough only to see the dispute only on its history, it must be observed from the current condition as well. On mid May 2017, the news has been filled with two events related and impacted closely on the dispute: the first one is the Belt and Road Summit in Beijing, China and the second one is the agreed rough draft of COC between China and ASEAN member countries.

What is important from Belt and Road Summit is that many of ASEAN's state leaders attended this Summit: Joko Widodo of Indonesia, Duterte of Philippines, Tran Dai Quang of Vietnam, Hun Sen of Cambodia, Bounnhang Vorachit of Lao PDR, and Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar. There are only three countries that were not sending their state leaders which are Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, and Thailand (Xinhua, 2017). However, these countries were still represented by the higher officers. Seeing from the list of state leaders attending Belt and Road Summit, it sparked a sign that ASEAN countries are somehow ready to take opportunities with the initiative that China offers.

Belt and Road Summit may not be directly related with the dispute, but the initiative involves some of disputed countries such as Vietnam and Malaysia, which are becoming the home of two prospected main hub ports. Other ASEAN countries were also coming to recent Belt and Road Summit which was held in Beijing on 14-15 May 2017, as mentioned earlier.

Moreover, the belt road initiative and South China Sea dispute are two parallel events. Belt and Road roadmap has just been raised by President Xi Jinping on 2013 during his visit to Central and Southeast Asia (Habib & Faulknor, 2017), the initiative introduced months after the Philippines submission to PCA on January 2013. The aim of the Belt and Road Summit may not be clearly related to South China Sea dispute, but there is certain possibility that China utilize this opportunity to engage the ASEAN member states through the economic cooperation.

Another noteworthy point from Belt and Road Summit is that the meeting in Beijing has brought China and ASEAN member countries to negotiate closer. Not so long after that, only in 4 days away, ASEAN and China held a meeting that resulted the agreement on rough draft of COC (Inquirer, 2017).

Main aim of Belt and Road Initiative is the continental and maritime connectivity between China and the rest of the world. Since we are talking about maritime diplomacy and South China Sea dispute, the writer only focus on its maritime route. The Belt and Road maritime route is passing through ASEAN's shipping route: crossing the southern part of China, eastern part of Vietnam, and western part of Philippines, which is the shipping route located nearby the disputed area of South China Sea.

Through Belt and Road Initiative, China wanted to redefine its maritime power, and China is in need of other countries' supports as the fuel. China offers the economic cooperation, a promise to a flourished international trade through the maritime silk

route. Therefore on certain measure, Belt and Road Initiative is maritime diplomacy of China. It was the strategy of China to gather the countries located along the maritime silk road, in the name of common development. If Belt and Road Initiative is China's maritime diplomacy, what about ASEAN? What should ASEAN do to respond?

At the very first step, ASEAN needs to be convinced within its own member states the regional interest is more important than national interest when it comes to disputed sea. Once it was achieved within the member states, ASEAN also needs to convince China that regional interest is more important and will contribute to national interests of each countries. We have seen in the history that ASEAN has less unity in responding to South China Sea dispute. Some seems friendly and somewhat submissive to China, such as Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. Vietnam is still the most assertive and firm claimant states standing against China's claim. Meanwhile, Philippines now moves further from United States of America and closer to China under Duterte's governance.

Unity of ASEAN is the basic foundation for the regional political action to response to South China Sea dispute development. Each of ASEAN member state should be able to apply maritime diplomacy, which is aimed to unify ASEAN in promoting regional interest and maintaining the stability in South China Sea. SLOC and SLOT on South China Sea are put on stake which may be escalated to conflict and caused instability. A common understanding among ASEAN member states that this dispute influences economic development of each nation will enable ASEAN to unify and take solid political action to South China Sea. The maritime diplomacy should not stop to ASEAN member countries, but ASEAN needs also to apply this kind of thinking to negotiate with China as the second party of the dispute.

Once the common understanding among China and ASEAN is established, ASEAN must also realize that Belt and Road Initiative and COC rough draft agreement have their blessing in disguise. That only means that China needs ASEAN because Belt and Road Initiative would not be well constructed if there is no support from ASEAN countries. International Relations aknowledges the terms of Bandwagoning and Balancing, which is the reaction carried out by weaker power to counter a considered stronger power. At this point, ASEAN does not need to balance nor bandwagon to respond Belt and Road Initiative, since it would complicate the relationship between two sides.

ASEAN should try to play along with Belt and Road Initiative, but does not forget to also ensure that both sides are benefitted. The importance of playing along with Belt and Road Initiative is to maintain the stability of the region. But, it does not mean that ASEAN has to give up its claim on South China Sea, it only shows ASEAN's willingness to talk and its good intention on promoting regional stability on South China Sea. As long as the member countries ensure that the initiative is aimed for common development, then Belt and Road Initiative is apparently being an option that is worth to try in growing mutual trust between China and ASEAN member countries.

Conclusion

South China Sea dispute is long overdue, the countries of ASEAN has been impacted by the development of the dispute. The timeline of this dispute shown that ASEAN has no unified voice when it comes to South China Sea. Meanwhile, China advances its claim by launching the maritime silk road passing through the disputed area by initiating Belt and Road.

Concept of maritime diplomacy, which is to manage the International Relations on the sea matters, is the concept that is greatly required by ASEAN countries in South China Sea settlement of dispute. ASEAN needs to be convinced among the member countries, that the sea lanes as the regional interest has better reasons to be promoted rather than being dead-locked on the dispute by each of their own interest. This unity is the solid precondition for ASEAN to take further step in dealing with China.

As for the strategy to deal with China, ASEAN does not need to balance or bandwagon China in response to Belt and Road Initiative, since ASEAN is a home for SLOT and SLOC which is urgently needed by China to execute the initiative. ASEAN also does not need to overly suspicious towards Belt and Road Initiative, taking the positive outcomes of the initiative such as the improvement of trade route and the promised common development will enable ASEAN to ensure the benefit obtained by Belt and Road Initiative. Playing along smartly with the initiative while also ensure firmly that the agenda does not sided only to China may become another possible option for ASEAN in order to open new door for two sides (ASEAN and China) to grow their mutual trust and common understanding in regional development.

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Transborder Mobility and the (Re)construction of Boundaries in the Sino-North Korean Borderland

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Abstract
This paper explores the migration history of the Sino-North Korean borderland. Contrary to traditional understandings of borders within the framework of nation-states analyses, and the idea of boundaries being static and fixed entities, mobility in this borderland has been an everyday reality for the people living in the region. Using the perspective of long-term historical shifts and regional transformations, this paper argues that boundaries are interactional and continuously (re)constructed. Focusing on migration in Chinese-North Korean borderland provides an example of how macro-regional contexts have shaped the mobility of people, who, in turn, have shaped the fortunes of the borderland. Tracing the trajectories of family separations and reunions, I contextualize the boundaries of the mobile subjects in the local context as a dynamic process of negotiating ethnicity and belonging.

Keywords: Sino-North Korean borderland, transborder mobility, North Korean migrants, ethnic identity, kinship networks

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Introduction

Borders have traditionally been understood dichotomously as they are based, to a large extent, on the consolidation of two respective national entities. However, the everyday reality and practices in the Sino-North Korean borderland area show the processes of scrutinizing and managing local residents' belonging and mobility. In this sense, this paper attempts to illuminate the diverse forms of mobility and networks based on transborder kinships. In particular, this work investigates how local circumstances matter to migratory movements, focusing on the contexts where time and structure meet. More importantly, while tracing the processes of a people becoming contextual and flexible subjects, I seek to address the contestation over ethnic identity and the negotiation of familial relationships that have constantly been (re)constructed within the structural constraints in a historical perspective.

The Sino-North Korean borderland has mainly been portrayed as a place of North Korean migration, which started in the wake of the North Korean famine in the mid-1990s. Their mobility has been treated as a transnational phenomenon in recent years. The existing literature has provided little attention to the transborder linkages pertaining to the historical fluidity and everyday reality of this situation, whereby a significant number of North Koreans have crossed back and forth across this border, both legally and illegally. Tracing the long-term historical connections of flow and exchange in the borderland between North Korea and China can help explain why border crossings into China have been a common option and strategy for many North Koreans. To employ a concept put forward by Martinez (1994), boundaries are contextual phenomena, and they can vary from alienated to coexistent ones, and from interdependent borderlands to integrated ones. This variation may be seen even in the case of a single boundary when analyzed from a historical perspective. In this sense, this paper aims to contextualize boundaries as social processes (Passi, 1998; Newman, 2006; Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2001) that entail the (re)construction of social boundaries and the (re)definition of identities, existing in socio-cultural actions. Thus, this work suggests a new perspective for border studies.

Applying a snowball sampling technique in 2015–2016, this paper used in-depth interviews with six North Koreans who settled in South Korea and who have family ties in China as well as two North Koreans who do not have family ties in China. The interviewees gave their personal experiences and reflections, after which I asked specific questions of the respondents. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed with the agreement of the interviewees.

Historical Context: The Japanese Empire and its Legacy

In 1910, the Japanese empire began to accelerate Korean migration to Manchuria, and Japan claimed all Koreans in China as Japanese subjects (Olivier, 1991). In the early colonial-era, the citizenship status of the ethnic Korean migrants in Manchuria was contested, as China and Japan competed for control over the region and its peoples. The immigration and settlement of the Koreans were seen as a positive, given their ability to cultivate rice in the paddy fields. As Park (2005) writes, the Korean migration "[w]as a mechanism in the formation of the Japanese empire and its capitalist expansion" (p. 20).

It was primarily the immigrants from Hamkyong who formed the core population of the Korean community in this area, the region of eastern Manchuria along the banks of the Dooman (*Tumen* in Chinese) River, and across from Korea, known today as the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture of China's Jilin Province. Japan occupied Manchuria in 1931 and established a puppet government, Manchukuo in preparation for a full-scale war with China, in which began the following year. To develop Manchuria as a food supply for the war, Japan organized a series of collective migrations from southern Korea to Manchuria in the late-1930s. Japan strengthened its grip on this region, as a result, Manchuria became more like an informal Japanese colony (Duus et al., 1989).
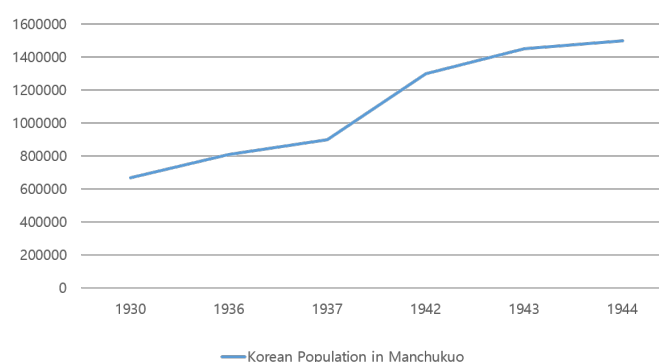

Figure 1: Korean Population in Manchukuo

By 1930, the Korean population in Manchukuo was over 670,000, and by 1937, it was over 900,000. The population continued to expand in the following few years, approaching 1.5 million by 1944 ("The Japanese population in Korea and the Korean Population in Manchuria," 1946). Korean mobility thus has its roots in the historical circumstances of relocation by a colonial power. These migration flows were "internal," in the sense that people moved within the territory of empire as an intended and unintended consequence of empire-building (Kim 2009). After 1945, a series of return migrations to the Korean Peninsula occurred, where, eventually, approximately one-third returned to Korea (Suh & Shultz, 1990). Land relations in the Manchukuo era and with the Japanese agricultural policies in Yanbian created aggravated relations (Kraus & Cathcart, 2013), which (re)produced boundaries and (re)constructed a relationship of "otherness" between the ethnic Koreans and the Chinese. This can be seen as the colonial legacy of the Japanese imperialism. Even after the massive wave of repatriation that swept the region in the post-colonial period, 1.3 million Koreans remained in northeastern China (Kim, 2004).

The postwar conjuncture created a situation where millions of imperial subjects suddenly found themselves in newly nationalized territories, where they felt that they no longer "belonged" (Kim, 2009). The ethnic Koreans in the Sino-Korean border region and their descendants were neither Chinese nor Korean nationals. When the transformation of nationality into fixed, the national and ethnic identities of the Koreans living in Yanbian remained ambiguous and contested—a situation that persisted, even after 1945 (Kraus & Cathcart, 2013).

Mobility in the State-Building Period

The Korean War, Repatriation, and Reconfiguration

With the ongoing territorial and political reconfiguration, the relationship of the ethnic Koreans in China to the post-colonial Korea began to be newly problematized. When China finally entered into the war in Korea in October of 1950, the Koreans of northeastern China were ambivalent about taking part due to their in-between position: on the one hand, they had a duty to defend China, their newly built "home state"; on the other, some felt they had a moral obligation, as Koreans, to help their brethren in their ancestral "homeland" (Olivier, 1991).

In this region, boundaries were created to erase territorial ambiguity and ambivalent identities in order to shape cohesive order. Between 1956 and 1960, North Korea and China signed a series of agreements and protocols related to their border to delimit their boundary lines (Shen & Xia, 2013). Nevertheless, as a series of North Korea International Documentation Project (NKIDP) dossiers illuminate, the documents were generously interpreted by the Chinese government (Smith, in NKIDP e-dossiers, 2012). Illegal border crossers, in principle, were supposed to have been punished severely and repatriated; however, in reality, the punishment was relatively lenient. By the end of 1957, the Chinese army stationed in North Korea officially even after the war for the reconstruction of DPRK. In early 1958, these Chinese troops began to leave North Korea, and their withdrawal was completed by the end of that year (Lee, 2000). Pyongyang wanted laborers to balance out the potential loss of Chinese workers while, for their part, the Korean Chinese wanted jobs. After the withdrawal of their military personnel, the Chinese government arranged for the relocation of the ethnic Koreans in China back to North Korea to support the economic reconstruction of the DPRK (PRC FMA 118-00777-01). During this time, approximately 50,000 ethnic Koreans returned to North Korea. The North Korean government provided incentives for the Koreans to stay in the DPRK, giving the new settlers from China housing, grain, money, and work on cooperative farms (Smith, in NKIDP e-dossiers, 2012). Interviewee C's parents were "some of those who wanted to go back their hometowns, and they were sent there":

> My Mom and Dad left China in the early 1960s. It was said that after the war, Mao and Kim made an agreement, they let *Chaoxianzu* (Korean Chinese) who wanted to be sent back to their hometowns. It was a kind of support for postwar reconstruction. Because during the war time, males were killed, so young adults and middle-aged people from the three provinces in the northeast went to North Korea. My father was educated and wanted to become successful by escaping the rural area. At that time, college students were part of the "Down to the Villages" Movement. He studied to get out of the countryside; he didn't want to be sent to his hometown. So, he decided to enter North Korea. (Interviewee C)

As this interviewee mentions, political shifts were ongoing in China, and a series of portents followed before the Chinese Cultural Revolution began.

While the Sino-North Korean borderland was being influenced by the war, the political processes of erasing ambiguity and shaping order were proceeding.

Beginning in the late 1950s, ministries in the Chinese government began to draw clear distinctions between legal and illegal border crossers (NKIDP e-dossiers, 2012). As a series of dossiers point out, around the beginning of the 1960s, the Chinese government began to tighten its border and to adopt measures to settle ethnic Koreans for the sake of "social order" in northeastern China (NKIDP e-dossiers, 2012). Nevertheless, in the early 1960s, a large number of ethnic Koreans who had been living in northeastern China illegally crossed the Sino-North Korean border into North Korea. The Chinese government discussed this phenomenon as a "historical habit" (NKIDP e-dossiers, 2012).

In 1957, a huge anti-right political campaign began, and rightist intellectuals were sentenced to reform through labor in the countryside. In 1958, this movement merged with the Great Leap Forward, which caused major political and economic shifts in China. The subsequent organization of people's communes demanded a standardization of society at the expense of individual lifestyles and the customs of the *minzu* (minority groups) of China. This campaign paid greater attention to the common characteristics found among the *minzu*, rather than looking at their distinctive and unique traits (Olivier, 1991). One respondent described the situation this way:

> Back then, China was poor. China had people's communes (人民公社), which did not allow every household to cook; we were all poor together [in China because of the famine]. And then, Kim Il Sung said, "We will accept all the crossers. They are our *minjok* [nation]." [When I moved to North Korea in 1961], North Korea was quite wealthy. When I went to restaurants, there was fish soup, they offered rooms, and several kinds of side dishes. They gave us a lot of rice, and meat soup, as well. When I went to the stores, they sold candies, fabrics, and so on…. The food was different. In North Korea, we used spices; the Chinese didn't. In North Korea, we received food rationing, as well, but the portions were large. In China, the portions were small, but the sides were enough. The Chinese used a lot of oil, but North Korea didn't. In North Korea, they ate a lot of Kimchi; Chinese people didn't. (Interviewee A)

As this respondent described, when she crossed the Dooman River from China to North Korea in 1961, the nationwide famine was underway as a result of the failure of the Great Leap Forward. She pointed out not only the economic gap between the two countries but also the general complaint about the significant societal shift of the area and the new politico-economic needs for the conformity and uniformity of the people's lifestyles. In the late 1950s, the anti-rightist movement was specifically directed against the minority leadership; it was, therefore, called the "*minzu* rectification movement," and the Chinese warned that a "poisonous influence" was prevalent among the Korean capitalists and intellectuals, who advocated the "thesis of multiple fatherlands" (Lee, 1986). Interviewee B's parents made a decision to return to North Korea, leaving Yanbian for the DPRK because of "the mood of persecution toward the intellectual class." Additionally, a series of documents reveal that the Chinese government attempted to strengthen the political and ideological education of the people, carried out in part to prevent the emigration of the border residents to North Korea in the early 1960s (NKIDP e-dossiers, 2012)

Both the nation-state building and the cross-border mobility in the Sino-North Korean borderland have deeply been embedded in the dramatic macro-historical transformations of twentieth-century northeastern Asia. Here, two post-colonial states attempted to create nationals out of the colonial-era migrants, who had never held either Chinese or Korean nationality, in the modern sense of the term. The dynamic reconfiguration of the territorial and political boundaries in the context of the emerging interstate order engendered massive migration out of China. Illegal, short-term, or frequent border crossers were not considered or treated as "international" migrants. Going back to Interviewee A's experience, when she crossed the river into North Korea, she told me that she did not have a sense of "going to a foreign country." When she settled in North Korea in the 1960s, people like her were called *gwiguk-min*, meaning "the people who returned to their home country."

Processes of Demarcation and Separated Families

The Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) was launched in the name of abolishing bureaucracy and feudalism. Korean intellectuals and leaders were denounced and punished either as "regional nationalists" or as "spies from North Korea or the Soviet Union" (Yoon, 2012, p. 417). Several of this study's interviewees testified to the radical atmosphere at that time. For instance, Interviewee E's father started studying at Kim Il Sung University in 1962. When he graduated, he did not return to China because of the Cultural Revolution, but instead, remained in Pyongyang and became a *Choson gongmin* (DPRK citizen). In China, her father was labeled a "counterrevolutionary" spy, as he chose to settle in North Korea. Moreover, because of his choice, his remaining relatives in Yanbian were jailed. His father died while in custody.

Meanwhile, in the DPRK, the political and social exclusion of persons with relations to China functioned as an invisible stigma (Choi, 2015). As told by Interviewee E, while her father was in college, he was blacklisted. Further, as Interviewee C explained, when someone joined the party in North Korea, they needed "two guarantors." However, it was not easy for the returnees to get guarantors, and thus, her father's joining the party was delayed. In her recollection, "We were the kind of people who could not be too successful," and "people who are not in good class in anyways." She recalled that the returnees were "not easy to promote politically," and that sometimes promotions depended on the DPRK's "diplomatic relations with China."

I also conducted two interviews with individuals who did not have any family networks within China. According to them, there existed certain implicit limitation." In this sense, the returnees needed to be "more cautious in everyday life," and when they did something wrong, they could be "more stigmatized." Practices of inclusion and exclusion were thus framed by the nation-building projects of both states.

When the national demarcation was finally completed on the basis of political power, families were sometimes divided on either side of the border. The establishment of the monolithic ideological system in North Korea and the Cultural Revolution in China entailed closing the border and instigating strong respective national identities. Such (b)ordering processes reproduced "latently existing differences in identity" (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2001), and the processes strengthened their "belonging to,

and identity with, places and groups, while perpetuating and reperpetuating notions of differences and othering" (Newman, 2006, p. 143). In the 1960s, Pyongyang and Beijing started to slowly close the Sino-North Korean border to "individual" and "informal" crossings. Both governments began to strictly determine and control who belonged where, and border crossings between the two countries started to have a more official character. However, family ties reached beyond the territorial boundaries of the two modern states. Even after the border was firmly established, throughout the 1960s, ethnic Koreans in China and North Koreans preserved their family ties with those on the other side. At the same time, both groups learned to engage in self-censorship to monitor themselves as ethnic minorities. Here, we find that the practices of "othering"—and of cultural fragmentation, in general—were not only international affairs but also took place within the nation-states, as well.

Mobility in the Post-Cold War Period

The Openness of the Border and the Revival of Connections

In China, certain political and economic reforms have been promoted since the late 1970s. In 1982, Jilin Province resumed trade with North Korea (Chen, 2005), and the people who had ties with China were granted permission to visit China. Since then, it is assumed that a number of North Korean returnees from China and ethnic Koreans in China once again began to travel back and forth across the border. Many interviewees mentioned that they had started to reconnect with relatives in China. For instance, Interviewee E remembered that in this period, she "helped two aunts in Yanbian since the end of Cultural Revolution." She sent fresh seafood and small household appliances to her aunts in several times in the 1980s.

However, from about the 1990s, this situation was "totally overturned," as much more movement began to occur. In the 1990s, transborder mobility and exchange in the Sino-North Korean borderland—both legal and illegal—has increased since the great famine. People began to cross the rivers again, but in the 1990s, the pattern of migration was reversed. Various records indicate that during this time, the border between North Korea and China was "not aggressively policed" (U.S. Department of State, 2005). Pyongyang's control over the administration of the North Korean-Chinese frontier became very loose during the peak of the North Korean famine (Plsek, 2013). The border between the two countries became quite porous and "thinned out" once again (Balibar, 1998).

Since both economic exchange and social relationships between the two countries have been reinstated, a greater population flow has occurred between the two countries beyond the border, using both formal and informal routes. The North Korean socialist economic system was ruined, and the public networks lost most of their original functions. At the same time, the societal networks began to be revitalized, especially kinship networks, which began to be reconstructed after having been severed for decades. All the interviewees in this study have reconnected family ties, and many have had the opportunity to reunite with family members. Many interviewees testified that they "went through difficult years crossing back and forth":

> If we had not had China [and relatives there], it would have been harsh [to make a living]. But others [who don't have ties in China] might have had their own ways. Our way was our Chinese family. (Interviewee E)

In principle, visitor passes were limited only to those who had lineal family members in China; however, by paying bribes, it was possible to "create non-existing lines." In this process, so-called "acquaintanceships"—interpersonal relationships with public officials, and even some in charge of guarding the border—were also necessary. In the mid-1990s, Interviewee F was able to overload seafood "by offering a few cigar boxes" to border officials on the way to China, and when coming back, she gave "blankets and cigars to customs." Interviewee E also used the relations and bribes whenever she was given "stuff from China, such as rice, clothes, towels, medicine, and so forth," and that her family "ate some, and then sold others in North Korea." She had a few "privileged relatives who didn't like us in Pyongyang," so she chose instead "to seek the routes to China." Additionally, Interviewee D told me that throughout the 1990s, she went back and forth four times legally, and twice illegally. When she crossed the river into China, she took fish, and when she came back from China, she carried household electrical appliances. During this period, the interviewees gained profits in the process of capitalizing on family ties. After the economic crisis in the 1990s, the returnee group transformed into an emerging group—one who developed their agency by having these experiences abroad and by having distinctive transnational networks. These sociopolitical changes provided and reproduced spaces for the returnees to form another dimension of their identities, signifying their reunion with "fatherland," and especially with their own relatives.

Life Between "Here" and "There"

The ethnicity of the North Korean returnees was reconstructed through their diverse experiences of boundaries. While their identities were once marked by discrimination and exclusion in North Korea, they began to identify themselves as a "beneficiary group":

> Whenever I went to Seo-shijang [a market street in Yanji], I used to be engrossed in the street. Once when I was looking around, the traders said, "[South] Koreans are coming here." Whenever we come over to China, we kept a vow to behave well and to wear a badge of [of the leader]. But I didn't wear the badge, because they [the Chinese] looked down on North Koreans, but they looked up to [South] Koreans. Until then, I was so innocent; I thought that [South] Koreans were penniless. I believed that as the truth. And Korean Chinese blamed Kim Jung-il—they did it quite provocatively. In North Korea, I have never heard those kinds of stories. (Interviewee F)

As read here, the North Koreans were able to observe the South Koreans with curiosity, to hear the criticism of their "Great Leader," and to begin to feel that "their minds were opened." After returning to North Korea, they could not share what they had seen and heard; however, their change was obvious," the experiences abroad were embedded in their subconscious and bodies. As some scholars write, such experiences can be thought of as "social remittances" (Levitt, 2001) that can influence local culture, politics, and community development (Blue, 2013). The returnee group had the opportunity to "transmit" Chinese products, to rethink their regime, and to revive

the practices of transborder contact and exchange between kin. Though this influence was limited, the increased communication, visits, and the embrace of Chinese-style materialism embodied possibilities to transform the grammar of North Korean society and the dynamics of social norms. At that time, the border between North Korea and China was "not operated in a unified manner" (Balibar, 1998), and was "blurred by actors of everyday practice" (Paasi, 1998; Newman, 2006). Those seeking illegal entry into China relied on the porous land borders, where the possibility of transborder kinship networks could still be imagined, attempted, and recovered. As one respondent discussed,

> During the "Arduous March," we who had ties in China escaped to China. I guess most of us ran away from [North Korea]. We are the decedents of people who came over from China in the 1960s, and then in the 1990s, we returned to China. When China was difficult, we moved to North Korea, and when North Korea was in crisis, we crossed over to China. We were called "traitors." But for us, that was the right decision. (Interviewee D)

As heard here, this group was seeking to both circumvent and benefit from the different nation-state regimes by selecting different geographical sites while "learning the localizing strategies who seek to evade, deflect, and take advantage of political and economic conditions" (Ong, 1999). In this process, their identities were formed as situational, contextual, and flexible.

Looking more closely at the particular facets of the transborder mobility of the interviewees, the cases of the family reunions were diverse. For some, it was their first time to meet their relatives. In one instance, Interviewee A bumped into her brother by accident on a street of Wangqing, her hometown; she recognized him at once "because of the familiar face originated from the same blood." For Interviewee C, most of her relatives were in China, and therefore, it was hard to trace the degree of kinship. After the returnees had moved to China, they spent time "reasserting family ties" (Valtchinova, 2006) and reconstructing the connections to the places they had left. Many of them stayed in China for three years or more. This was not just because their Chinese relatives supported them by hiding them but also because the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture—the ethnic Korean space providing a type of "cultural and linguistic zone,"—made room for them (Kim, 2013). It is hard to deny that the networks of Chinese relatives played an important role for the North Korean migrants who were able to settle in China.

Yet, the massive invasion of illegal migrants from North Korea, who could possibly threaten the social order in Yanbian, soon started to be experienced negatively. As time went by, the Korean Chinese moved from feeling like they had been reunited with their "lost families" and their "brothers in bondage" to feeling that the North Koreans were "bothersome beings" and "strangers." For the North Koreans, they felt that "it [had become] more like walking on eggshells." Their Chinese relatives also began to see the Koreans as potentially dangerous:

> I was a daughter-in-law who could be deported back to North Korea at any time. They [her in-laws] did not accept me as their family member. For them, I was just the mom of their precious grandson. At home, they kept me from

coming out of my room because they were afraid of the police. (Interviewee B)

These experiences of discrimination, and exploitation by the Korean-Chinese community made the North Koreans begin to distance themselves from their Korean-Chinese relatives. Their "outlaw" status in China placed them in a very vulnerable position. The North Koreans learned "how to speak in Yanbian dialect" in order to behave like the Korean Chinese, and they lived "just as if they were Korean Chinese," even though they realized that they were not able to be "real Chinese citizens." They found themselves in their position as illegal aliens and liminal individuals in the fatherland.

Ironically, their illegal status was more easily noticed in the Korean-Chinese communities than in Han Chinese communities. In this process, the sense of being North Korean was strengthened, allowing them the ability to renegotiate relations and boundaries. For them, the ethnic Korean society in the Sino-North Korean borderland was a space for both inclusion and exclusion, ultimately motivating many to migrate to South Korea, which offered them citizenship. Some began to consider moving to South Korea as an optimal choice. In this process, their Chinese relatives, as well as the other family members who were already in South, supported their journey to South Korea.

At the same time, this group often maintained ties with their remaining relatives in North Korea. Initially, Interviewee A crossed the river without any intention of settling in either China or South Korea. She thought that after China, she would return to North Korea with her daughter. Instead, she began sending rice, money, and other household goods to her son, who remained in North Korea, using her Korean-Chinese brother-in-law as a conduit. She sent money that she had "saved one by one working as a housemaid." These transnational practices continued after she moved to South Korea in 2006. When she and others like her transitioned from illegal migrants in China to legal citizen in South Korea, the relationship between them and their Chinese relatives became reversed:

> I disliked them [the Korean Chinese] when I was in China. But now I have a Korean-Chinese son-in-law here. I heard from a few nieces who are working here. Their salaries are delayed for months, so they are worried about it, and they are mostly given all the harsh jobs. And also, they are experiencing discrimination. I think that they are pathetic though. (Interviewee A)

Looking back at her insecure position in China, when she transitioned into being a refugee in South Korea, the relationship between her and her Chinese relatives was transformed. North Korean returnees from China, who were used to being in a vulnerable position in the hierarchy due to their ethnicity and nationality, gradually became empowered via their mobility, managing to reach a social state from which they could reverse their position in the hierarchy.

Conclusion

This paper has illuminated the space of the Sino-North Korean borderland, which has been (re)constructed by ethnic and kinship ties in relational interactions at each historical juncture. Even when the North Korean-Chinese border was fixed by the two states in the aftermath of the Korean War, border crossings continued to be an everyday reality for the people living in this border region. Separate from the state level, everyday practices were reconstructed through the communication and exchanges of the residents who were divided by the territorial border. Transnational practices, such as constant mobility, small trade, and kinship ties, blurred the boundary line that had been formed under the nation-state system. In this historical context, their transborder mobility can be explained as a localized practice.

As migrants physically move, their personal and social boundaries shift. In this context, migration entails a constant process of the (re)construction of networks and self-(re)definition. Their identities involve complex ethnic circumstances, transborder kinship practices, and a complex understanding of what it means to "belong." In this sense, the identity of the returnee group was constructed through the process of overcoming otherization both in North Korea and in China. Due to their in-between status and their ambivalent identity as marginal subjects, they constantly negotiate the idea of belonging, and their ambiguous position created their mobility and flexibility.

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Strategic Outlook for the Indian Ocean 2030: The Role of IORA in Ocean Governance and in Maintaining Regional Maritime Security

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Abstract
By 2030 the Indian Ocean will become the busiest and most important global sea lane of communications which connects the world. Seeing the strategic location of this ocean, many actors force their interests to the region which might lead to clash of interests and increase the number of non-traditional maritime threats in the Indian Ocean. A various background of countries located on different continents, having Indian Ocean as their backyard also influence the dynamic of the region.

The need for ocean governance which is able to maintain regional maritime security is absolute. Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) as the most comprehensive regional organization which aims to address the non-traditional maritime threats and to obtain cooperation among the littoral states of Indian Ocean becomes the most potential organization in contributing to the stability of Indian Ocean. Especially with the establishment of Jakarta Concord that will strengthen the organization by setting clear direction for the future of IORA.

The main aim of this paper will recommend the use of maritime diplomacy on countering maritime threats, and how it may apply to IORA to establish an intraregional-mechanism under the IORA's government. In order to reach that discussion, this paper will evaluate what IORA had achieved in maintaining maritime security in the Indian Ocean as well as projecting what might IORA contribute on the following years. The strategic policies recommendation on countering non-traditional maritime threats by IORA will be analyzed as well as the Indian Ocean littoral states collaboration on socio-economics sectors.

Keywords: Indian Ocean, IORA, Maritime Security, Ocean Governance, Non-traditional maritime threats.

Introduction

The paper's authors come from Faculty of Defense Management – Indonesia Defense University (IDU). Maritime security issue is part of research concern of the faculty. The researchers found that defense studies could be related into any studies, including maritime security studies, and moreover is region studies. Through IAFOR – Asian Conference on Asian Studies (ACAS) 2017, researchers from Indonesia Defense University are giving of research contributions on maritime security issue within the Asian studies. Here are the short backgrounds of the authors:

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The background of study of this paper comes from the dynamic situation which happening globally, regionally, and nationally – especially looking at the maritime perspective. Asian region has seven out of nine global choke-points and becomes global sea lanes of communications and sea lanes of trade. The clashes between actors are unstoppable in this region – especially the Indian Ocean, a huge water territory which having the most strategic sea lanes in the world. The dynamic of this region has

to be well-maintained because it will affect the global condition as well. Indian Ocean region actually has a regional organization which has the obligation to maintain the stability based on socio-culture approach of the region. Stability of this water territory on the other hand means the condition of free of any threats (non-traditional), which suitable with the approach of non-traditional maritime security. The global goals 2030 also becoming peoples concern with one of the SDGs point comes with statement of 'Living under Water' and has the aim to get global prosperity through maritime resources. Furthermore, this paper will recommend the use of maritime diplomacy on countering maritime threats, and how it may apply to IORA to establish an intraregional-mechanism under the IORA's government. In order to reach that discussion, this paper will evaluate what IORA had achieved in maintaining maritime security in the Indian Ocean as well as projecting what might IORA contribute on the following years.

Global Goals in 2030

These days global society are facing fluctuate dynamic in any forms and dimensions. All countries and stakeholders are cooperating under a program of United Nations called Sustainable Development Goals (SDS) 2030 which aimed to free the human race from the tyranny of poverty and want and to heal and secure earth. The 17 SDGs points has 168 targets are applied to achieve global sustainability goals that have not achieved on the previous program (Millennium Development Goals). Specifically, SDGs number 14 focuses to conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development.

Former UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon has mentioned the significant of the water territory as the sources of living of people. "Our planet's lands and oceans are already stretched to meet the demands of 7 billion people. The human population continues to grow. The search for sustainable solutions is an economic and a moral imperative if we are to create the future we want" Ban Ki Moon said. As mention on United Natins Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development page 28, within the Sustainable Development Goals number 14 global society is prepared to achieved several numbers of *goals*, such as:

- To prevent and significantly reduce marine pollution of all kinds, in particular from land-based activities, including debris and nutrient pollution;
- To achieve sustainably manage and protect marine and coastal ecosystems to avoid significant adverse impacts, including by strengthening their resilience, and take action for their restoration in order to achieve healthy and productive oceans;
- To minimize and address the impacts of ocean acidification, including through enhanced scientific cooperation at all levels;
- To effectively regulate harvesting and end overfishing, illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing and destructive fishing practices and implement science-based management plans;
- To conserve at least 10% of coastal and marine areas, consistent with national and international law and based on the best available scientific information;

– To increase the economic benefits to small island developing States and least developed countries from the sustainable use of marine resources;

On the case of Indian Ocean region, SDGs movements also applied by Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) on putting them the priority as well as mentioned on the Jakarta Concord document. IORA not only guide the region of Indian Ocean to maintain the regional prosperity by the water territory but also protecting and combating any maritime threats within the region which could inhibit goals achievement.

Indian Ocean Geography and Geostrategy

Discussing about an area means that we need to understand the geography and geopolitics of that are first. Geopolitics seen as a value of that geographic area, how importance the location is towards the state(s). By theory of geopolitics, we can see how the geography area can be seen very strategic for a (or some) state(s). A place / location can be considered as strategic one if it can give a significance value toward its surround. The value could be as the tool to achieve the state national interest, the value itself automatically will attract and binding the states to keep its eyes to keep the existing of control on the strategic location. If the strategic environment has significant value and attractiveness to the interested parties, then the interested parties' strategy to have a control of that strategic environment called as the concept of Geostrategy.

Figure 1. Indian Ocean Region

As the third largest ocean in the world, Indian Ocean is an area of both relative insecurity and strategic stability and the world's third largest ocean (Desker, 2011). Indian Ocean has numbers of significant benefits of area. As the global oil shipping line Indian Ocean is face to face with Persian Gulf which surrounded by Middle Eastern oil-producing countries such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Qatar, and Iran. The Persian Gulf becomes an important water territory with most of the world's oil supply will cross to the whole world comes from. Beside the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean also has some of the largest choke points of global oil shipping lanes. It is about millions of barrels of world's oil pass through these choke points to the European region, America region, and Asia region. It can be deduced that the distribution of the world's energy actually depends entirely on the stable or absence of Indian Ocean itself.

Beside the significant of the Indian Ocean geography, it also has the value of geostrategy. For instance, India and China know that their interests must be maintained in the Indian Ocean. Especially in case of global oil supply, this ocean becomes an access to passage of energy distribution. Some choke-points are located in Indian Ocean, it can be considered as a resource for countries directly adjacent to it. There are three elements to be considered in this case, which are physical characteristics, usefulness, and access of the choke-point (Rodrigue, 2004). Therefore, some countries like China and India want to secure their interests and ensure that oil shipping lanes to their areas remain safe and controllable.

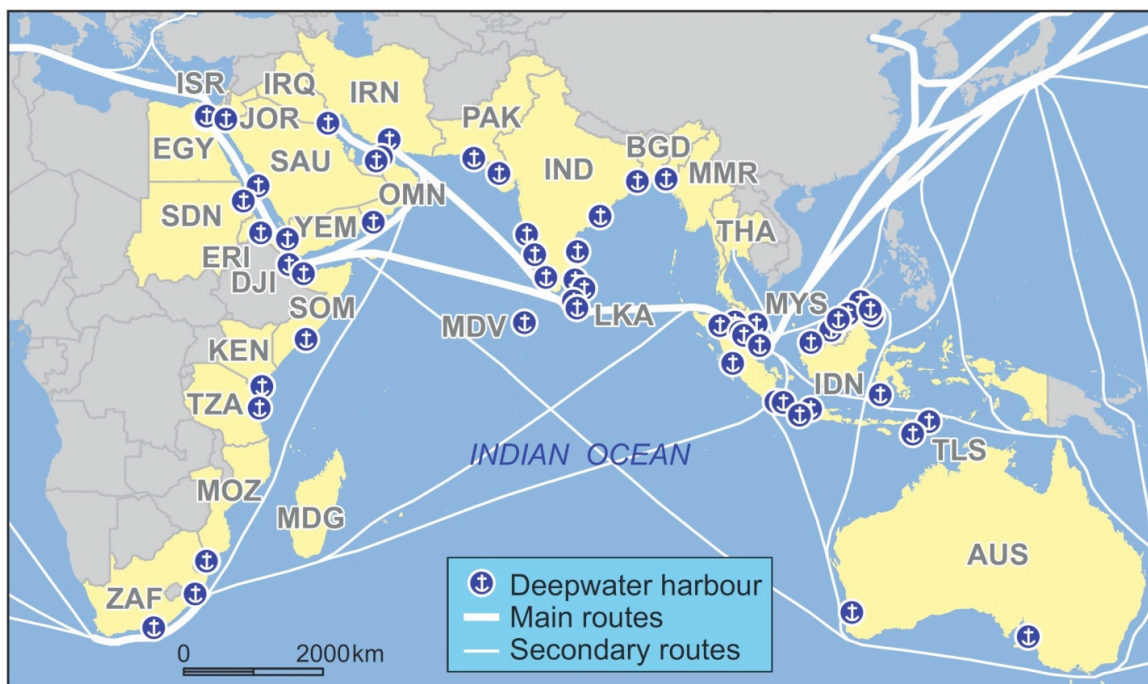Figure 2. Sea Lanes of Communications and Trade within the Indian Ocean Region

Indian Ocean contains on 25 marginal seas includes straits and gulf, surrounded by 38 littoral states (Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Comoros, Djibouti, East Timor, Egypt, Eritrea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, Mozambique, Myanmar, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar,

Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen) which come from 3 different continents, and it covers for about 20% the earth's sea surface. From the previous research and literatures predict that in 2030 Indian Ocean region will be inhabited by more than 3.2 billion people. It will emerge the military, commercial, environment, and technological trends – and these divergent background will lead into economic, socio-culture, natural resources, security, and climate changes issues within the Indian Ocean as a region and for those states which have any interest on it.

Identify Non-traditional Maritime Threats in IOR

"Maritime Security is one of the latest buzzwords of international relations. It is a term that draws attention to new challenge and rallies support for tackling those challenges (Bueger)." One of maritime security scholars, Christian Bueger, classify what are included into maritime security circle with the maritime threats which might happening. Bueger describes the subject of the concept of maritime Security which is also regarded as influential dimensions in maritime Security. He combines these dimensions in a matrix, the dimensions in question are seapower, marine safety, blue economy, and human resilience. Each of these dimensions has its own scope of discussion related to what is happening in the maritime region. The maritime security matrix introduced by Bueger can be described as follows:
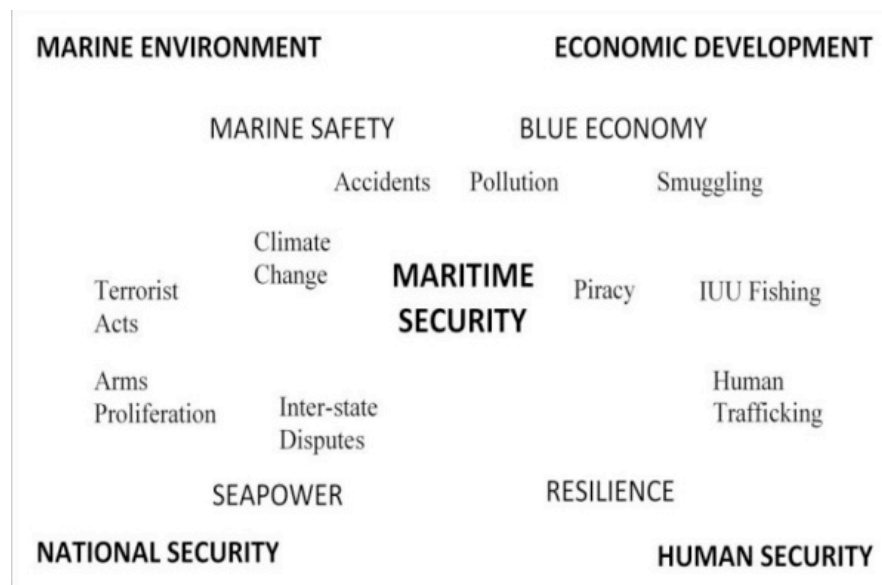
Figure 3. Maritime Security Approach by Christian Bueger

As Bueger mention, maritime security studies cover four big groups which are marine environment, economic development, national security, and human security. Those four elements furthermore classify maritime threats both traditional and non-traditional. To handle those issues, the use of maritime diplomacy could be the best option to meet a common end of all the Indian Ocean littoral states. IORA as an organization focuses on socio-economy approach within its ocean governance

contributed in maintaining the Indian Ocean region from non-traditional maritime threats.

Multiple sources of insecurity afflict many of the countries that rim the Indian Ocean. As trends that have particularly disquiet regional security implications continue to evolve, it is conceivable that the high pressure and clash lead into conflict, terrorism, political insecurity, and piracy will exceed the international and regional communities' capability to effectively respond to those issues (Burns, 2012). That is why the need of ocean governance and intra-regional mechanism is significant in the Indian Ocean region because the government need to be adaptable in managing those challenges.

There are many cases of non-traditional maritime threats happening in this region. Piracy, armed robbery at sea, people smuggling and trafficking, IUU fishing, climate change, narcotics trafficking, illegal weapon trafficking, and water territory dispute between countries are the examples of the threats. The intensity of piracy attacks in Indian Ocean classified as high especially surrounds Somali water territory. Water territory surround the Horn of Africa becomes the highest illicit trafficking by sea (Burns, 2012). The diversity within the Indian Ocean littoral states somehow becomes obstacles to counter those maritime threats. This reason also become the background why single act done by regional organization is exactly needed.

IORA and Maritime Security in IOR

Although sharing the same ocean, the Indian Ocean region displays tremendous diversity and contrasts in the littoral states' policies, culture, economics, and environment. Indian Ocean region littoral states common threats cover unstable regional security condition, maritime security threats (piracy, armed robbery at sea, people smuggling and trafficking, climate change, and water territory dispute and IUU Fishing issues), inconducive sea lanes of communications and sea lanes of threats, disintegrate ocean governance, inequity states' condition. Meanwhile, Indian Ocean region littoral states common interest include peaceful, stable, and prosperous Indian Ocean, secure and safety sea lanes of communication and sea lanes of trade.

Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) has 7 main objectives which all of them have the ends to meet a sustainable region of Indian Ocean – one of the organization's priority is focusing on maritime safety and security as the ways to meet the regional's ends. IORA member states also agreed to create a secure and peaceful Indian Ocean including honoring UNCLOS 1982 (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea) that has been the constitution to regulate the sea.

Following IORA performance until today, the existence of the organization still meet some questions. Before IORA legalize the Jakarta Concord (on March 2017) they do not have any legally binding documents or at least a concord. The previous IORA meetings do not attended by the Chief of State only state's representative or the highest representative position was Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It makes any result of IORA meeting will not have significant power to be implemented back to the littoral

states. IORA itself seems like has no significant movement for the past 19 year, this becomes one of the main reasons why IORA considered insignificant as a regional organization. Indian Ocean littoral states hard to find the significant of IORA role to maintain the ocean governance in the region. Last but not least, there are number of smaller groups or communities in Indian Ocean region considered ways more effective to maintain the partial states' interests.

To maintain regional maritime diplomacy, IORA as a regional platform to meet a common end need to build confidence-building measurements (CBMs) to reduce suspicion and fear, and the possibility of attracts from two parties (or more) in a situation, both physical and non-physical. CBMs and coalitions are important to be built in the beginning because it raises the maritime awareness along the member countries on diplomatic forum about their common threats and common interests.

Strategic Policies Recommendation

When this research was begun to write in the middle of 2016, the authors have believed that IORA need to produce document to clearly show what IORA's interests in the region are. Indian Ocean Rim Association member states have signed a document named Jakarta Concord. Jakarta Concord signed in March 2017 which giving a clear statement of IORA vision to promote regional cooperation for a peaceful, stable, and prosperous Indian Ocean. During the Leaders' Summit of the 20th anniversary of the IORA in Jakarta, Indonesia 21 head of states or the representatives of the government commit on several points in order to promote maritime safety in the region, to promote sustainable fisheries management and development, to enhance trade and investment cooperation in the region, to empower women in the economy, to foster tourism and cultural exchange, to maintain blue economy, and to enhance disaster management in the region, strengthening academic, science, and technology cooperation.

The significant of IORA as the only regional organization focuses on the stability of the region by socio-economy approach in Indian Ocean has to be maximizing though the governance itself. This paper offers numbers of policies recommendation in order to maintain maritime security in the region of Indian Ocean and on the same way achieving the global goals 2030 which also becoming IORA concern as the regional organization. Maintaining maritime security within the region is important because a stable condition and good governance within the region will support the common achievements, global goals 2030. IORA need to be a platform to manage the unequal capacity and capability of Indian Ocean littoral states in managing the maritime resources and in countering maritime challenges.
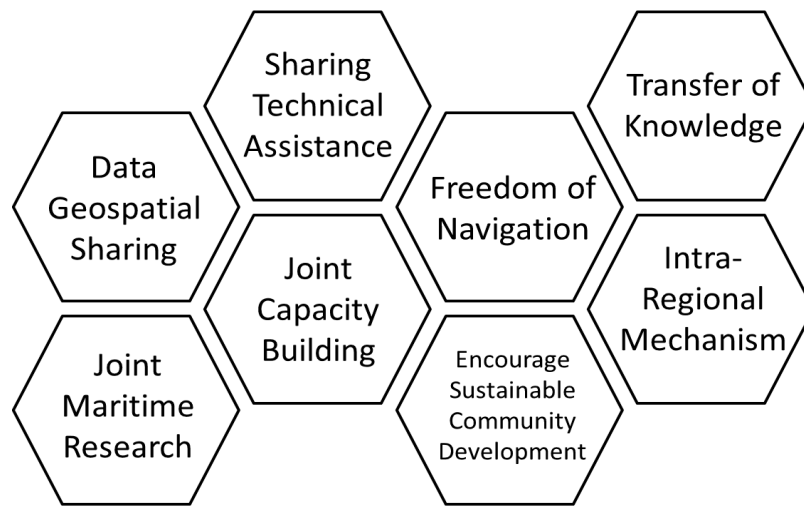
Figure 4. Points of Recommendation

Joint Maritime Research – As well as mentioned in Jakarta Concord IORA, strengthening academic, science, and technology cooperation is important to support community's vision. Joint research also includes data geospatial sharing, technical assistance, exercise of freedom of navigation, and joint capacity building.

Data Geospatial Sharing – The huge area of Indian Ocean has abundant natural resources and strategic sea lanes for global shipping. Studies of geospatial is needed to determine maritime boundary of the littoral states, to map the water area (of the ocean), to create a marine map for the sake of navigation and shipping, and to know the potential of maritime resources in order to explore and exploit for the sake of regional prosperity. Because not all of the member states of IORA have a certain technology and capability on geospatial research, IORA need to be a motor to conduct joint marine research and sharing Indian Ocean geospatial data for the member states. *Sharing Technical Assistance* – The background of sharing technical assistance approximately same as the significant of data geospatial sharing. Assistance in this case means sharing knowledge in capacity building to the member states, especially to promote the sustainable and responsible fisheries management and development in the Indian Ocean. This action will support the achievement of global goals 2030 to make sure that no one left behind to meet global prosperity.

Freedom of Navigation – Even though IORA is focusing on socio-economy approach in the Indian Ocean region, but still UNCLOS 1982 becomes the constitution of the seas (and oceans as well) about the law on the sea. Every activities on the water territory in Indian Ocean need to refer back or subject to applicable law which clearly regulated on UNCLOS 1982. Including apply freedom of navigation and exercise it to all of the member states so they can contribute in maintaining maritime safety and security if the region.

Encourage Sustainable Community Development and Intra-regional Mechanism – Sustainable community development boosts people to people interaction and builds

connectivity. It supports intra-regional mechanism to increase the regional trade and investment cooperation because the better intra-IORA flow in economy form it will faster the prosperity among all member states. Several examples could be promote public and private infrastructure development, empowering small-medium economy communities, end recognize the significant of this approach to regional economic growth and skill developments and increasing participation in global value chains. Participation is one of maritime diplomacy principles.

Conclusion

As the strategic global sea lanes Indian Ocean predicted to become the busiest and most important world's water territory in 2030. The importance to maintain the security and stability of this region need to be achieved by all of the littoral states which also the member states of IORA. IORA as a regional organization focuses on maintaining Indian Ocean region security and stability by socio-economy approach must playing important role to maintain ocean governance within the region. IORA must be a bridge to manage unequal capacity and capability of maritime knowledge include the seapower among the littoral states. Maritime diplomacy need to be considered in order to maximize IORA potential on developing and utilizing maritime territory in Indian Ocean (for booth managing natural resources and global sea lanes). By the following years, IORA must do some extra works to make sure the achievement of global goals 203 within the Indian Ocean littoral states to meet common interest, prosperity, and security by taking principle of no one (member state) left behind on achieving global goals.

7. And other parties which the names we could not mention one by one.

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A Curator(ial) Collaborative: Curating Contemporary Asian Art in an Australian Context

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Abstract

This research starts from an examination of the historical relationship in cultural shifts in Australia, which reflects the re-orientation towards the Asia-Pacific region and the development of Asian contemporary art over the last two decades. This research reflects my cultural and artistic position on the imposition of Australian culture on Asian culture and vice versa. In 2011, the Australian Government launched an Australian Multicultural Policy titled "The People of Australia". This policy inspired me to reflect on the cultural impact of multiethnic immigrants on Australian arts, culture and society. I have been traveling and researching between Australia and Asia for ten years. My experience of Australian multiculturalism has influenced my artistic practices and inter-cultural cognition. I have witnessed the influences of Australian multicultural society, the effects of geopolitics in Asia-Pacific area and the impacts of globalization. All of these issues remind me that it is important to examine the development of Asian Australian contemporary arts and to analyze the "Asianisation" of Australia. The goal of the historical investigation is to understand how socially and culturally engaged Asian art practices and exhibition makings have been used in the field of Australian and global contemporary art. Integrating research methodology with curatorial practice, this research consists of case studies and staging of experimental art projects. Each of these projects will investigate the relationship between artists and creative practitioners using social and cultural analysis. It aims to establish a new curating approach to advocating collaborative curatorial practices.

Keywords: Cultural and Social Change, Asianisation, City Transformations, Australia Asia Pacific Region, Multicultural Identity, Creative Practice, Curatorial Discourse

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Introduction

This practice-led research begins with an examination of the historical relationship between Australia and Asia in cultural shifts over the last two decades, which reflects the development of contemporary Asian art in Australia. In the past twenty years, Asian contemporary art has developed quickly in Australia due to globalization, economic change and changed politics in multiculturalism in Australia. This period of history is important because it sets an example for future development in Asian and Australian contemporary art. The goal of the historical investigation is to better understand how socially and culturally engaged curating contemporary Asian art and exhibition making have been used in Australian and Western contemporary art. Combining the research methodology with the collaborative curating, this research consists of case studies, staging of experimental arts and cultural projects. Each of these projects will explore the relationship between Asian and Australian creative practitioners using artistic, cultural and social policy analyses.

The purposes of the study

How can I use the concept 'curator as cultural collaborator' to create contemporary arts projects to examine the relationship between artists and curators within an Asian Australian context? What are the difficulties and constraints in the curator collaboration?

This research reflects my cultural and artistic position as an Asian artist-curator working in an Australian context and interacting between shifting relationship Australian and Asian contexts. In 2011, the Australian Government launched an Australian Multicultural Policy titled 'The People of Australia'. I was inspired by this policy to reflect on the cultural impacts of multiethnic immigrants on contemporary Australian arts, culture and society. This research would discover cultural position of my curatorial practice through social and cultural reflection of my cross-cultural identities. It aims to set up a new curatorial approach to promoting collaborative curating and providing Asian and Australia communities with a unique insight into other cultures in terms of both artistic creation and cultural production.

Background

According to the Spring Institute of Intercultural Learning, there are differences between multicultural, intercultural, and cross-cultural communication. Multicultural is defined as a society containing several social cultures or ethnic groups. People live with each other, but each cultural group does not necessarily interact with others. For example, in a multicultural community, people often go to grocery stores and restaurants without really communicating with their neighbors from other countries. Cross-cultural refers to the comparison between different cultures. In the circumstance of cross-cultural communication, differences are understood and acknowledged by people and individual change rather than collective transformations can be brought about. One culture is often regarded as 'the norm' in cross-cultural societies where all other cultures are contrasted to the dominant culture. Intercultural outlines communities in which all the cultures are deeply understood and respected. Intercultural communication mainly targets the mutual exchange and development of

ideas, cultural norms and deep relationships, no one is left unchanged in the intercultural society because everyone learns and grows from one another together.

I was informed by a Palestinian American philosopher and cultural critic, Edward Said that the understanding of West and East culture's influence behaviors. The differences between cross-cultural, intercultural and multicultural art projects will be investigated using collaborative curating and the relationship between internal national and cross-national external cultural communication will be examined. This research outcome will consist of a series of curatorial research projects developed by me accompanied with Asian and Australian artists.

This research would discover cultural position of my curatorial practice through social and cultural reflection of my cross-cultural identity. It aims to set up a new curatorial approach to promoting collaborative curating and providing Asian and Australia communities with a unique insight into other cultures both in terms of the artistic creation and cultural production. This research is a journey of self-discovery that explores the relationship between personal and cultural identity. My family history involves the Cambodian Civil War, the migration of overseas Chinese aboard in Macau, France, Hong Kong and Australia.

As an Asian artist, curator and researcher, I am interested in multicultural identities. I was born in British Hong Kong and have studied in Australia for over four years. The impact of living in a different culture has changed my perspectives, values and personal identity. I have been fascinated by complicated and layered space between Asia-Australia interaction and my Asian cultural identity. Through my training as a practicing artist and trained curator, I aim to establish a new curatorial approach to exploring collaborative curating projects. Since my role as a visual artist has transformed into the curator and researcher during my postgraduate study, I am now seeking ways of modeling blended practices. In this research, I have a particular focus on collaborative curatorial practice and exhibition making between Asian and Australian creative practitioners.

This research is driven by my personal and cultural identity through collaborative curating in Asia and Australia. A series of new arts and cultural projects will be created with the attempt to generate insights into cross-cultural, intercultural and multicultural communication through the concept of 'curator as cultural collaborator'. This idea was inspired by book of Paul O'Neill's *The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Culture(s)* (2012). O'Neill shows how the role of curator in making exhibitions had changed from 1987 to 2011. With the development of group exhibitions and biennials in terms of their modes of presenting contemporary art to the public, curatorship has begun to be seen as part of creative activities. The role of curator has transferred from a behind-the-scenes organizer to a significant cultural producer. Also, another art curator and critic, Hans Ulrich Obrist, also states the curator is not only about filling the space with objects, but also a person who 'brings different cultural spheres into contact'.

Collaborative curating will be explored through co-curating, curatorial panel curating and joint curating between Australian and Asian creative practitioners. Multiple arts and cultural exhibitions or festivals will be presented in institutions, galleries, public spaces and alternative exhibition spaces using collaborative curating to highlight the

concept of multicultural identities through collaboration between Australia and Asian communities.

Methodology

The theoretical framework of my dissertation will be based on theories on curating contemporary art (suggested by Hou Hanru, Hans Ulrich Obrist, Jens Hoffmann, Terry Smith and O'Neill, Paul). It will be examined by Australian scholars, such as Ien Ang, Melissa Chiu, John Clark, Caroline Turner and others who are familiar with Asian modern and contemporary art and cultural theories. After analyzing the research of collective curating and cultural studies, the future of art curating in the Asian Australian art scene will be explored. In particular, influences of rising Asian contemporary art market and industry in Australia would be investigated. All these studies will be analyzed using examples of participatory curating Asian contemporary art and exhibition making in an Australian context from the mid of 1990s. Also, the international curatorial art projects will be examined. For example, the *Cities on the Move* (1997-1998), *Some Rooms: The Curator as Collaborator* (2009), *Manifesta 8* (2010) and *COLLECTIVE MAKING 02 PART 1 / DO IT* (2015-2016) as examples of collective curating for my research projects.

As illustrated in the figure below, I am planning to develop a series of practice-led research projects including: 1) The 21st Century Printmaking at Melbourne and Hong Kong, China (2018-2019) will examine cross-cultural communication and the model of co-curating between Melbourne and Hong Kong curators regarding collaborating or curating an exchange exhibition in public institutional (Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre Hong Kong) settings. 2) Public Art Project in between Melbourne and Nanjing, China (2018-2019) will explore differences between Australian and Nanjing curators and researchers regarding intercultural communication and the model of panel curating so as to collaborate or curate an exchange exhibition in public space. 3) Chinese-Australian Identity / Cultural Identities in the Chinese Diaspora (2020) will discover the multicultural communication and the joint curating between artists and curators when collaborating or curating a local exhibition in non-profit organizations or art museums settings. 4) Contemporary Asian Art Projects (CAAP) (2020) Explore differences between Asian and Australian creative practitioners in terms of artist's regional exchange in Asian and Australian and the model of collective cultural curating in order to co-create a platform in creative collective settings.
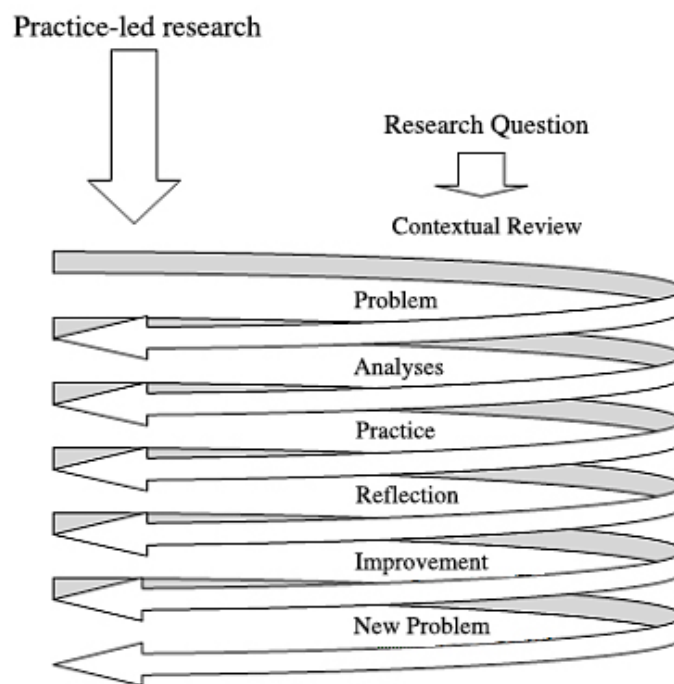
Figure 1: The Research Method (W. Yeung, 2017).

The cooperation opportunities instead of the conclusion

This practice-led research is an innovative discovery, which aims to find potential partners and organizations through different channels and platforms. This research is proposed to be a collective creation. The research group is based in Melbourne, Australia, which will explore emerging contemporary Asian Arts and Culture within the Asia and Australia region. In this research, a platform for Asian and Australian creative practitioners and researchers will be created through collaborative exposure of Asian contemporary arts through educational.

Overall, art is a universal language that can be used as a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures. My research projects aims to initiate an up-close conversation between the East and the West through the art and help to bring these converging cultures together.

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Cultural Knowledge Pedagogy for Higher Education

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Abstract

Pedagogy in higher education curriculum is very important in dealing with students who have different cultures. Since, every individual is unique, so teachers must vary their methods of teaching, content of the lessons and type of evaluation that will fit to the type of learners. Thus, this theoretical and empirical study aimed to analyze the importance of cultural knowledge pedagogy in the higher education of learning particularly in the integration of the 21st century skills. This study focused on how important is the cultural knowledge pedagogy in higher education, the components and strategies of teaching using cultural knowledge across diversity, and the great contribution of using cultural knowledge approach in teaching learners with diverse cultures. The research design used in this study is purely theoretical and empirical design using fifteen articles as the tools in analyzing the results of the study. Based from the thorough analysis of the literature reviews of the articles, findings reveal that cultural knowledge pedagogy is very important in the teaching and learning process for the learners with different cultures. It means that cultural knowledge is a way of demonstrating an openness and willingness to learn about the aspects of culture that are important to students and their families. The great contribution of using cultural knowledge pedagogy is to have culturally responsive classroom management which requires teachers to understand the ways that schools reflect and perpetuate discriminatory practices of the larger society. In conclusion, cultural knowledge pedagogy is a useful strategy for enacting culturally responsive classroom management in the higher education of learning.

Keywords: Cultural Sensitivity, Pedagogy, higher education

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Introduction

In the teaching profession, knowledge across diversity is the answer to the multicultural education. It explains further, that teachers should be knowledgeable enough on the different cultures of the learners because these will be the basis of what pedagogy fits to the types of learners. This means that in the teaching and learning process, teachers as facilitators of learning must possess the knowledge of cultural sensitivity. Thus, the pedagogy of teaching has the integration of cultural dimensions, in order to have culturally responsive pedagogy. So, what is the role of higher education towards culturally responsive pedagogy in the 21st century education? From this challenging question, we argue that knowledge is power. Through knowledge, people become imaginative, creative and innovative through critical thinking skills. Since, higher education is getting into internationalization, this is already the involvement of different people with diverse cultures across the global arena. Psychologically, understanding different beliefs, levels of cognition, emotion and characteristics of people with different cultures, is needed in the teaching profession. In analyzing different the cultures of the people around the world needs knowledge. And what type of knowledge is needed? It is the cultural knowledge of teachers that will create unique pedagogy that caters to the learners with different cultures. Hence, this study aims to review some articles in analyzing the importance of cultural content knowledge in higher education. We argue that cultural content knowledge helps in realizing the cultural responsive pedagogy with the integration of the 21st century skills.

Cultural knowledge pedagogy in higher education

Howard & Clarence (2011) argue that "culturally responsive pedagogy" is an intervention method of teaching in attaining the learners' outcomes of what they have understood from the discussions of their teachers. Meaning to say, this method of teaching is focusing on the different classroom activities integrating the concept of different cultures across the global arena. From this endeavor, the pedagogy is called cultural sensitivity. So, the most important strategy of teaching is cultural knowledge based emphasizing the facilitating learning activities in a culturally responsive classroom management. According to Howard & Clarence, (2011)"overall student outcomes, graduation rates, and college going rates increased when culturally responsive pedagogical practices were used".

Moreover, according to Siwatu (2007) as cited by Majors (2010) "Culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) is an approach to teaching and learning that (1) uses students' cultural knowledge and experiences, (2) incorporates a culturally compatible classroom environment, (3) provides students with opportunities to demonstrate learning using a variety of assessment techniques, and (4) provides students with the knowledge and skills needed to function in mainstream culture while maintaining their cultural identity and native language. These mean that knowing the concepts of different cultures is an important aspect in the learning outcomes of diverse learners. Thus, teachers in higher education must be creative, innovative and imaginative in using pedagogy that helps diverse learners in the learning process with the 21st century skills. In fact:

"teachers trying to become more culturally responsive in their practice made efforts to build positive relationships with their students and create positive learning environments. Their action revealed an understanding about the need to balance social supports and academic press"(Keogh, 2013). The idea of Keogh states that teachers in higher education must be equipped with knowledge about different cultures of their learners and these will be used as the core values in teaching with harmonious essence of ecological climate among parents, teachers as well as school administrators and other stakeholders.

In addition, "Hawley & Nieto (2010) as cited by Keogh(2013) indicate:
" …that students' race and ethnicity influence teaching and learning in two important ways: how students respond to instruction and curriculum, and teachers' assumptions about how students learn and how much students are capable of learning…" This explains that learners with diverse cultures, should be analyzed first before using classroom facilitating learning activities. It means that through keen analysis of the different cultures of the learners, the power of knowledge is being used. We can call this as "cultural content knowledge in choosing pedagogy for the culturally responsive classroom management.

Shi, Visschers, Vivianne &Siegrist,(2015) emphasize that :
 "…cultural values are stronger predictors of concern about climate change... cultural knowledge as a way of demonstrating an openness and willingness to learn…

"A multidisciplinary teaching model was used to develop a pilot course for students in the human service professions of nursing, education, and social work to gain additional knowledge and skills in providing diverse clients with culturally appropriate services during field and clinical experiences (Munoz, DoBroka, 2009).

The statements of Shi, Visschers, Vivianne &Siegrist,(2015) as well as Munoz, DoBroka, (2009) try to emphasize the best pedagogy in higher education which is constructivism in a multidisciplinary settings. Meaning, in the teaching and learning process, the curriculum and instruction must be interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary cultural content knowledge pedagogy for higher education of learning. The approach of teaching must be based on the different cultures of the learners. It could be done through experiential and cultural facilitating activities.

Cross-cultural knowledge through digital literacy

In the findings of Li (2008) depict:

" …*actual knowledge sharing behavior and moved knowledge sharing research toward understanding the complexity of technology-mediated knowledge sharing in cross-cultural contexts; provided sound explanations for cross-cultural knowledge sharing patterns by synthesizing the factors from separate fields including national culture, organizational studies and online communities of practice…*"

The findings of Li(2008), explains the importance of media literacy in using cultural content pedagogy in higher education curriculum and instruction. Learning the different cultures across the global arena can be easily attained through online learning or digital literacy integration. That is, even how far are the people across the

globe, with the integration of information technology like internet, diverse cultures can be easily understood. Thus, cultural content knowledge pedagogy is still used in choosing the suitable educational technology in the enhancement of culturally responsive pedagogy across diverse cultures. Indeed, according to Chen , Sun, McQueen(2010):

"... insight into the cultural issues implicated in the structured knowledge transfer process, when a knowledge provider and a recipient are from different cultural dimensions, as well as offering more general insight into the mechanism of knowledge transfer in the cross-cultural business context..."

The above statements semantically explain that cultural content knowledge is the basic process of understanding the concept of different cultures throughout the globalized curriculum and instruction.

Cross-cultural environment

In the study of Li & Chang(2014) conceptualizes the important role of cross-cultural environments in understanding the key influencing problems that affect transfer of knowledge in the learning environment. It is being emphasized how relevant is cultural content knowledge in improving the comprehension skills of learners in attaining the cross-cultural knowledge ecological system. Hence, in the process of learning across diversity, negative thoughts like discriminatory practices should be avoided. In other words, cultural sensitivity must be observed and applied in the cultural content knowledge pedagogy in higher education. This is supported by Angela & Majumdar (2006):

"…schools reflect and perpetuate discriminatory practices of the larger society…;
the programme was effective in increasing their cultural knowledge..."

Furthermore, the concept of "ecology and culture" (Flanagan & Laituri,2004)comprise interacting components through analyzing the integration of environment natural resources in sustaining ecological and cultural management. Knowledge about cultures is still emphasized through a cross-cultural approach with collaboration among the cultural groups.

Similarly, (Gordon, 2002) reveals the relevance of internalizing the meaning of culturally anthropological and socially capital theory in organizations for knowledge management practitioners. The thematic analysis of "collaborative" capabilities reflect to higher education institutions of learning in achieving the cultural content knowledge pedagogy as a method and strategy of learning the different cultures across the globe. Indeed, according to Javernick Will(2009):

"… efforts for acquiring, integrating and transferring the knowledge that is most important to their specific organizations and strategies…;long-range goal of this research, when combined with follow-on work, is to allow firms to capture and reuse global institutional knowledge more effectively, so they can develop economically, environmentally and socially sustainable practices for diverse local environments…"

The above statements focused on internationalization of cultural content knowledge pedagogy in higher education curriculum in sustaining the used of culturally responsive pedagogy for diversity. This is also supported with :

"The impact of socio-cultural developments on local knowledge may be anticipated from understanding the intracultural variation of knowledge".' Schunko, Grasser & Vogl(2012)

Conclusion

Based from the thorough analysis of some review articles, findings reveal that cultural content knowledge pedagogy refers to the innovative and creative method of teaching through the content integration of different cultures. The facilitating learning activities are drawn from the concept of different cultures. Thus, knowledge has the great role in analyzing and interpreting the outcomes of the said pedagogy in higher education. We strongly argue that cultural content knowledge is the best pedagogy across diversity.

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An Issue of Suicidal Woman and Feminism in Vietnam: Situations, Solutions, and Its Effects on Society
(Surveying the weekly Newspaper "Phụ Nữ Tân Văn" 1929-1934)

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Abstract

Gender inequality is a normal and prevalent fact in Vietnam since the early years of the 20th century. However, when Viet Nam was colonized by the French this southeast Asian country was exposed to Western culture including Feminism. Although most social positions were quite varied, traditional views of woman's role and functions were equally dismal. This led to a widespread phenomenon of woman committing suicide. In this paper, we will carry out research to analyze this nation-wide suicidal tendency and the movement that fought for woman's equal rights in Vietnam through the survey of the weekly newspaper "*Phụ Nữ Tân Văn*" (*Woman's Newspaper*). It was the most influencial newspaper in Viet Nam from 1929-1934 and it called for constributions by the *PNTV* to significantly change society's knowledge about woman and the tribulations of the female labour force. Nevertheless, feminism is still a controversial and complicated issue in Viet Nam because of male chauvinism and Confucianism. Although Vietnamese authorities passed an equal law for woman, in reality women still have to withstand many pre-conceptions that results family violence and the lack of fulfillment of the highly-educated woman. By surveying the text of the newspaper "*Phu Nu Tan Van*" as well as some contemporary electronic newspapers, analysis of our data related to Vietnamese culture, it's sociology and the feminist theory, we hope to show a relationship between our traditonal culture and its connection to feminism in contemporary Vietnam.

Key words: Feminism, Suicidal woman, An suicidal woman in Vietnam, *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn*.

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Introduction

In the main factors that impacted on a proccess of forming a general account of Vietnam's culture and society in the early years of the 20th century, the press played a very inportant role including contributions for changing the public's perception of the issue of woman's roles and functions. Although newspapers were published by woman and for woman are still an especial phenomenon, there were about more than ten newspapers initiated by woman in this period. However they almost existed in the short time, even some of them just existed several months[1]. The weekly newspaper *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn (PNTV)* has been considered as the most successful newspaper in Viet Nam from 1929-1934 and it called for contributions to significantly change society's knowledge about woman and the tribulations of the female labour force.

In the first issue (May 2, 1929), *PNTV*'s editors made a clear statement its purpose and functions. *PNTV* is a newspaper "for women' interests", "An independent organization, working single-mindedly at women' problems, and surveying issues that concern women. That means, it will deal with issues relating to the whole nation's fate". During six years, *PNTV* represented a voice of women, and vigorously fought for woman's equal rights as well as the nation's development. Paralleled awareness of woman's rights and duties that received from feminist movements in the world, in the new context, urgent problems of Vietnamese women such as education, financial possess, and their family and social relationships were mentioned in the *PNTV* by reports, commentations, consultancies, teachings, propagandas, evaluations and constructions. All these different activities made a new face of Vietnamese society. From 1930s, women had become "the issue" that was paid attention by whole society. Most newspapers added *a column for woman*, and woman's issues were publicly discussed in the press.

Gender inequality is a normal and prevalent historical fact in Vietnam for thousands of years. However, when Viet Nam was colonized by the French this southeast Asian country was exposed to Western culture including Feminism. Although most social positions were quite varied, traditional views of woman's role and functions were equally dismal. This led to a widespread phenomenon of woman committing suicide. Increasing suicidal women victims had negatively affected all classes in society. Awoken to a dangerous nature of this tendency, *PNTV*'s activities concentrated to seek causes and put forward solutions in order to stop the depressing reality from a viewpoint of the traditional culture and Vietnamese psychology. On the other hand, this newspaper also engaged women participating activities to rescue themselves from inequalities.

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[1] For example: The existed time of woman's newspapers in Vietnam.

Nữ giới chung (1918) - the first woman newspaper	Phụ nữ (1938-1939) in Ha Noi
Phụ nữ Thời Đàm (1930-1934) in Ha Noi	Nữ công tạp chí (1936-1938) in Sai Gon
Phụ Nữ Tân tiến (1932-1934) in Hue	Nữ giới (1938-1939) in Sai Gon
Đàn bà mới (1934-1936) in Sai Gon	Đàn bà (1939-1945) in Ha Noi
Nữ lưu (1939-1937) in Sai Gon	Bạn gái (1945)
Việt Nữ (1937) in Ha Noi	

Based on feminism in the world, the movement that fight for woman's equal rights in Vietnam has been known as a persistly journey during more than one century. Until now there are a great many of social problems that concern the sexist oppression. This paper will answer the question why has "Woman" become "an issue"/"a problem" that need to be dealt with from the early years of 20th century to now in Vietnam?

1. The issue of suicidal woman in the early years of the 20th century: the situation and its causes

On the article headlined "Women Commit Suicide Again", No. 123, 2 June, 1932, *PNTV*'s columnists complained that "The suicidal tendency has been an enfectious disease in which no any powers that can stop it".

PNTV did not count the numbers of victims with a exact statistics, however by surveying two columns: *The Domestic News* and *Our Opinions of the Topical Questions*, it can realize that commiting suicide became a burning problem of society. In *The Domestic News,* each report was writen very short, maybe about 30-70 words including name, age and reasons why victims had to commit suicide. For instance, "Two Female Teachers Commited Suicide", "A Female Teacher Cut Her Bosom and Neck to Commit Suicide", "A Female Teacher Ty Commited Suicide at Binh Loi Bridge" (*PNTV* No. 123, 2 June, 1932), "A Mother and Four Her Daughters Commited Suicide at Truc Bach Lake" (*PNTV*, No. 118, 28 January, 1932)' "Because of the Obstacles in Love, a Girl Commited Suicide From a High Building" (*PNTV* No. 115, 14 January, 1932); "Two Female Siblings Commited Suicide at Hoan Kiem Lake at the Same Time" (*PNTV* No. 98, 3 September, 1931); "A Victim of the Constrained Marriage"(*PNTV* No. 218, 28/9/1933)...etc. Most victims are about 16-25 years old.

Besides providing mainly individual informations about suicidal victims, many *articles, reviews* and *comments* that related to this phenomenon were published by *PNTV*. In *Our Opinions of the Topical Questions* column, most these articles focused on searching of **reasons/causes** of woman committing suicide. They conceded that the core background of this issue proceeds from the very new development of society - a period of Western-Eastern cultural interference in Vietnam.

When the French settled in Indochina and started to cary out colonial policies in Viet Nam, an industrial economy was simultaneously begun to take shape in the nation that originated from an agricultural production. This led to many new social relationships were established and changed. The Western cuture and engineering shook the whole society from its foundations, generating a great deal of conflictions including traditional views of woman's role and functions.

Firstly, there are **pre-married unsound customs.** In articles signed Phu Nu Tan Van such as "We Understand the Reason Why Ms. Tuyet Hong Commited Suicide" (No. 83, 21 May 1931), and "Reasons Make Women Have to Commit Suicide" (No. 85, 4 June 1931); Phan Khoi's articles headlined "A Discussion of Suicidal Woman" (No. 22) and "The Family in Vietnam Has Been a Problem" (No. 83, 21 May 1931); and Thach Lan's other article titled "Woman and Love" (No. 95, 13 August 1931), it has seen that all authors concentrated on analyses of the pre-marriage unsound customs in Vietnam including a rule "where parents put baby sitting" and "exacting wedding-presents (as a challenge issued by a girl's family) from the future bridegroom's

family". Compeling a girl to marry a person who is not suitable for her because of the property and money of the bridegroom's family, or require wedding-presents from the future bridegromm's poor family and separate a couple... led girls to fall into a stalemate. They had to either accept their fate with resignation or commit suicide. Specially, facing with the situation that happened 2 victims committing suicide in one week and 5-6 dead persons in two months, Phan Khoi clearly exposed that, "Vietnamese society is getting sick, Vietnamese traditional views of the family has not been suitable for society itself anymore. Hence, the family in our country has become "the problem". We must keep our mind awaking this situation and find the way to deal with its problem" (No. 83, 21 May, 1931). And he emphasized "All deaths rise from causes in their family"(No. 83, 21 May, 1931).

In other article, *PNTV*'s columnists also asserted that, "In order to eliminate the suicidal tendency in society, first of all, we must abolish unsound customs, and strict and suppressive rules that are pressing the life of human beings; We must totally exclude constraining girls to marry someone without love - one of causes makes them have to commit suicide" (No. 85, 4 June 1931). Besides showing unsound customs in society, another author Thach Lan also questioned the relationship between woman and love to display one of the reasons of woman comitting suicide. Why have Vietnamese women had not rights to talk about love? "Because women are a thing, they are not human beings, nobody paid attention to their emotions and feelings. Thus, when women discuss on love, speak of love, require the loved right, as a formal voice in society, will prove that "Women are not a thing that men can arrange everything on their life and absolutely obey men without question. Women are human beings, having equal rights with men, and having the free right in the marriage to select their spouse" (No. 95, 13 August 1931). Therefore, the marriage without love and the lack of respect for woman's psychology and sentiments are one of main causes of inequality in society.

The second cause is **the after-marriage situation and the multi-generational family regime.** Many articles in the *PNTV* mentioned the doctrine of "Three Moral Bonds" (the relationship between King and subject, father and child, husband and wife) - an issue that not only related to the cultural tradition, concerned also politics. In a series of Phan Khoi's articles such as "Comparing between the Family Regime in Vietnam and Confucius-Mencius's Moral" (No. 85, 4 June 1931); "Discussion more on Three Moral Bonds and Five Constant Virtues" (No. 89, 30 July 1931), he displayed the real nature of Confucianism's Three Moral Bonds and clearly shown that this doctrine only supports to the monarchic system. When considering this doctrine's humanity, he asserted "People's individual personality has been trampled on" (tư cách cá nhân đã bị giày đạp) (No. 89, 30 July 1931). Some other articles as such Dong Tung Thon Nu's "Are Three Subjections and Four Virtues Suitable for Woman Today?" (No. 93, 30 July 1931) also commented on this doctrine's inadequacies. However, they had to concede that all views have existed as a characteristic of the national tradictional culture and it is not easy to abolish from community mind.

More to the point of traditional moral views, authors and scholars concentrated on analyses of the relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. According to Phan Khoi, the great family regime contains lots of disadvantages. The most important thing here is the human personality simultaneously can be spoiled and made

conflicts between them. In reality, basing on the traditional view "Parents are always right", mother-in-law usually persecutes her daughter-in-law with many rules in the family. For example, in the article named "When Sons Get Married, Should They Live the Same House with Their Parents?", he analysed three reasons that led to severe disagreements between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The first one is the change of the circumstances. Although most positions in society have changed including daughter-in-law's knowledge about woman's roles and duties, mother-in-law has still kept unsound opinions. These make differences from behaviours and living attitude. The next one is inconsistences that generate from age and psychophysiological differences. And finally, for interests and responsibilities, although mother-in-law does not consider daughter-in-law as her own child, she always requires her daughter-in-law must completely have responsibilites for her husband's family, having kind behaviours with her mother-in-law, looking after mother-in-law as her mother (Phan Khoi, No. 159, 17 July, 1932). All these are causes that generate a great many of writhes for daughter-in-law, and in some dismal cases, reaching an impasse and pains lead young girls committing suicide.

In addition, the plural marriage also made many women fall down whimsical and pain circumstances. They can be an original wife or a concubine, however both of them are functional human beings for a patriarchal system, either finding her legitimate social place in their husband's lineage, or only being person who provide a male heir for her husband's family. They must accept their fate with resignation and share their married relationship with other women in the same house.

The third reason is major disadvantages of the social moral standards that were considered as **customary laws**. These moral standards are a footing of inequalities because they only bind women, obliging women to have absolutely obedience of men meanwhile men are beyond all these standards and norms.

When carried out to analyse a glaring injustice of Tuyet Hong's death and woman's virginal issue, Nguyen Duc Nhuan emphasized that "The social ethics only ties one side, only for women". From past to now, no man have been punished by losing their virginhood. Meanwhile, many girls have been tyrannized with many different ways if she did not keep her virginity before wedding. The bride's ignoble feelings and a persecution in her husband's family made many women to reach deadlock and choose the way committing suicide. In reality, "from poor girls who are cheaper than a zinc coin to educated girls who were born in the rich family, all of them were compelled to marry someone, or were sold to someone as a goods". Facing with this situation, "Energetic girls leave home beyond being aware of their future. People accepted their fate resignedly will be a child-servant/child-bride, or a concubine, or marry with someone who are not worthy of their ages and feelings. Some persons go to pagodas in order to forget their young age. Some persons commit suicide"(No. 110, 26 November, 193). Thus, this moral standard is one of crucial causes making inequalities in society. Exposing this serious and painful phenomenon, *PNTV* engaged all women and the whole society must abolish unsound customs, eliminating the difference between men and women, for a equal society.

Finally, above and beyond external elements that impacted on woman's destiny, the suicidal tendency rises from other internal reason, that is, woman's perception and knowledge. Lacking of education caused women to destroy themselves. Nhan Viet in

his article "A Weak Mind, A Spiritless Energy" displayed that "Commiting suicide generates from narrow-minded thoughts, the spiritless will. Thus, women need to participate in movements that fight for equality of women themselves with the stronger mind, giving up weak thoughts and committing suicide" (No. 135, 6 June 1932). Especially, he emphasized that if educated women also commit suicide, they will only illustrate that they are coward and fool. Women must to find some ways, some solutions in order to rescue themselves from inequalities in society, must participate in movements that defend and protect themselves from public unequal opinions.

In summary, the suicidal tendency is the widespread phenomenon and from this gloomy reality, it can be realized that woman has really become the serious "issue" of society and it requires to be dealt with by all people. In the process of looking for solutions to deal with this problem, *PNTV*'s activities attacted the attention of many scholars and thinkers, and gained an agreement of many different social classes in society. They became a motivation that encouraged the community in fighting for woman's equal rights, impulsing the development of society in Vietnam.

2. The movement that fought for woman's equal rights in the newspaper *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn.*

In this part, we only concentrate on activities and solutions that *PNTV* carried out to drive back a suicidal "plague" and from that moved toward fights for woman's equal rights in Vietnam. This newspaper's other activities such as organizing women' delivering speeches, establishing women' associations, holding referendums on the women issue from many different scholars, thinkers and women' views as well, showing the relationship between women and education, women and literature, women and domestic issues' state affairs, women and looking after children, women and science.. etc, will be dealt with in another works.

Based on causes that led to the suicidal tendency in Vietnam, articles in the *PNTV* focused on analyses to expose *Confucianism's real nature that has existed as Vietnamese people's customary laws and traditional cultural characteristics* and *its influences on the communal psychology.*

First of all, being one of Asian coutries that is quite heavily impacted by Confucianism, the gender oppression might be interpreted as being interconnected with filiality, patrilineality, and ancestor worship (Li-Hsiang, 2006). These three cultural imperatives and Confucian virtue ethics take familial virtue of filial piety as the root of civic virtue. But, in the theory as well as in practice, Confucianism's many views bear hard upon woman as such the doctrine of "Three subjections and Five constant Virtues", and the view of an ideal woman's "Four virtues"[2]. Scholars and journalists such as Phan Khoi (No. 89, 2 July 1931; No. 85, 4 June 1931; No. 135, 6 June 1932; No. 159, 14 July 1932; No. 117, 21 January, 1932), Nguyen Duc Nhuan (No. 104, 15 October, 1931), Dong Tung Thon Nu (No. 93, 30 July, 1931), A.C (No. 159, 14 July, 1932) in their articles vigoriously againsted these customary laws. They analysed both advantages and disadvantages in Confucian thoughts, and indicated

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[2] Four virtues (Tứ đức) includes Công (Household Skills/Arts), Dung (The beauty), Ngôn (Words, Speaking Arts), Hạnh (Virtue Ethics).

Confucianism's core principle that loses the human dignity of women. That is, "Confucian personhood", it coincides with the male seft. Thus, it makes confucianism becomes a totally incompatibility with feminism and woman's liberation. In addition, these customary laws' power glues the philosophical foundation of Chinese people's *Yin-Yang* principle, displaying woman's roles and functions in society as an inevitable thing that appropreciates to the natural laws. By keeping the three cultural imperatives - the continuity of the family name, ancestor worship, and filial piety, the social practices bear hard upon women and compel women to accept their fates with resignation.

On the other hand, these led to the second issue*, that is *the community psychology*. We can not deny that Confucian thoughts formed Vietnamese traditional virtue views and a specific evaluative system of woman's role and duties. However, the anxious thing is that views of Confucian virtue ethics are conceded by both men and women. This reality built a stable and inherent "wall" as if persist obstacles that any innovations or alterations also meet lots of difficulties to overcome. In fact, these traditional views deeply penetrated in public mind and each individual psychology. In Phan Khoi's articles named "The Reformed Issue for Woman" (*PNTV*, No. 118, 28 January, 1932), and "An Issue of Woman's Liberty and the Philosophy of life", he dealt with this issue from the philosophical foundation, and displayed that an emancipation of woman does not base on the history's evolutionary process and each individual's financial independence, but needs to be founded on phylosophical thoughts of life. In the situation that many fierce debates were appeared and made lots of conflictions between two old-new, conservative-progressive outlooks in the society, considering the emancipation of woman from the philosophical foundation would help people to recognize feminism's real nature as well as avoid unnecessary disputes. Also, the philosophy of life has related on the individual knowledge and social cultural levels, thus, in order to deal with this issue from the root, author asserted again that society must consider women as human beings and they must equal with men in all interests. However, the necessary precondition is women' self-awareness of their own issue. The movement that has fought for woman's equal rights must to be risen from woman's requirements and perception.

3. Feminism and Vietnamese woman's place in society today: situations and solutions

Although Vietnamese authorities passed an equal law for women (2016), in reality women still have to withstand many pre-conceptions that results social problems such as family violence and the lack of fulfillment of the highly-educated woman.

Mrs. Le Hoa, deputy for Oxfam in Vietnam said, "we are educated and grown up with the beliefs that men are stronger and they have rights to do violent behaviours towards women. Conversely, women also are certain about this normality as if it is part of our life. However, the more dangerous thing is that it does not considered criminal actions" (Nam Phuong, 2014). This is one of causes that have made family violence increased continually in Vietnam. According to *The National research on Family Violence for Women in Vietnam* that was proclaimed by Vietnam government and United Nations dated 25 November 2010, 58% Vietnamese women confirmed that they were victims of one of three family violent forms including the body, sex, and the mind. "Although family violence is very common, this situation has mainly been

hiden", Mrs. Henrica A.F.M. Janse - the head of the research Group announced. "Besides a discrimination and shame, many women have still thought that family violence is a normal thing, and women need to accept their fate with resignation in order to keep the peace in their family" (Pham Thu Huong, 2016). According the lastest statistics (2016), most Vietnamese women have been living in a latent danger of family violence at one or some certain periods in their life. In some regions in Vietnam such as the southeast of Vietnam and mountain regions, for every 10 women, there are 4 victims of family violence and they recorgnized that family is not a safe place for them (Pham Thu Huong, 2016). In addition, according to Mrs. Shoko Ishikana- the head of representative for Institution of United National Woman, "87% Family violent victims have not found the authority's helps - a orthodox service". This indicated that the judicial system in Vietnam has not provided a guarantee and giving appropriate solutions.

These figures demostrated that the movement that has fought for woman's equal rights is still a very complicated issue and have lots of challengings. Sexist oppression has been occuring in the another face, not being explicitly appeared in public activities. In this time, commiting suicide does not exist, and women are equal with men in education, work and other social interests today, but many women can not escape from a gloomy life. Gender inequality has existed as a unspoken power and betrayed in family relationships. Still, it was normally hiden by very women who want to keep a peace and tranquility in their family.

On the other hand, a huge number of women have continually kept the attitude that the woman's happiness will be contingent upon a certain man. They have not broken out of men' shadow, depending on men both mind and body. Happiness of women is to find themselves legitimate place in their husband's family, ensuring their permanent social place in their husband's lineages. This leads to the fact that independent and highly-educated women become the unusual phenomenon and difficulty in finding a ideal husband. Patriarchal behaviour caused men normally flinch to get married with highly-educated women. Even if they can get married, a divorced rate is higher than non-educated or less educated women.

In addition, the standards of the ideal woman seems to be not changed very much. "Four virtues" are important criteria for evaluating women. In David Marr (1984), Shawn Mc Hale (1995), and Van Chi (2008)'s researches on Vietnamese "women issue" in the early years of the 20th century, although authors refered to changes in women' perception about their own role and place in society and family, and considering this as a necessary precondition to emancipation of women from gender inequality, in fact, it can be seen that this shifted process was not in proportion to a full-scale revolutionary upheaval of Vietnamese society in this period. Until now, even though it can not deny that feminist movements has significantly changed Vietnam society during nearly one century, the protracted existence of the traditional views and customary laws have negatively influenced on many aspects of Vietnamese people's living. In the past as well as in the present, gender oppression is part of community psychology concerning Confucian moral system, and existing as a solidified stronghold that is not easy to overcome.

Conclusion

Being colonized by the French, economy, politics and culture of Vietnam deeply changed and these strongly influenced on most positions in society. In this transitional period, many social issues generated and required to be deal with including the issue of woman's equal rights and an emergence of the tendency commiting suicide of women as the plague. Facing with this dismal reality, *PNTV* investigated and exposed causes and solutions of this phenomenon. Unsound customs of the pre-marriage period, the multi-generational family regime and the after-marriage situation, and Confucian ethics were considered main causes that led to suicidal "disease" in Vietnam. Although there were a great deal of vigorous debates and conflicts between conservative and avant-garde people, feminism and the movement that fought for woman's equal rights gained certain achievements. Suicidal trend diminished in the late 1940s and significantly changed social awareness about woman's role and functions. However, these initial accomplishments are relatively minor compared feminist movements in the world.

In fact, traditional views of women have been toughly influenced by patriliarchal system and Confucianism and these make femenism become a complicated issue in Vietnam. Commiting suicide, or family violence as well as difficulties in the career and family of high-educated women originate from the obviously sexist oppression of social practice. Nevertheless, this gender inequality has been hidden underneath other social practices in new circumstance, and it is a serious public psychology that is not easy to eliminate.

Paralled passed the equal law for women, Vietnamese authority promulgated many different policies and decrees to reduce the gender inequality in Vietnam, but traditional culture and community psychology are making Confucianism become a implicit power in society that comes into conflicts between theory and practice, laws and law enforcements. It is very clearly that Vietnamese feminism needs to find a special way to deal with its proplems. If not, feminism will be fallen down anti-feminist situation and gender inequality has moved on more sophisticated forms, being beyond the control.

Consequently, Confucianism is refered to a whole fundamentally incompatible with Feminism, however in evolutional trend of human beings, equality and freedom for women are an unavoidable requirement. In reality, it is not easy to reconcile between Confucian legacies and woman's freedom. However, according to Li-Hsiang's research on *Confucisnism and Women,* we might partly hope about "confucian feminism" in Vietnam as well as some other Asian countries:

"Despite its emphasis on reciprocal inequalities of social roles and its emphasis on the familial virtues of filiality and continuity, Confucianism is assumed to be able to inform feminism with an alternative theoretical ground for women's liberation. A fully articulated Confucian feminism will be reserved as a future project in order to do justice to contemporary feminist theories. For now, to provide an outline for this future project shall be sufficient to demonstrate the possibility of the convergence between feminism and Confucianism, or that a possible "feminist space" can be created within the Confucian tradition" (2006).

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