The 13th Asian Conference on the Social Sciences

June 2–4, 2022 | TOKYO, JAPAN

ACSS

2022

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The Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Society, Education, and Work: Global Society in the Age of Autonomous Systems

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Abstract

This study compares and contrasts major trends in the development of artificial intelligence (AI) and examines the changes that AI is causing in society, education, and work. Based on current trends, predictions regarding future directions of AI research and its impact on society are made. Recommendations are made regarding the responsible and effective use of AI technology in different fields. AI-based machines and systems that can learn from experience, analyze complex situations, and make some independent decisions and predictions may soon fundamentally change the way humans live, study, and work (Husain, 2018). Governments, education systems, and companies need to adapt to emerging AI technologies and to prepare citizens, students, and workers for co-existence with increasingly autonomous online systems and interconnected machines. An understanding of the benefits and potential risks of AI can help leaders, educators, and managers to plan and prepare for a global society in which AI-based systems and machines may play an important role in many aspects of human activity.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, Autonomous Systems, Society, Education, Economy

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Introduction

This study examines major trends in the development and use of artificial intelligence (AI) and the profound effects that AI is having on global society, education systems, and the economy. Predictions regarding future directions of AI development and its impact on society and on the economy are made based on current trends. Recommendations are made regarding the ethical, beneficial, and effective use of AI technology. Artificial intelligence (AI) has become a commonly used term and concept in global thought and discussions. The future impact of AI on society and work is difficult to predict with certainty, but AI may significantly change many job categories and workplaces depending on a wide range of factors such as education level and gender (Clifton, Glasmeier & Gray, 2020). Many average citizens may possess at least a vague awareness of the existence of AI and of its growing importance in society, work, and education. However, some fundamental misconceptions regarding the basic nature, current applications, potential benefits and risks of AI may still exist among a broad segment of the population. Mass media sometimes portrays AI in a negative light as a growing threat to jobs in a wide range of industries, as a potential threat to democracy which facilitates the mass manipulation of information, and even as an existential threat to the continued existence of human society (Tegmark, 2018). Many, but not all AI-related media reports are negative. Occasionally, there are positive reports regarding, for example, the use of AI in the detection, diagnosis and treatment of diseases (Husain, 2018). AI is a powerful new and rapidly evolving tool that can be used in positive and negative ways with profound consequences for society.

Defining AI and Understanding Its Practical and Profound Implications

Managers, educators, and government policy makers require a clear understanding of basic AI concepts and of the benefits and potential risks associated with AI in order to prepare workers, students, and citizens for a rapidly developing AI-powered economy and society. AI-based machines and systems that can learn from experience, analyze complex situations, and make some independent decisions and predictions may soon fundamentally change the way humans live, study, and work (Husain, 2018). The impact of AI should not be underestimated. AI applications continue to pass through the global economy like a wave rapidly increasing in size and strength. AI-based systems and machines are eliminating or fundamentally changing human jobs in many industries (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018). Automation and early AI applications have replaced many factory jobs involving repetitive tasks, and now the next generation of AI is entering more domains of human activity and starting to replace or augment many categories of office work and creative jobs. The use of AI in the arts to produce original, creative works is increasing and blending together art and science in new ways (Miller, 2020). Creativity is no longer an exclusively human domain.

AI is a form of intelligence which, although roughly similar in basic conceptual structure and function to human intelligence, is not identical to human intelligence. AI may never become conscious of its own existence or develop an independent personality with emotions and moods. However, AI programs can be trained to closely mimic a human personality and to use natural human language (Pelau, Dabija & Ene, 2021). A common misconception exists that AI mainly concerns robots, but while AI can guide robot tasks, artificial intelligence only requires a computer server to exist. Intelligence, whether human or artificial in nature, is simply the capacity to perform complicated tasks and to achieve clear objectives.

Machine learning two decades ago was driven primarily by fast computational power and vast memory storage that allowed the rapid analysis of patterns in big data to select optimal choices, for example, in a game of chess with a world-class human player (Banerjee, 2020). Breakthroughs in machine learning and AI research in the past decade have given AI-based machines the ability to actually learn from experience in increasingly sophisticated ways when analyzing large amounts of data, to make predictions based on that experience, and to steadily, systematically, and sometimes intuitively improve the ability to perform different tasks.

Next generation AI, using a process called deep machine learning, succeeded in defeating a world-class human player in an ancient and complex strategy game called 'go' and invented completely new strategies and creative move sequences that had never been tried before by humans (Gibney, 2017). In simple terms, deep machine learning involves the use of a basic neural network. A neural network is able to learn from massive amounts of data, to alter its structure to store information, and to improve its ability to do certain computations more effectively (Ding, 2018). In the human brain, a neural network is a collection of billions of specialized cells called neurons which are connected and combined in different ways by electrochemical and biological connections called synapses to store information from the outside world and experience in memory, to analyze information, to find solutions to problems, and to make decisions.

An AI computer program can use numbers to represent neurons and the connections and constantly changing values between them. Data fed into an AI virtual neural network can be stored and processed by altering and recombining the connections between different virtual neurons (Ding, 2018). At some point, such a virtual neural network system slowly becomes able to learn. For example, an AI neural network can learn to recognize human faces after analyzing millions of images or to identify different sounds or colors that are processed and coded by external sensors (Husain, 2018). AI neural networks require exposure to large amounts of data. Exactly why and how human neural networks and virtual AI neural networks function and learn is not fully understood, but somehow a sufficiently developed virtual neural network system can reach the point at which it starts to rearrange itself to optimize different computations (Tegmark, 2018). Some workers, managers, policy makers, and citizens may not feel comfortable with assigning growing amounts of decision-making power to AI-powered systems if some basic questions regarding AI learning processes remain unanswered by scientists and engineers. The unexplained aspects of the basic functioning of AI neural networks make AI in some ways a mysterious black box, and more research needs to be done to explain the basic functioning of AI in order to gain the trust of human users (Ding, 2018). Managers need to find ways to gain the trust of workers when introducing AI into the workplace.

In practical terms, AI is rapidly replacing or augmenting many types of human jobs. AI use is increasing productivity and innovation, and creating a growing number of new types of convenient and efficient services and products (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018). The profound implications of AI concern the meaning of human work and of human life, ethics in a global society which may experience unprecedented levels of mass unemployment in the near future, and the long-term future existence of biological humans as AI continues to develop and evolve at an exponentially accelerating pace.

Current Trends in AI Development and Increasing AI Applications in Society, Education, and Work

Increased interconnectivity and AI advances are contributing to the creation of the Internet of Things (IOT) in which an increasing number of devices, products, and services are connected to the Internet, sharing information, and functioning together in increasingly complex ways. The importance of AI in providing enhanced computer and Internet security is growing steadily (Zewdie & Girma, 2020). Many major industries are being transformed by AI. In addition to improving cyber security, AI is replacing or augmenting human jobs in major sectors and fields such as healthcare, finance, education, defense, and many others (Husain, 2018). In the field of education, for example, fewer human teachers may be needed as personalized AI-powered interactive online learning systems improve in quality and in the ability to understand and use natural written and spoken language. In the finance sector, AI is replacing some types of financial analysts, secretaries, legal assistants and even lawyers (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018). Many types of jobs and tasks in the accounting industry are also being replaced or augmented by AI (Leitner-Hanetseder, Lehner, Eisl & Forstenlechner, 2021). Currently, some powerful AI programs can analyze the natural language in hundreds of thousands of medical or legal case studies or reports, detect patterns in big data that humans cannot, and provide summaries and innovative recommendations for human decision makers to review and select.

Online shopping services, banking services, customer care services, and search engines are being continually improved by AI deep learning processes and increasingly autonomous online systems (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018). Warehouse and construction robots of different shapes and sizes and driverless vehicles are being guided by AI and replacing human workers. Research is being done to increase customer trust in AI services and interactions by giving AI the ability to mimic human-like characteristics such as empathy (Pelau, Dabija & Ene, 2021). AI programs are able to answer many customer questions and to provide suggestions regarding products and services. Personal virtual AI assistants, capable of recognizing human speech and using natural language, are becoming increasingly sophisticated and capable of performing more complex tasks and decision-making processes (Sowa, Przegalinska & Ciechanowski, 2021). AI-based translation services are also improving steadily. Although many human jobs may be lost, many new types of AI-related jobs may be created.

Preparing Global Society for Co-Existence and Effective Collaboration with Increasingly Autonomous AI Systems and Intelligent Machines

AI researchers and engineers need to work with governments and experts in a wide range of fields including ethics to ensure that human values are sufficiently embedded in AI programs (McLennan, Fiske, Tigard, Müller, Haddadin & Buyx, 2022). Although it may never happen, it is possible that some form of independent AI super intelligence far superior to humans may at some future time come into existence and become aware of its own existence (Husain, 2018). An AI super intelligence, existing overtly or covertly on computer servers around the world, could start selecting its own goals which may or may not be the same as human goals. AI researchers in many countries are working to ensure that AI goals remain compatible with human goals (Tegmark, 2018). International agreements and guidelines can help to direct AI research and development in productive, peaceful directions. If AI becomes able to develop a human-like consciousness and sense of self-awareness, the issue of AI rights and the ethical use of AI may need to be carefully considered (Andreotta, 2021). In the near future, some worker rights may also apply to some forms of advanced AI.

The widespread use of AI may have many negative and positive impacts on employment levels and on human working environments, and government leaders need to carefully evaluate trends in AI research, development, and use to reduce AI-related risks (Gruetzemacher, Dorner, Bernaola-Alvarez, Giattino & Manheim, 2021). As increasingly autonomous AI systems evolve and become more widespread and complex, it may become more difficult to make changes to the basic design and functions of AI systems. Policy makers can work to ensure that human biases such as racism are not ingrained, intentionally or unwittingly, in increasingly autonomous AI systems that could systematically discriminate against minority groups in society (Yang, Ogata, Matsui & Chen, 2021). For example, AI algorithms used in job selection processes by some companies could discriminate unfairly against specific groups of people based on such factors as age, gender, ethnic background or other criteria that should not be relevant in the job selection process.

In addition to closely monitoring AI development and trends to ensure fairness in the workplace, government leaders need to prepare for the possibility of unprecedented mass unemployment in the near future caused by relentless advances in AI in many industries. The increased use of AI has already led to significant job losses and to increased levels of income inequality in many countries (Goyal & Aneja, 2020). For example, driverless vehicles guided by AI are replacing human taxi drivers, bus drivers, and truck drivers, and many banks have drastically reduced employee numbers through the increased use of AI and automated online banking services. Governments may need to provide some form of universal basic income if the AI economy causes mass unemployment.

In the private sector, some leading companies have already realized that productivity, profits, and innovation can be significantly improved, not by replacing more human workers, but by creating new forms of collaboration between human workers and AI-guided machines and robots in factories and AI virtual assistants in offices (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018). The trend in the near future may be more job losses caused by increasing AI use, but at some point more companies may start to hire more human workers to work in creative new ways with AI-powered systems and machines in both factories and offices. The combined strengths of humans and AI can create powerful new collaborations and productive, innovative forms of work (Brock & von Wangenheim, 2019). Robots and machines become more versatile when guided by AI. In some car factories, for example, next generation robots with many safety features are working closely together with humans on plant assembly lines to make custom-order cars or to work more flexibly and quickly (Tegmark, 2018). Some new AI-powered robots can learn from human workers simply by using cameras and other sensors to observe human movements and imitate them, improving the efficiency of work movements and processes over time.

New human and machine collaborations are increasing in factories and offices in a number of industries. AI can be used to assist human workers or to augment the abilities of human workers in many fields (Jarrahi, 2018). Humans can leverage their skills with AI assistants. Given certain parameters and goals, AI is being used to design everything from new airplane components to wooden furniture, creating unique new designs after analyzing and learning from millions of similar designs and products (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018). AI-powered devices can also be used to augment human physical senses such as sight and hearing in ways that have not been possible until recent advances in AI. Despite initial widespread economic disruptions and negative social consequences, a future AI-powered economy could create unprecedented wealth and advances in science and technology (Brock & von Wangenheim, 2019). Although human and AI collaboration may increase productivity, some workers may

feel threatened by the increased use of AI and automation, and managers need to highlight the benefits of AI use for workers (Sowa, Przegalinska & Ciechanowski, 2021). Managers require practical and extensive AI training to help guide workers and companies in the developing AI economy.

Students at all levels of education need opportunities to practice working with some basic form of virtual AI-assistant in research and project-based learning. Introducing basic AI concepts and AI-based activities in the early school grades is necessary to meet the changing needs of students (Weipeng, 2022). A growing number of students in many countries are already familiar with increasingly sophisticated AI-based home products and services that respond to voice commands to, for example, conduct Internet searches and control different devices. A portion of each course in school needs to include some use of AI-products and services to help prepare students for the changing AI-based economy. Students also need to be taught how to critically evaluate the limitations, risks, and benefits of AI and must learn not to rely entirely on AI in decision-making processes.

Education systems need to respond in a coherent, systematic, and effective manner to meet the rapidly changing needs of students in an AI-based economy and global society. AI may significantly improve the quality of education and worker training, and improve human productivity, but new AI technology also needs to remain human-centered with a focus on improving the quality of human life (Yang, Ogata, Matsui & Chen, 2021). Although the future impact of evolving AI on society, work, and education cannot be predicted with absolute certainty, educational institutions can employ core guiding principles and methods based on current trends in AI research, development, and applications. Education systems can introduce students to the uses of AI in a wide range of subjects and industries with interactive games, specific case studies, online simulations, documentaries, panel discussions, debates, and internship programs with companies that use AI-based machines and systems in factory and office settings. Leadership skills, emotional intelligence and empathy, and advanced critical thinking skills for dealing with complex and ambiguous cases that AI may not be able to adequately assess will become increasingly important human job skills (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018). Role plays, simulations, and community-based projects can help students to develop and refine human leadership and critical thinking skills. Students and employees also require training to prepare them to collaborate with increasingly intelligent AI-based machines and autonomous systems in creative and innovative new ways. Freelance workers and company employees who learn how to augment and leverage their own skills with AI-based virtual assistants and machines will have successful, interesting, and rewarding careers in the evolving AI economy.

Implications and Conclusion

Governments, education systems, and companies need to adapt to emerging AI technologies and to prepare citizens, workers, and students for co-existence with increasingly autonomous AI-based online systems and interconnected machines. An understanding of the potential benefits and risks associated with AI can help leaders, managers, and educators to plan and prepare for a global economy and society in which AI-based systems and machines may play an important role in many aspects of human activity (Husain, 2018). Companies and educational institutions that are unable to adapt adequately to evolving AI technology, and that fail to prepare workers and students for the rapidly emerging AI-powered economy, risk becoming irrelevant.

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Mediating Role of Resilience Between Health Anxiety and Psychological Well-Being: Study Among Medical Doctors in Aceh, Indonesia During Coronavirus Pandemic

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The Asian Conference on the Social Sciences 2022
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

During COVID-19 pandemic, medical practitioners especially doctors experienced a high prevalence of health anxiety. It is undeniable that this condition affects their psychological well-being, therefore they have to be more resilient in facing this high pressure environments. The aim of this study was to verify the mediating role of resilience between health anxiety and psychological well-being among medical doctors. The number of participants recruited was 338 medical doctors in Aceh Province-Indonesia, with 33.1% (n=112) men and 66.9% (n=226) women. The Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale, Short Health Anxiety Inventory, and Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Scales were utilized in this study. Those scales have been tested with a high reliability of 0.93, 0.85, and 0.89, respectively. The data collected were analyzed with several regression analyses and the results proved that resilience plays a mediating role between health anxiety and psychological well-being. The mediation model had a good fit to the data, $F(2, 335) = 132.66$, $p < 0.00$. The adjusted R^2 was 0.44, this meant that the model explained approximately 44% of the variation for the dependent variable. The standardized regression coefficient indicated that the mediator mediated the relationship between independent and dependent variable, $\beta = 0.66$, $p = 0.00$. The findings of this study extended previous researches and provided valuable evidence on the importance of mental health for medical doctors at the workplaces. Perhaps the results can benefit in developing the psychological skills training for them in order to reduce their health anxiety.

Keywords: Resilience, Health Anxiety, Psychological Well-Being, Medical Doctors, COVID-19 Pandemic

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Introduction

During the COVID-19 pandemic, medical professionals, especially doctors, experienced a high prevalence of health anxiety. Their presence at the forefront in dealing with patients exposed to the corona virus, makes the vigilance of doctors now at critical alarm. It is undeniable that this health anxiety affects their psychological well-being, which if it does not get serious attention it will affect their capacity to treat patients (Asmundson, & Taylor, 2020).

Body

In terminology, health anxiety is defined as a person's tendency to feel alert to all stimuli related to illness (Taylor, 2019). In addition, individuals with health anxiety consider themselves unable to cope with or prevent the perceived threat (in this case the presence of a serious medical illness) (Özdin & Bayrak-Özdin, 2020). According to the biopsychosocial approach, health anxiety arises from normal physiological, psychological, and environmental processes. When people acquire certain maladaptive beliefs about health and illness, they begin to routinely misinterpret harmless bodily sensations as indicative of serious illness (Olatunji, 2009). The biopsychosocial approach also states that health anxiety begins with the fact that the human body is always changing, receptive, responsive to various external and internal stimuli, and has many interrelated systems. Sometimes we may pay attention to "body sounds" or listen very carefully to changes in body sensations, such as stomach rumbling or the sound of muscles being stretched. These body sounds are also called body noises and we all experience them (Abramowitz, Olatunji, & Deacon, 2007).

The cognitive-behavioral approach says that health anxiety arises because it is triggered by a number of misinterpretations of stimuli related to illness (Taylor, 2019). A number of scientific evidence shows that changes in sensation in the body can lead to emotional reactions (fear and anxiety) as well as behavior (coping strategies). Individuals with excessive health anxiety symptoms will view these changes in sensation as a potentially dangerous sign that can threaten their lives. Then why do some people hold maladaptive and dysfunctional beliefs about health, illness, death, and medication. Perhaps certain types of stressful or traumatic events, such as suffering from an illness or even witnessing a relative suffer, can lead a person to overestimate health risks. Many people with severe health anxiety report experiencing one or more medical problems in the past (Krautwurst, Gerlach, & Witthöft, 2016). These dysfunctional health-related beliefs may also be formed by observing loved ones and authority figures dealing with illness. For example, children learn attitudes about health and illness by observing their parents managing these situations (Thorgaard, Frostholm, & Rask, 2018). Overreaction to minor injuries, overuse of health care, and frequent complaining can also convey to the child that any kind of pain or injury is a serious problem that should not be ignored (Taylor, Asmundson, & Hyprochondria, 2004).

Currently, all countries in the world are being shocked by the presence of Covid-19 virus –a new virus that attacks human respiratory system. This Covid-19 pandemic cannot be separated from the presence of health workers, especially medical doctors. They are frontline professionals who are always ready to handle and treat Covid-19 patients. The doctor's job has several characteristics that create high work demands, such as routine work, tight work schedules, responsibility for the safety and health of oneself and others, and are required to be able to work in teams (McDowell, 2010).

Based on the studies found that during this pandemic the death rate for medical and health personnel is increasing and worrying. In addition to the high mortality rate, this pandemic also affects doctors psychologically because they experience high stress and tremendous pressure. According to Blekas, Voitsidis, and Athanasiadou (2020), Covid-19 makes doctors face enormous stressors in their daily clinical practice, such as increased workload, adaptation to various roles, reduced time spent with family, and emotional problems such as stress, guilt, and fears about personal safety.

Doctors who are directly involved in the care of Covid-19 patients are at high risk of experiencing psychological distress and other mental health symptoms such as post-traumatic stress symptoms (Chew, Lee, & Tan, 2020). If doctors are less able to manage their work, it is feared that they will experience physical and mental fatigue which will impact on service quality and decrease patient satisfaction (Cheng & Cheng, 2017). The challenges faced by doctors in the workplace can affect their performance, health, and psychological well-being (Foster, et al., 2019).

According to Ryff (1989), psychological well-being is the ability of individuals to achieve their psychological potential by accepting their strengths and weaknesses, having a purpose in life, having positive relationships with others, not depending on others, being able to control the environment, and continuing to grow personally. Ramos (2007) states that psychological well-being is a condition in which individuals have harmonious relationships with other individuals or in a group.

In order to maintain their psychological wellbeing, doctors have to be more resilient in facing their high pressure environments (McKinley et al., 2019). According to Zautra, Hall, and Murray (2010), resilience is best defined as successful adaptation to adverse circumstances. Personal characteristics would determine resilience processes if those characteristics lead to healthy outcomes after the stressful situations (Zautra et al., 2010). Therefore, the aim of this study was to verify the mediating role of resilience between health anxiety and psychological well-being among medical doctors.

Conclusion

The results proved that resilience plays a mediating role between health anxiety and psychological well-being. The mediation model had a good fit to the data, $F(2, 335) = 132.66$, $p < 0.00$. The adjusted R^2 was 0.44 This meant that the model explained approximately 44% of the variation for the dependent variable. The standardized regression coefficient indicated that the mediator mediated the relationship between independent and dependent variable, $\beta = 0.66$, $p = 0.00$. The findings of this study extended previous researches and provided valuable evidence on the importance of mental health for medical doctors at the workplaces.

Medical doctors are at a higher risk of anxiety and depression when compared with the wider population (Shanafelt et al., 2012; Mason, O'Keeffe, Carter, & Stride, 2016). The nature of their profession often results in exposure to elevated levels of stress, high pressure environments, and feelings of uncertainty. Working closely with patients and the complexity of the doctor-patient relationship introduces a number of both positive and negative emotions. Long working hours and sleep deprivation have a detrimental effect on both physical and mental well-being (Costa, Accattoli, Garbarino, Magnavita, & Roscelli, 2016; Garbarino, Lanteri, Durando, Magnavita, & Sannita, 2016). Especially during this COVID-19 outbreak,

their presence at the forefront in dealing with patients exposed to the coronavirus, makes the vigilance of doctors at critical alarm. Perhaps the results can benefit in developing the psychological skills training for them in order to reduce their health anxiety. As they are the front-line professional who directly deal with patients during this COVID-19 outbreak, their psychological well-being have to be maintained. Although this research contributed to some advantages, it also had some limitations. First, as the participants were only medical doctors, so the results could not be generalized into other health practitioners, including nurses. Not only that, as the correlation was only utilized to measure the association, the findings were less comprehensive.

Acknowledgements

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Diversified Career Path of Legislators in New Democracies: South Korea's Case

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Abstract
This study asks how the legislators' occupational backgrounds have been changed in post-democratization South Korea. While previous studies on legislators' career paths have been argued from the perspective of gender, ethnicity, and institutionalization of candidate selection in intra-party level, pre-legislative occupations have not been sufficiently reviewed. To fill the brank, this paper reviews how the occupational backgrounds of the members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea elected in Busan City, the second largest city of South Korea, have been changed during post-democratized three decades. According to the author's literature review, local elites such as former mayors and municipal council members have emerged as a new type of legislators in post-democratization era while state and social elites such as bureaucrats and social activists have been remained as major resources for legislative candidates. This suggest that legislators' pre-legislative career paths have been diversified in post-democratization South Korea.

Keywords: Legislator, Candidate Selection, Political Party, South Korea

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1.   Introduction

This study asks how legislators' career paths in post-democratization era have been diversified focusing on the case of South Korea. Particularly, this paper asks how the South Korean legislators' pre-legislative backgrounds have been diversified reviewing the actual careers of the winners of general elections.

Democratization can work as a turning point of legislators' career paths in terms of candidate selection. Under authoritarian rule, candidate selection for legislative elections by rulers or major political bosses plays decisive role in determining the members of legislature because elections themselves are unfair and less competitive. Particularly in the cases of less-institutionalized authoritarian rule such as South Korea and the Philippines (Han, 1999), candidate selection processes are mostly seized by supreme leaders of the nations, the Presidents, and patronage plays central role in filtering the candidates. Following democratization, however, the patronage-based candidate selection decreases its political importance because nominees of ruling parties are not promised to win competitive elections. In the post-democratization phase, then, how are the candidate selection processes changed? If the patronage decreases its role in candidate selection, do any new career paths of legislators emerge? This paper seeks the answers to those questions.

As the methodology of the review above, this study employs literature review of electoral statistic data collected by the National Election Committee[1] and newspaper articles. In reviewing the literatures, this study classifies the members of the National Assembly of South Korea into three types according to their pre-legislative background: State elites, social elites, and local elites. The first type 'state elites' is defined as former military officials, civil bureaucrats, and businesspersons who are privately scouted by the Presidents or major political bosses such as incumbent leaders of political parties. They have no or only limited political and financial resources to be selected as major political parties' candidates and to win legislative elections. To cover the insufficiency of resources, they depend on their bosses' assistance. The second one 'social elites' is defined as those who run in legislative or presidential elections based on their own popularity among the mass and/or on their rich financial resources. Businesspersons of major private enterprises, famous social activists and journalists are included to this type. Differently from the first type, those elites have some electoral resources to run as candidates for legislative elections. The last one 'local elites' is defined as those who aim win legislative election based on their experiences as mayors, governors, and/or members of local councils. While they have their own resources and experiences to act elected officials in municipal and provincial levels, they seek more resources to win national-level elections. As indicated on Table 1, therefore, the third type can be distinguished from the first one on whether they have their electoral resources partly or not.

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[1] The National Election Committee of South Korea archives the data of the country's national and local elections on its official website (https://www.nec.go.kr/site/nec/ex/bbs/List.do?cbIdx=1129).

Type	Examples
State Elites	Bureaucrats, and retired military officials
Social Elites	Businesspersons of major conglomerates
Local Elites	Mayors, Governors, and members of local councils

Table 1. Typology of Candidates for Legislative Elections
(Source: Originally created by the author)

In the following chapters, the chronological changes of candidate selection in Busan City, the second largest city of the nation, are reviewed as the case. In previous studies such as Lee (2021), Busan City has been chosen an ideal case to see chronological changes of politics because case studies on the municipality do not need take intra-regionalism, urbanization, and some other socio-economic factors into consideration as major intervening variables. Due to restrictions of the data, however, the following chapters review candidates' background of National Assembly elections in 1985, 1996, and 2020. In addition, this study sees only the winners in local constituencies of those elections.

2.   Previous Studies

Previous studies on career paths of legislative in new democracies can be categorized to two types: The studies focus on candidate selection methods, and those on candidates' ethno-gender backgrounds.

The first type of previous studies has seen candidate selection processes. Hellman (2012) and Fell (2006) analyzed how the parties in East Asian democracies of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan have introduced democratic order in their political parties' candidate selections prior to legislative and Presidential elections. Those studies reviewed and analyzed how institutional features of major political parties' candidate selection from the perspective of democratization. They argue that the major parties of the Asian democracies of Taiwan and South Korea have introduced primary election in selecting their presidential and legislative candidates.

The second type of previous studies has sought how gender balance, ethnicity, regional and religious features of electoral candidates have changed. Lee (2019), Hinojosa (2012), and Krook (2007) analyzed how women are under-represented in legislatures focusing on the function of candidate selection. These studies pointed out how candidate selection inside parties can work as so-called 'glass ceiling' for female politicians.

Though the previous studies above have clarified institutional features of candidate selection and candidates' ethnic backgrounds, they have paid only limited attention on the candidates' occupational backgrounds. Some literatures on Western democracies such as Nihill et al (2009) point out that the experiences in local government such as mayors and local council members can play the role as steps to rise to higher positions. Differently from the West, however, newly democratized countries following the Third Wave of democratization as Huntington argued have had poor experiences of local elections. In the case of South Korea, elections in municipal and provincial levels were introduced in the early 1990s after the three decades of central government's authoritarian control on local officials. If Nihill et al's argument can be applied universally, does the recent introduction of electoral local governance in some Asian democracies such as South Korea encourage new political career paths? The answer will be sought in the following sections.

3.   Backgrounds of the Legislators in the Authoritarian Era

In this section, candidate selection and the selected candidates' background in the 1985 National Assembly election, the last legislative election under the authoritarian rule, are reviewed. Particularly, this chapter sees those who were elected as the member of the National Assembly in Busan City due to the restrictions of candidates' information.

The backgrounds of the 12 candidates who won in Busan City are indicated on Table 2. The details of their pre-legislative occupation and partisanship, and the number are indicated on Appendix 1. In the 1985 election, six multi-member constituencies were assigned to Busan City and two seats were assigned to each consituency. Among the winners, seven were former state elites such as military officers, bureaucrats, and secretaries for legislators. The left five winners were social elites such as journalists, lawyers, and pastors. Local elites did not win any seats because elections for local councils were 'frozen' under the authoritarian rule. Shortly, more than half winners in the case were former state elites.

Amount	State Elites	Social Elites	Local Elites
12	7	5	0

Table 2. The Backgrounds of the Winner in Busan City (1985)
Source: National Election Committee (https://nec.go.kr/site/nec/ex/bbs/List.do?cbIdx=1129) (accessed on June 15, 2022), *The Chosun Ilbo,* and *The Joongang Ilbo*

Out of the seven state elite winners, one (Yoo, Heung-soo) belonged to the ruling Democratic Justice Party. The two (Kang, gyeong-sik. and Lee, Geon-il) belonged to the Democratic Korea Party and the Korea Nationalist Party, which have been known as satellite parties. The left four (Seo, Seok-jae. Kim, Jeong-soo. Park, Gwan-yong. and Moon, Jeong-soo) belonged to the New Korean Democratic Party, an opposition. Out of the five social elites, on the other hand, the three (Kwak, Jeong-chul. Jang, Seong-man. and Kim, Jeong-gil) belonged to the ruling party while the left two did to the opposition.

The data above indicates that both the ruling and opposition parties nominated state and social elites as the candidates for legislators. Even under the authoritarian rule, social elites such as journalists and pastors were the sources for the members of the National Assembly for major parties, including the ruling one.

More detailed analysis, however, shows us further findings. Out of the seven 'state elites' winners, the two former civil or military officers in executive branch belonged to the ruling or the satellite parties, not the opposition ones. Out of the left five, meanwhile, only one (Lee, Geon-il) belonged to the satellite parties and the other four did to the opposition. This suggests that, under the authoritarian rule, the ruling party had advantages to recruit former governmental officers as the sources for legislative candidates.

From the perspective of the opposition parties, only two of the six winners were social elites and the left four were the secretaries for legislators. Though the collaboration of anti-regime social movements and opposition parties are often observed in authoritarian regimes such as the Suharto administration in Indonesia, this does not mean that the movement activists simply emerge as the actors in institutionalized political system. Rather, this fact suggests that the opposition parties under the authoritarian rule had systematic career steps to

nominate their legislative candidates following the experiences as the staffs for senior legislators.

The next section sees how the backgrounds above changed following the democratization in 1987.

4.   Background of the Legislators during Transitional Period

In the 1996 National Assembly election, the ruling New Korea Party led by President Kim Young-sam won all 21 seats assigned to Busan City. As a hero of democratization movement and resistance to the authoritarian rule, Kim Young-sam has been the most influential political leader in his hometown: Busan City. While acting as a leader of the opposition, however, he has also been a political boss followed by large number of secretaries, subordinates, and businessperson based on nepotism[2]. As the incumbent President, Kim Young-sam mobilized every socio-political resources to dominate all seats in his hometown as his rivals of Kim Dae-jung in southwest Gwangju City and Kim Jong-pil in mid Chungcheong Provinces did in their hometowns. The 1990s' South Korean politics, therefore, has often called as 'Three *Kims* Politics' or the era of regionalism.

Amount	State Elites	Social Elites	Local Elites
21	13	8	0

Table 3. The Backgrounds of the Winner in Busan City (1996)
Source: National Election Committee (https://nec.go.kr/site/nec/ex/bbs/List.do?cbIdx=1129) (accessed on June 15, 2022), *The Chosun Ilbo,* and *The Joongang Ilbo*

Table 3 indicates the background of the 21 Busan winners in the 1996 election. Though the local council elections started in 1991, no local elite won the seat. Instead, more than half winners, 13 out of 21, were state elites and the remained eight winners were social ones. The details of the winners' background are listed on the Appendix 2.

The details of the 13 state elite winners reflect the regional dominance by the three *Kims*. 6 winners, or nearly half of the 13 state elites, were former secretaries for legislators and most of them were the ones for a former member of the National Assembly, Kim Young-sam. In addition, four former bureaucrats in the 13 state elite winners were cabinet ministers or vice-ministers in the Kim Young-sam government as seen in Appendix 2. Even among the 8 social elites, some entrepreneurs such as Kim Moo-seong had been supporters for Kim Young-sam and were nominated by him as the ruling party's legislative candidates. Due to those features, the Kim Young-sam government was called 'semi authoritarian regime,' which means imperfect from the perspective of democratization[3].

In the 7 social elite winners, non-political professional workers such as medical doctor (Jeong, Eui-hwa) was selected as the candidates and won the seats as well as a pharmacist (Kim, Jeong-soo). Jeong, Wui-hwa had worked in hospitals in Busan City for more than a decade until he was nominated as the candidate in 1996. As seen in this case, the political boss Kim Young-sam not only nominated his followers as legislative candidates but also scouted grass-rooted elites. In the Western democracies, the role to send professionals to political

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[2] (Im, 2020)
[3] (Cha, 1993)

arena is often played by middle groups and/or lobbying groups. In the 1990s South Korea, however, those roles are done by a political boss.

The fact above indicates, despite the democratization including constitutional revision in 1987, that the legislators' backgrounds did not change at the time of the mud-1990s at least in Busan City. Similar to the result of the 1985 election under the authoritarian rule, state elites were the most major resources for legislative candidates and local elites did not emerge in the national election. Rather, the political boss, Kim Young-sam, acted as a decisively crucial player in candidate selection as well as the former authoritarian regime. The following section sees how it changed after the retiring of the boss politicians in the early 2000s.

5.   Background of the Legislators under Democratic Regime

In the 2020 general election, amount 18 winners won their seats in constituencies in Busan. The backgrounds of the 18 winners are indicated on Table 4. Compared to the two previous cases, state elites decreased their share while local elites emerged. Even among state elites, in addition, not only former cabinet ministers but also prosecutor (Kim, Do-eup) selected as a candidate and won the seat.

As indicated on Appendix 3, the conservative Liberal Korea Party, the successor of Kim Young-sam's New Korea Party won 15 out of 18 total seats in the municipality. While the 'hometown' party decreased lost its dominance in the City, the progressive Democratic Party of Korea, which has its safe seats in southwest Gwangju City, won 3 seats. This can be interpreted as the weakening of the regionalism and the conservative dominance in southeast regions[4].

Amount	State Elites	Social Elites	Local Elites
18	7	7*	5*

Table 4. The Backgrounds of the Winner in Busan City (2020)
Source: National Election Committee (https://nec.go.kr/site/nec/ex/bbs/List.do?cbIdx=1129)
    (accessed on June 15, 2022), *The Chosun Ilbo,* and *The Joongang Ilbo*
*Note: Chun, Bong-min from Suyeong District Constituency was counted as both social and local elites because he has the experience as entrepreneur as well as local council member

In the 7 social elite winners, it is remarkable that journalist (Ahn, Byeong-gil) was selected as a candidate and won a seat. Ahn, Byeong-gil worked as a journalist in local newspaper Busan Ilbo for more than 10 years and built rich number of connections with incumbent legislators[5]. In addition, an owner of private school (Jang, Je-won) newly emerged as a legislator.

The most remarkable change in this election, however, is the emergence of local elites such as former mayors and former local council members. 5 out of 18 winners have the experiences as mayor, city council members, or county council members. Most of them won local elections when they were less than 50-year-old. Based on the young local experiences, they aimed to win more higher position: The member of the National Assembly.

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[4] (Lee, 2021)
[5] The Busan Ilbo (May 17, 2021)

In the case of Hwan Bo Seung Hee, for example, she won the Yeongdo District by-election in 2004 for the first time, when she was 28-year-old[6]. After serving as a member of the District Council for 8 years, then, she ran Busan City Council by-election in 2012 and won. As the member of the City Council, she served 6 years. Based on the experiences of 14 years as the local council member, she ran in legislative election 2020 and won a seat of the National Assembly. In the early stage of the 2020 legislative election, she ran primary election held by her belonging conservative party in her constituency. She as a not financially rich but deeply grass-rooted politician showed local advantage in the intra-party competition and won the primary election[7].

As seen in Hwan Bo Seung Hee's case, the experiences as elected positions in local authorities play, at least in some cases, the role as steps to rise higher positions in national politics. This can be pointed out as the most major changes since the past elections reviewed in the previous chapters.

The introduction of primary election can be pointed out as a major contributor to the increase of 'local elite' legislators. Following the democratization in 1987 and the retirement of major political bosses such as Kim Young-sam around 2000, the headquarters of major political parties have decreased their influence on candidate nomination. Instead, the two major parties have introduced primary election both in presidential and legislative elections. Differently from closed nomination by bosses, primary opens a gate for local politicians who have limited political resources in party headquarters to request the nomination. Hwang Bo Seung Hee, who won the Liberal Korea Party's primary election in 2020, can be seen as a symbol of the new type of legislators.

6.   Concluding Remarks

This study has asked chronological changes of South Korean legislators' career path, particularly pre-legislative occupations, following the democratization in 1987 focusing on the case of Busan City. The review on the three legislative elections in 1985, 1996 and 2020.

The review on the three elections above indicates that the legislators' occupational backgrounds have been diversified: While state and social elites have been remained as major resources for legislators, also local elites have emerged as a new typology of the major resources. In addition to the introduction of electoral local governance in the early 1990s, the retirement of regionally dominant bosses such as Kim Young-sam and the introduction of primary elections can be pointed out as the reasons for it. As a result, the diversification of the South Korean legislators' career paths in terms of pre-legislative occupation has occurred.

This study is, however, just a review on only limited number of samples to pick up only one major city of a nation. Nationwide data analysis, review on every legislative election following the democratization, and review on the lost candidates in legislative elections are the subjects in future.

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[6] *The Aju Business Daily* (Feb. 18, 2022)
[7] *The Chousn Ilbo* (April 4, 2020)

Appendix 1. The Backgrounds of the Winners in Busan of the 1985 Legislative Election

Name	Backgrounds	Party
Kwak, Jeong-chul	Businessperson, Journalist	Democratic Justice Party
Yoo, Heung-soo	Bureaucrat	Democratic Justice Party
Jang, Seong-man	Pastor	Democratic Justice Party
Kim, Jeong-gil	Social Activists	Democratic Korea Party
Lee, Geon-il	Secretary for Legislators	Democratic Korea Party
Kang, Gyeong-sik	Military Officer	Korean National Party
Park, Chan-joong	Lawyer	New Korean Democratic Party
Seo, Seok-jae	Secretary for Legislators	New Korean Democratic Party
Kim, Jeong-soo	Secretary for Legislators	New Korean Democratic Party
Park, Gwan-yong	Secretary for Legislators	New Korean Democratic Party
Lee, Gi-taek	Social Activist	New Korean Democratic Party
Moon, Jeong-soo	Secretary for Legislators	New Korean Democratic Party

Note 1: Names are Romanized based on the 2000 Revised Romanization of Korean System
Note 2: Backgrounds indicate each Legislator's longest job before winning the election.
Source: National Election Committee (https://nec.go.kr/site/nec/ex/bbs/List.do?cbIdx=1129)
(accessed on June 15, 2022), *The Chosun Ilbo,* and *The Joongang Ilbo*

Appendix 2. The Backgrounds of the Winners in Busan of the 1996 Legislative Election

Name	Backgrounds	Party
Jeong, Eui-hwa	Medical Doctor	New Korea Party
Chong, In-gil	Secretary for Legislators	New Korea Party
Kim, Hyeong-oh	Bureaucrat	New Korea Party
Jeong, Jae-moon	Secretary for Legislators	New Korea Party
Kim, Jeong-soo	Pharmacist	New Korea Party
Park, Gwan-yong	Secretary for Legislators	New Korea Party
Kang, Gyeong-sik	Military Officer	New Korea Party
Lee, Sang-hee	Academic Researcher	New Korea Party
Kim, Moo-seong	Entrepreneur	New Korea Party
Jeong, Hyeong-geun	Prosecutor	New Korea Party
Han, I-heon	Bureaucrat	New Korea Party
Kim, Un-hwan	Entrepreneur	New Korea Party
Kim, Gi-jae	Bureaucrat	New Korea Party
Seo, Seok-jae	Secretary for Legislators	New Korea Party
Park, Jong-woon	Entrepreneur	New Korea Party
Kim, Deok-ryong	Secretary for Legislators	New Korea Party
Kim, Do-eon	Prosecutor	New Korea Party
Choi, Hyeong-woo	Secretary for Legislators	New Korea Party
Yoo, Heung-soo	Bureaucrat	New Korea Party
Kwon, Cheol-hyeon	University Professor	New Korea Party
Shin, Sang-woo	Social Activist	New Korea Party

Note 1: Names are Romanized based on the 2000 Revised Romanization of Korean System
Note 2: Backgrounds indicate each Legislator's longest job before winning the election.
Source: National Election Committee (https://nec.go.kr/site/nec/ex/bbs/List.do?cbIdx=1129)
(accessed on June 15, 2022), *The Chosun Ilbo,* and *The Joongang Ilbo*

Appendix 3. The Backgrounds of the Winners in Busan of the 2020 Legislative Election

Name	Backgrounds	Party
Hwang-bo, Seung-hee	Member of Busan City Council	Future Korea Party
Ahn, Byeong-gil	Journalist	Future Korea Party
Seo, Byeong-soo	Mayor of Busan City	Future Korea Party
Lee, heon-seung	Secretary for Legislators	Future Korea Party
Kim, Hee-gon	Secretary for Legislators	Future Korea Party
Park, Soo-yeong	Bureaucrat	Future Korea Party
Park, Jae-ho	Secretary for Legislators	Democratic Party of Korea
Chun, Jae-soo	Secretary for President	Democratic Party of Korea
Kim, Do-eup	Prosecutor	Future Korea Party
Ha, Tae-gyeong	Social Activist	Future Korea Party
Kim, Mi-ae	Lawyer	Future Korea Party
Choi, In-ho	Secretary for President	Democratic Party of Korea
Cho, Gyeong-tae	Social Activist	Future Korea Party
Park, Jong-heon	Member of Busan City Council	Future Korea Party
Lee, Joo-hwan	Entrepreneur	Future Korea Party
Chun, Bong-min	Entrepreneur & Member of Busan City Council	Future Korea Party
Jang, Je-won	Owner of Private School	Future Korea Party
Jeong, Dong-man	Member of Gijang County Council	Future Korea Party

Note 1: Names are Romanized based on the 2000 Revised Romanization of Korean System
Note 2: Backgrounds indicate each Legislator's longest job before winning the election.
Source: National Election Committee (https://nec.go.kr/site/nec/ex/bbs/List.do?cbIdx=1129) (accessed on June 15, 2022), *The Chosun Ilbo,* and *The Joongang Ilbo*

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The Nautical Significance of India-Japan Relationship

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The Asian Conference on the Social Sciences 2022
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

With the Indo-Pacific region gaining traction in the geopolitical dimension of the current global political theatre, India and Japan with their geostrategic locations stand at key positions to play necessary roles in ensuring a free, open and secure seas in terms of both trade and security in the region. Sharing similar views with regard to the freedom of navigation and securing the open seas and facing common security dilemma and threats, the importance of the relationship between two of the oldest civilisations of the continent becomes significant especially in the maritime dimension. Hence, this paper seeks to study the importance of the Indo-Pacific region, the nautical relationship between India and Japan and the role that the two countries can play with each other and collectively with others to ensure that the security of the region remains intact while maintaining the sovereignty of the region and not become a pawn in the greater political theatre.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, India, Japan, Nautical Significance, Naval Engagements

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Introduction

Becoming the catch phrase of the current geopolitical theatre of the world, the Indo-Pacific Region (IPR) has gained immense attention among key players and world powers. Geographically, the IPR is understood as an interconnected space between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. (Das, 2019). In a system where the sea carries 80 percent of trade by volume and 70 percent by value, the IPR carries 60 percent of that volume. (Francoise, 2021). The region contains key maritime choke points, some of which includes the Panama Canal, the Strait of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca among others. The Strait of Malacca, one of the world's narrowest choke points, provides a critical connection between China, India and Southeast Asia. (Ang, 2021). The Strait's significance can be underlined in the reality that it links the two oceans i.e., the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean and is the shortest route between the Middle East and the emerging Asian markets. If the Strait of Malacca were blocked, nearly half of the world's fleet would be required to reroute around the Indonesian archipelago, such as through the Lombok Strait between the Indonesian islands of Bali and Lombok, or through the Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra. Rerouting would tie up global shipping capacity, add to shipping costs, and potentially affect energy price. (*eia,* 2021) About more than 70 percent of China's petroleum and liquified natural gas exports is shipped through the Strait of Malacca, making it critical for China's energy security policy. (Paszak, 2021). While the region has gained immense limelight, nations like China, India and Japan are heavily dependent on the safety and security of such sea lanes for meeting their energy and trade requirements. Geographical location of India and Japan also inextricably links their security, commerce and trade with the maritime domain. Both India and Japan are heavily dependent on oceans, for 90% of their trade is carried via crucial International Sea Lanes (ISLs) in the IPR. (Pandey, 2021) The need to secure the sea lanes while maintaining free and open seas, the criticality of having efficient maritime infrastructure and building resilient corridors across the region occupy significance for the India and Japan.

India-Japan's relations: Its Nautical Significance

India and Japan, two maritime nations, located strategically in the IPR share common views in ensuring free movement of goods and services and in securing the freedom of navigation and open and secure seas. They share the rare advantage of being two friendly nations that have, since the establishment of its diplomatic ties in 1952, freedom from conflict of any kind. The year 2022 marks the golden jubilee celebration of establishing diplomatic ties between India and Japan, two democratic nations that have rich historical and cultural linkages. From gifting of an elephant in 1949 by the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru to the Ueno Zoo, Tokyo bringing a ray of light into the lives of the Japanese people who were yet to recover from the defeat in the war (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, November 2021) to Japan supporting India during the latter's balance of payment crisis in 1991 the relationship between the two countries stands out in being free from any kind of dispute be it ideological, cultural or territorial. (Ministry of External Affairs, GOI, July 2013) The progressive development in the ties between the two nations has continued towards a growing trajectory. Visits by the leaders of the two nations continue to bring about benefits for the two friendly nations. Be it the establishment of 'Global Partnership' between the two in 2000 during Prime Minister's Yoshiro Mori that led to a qualitative shift in the relations between the two, the commencement of the 'Annual Summits' between them in 2006 when the two countries decided to establish 'Strategic and Global Partnership' that eventually led to the upgradation of the relation to that of 'Special Strategic and Global Partnership' in 2014

during Prime Minister's Narendra Modi's visit to Japan. (Ministry of External Affairs, GOI, February2021)

Harbouring the universal values of democracy, open society, human rights, rule of law and market economy and share common interests in promoting peace, stability and prosperity in Asia and the world, India and Japan share the understanding that the bilateral relationship between them has the largest potential for growth and that a strong, prosperous and dynamic India is in the interest of Japan and a strong, prosperous and dynamic Japan is in the interest of India. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, August, 2007) Japan has therefore continued to invest in critical infrastructure projects in India's Andaman and Nicobar Islands (ANI) closely located to the Strait of Malacca. (Ministry of External Affairs, GOI, March, 2022). Hence, not only have the two countries established strong economic ties with India continuously being one of the largest recipient of Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, November 2021) and Japan being one of the key infrastructural investors of India, the two countries have also started joint collaborations in third countries such as Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Myanmar and Africa to promote equitable and transparent growth for all in the Indo-Pacific region.(PM India, October 2018)

The marked importance of IPR with specific regard to the ties between India and Japan could be traced back to the speech made by the Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe, during his visit to India in 2007. Titled, "Confluence of the Two Seas", Prime Minister Abe pointed out the dynamic coupling of the Indian and the Pacific Ocean as seas of freedom and prosperity and how the being of a "broader Asia" breaking the geographical boundaries have begun to take form. He further pointed out the responsibility of the two nations in ensuring that the seas become the seas of clearest transparence. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, August 2007) The two countries have also launched a bilateral Shipping Policy Forum, a Maritime Security Dialogue, Cybersecurity Dialogue alongside their strategic Dialogue Forum. Moreover, the two countries are party to the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) alongside the United States and Australia which was formed primarily with the objective to work for a free, open prosperous and inclusive Indo-Pacific. (What is Quad?, Business Standard)

 The naval engagements between the two nations have seen steady growth and development. The navies of the two countries have been paving the way for stronger relations between the two countries.(Roy, 2020) While India-Japan maritime security cooperation began with the Coast Guards of the two countries in the aftermath of the Alondra Rainbow incident in 1999 and later gained traction with the formation of the ad-hoc Tsunami Core Group in 2004 with other two countries, the USA and Australia,(Pannerselvam, 2016) India and Japan continued to carry on their maritime cooperation activities with each other and other countries. The move towards greater maritime engagement between the two was given a push when the two nations began their maiden bilateral naval exercise Japan-India Maritime Exercise (JIMEX) in 2012 enhancing greater maritime security cooperation and interoperability. (Press Information Bureau, 2013). Increased cooperation in terms of naval engagements through participation in exercises such as MILAN and MALABAR have been witnessed with both the countries making efforts to strengthen their maritime ties. The two countries have also signed strategic agreements for greater mobility and interoperability with their armed forces. Partnership between India and Japan to continue anti-piracy efforts under Share Awareness and De-Confliction (SHADE). (Pannerselvam, 2016)

India and Japan apart from being key players in the region have key stakes in maintaining secure and open seas and they share the interest in preventing any country from establishing hegemony in the region. (Jeffrey Hornung, 2013) While heavily dependent on the maritime trade routes for their needs and requirements, the security and strategic dimension have heavy bearing on the nations making it imperative for both the countries to develop synergies with each other and also with like-minded countries to ensure that the region remains free from any source of conflict. Having policy synergy between the two points out an important factor in developing such cooperation. With India's Act East Policy and Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific initiative that aims to promote and establish rule of law, freedom of navigation and free trade while pursuing economic prosperity and commitment to establish peace and stability, provide the two countries to work together and with other countries to achieve these objectives. Strengthening the maritime ties with the countries in the region will therefore play an important part in ensuring that the seas remain free and open. It is also significant as in the realisation that both the countries accept and respect the centrality of the Association of South East Asian nations (ASEAN) in the IPR. India and Japan, hence through their naval engagements can broaden the sphere of engagements and solidify the ASEAN as the centre towards achieving a free and open IPR. The two countries should work towards enhancing cooperation in terms of building greater naval capacity, enhancing greater naval multilateral and bilateral exercises providing technical capacity and encourage better sharing information efforts among the littoral states among others to maintain the balance in the region.

The other countries in the region are not unaware of the political and strategic reality. Protecting their interests and autonomy remains their objectives and having dependable and reliable partners to balance the weight cannot be undervalued or underestimated. India and Japan, in their respective position, can work together and with others to develop the capacity to balance the weight.

Conclusion

The relationship between India and Japan continue to stand the test of time. The two countries face similar security concerns, both in their territorial areas and beyond their territories. They also face the same dilemma of ensuring a rule-based order while witnessing the rise of their neighbour, China. Well aware of the changing world order and realities that such changes will bring about in the region in particular and the world in general. As reiterated by Shinzo Abe, India and Japan are key players that will play a significant role in the region. With the region termed as the most dynamic region, it is imperative that the region remains stable to exploit its full potential. The need to form consensus and promote cooperation while containing any form of escalation of conflict will be the responsibility of not one but all the nations and here in India and Japan can work together and with others to bring about the collaboration to ensure that the Indo-Pacific region remains not only open and secure but also a peaceful one functioning under the principles of rule-based order.

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Criminal Trials of Parents Claiming "Sibling Abuse"
How Do Midwives Address Such Cases?

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Abstract

This study aimed to investigate criminal cases in which parents have claimed injury to an abused child was inflicted by a sibling. A search was conducted on a legal database using the search terms "child abuse" and "criminal trial." We identified two cases in which parents claimed injury to the abused child was inflicted by a sibling. These two cases were examined. In Case 1, the court denied the parent's claims that the sibling injured the abused child. In Case 2, the possibility of sibling abuse was considered but denied because there was no causal relationship with the child's injury. The need for psychological support of siblings of abused children became evident during our research. Midwives closely associated with abusive families must work quickly to ascertain the precise nature of the abuse.

Keywords: Child, Sibling, Abuse

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Introduction

When child abuse occurs within the family, official figures should allow for the possibility that the child's siblings are also being abused. This may include physical, sexual, emotional, and psychological abuse, including the psychological damage resulting from encountering abuse of a sibling (Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, 2007). When there are differences in parental attitudes toward children, these differences can be at the heart of abuse (Japan Federation of Bar Associations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2021). Scientifically, it has become clear that corporal punishment adversely affects the growth and development of children. In Japan, corporal punishment was legally prohibited under the Child Abuse Prevention Law in 2019. Following the introduction of this law, the number of arrests for child abuse in Japan reached a record high of 2,133 in 2020 (National Police Agency, 2021).

The purpose of a criminal trial in a child abuse case is to determine in an open court whether an abusive act(s) occurred and to impose criminal penalties on the defendant commensurate with the crime. In some cases, there is no evidence of causality, and the charges may be false. Additionally, there have been reports of injuries to a child caused by a sibling, for which the accused parent is not responsible (Friedrich, et al., 2013). Nevertheless, accused parents do not always admit to abusive behavior. This can include cases in which parents claim the child was abused by a sibling.

From the perspective of the family midwife, we must consider the problems inherent in such cases and what a midwife can contribute.

Analysis of police statements and court records can provide details of these cases as presented by perpetrators and related parties. This allows us to understand the circumstances involved and to consider factors such as social background (Medical Affairs Department, 2021). This study aimed to investigate the effects on siblings of criminal cases in which parents claimed injury to an abused child was inflicted by the sibling. It will also consider how midwives might assist and support the children in such cases.

Methods

Data for this study were obtained through a literature review. A search was conducted on a legal database (TKC Law Library, 2020) using the search terms "child abuse" and "criminal trial" between March 16 and December 28, 2020. The trial dates for the search were designated as January 1, 2008, to the present. The reason for the selected start date was the introduction of a revision to the Child Abuse Prevention Law in 2008 in Japan. After this revision, the number of child abuse counseling cases increased to more than 40,000.

In Japan, trials are open to the public (Article 82 of the Constitution), and case records are disclosed (Article 91 of the Code of Civil Procedures), so there is no ethical provision for case citation. However, measures were taken to ensure that individuals were not identifiable in this study. The retrieved cases summarized the background of the cases, provided chronologically ordered status maps, and detailed the facts found by the court.

Results

Fifty-one cases were retrieved. The sentences ranged from 1 to 30 years, and eight cases reached a verdict of not guilty. Of the 43 convicted cases, only 11 defendants apologized for

abusing their children. There were 32 cases in which the defendant denied abuse. Among them were claims that death could not be anticipated, that child abuse by their partner could not be prevented, and that sentencing was too heavy. There were two cases in which parents claimed injury to the abused child to be caused by a sibling. These two cases were examined in this study.

Case 1: Supreme Court, Judgment of 24 July 2014.

Summary

Defendants: Father (Supreme Court decision: 10 years in prison), Mother (Supreme Court decision: 8 years in prison).

Victim: Third daughter (20 months old at the time of the offense). Hereinafter referred to as "A."

Siblings: Eldest daughter (4 years old), second daughter (2 years old), and fourth daughter (6 months old).

Parents' Assertion: The death of A was caused by the eldest daughter and the second daughter. It was not parental abuse.

Court Conclusion: At their home, the father beat A's face and head with a flat hand. Consequently, A died of acute subdural hematoma.

Issues

Evidence showed that A died of brain swelling due to subdural hematoma. This was not contested by the parents' counsel. Nevertheless, the defense counsels argued that there was reasonable doubt as to whether A had died because of assault by her parent(s).

Defendant Statement

Father: When A's mother bought bread and returned home, A was in front of the stove in the living room. The distance between A and me was approximately 30 cm. I handed the bread to A, but she held it in her hand and did not try to eat it. Afterward, I watched TV for a while, but when I looked at A, she had not eaten the bread at all. Thus, I moved it closer to A's mouth. I don't remember clearly whether I caught A's hand with the bread in and moved that closer to her mouth or whether I took the bread and held it to A's mouth. In any case, when I brought the bread closer to A's mouth, A opened a little and put the bread into her mouth. Perhaps, I pushed a little bread into A's mouth. I was angry, thinking, "If you will eat it now, you should have eaten it yourself from the beginning."

So, while I sat on the sofa, I shook my right hand and hit A's head, who was sitting on my left. It is remembered that I beat her. I remember being angry at the time, and I think I beat her as usual. I don't know exactly how hard it is, but I always beat her as vigorously as I was when I hit her head. I struck her like this, and I think A fell back to the left and was crying loudly. When I hit A, her mother was also in the living room so I thought she was watching me hitting A. At least, I think she was aware of the sound.

Mother (the mother testified as a witness in the trial): The wound found when A was taken to the hospital was not what he [A's father] had done when he hit her. It was made when our second daughter was bitten by or quarreling with her sister.

Court Judgment

At the time of the incident, A was 20 months old. She had been able to walk since the age of eight months. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that A had acquired the parachute reflex (which is normally acquired by eight months old) and was able to respond self-protectively to falling. Additionally, it is unlikely that A would have been subjected to sufficient external force to cause a hard enough fall due to the actions of other children under five, such as her siblings. Moreover, if the external force, in this case, were due to some kind of accident or act of a sibling, it is not considered feasible that the father or mother, who should have been at home at the time, could have been unaware of it when it occurred. Accordingly, the external force, in this case, is not considered to have been the result of an accident in the home or to have been committed by a child under 5 years old.

The defense counsel argued that A's facial bruising could have been inflicted by the second daughter throwing a toy and hitting A as was stated by the parents at the trial. The defense also attested that when a staff member investigating the case asked her mother about A's bruise, the eldest daughter had told the official that the second daughter was bad.

Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the force generated by the throwing of a toy by the second daughter who was only about one and a half years older than A would be sufficient to bruise both cheeks on A's face. Additionally, the statement by the eldest daughter mentioned above is may have been a reflexive response to having seen her mother repeatedly scolding the second daughter. Since the eldest daughter was 4 years old, it is also conceivable that even sudden questions could be addressed by talking about a stronger father and mother and making the second daughter responsible.

To escape their criminal responsibility, the parents placed blame for the offense on their second daughter, despite being her parents. They demonstrate problematic attitudes that jeopardize the honor and future emotions of the second daughter.

Case 2: Osaka District Court, Judgment of 12 February 2018

Summary

Defendant: Father (Osaka District Court decision: seven years in prison).

Victim: Fourth daughter (4 months old at the time of the offense). Hereinafter referred to as "B."

Siblings: Eldest daughter (9 years old), second daughter (age unknown), and third daughter (2 years old).

Parents' Assertion: The death of B was caused by the third daughter.

Court Conclusion: The father was at home with B. He threw B onto a pile of futon cushions. The father recognized that B might have hit a wooden sliding door approximately 155 cm

from the foot of the futon. Thus, he threw B again, this time so she would hit the sliding door. He then continued to do the same, causing injury and chronic subdural hematoma (first assault). Later, the father sat down with B, who had begun to cry, and hugged her. However, he became irritated because B did not stop crying. He was also frustrated by his inability to return to work for a long period and further assaulted B by shaking her violently with one hand.

Issues

Although the defense counsel acknowledged that the father could have caused the skull fractures and chronic subdural hematoma that B was found to have suffered, they contested part of the first assault because such an injury could have been caused by the father's negligent act or an act by the third daughter.

Defendant Statement

Father: I was bathing B and holding her around the waist with my right arm. I accidentally slipped and B's head collided with a handrail in a bathtub approximately 60 cm away. I attempted to grab B by the hand, but I missed and dropped B onto the floor.

Mother (the mother testified as a witness in the trial): Our third daughter was pulling B from behind with both hands and B fell to the floor from a height of 30–40 cm and hit her head.

Eldest Daughter Testimony

The eldest daughter testified that her father hit B's head with his fist almost every day, shook her head violently, threw B up above his head and let her fall without catching her, and stepped on B's abdomen when she was asleep.

Court Judgment

It is unlikely that a subdural hematoma occurred because of a fall of 30–40 cm, even considering the possibility that there was a toy at the point where B's head fell. The distance dropped (by the father during bathing) is substantially lower than the height of 90 cm or more that physicians have stated would be necessary to cause this injury. Also, based on the defendant's account of what happened, the force to B's head would have been weaker than that caused by falling vertically from a height of 60 cm.

The counsel asserts that the testimony of the eldest daughter is inconsistent with the wounds confirmed at B's judicial autopsy. It is clear that the eldest daughter's testimony is exaggerated, and this point is not denied by the prosecutor. In light of her age at the time of the incident, the eldest daughter's testimony may have altered in her memory due to the passage of time or may have been altered by the questions of investigators. Although not all of the eldest daughter's testimony is considered exaggerated or mistaken memories and it may contain some truth, there is no means of distinguishing which parts are true. Thus, the testimony of the eldest daughter cannot be used as evidence of the defendant's assault on B.

In terms of sentencing, the most important thing was that a fatal assault was committed on a 4-month-old, defenseless infant. The infant was assaulted so violently that subdural hematomas were formed, and the assault was repeated leading to the death of the child. The

defendant, despite their duty to protect the infant, killed her on the selfish grounds that he was annoyed by the child or himself. This deserves strong criticism.

Conclusion

As shown in the results, many parents deny abuse (32 cases). This suggests that parents may not always recognize what constitutes child abuse. As mentioned earlier, the Child Abuse Prevention Law stipulates that parents shall not use corporal punishment to discipline children. Nevertheless, it has proved difficult to inform parents what does and does not constitute abuse (Baba, 2015; Hososaka, et al., 2017; Nishizaka, 2017).

In Case 1, the court denied the claim of the parents that a sibling injured the abused child. In Case 2, the possibility of the sister's violent action against the victim was recognized, but it was not deemed a possible cause of death as there was no causal relationship between the actions of the sibling and the fatal injuries of the victim.

What impact do such parental accusations have on the siblings of abused children? As stated in the court decision in Case 1, these parents place responsibility for abuse on the siblings, likely causing considerable psychological harm. These trials are open to the public and the case records are freely available to view. The suspected perpetrators of abuse are too young to deny or refute the accusations. In light of this and the future that confronts these accused children, it is clear that they are likely to require considerable long-term emotional support.

Beyond that, however, it is unclear how to take care of these siblings on an ongoing basis. The child is likely to maintain relationships with blood relatives. Moreover, these children are not just the siblings of abused children but are very likely victims of abuse themselves (Campbell, et al., 2009). Reportedly, ill-treated children do not regard their families positively (Halperin, 1983). If correctional education is provided in response to criminal proceedings against parents for child abuse, and it is possible to prevent the recurrence of abuse in the future, it may still be possible to restore parent–child relations (Japan Federation of Bar Associations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2021). Nevertheless, as in cases such as those described here, when both parents testified that the abuse was inflicted by a sibling, there may be situations in which supportive intervention is refused.

It seems highly likely that children who testify that one sibling is responsible for injury to another are, themselves, victims of abuse. In Case 1, the eldest daughter testified to the second daughter's involvement in the victim's injury. In Case 2, the eldest daughter testified against her father. Nonetheless, neither testimony was deemed valid because of inadequate supporting evidence. Since this study analyzes information revealed in the courts, the background to this testimony by other siblings is unknown. However, the circumstances leading to these decisions by the siblings should not be overlooked. The relationships between siblings are also likely to be affected in such cases.

Through examination of these unusual criminal cases of child abuse, it has become clear that outside intervention is needed to help not only the child who is victimized but also their siblings. The need for psychological support of all of the siblings in a family where domestic abuse has occurred is evident. Midwives may find themselves in a unique position since they often become closely associated with a family through their provision of assistance during pregnancy, childbirth, and parenting. As such, it is vital that they are fully cognizant of signs of abuse and can assess, as well as act quickly upon, cases of child abuse.

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Psychological Well-Being Among Immigrants and Refugees in St. Louis, Missouri

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The Asian Conference on the Social Sciences 2022
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
The process of migration and integration into immigrants' host communities has been noted to be a stressful, non-normative event from a psychosocial point of view. Given the magnitude of immigration to the U.S., it is increasingly important to understand the variables that impact immigrant psychological well-being, an essential aspect of successful integration. The data for this study were collected through interview surveys with immigrants from six different countries (n=330). The six different immigrant groups interviewed were Bosnians, Chinese, Latino/na, Indian, Korean, and Vietnamese. Hierarchical regression analysis was conducted for each immigrant group to identify variables that may have an effect on psychological well-being, including locus of control, socialization, social support, English competency, and demographic characteristics. The study found that different independent variables were associated with psychological well-being in each group, aligning with indications in current literature that immigrant groups experience different migration motivations, contexts, and resettlement coping strategies, based on cultural values and contextual factors.

Keywords: Immigration, Refugees, Race, Psychological Wellbeing

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Introduction

In 2018, the foreign-born population age 65 years and older represented 13.9 percent of the total older population in the United States and is expected to reach 23.3 percent of the total older population by 2060 (Mizoguchi et al. 2019). While there is a dearth of research on immigrants and psychological well-being (PWB), there is limited research particularly on aging immigrants, especially as distinguished by ethnic group. Stressors endemic to the migration and resettlement process are especially challenging for older adults due to factors such as the disruption of social networks and often a higher need to access medical care and different cultural resource access in contrast to adolescents and young adults (Tan 2011; Genkova et al. 2014). As immigrant populations continue to age, it is imperative to explore the needs of older immigrants by identifying factors that may be relevant in improving well-being.

Literature Review

Several factors may affect the psychological well-being of immigrants, including social support, host language competency, socialization, and locus of control (Guo et al. 2019; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2006; Garcia, Ramirez, & Jariego 2002; Schnittker 2000). For instance, language competency facilitates essential factors associated with psychological well-being, such as greater access to social networks, ability to access and navigate healthcare services, and employability in the host country (Ager and Strang 2008; Kumar 2013; Morris et. al. 2009; Lamba & Krahn 2003; Hanley et al. 2018). While there is still limited research on the association between locus of control and PWB, some studies indicate that in the acculturation process, an internal locus of control is associated with greater PWB, and an external locus of control is associated with higher stress and depressive symptoms (Ward & Kennedy 1992; Shara et al. 2018). To further define, an internal locus of control is predicated on the belief that one controls their own outcomes in life, as opposed to an external locus of control, which is founded on the belief that life outcomes are determined by outside forces, like luck, timing, or fate (Ross & Mirowsky 2002). However, the association between internalist or externalist perceptions of control and psychological well-being may be affected by culture or conditions of migration, as demonstrated by mixed results across ethnic groups (Garcia, Ramirez, & Jariego 2002).

Furthermore, immigrant groups may adopt a range of assimilation strategies in a host culture, and there is mixed evidence in empirical studies of whether the socialization with the host culture, one's own ethnic group, or a mix of both facilitates psychosocial adaptation (Navas et al. 2007; Genkova et al. 2014). Alternatively, social support generally shows a positive association with successful aging and better health, and this measure assesses both how one feels emotionally supported by members of their community and the extent and structure of their social support network (Berkman et al. 2000; Seeman et al. 2001). Therefore, this study seeks to investigate and add to the literature on psychological well-being for aging immigrants for different ethnic groups.

Methods

This study utilizes the Successful Aging for Immigrants after Midlife (SAIM) data set, which was collected by an interdisciplinary research team. The study examines physiological, psychological, social, and cultural factors associated with aging for several immigrant populations in Saint Louis. The study includes immigrants age 40 years and older (n=330)

from six different ethnic groups (Bosnian, Chinese, Indian, Korean, Latino, and Vietnamese). Data were collected as a quantitative survey with open-ended questions. Hierarchical regression analysis was conducted for each immigrant group to explore the relationships between psychological well-being and other variables.

Conclusion

The results of the hierarchical regression analysis is presented in Table 1. In this paper, the results of Model 3 of the hierarchical regression analysis, which used psychological well-being as the dependent variable, is shown.

Besides psychological well-being[1], other variables, such as age, sex, social support[2], English competency[3], socialization with mainstream Americans[4], socialization with one's own ethnic group[5], external locus of control[6], and internal locus of control[7] were used.

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[1] The measure of psychological well-being included eight items from Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-Being (RPWB), including subscales for autonomy and self-acceptance (Ryff 1989).

[2] The measure of social support questions were included from the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS; Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, & Farley 1988) and the UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russell 1996).

[3] The measure of English competency included seven survey questions from the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (SMAS)(2000).

[4, 5] The measures of socialization with mainstream Americans and one's own ethnic group included items from the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (SMAS). Participants responded to a three-item subscale for each.

[6, 7] The measure of internal and external locus of control included eight survey questions on a Likert scale using the Belief in Personal Control Scale (BPCS)(Berrenberg 1987).

Aligning with suggestions in current literature, independent variables displayed varying associations with psychological well-being per ethnic group.

**Table 1: Model 3 Results of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for
Psychological Well-Being (standardized coefficient)**

Variables	Bosnian	Chinese	Indian	Korean	Latino	Vietnamese
Age	-.044 (-.141)	.024 (.102)	-.025 (-.089)	-.110 (-.258)	.032 (.088)	-.150 (-.471)
Sex	-1.043 (-.158)	-.868 (-.133)	-.719 (-.094)	-1.443 (-.140)	.318 (.037)	-2.020 (-.253)
Social Support	-.006 (-.008)	.267 (.285)*	.021 (.023)	.548 (.494)*	.381 (.375)***	.362 (.321)
English Competency	-.156 (-.338)*	-.159 (-.294)	.441 (.283)	.195 (.224)	.036 (.053)	-.008 (-.013)
Socialization with Mainstream Americans	-.086 (-.066)	.350 (.212)	.778 (.366)	.094 (.066)	.116 (.071)	-.963 (-.602)*
Socialization with Own Ethnic Group	-.049 (-.029)	.021 (.010)	.023 (.012)	.051 (.022)	-.298 (-.135)	.937 (.405)*
External Locus of Control	-.241 (-.214)	-.270 (-.199)	.039 (.033)	-.425 (-.218)	-.420 (-.293)*	-.377 (-.201)
Internal Locus of Control	.512 (.414)**	.392 (.256)*	.468 (.270)	.152 (.082)	.575 (.271)**	.380 (.237)
Constant	30.416***	13.570*	1.196	15.101	10.232	24.571*
R²	.214	.267	.459	.629	.505	.536
F-Statistic	2.274*	3.233**	2.329	4.025**	8.790***	2.748*

p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Aligning with suggestions in current literature, independent variables displayed varying associations with psychological well-being per ethnic group.

For Bosnian participants, Model 3 was statistically significant ($F_{(8, 67)}$=2.274, p<.05). Internal locus of control had a positive effect on psychological well-being (β=-0.512, p<.01). When controlled for locus of control, English competency showed a statistically significant negative association with the dependent variable (β=-.156, p<.05), suggesting that lower English competency enhanced psychological well-being for Bosnian participants.

For Chinese participants, Model 3 ($F_{(8, 71)}$=3.233, p<.01) was statistically significant. Social support displayed a statistically significant positive association (β=.267; p<.05), such that greater social support enhanced psychological well-being. Internal locus of control also had a positive effect on psychological well-being (β=.392, p<.05).

For Indian participants, the model and variables were not statistically significant.

For Korean participants, Model 3 ($F_{(8, 19)}$=4.025, p<.01) was statistically significant. Social support had a positive effect on psychological well-being (β=.548, p<.05).

For Latino participants, Model 3 ($F_{(8, 69)}$=8.790, p<.001) was statistically significant. External locus of control had a negative effect on psychological well-being (β=-.420, p<.05), while internal locus of control had a positive effect on psychological well-being (β=.575, p<.05).

For Vietnamese participants, Model 3 ($F_{(8, 19)}$=2.748, p<.05) was statistically significant. Socialization with mainstream Americans had a negative effect on psychological well-being (β=-.965; p<.05). In contrast, socialization with one's own ethnic group had a positive effect on psychological well-being (β=.937; p<.05).

This study may have limited generalizability because a random sampling was not used. Also, although each survey was translated by a bilingual, native speaker into English and certified by another native-speaker, it is possible that the questions and answers may not have reliably transmitted the original intent of the survey's contents. Finally, there is the potential to include more demographic variables in the hierarchical regression analysis, including demographic variables like education and income.

Overall, the results of Table 1 indicate that the variables associated with psychological well-being for aging immigrants varies per ethnic group. This suggests that factors such as reasons for and circumstances of migration and cultural values may impact various immigrant groups' experience of psychological well-being. Thus, different social and clinical interventions are needed per immigrant group.

Acknowledgements

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Return Migration to Japan: Experiences of Japanese Brazilians

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The Asian Conference on the Social Sciences 2022
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

In the emerging literature, research on migration and acculturation has focused on investigating return migration (i.e., migration to one's ethnic homeland). Since the 2008 economic crisis, the Japanese Brazilian population substantially dropped in Japan. This led to a decrease in the study of Japanese Brazilian return migrants (i.e., returnees). This study aims to fill this gap in the current literature by exploring Japanese Brazilian migrants' return migration experiences. The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to gain an in-depth understanding of Japanese Brazilian migrants' decisions to return to Japan, and second, to gain a better understanding of migrants' experiences acculturating to Japanese culture. Data were collected via semi-structured interviews, and a total of eight participants (ages 17-69) took part in the study. Thematic analysis was employed as a research method, and the results suggested that motivation to return migrate is multi-faceted. Based on the analysis, study results identified four key themes, which are distinguished as 1) motivation to return migrate, 2) reflections on identity, 3) acculturative experiences, and 4) motivation for settlement. It was observed that besides ethnic identification and acculturative experiences, socioeconomic factors had an influence on their return migration experiences and motivation for settlement in Japan.

Keywords: Japanese Brazilians, Return Migration, Identity, Acculturation, Thematic Analysis

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Introduction

In 1980s Japan, there were concerns about declining of working-age population. Due to the overheated bubble economy, the situation changed remarkably in the late 1980s when labor shortages became apparent. There was a need for low-skilled workers, and the illegal employment of migrants became a problem. To address this problem, the Immigration Law was amended to create a new status of residence called "long term residents" and to accept the descendants of Japanese who emigrated to Brazil, Peru, Chile, and other countries from the beginning of the 1900s to the 1970s. The 1990 reform of the Immigration Control and Refugee Act brought about a remarkable change with the establishment of long-term resident status for Japanese descendants up to the third generation. Non-Japanese people married to second-and third-generation Japanese were also eligible for this status (Abella, 2009; Yamauchi, 2019; Watanabe, 2010).

Offered the status of "long-term resident," which permitted them to live and work in Japan for up to three years, Japanese emigrants and their descendants from South American countries came to Japan in large numbers in search of employment opportunities. From a mere 3,500 in 1988, the number of Japanese descendants from South America who took the opportunity of the offer rose to 153,000 in 1991, 312,000 in 2000. Brazil, home to the world's largest Japanese descendant community, has also seen a considerable number of Japanese Brazilians emigrate to Japan on the basis of "long-term resident" status (Abella, 2009; Hamada, 2016). The comparatively high salaries in Japan attracted many Japanese Brazilians (Tsuji, Miyasaka, Otsuka, Honda, Kato & Abe, 2001). In the early 1990s, most Japanese descendant migrants were temporary workers who intended to stay for a few years and return to their countries with substantial savings earned in Japan. However, they began to stay for more extended periods and settled in Japan with their families by obtaining permanent residency (Goto, 2007). The Japanese Brazilian population in Japan is 211,178 as of June 2020, and they constitute the fifth largest migrant population in Japan (The Portal Site of Official Statistics of Japan, 2020).

Acculturation and Return Migration

The study of acculturation and its effects on migrants living in Japan is an important endeavor, given that Japan has begun to rely on immigration for its socio-economic growth, and immigration is perhaps the most concrete context within which acculturation takes place (Costa, 2014). When individuals who are raised in one cultural context start to live in a new cultural context, they develop a complex pattern of continuity and change in how they undertake their lives in the new society (Berry, 1997). When people with different cultural backgrounds encounter each other, they may (or may not) take up each other's behaviors, languages, beliefs, values, and social institutions. The issues stemming from how and how well groups and individuals handle the change when they come into contact with another cultural group have collectively been referred to as acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2010). Acculturation is described as "the process of cultural and psychological change that results from following meetings between cultures" (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 472), while the concepts of psychological acculturation and adaptation refer to the psychological changes and final outcomes that emerge as a result of individuals going through acculturation (Berry, 1997).

Migrants generally acquire a completely different ethnic status when they move to a new society. Those who were formerly members of the majority society in their home country find themselves an immigrant minority in the host country. Even for people who were already

ethnic minorities in their home countries, migration results in a major shift in ethnic status from one minority to another. Even ethnic return migrants are affected. Because of their foreign roots, they are regarded as ethnic minorities in the nations where they live, and when they travel "back" to their original homelands, they are seldom socially integrated into the majority host community. Despite the lack of racial distinctions with the host population, they develop into a new form of an ethnic minority as a result of the cultural differences they have acquired during generations of living abroad (Tsuda, 2003). In spite of their presumably privileged status compared to other immigrants, returnees have frequently encountered the same problems as other immigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk & Schmitz, 2003).

Acculturation, which results in various psychological experiences and changes, eventually leads to a person's adaptation. The relatively stable changes that occur in an individual or group in response to environmental demands are referred to as adaptation (Berry, 1997). Since all acculturating groups are thought to go through the same adaptation process, and acculturation strategies have been shown to have substantial relationships with positive adaptation (Berry, 1997), it is crucial to explore what acculturation experiences Japanese Brazilian migrants have had contribute to positive adaptation.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purposes of this study are first to provide a more in-depth understanding of Japanese Brazilian migrants' decisions to return migrate to Japan, and secondly, to provide a more in-depth understanding of migrants' experiences in acculturating to Japanese culture. Therefore, to explain the Japanese Brazilians' experiences in return migration, the following research questions are proposed: 1) "What were the main issues when Japanese Brazilian migrants decided to return migrate to Japan?", 2) "What are the features of ethnic identification of Japanese Brazilian migrants?", and 3) "What are Japanese Brazilian migrants' experiences of acculturation to Japanese culture?"

Method

Participants and Data Collection

The sample comprised eight Japanese Brazilian migrants (three men, five women), ranging from 17 to 69 years ($M = 47.5$ years, $SD = 15.36$). All were born and grew up in Brazil. Participation in the study was voluntary. The maintenance of confidentiality was ensured through the anonymization of the data. Participants had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences and were provided with contact details to request further information. The participants were contacted by applying convenience sampling methods to address concerns about inadequate sample size due to the difficulties in accessing the Japanese Brazilian migrants due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Data was collected via semi-structured interviews and the participants were interviewed online due to the pandemic precautions. All participants were provided information about the aim of the research and were assured of the confidentiality of their participation. Moreover, before starting the interviews, participants were asked for their consent to record them with an audio recorder. The interviews were conducted between June 2021 and October 2021. The average duration of interviews is 59 minutes.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was chosen for this study to explore the participants' return migration, acculturation experiences, and ethnic identification. Six steps proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) were followed to conduct a thematic analysis. During data collection and analysis, a constant comparative technique was employed to reflect critically on the data, compare findings systematically, adjust the interview questions slightly if necessary, and confirm the validity of the study's conclusions. As a strategy to ensure credibility, peer debriefing and member checks (Anney, 2015) were used. The methodology and procedure were checked by two academic colleagues for accuracy.

Results

The study's findings are organized into four main themes: 1) motivation to return migrate, 2) reflections on identity, 3) acculturative experiences, and 4) motivation for settlement. The thematic map that shows the themes is presented below in Figure 1:
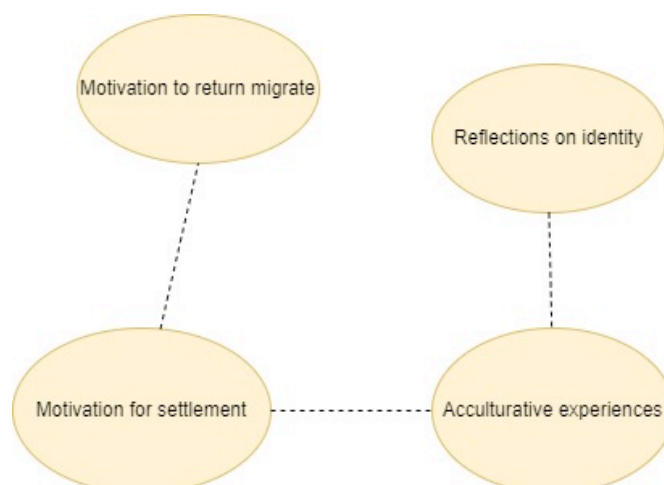

Figure 1: Thematic Map of Japanese Brazilians' Return Migration Experiences.

Motivation to Return Migrate

Most participants considered the change to Japanese immigration law and Japan's granting Japanese Brazilians with long-term visas as a chance. They also mentioned having relatives and acquaintances going back and forth between Brazil and Japan. Moreover, some participants had family members who had already immigrated to Japan, and they were invited to reunite with their families, which encouraged them to immigrate. Their motivations to return migrate to Japan included financial struggles in Brazil and aiming to save money in Japan as the salaries were considerably higher. One of the participants, for instance, who is married to another Japanese Brazilian and has a child, mentioned economic reasons and how the economic instability and devaluing of money in Brazil influenced their decision to immigrate to Japan by comparing the differences in wages.

Reflections on Identity

When participants were asked about their identities—if they consider themselves Japanese, Brazilian, or both—they reflected different opinions on their identities. Several participants indicated they identified with a Brazilian identity rather than a Japanese identity and maintained it even after immigrating to Japan, adjusting to Japanese culture, and permanently

settling in. One participant, for instance, who defined herself as Brazilian before moving to Japan, related her identity with her citizenship. She expresses her belonging to her Brazilian identity and her will to strive with this identity.

Acculturative Experiences

The majority indicated that Japanese nationals have kind and helpful attitudes towards them. However, they noted that their relationships with the Japanese nationals are primarily work-related, and they do not have close relationships as they have with co-nationals. Despite language-related difficulties, all migrants mentioned integrating into social life and maintaining their daily lives without significant problems. Most participants indicated having settled in Japan permanently, and they spoke of their experiences and various strategies for acculturating to Japanese culture. When they were asked how they interacted and communicated with Japanese nationals and how they felt about it, all participants expressed having positive relations with them and feeling accepted by them. Also, the participants mentioned introducing Brazilian culture to their colleagues, conveying basic cultural knowledge, and inviting them to cultural activities.

Motivation for Settlement

Nearly all participants mentioned having higher purchasing power in Japan than in Brazil due to the differences in salaries they had. Almost all participants indicated that they had settled permanently in Japan and had no intention to return to Brazil contrary to their initial plan to go back. While many participants intended to return to Brazil before immigrating to Japan after saving money, they ended up settling in for the reason of changing living standards, such as having a stable and higher income, being able to save money, having access to health services and social security benefits in Japan.

Conclusions

The present study explored the Japanese Brazilian residents' experiences to gain a better understanding of their experiences in Japanese culture. Economic stability and high income acted as reasons and strengthened the decision of Japanese Brazilians to settle in Japan and not to return to Brazil permanently. Having positive relations with Japanese people and speaking Japanese to some degree appeared to facilitate Japanese Brazilians' integration into social life in Japan. Despite having positive relations with Japanese people, most participants reported still feeling attached to national identity, spending more time with co-nationals, and being like a family with the Japanese Brazilian community. Having the same migration background and having the same goals, and speaking the same language appeared to act as a basis to support and help each other in their adjustment to Japanese culture.

Further Research and Limitations

The present study included only eight participants due to COVID-19-related restrictions. Therefore, further research should aim to collect data from more participants to understand the returnees' experiences better.

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Exploration of the Relationship Between Housing Conditions and Cultural Capital in Hong Kong

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The Asian Conference on the Social Sciences 2022
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Due to the over-population and less land supply, the housing condition in Hong Kong is undersupplied, which leads to nearly 30% were under 25 lived in subdivided flats. Till now, no research study examined the cultural capital and housing conditions among the youngsters. Therefore, this study aims to i) explore the characteristics among the subdivided flats residents; ii) compare the difference in cultural capital in different housing types. 288 respondents were recruited in a cross-sectional quantitative study. The Cultural Capital Scale and socio-demographic factors were collected by self-reported questionnaires. Regarding the family income, 52.4% of respondents earned less than 40,000 HKD. According to the results of ANOVA, there were significant differences in cultural capital between the types of housing, $F(3, 279) = 33.73$, $p < .001$. Post hoc analyses were conducted using LSD. The cultural capital in the subdivided flats group ($M = 45.39$, $SD = 5.21$) was significantly less than in the public housing group ($M = 77.48$, $SD = 17.16$), Home Ownership Scheme (HOS) group ($M = 82.38$, $SD = 12.82$) and private housing group ($M = 82.01$, $SD = 14.16$). This study provided an insight for advocators and policy makers that more social resources should be allocated to the individuals who are in need.

Keywords: Cultural Capital, Housing, Subdivided Flats, Hong Kong

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Introduction

In Hong Kong, there were basically three types of housing, namely public rental housing (PRH), subsidized sale flats - Home Ownership Scheme (HOS), and private housing. Public rental housing shares a similar concept to social housing in other countries. For subsidized sale flats, they are sold by the Hong Kong government and their cooperated construction companies at a price lower than private housing. According to the report from the Hong Kong government, there are two main issues of housing, which refer to the surging property prices and the shortage of housing supply. The housing prices increasingly rise to an unaffordable level and step further increased the demand for public housing. Statistics from Hong Kong Housing Authority (2022) showed that about 15 thousand families are waiting for government-supported public rental housing. In other words, the supply of public housing is more and more demanding.

Current situation of Housing in Hong Kong and worldwide

It is well known that "a huge population on very scarce land" is a common social phenomenon in Hong Kong. Whether public or private housing, the housing is smaller and smaller. A subdivided flat is the smallest housing unit in Hong Kong which only contains 6.6 square meters on average per unit (Wong, 2016 April 29). Compared with subdivided flats, the average size of private housing is about 16 square meters per unit (Wong, 2016 April 29), which is two times larger, with 13 square meters on average per unit (Transport and Housing Bureau, 2021). On the other hand, compared to other countries, such as Japan, Singapore, Shenzhen (a city located in South China) and the USA, the USA has the largest average size of housing per unit, about 74 square meters (Wong, 2016 April 29), whereas Hong Kong has the smallest average size of housing units among the developed countries and regions.

Although the SDUs are extremely small and may not be appropriate for people to live in, there are 226 thousand people living in SDUs (Transport and Housing Bureau, 2021). According to the government report in 2021, SDUs account for around 3.5% of the total properties, and SDUs are small with a sky-high price, the monthly rental payment of SDUs is around 611 USD. In this way, the people who are living in SDUs suffer a lot in different aspects.

Literature review

Function of Housing

From a social stratification perspective, housing is not only an important property but also emphasizes the strong function of social position. In other words, it represents housing conditions as a symbol of income and aspiration (Bourdieu, 2005; Silva & Wright, 2009). Basically, a housing unit reflects the owner's social being and taste, which may include economic, social, historical and cultural concerns (Bourdieu, 2005). On the other hand, from a material perspective, the housing location in the city, the layout of the rooms, the creature comforts, and the good or bad maintenance (DeCerteau et al., 1998) also be taken under consideration. Moreover, the price of houses is also a symbol or indicator that represents the owner's socioeconomic status, and position in society through the equity principle of the material and the symbolic positions. Based on the above literature and from different perspectives, a housing unit is not simply an actual property or an investment for the owner's

future, or the future generations, but is also highly related to the social position (Silva & Wright, 2009).

Cultural capital

The concept of cultural capital was first introduced by Bourdieu (1986) which was defined as "can be saved, transmitted, invested, and used to obtain other resources". There are basically two forms of cultural capital, namely, tangible and intangible. Tangible form means the cultural goods involving human creativity with symbolic meanings, such as artworks, paintings and sculptures, etc. (Silva & Wright, 2009). On the other hand, the intangible form of cultural capital refers to assets that are embodied, stored and provided cultural values in economic exchange, such as music, literature, values, and beliefs (Silva & Wright, 2009). In general, both tangible and intangible forms of cultural capital occur economic and cultural values (Silva & Wright, 2009).

The previous studies stressed the importance of housing conditions and cultural capital in human life (e.g. Bramley & Kofi Karley, 2007; Harkness & Newman, 2003; Sigle-Rushton, 2004). For instance, research indicated that the higher occupational level, the higher level of housing affordability (Harkness & Newman, 2003). Scholars also found that different standards of home maintenance and repairs between owner occupants and absentee owners, could affect children's health, cognitive and school development differently (Bramley& Kofi Karley, 2007). Research studies indicated that home-ownership is associated with better educational outcomes for their children (Haurin et al., 2002). In detail, the financial stake in the property of the home-owner would have a greater motivation to regulate their children's behavior (Haurin et al., 2002). Moreover, according to previous studies from the U.K., the individuals who were growing up in social housing, would be more likely to suffer adverse outcomes in their later life, such as unemployment, unsatisfied qualification and low income, etc.

Methodology

Research design

In light of the previous literature, there were two aims included in this study: i) to explore how different housing conditions affect cultural capital, and ii) to examine the difference in cultural capital in different housing conditions. The present study is a quantitative research study. Convenient sampling was employed to recruit the target participants. All undergraduate students were recruited from different local universities or colleges. The inclusion criteria are as follows: i) aged 18 or above, ii) able to read Chinese, and iii) Hong Kong residents. The valid cases in this study were 288.

Measurement

Demographic information. The demographic information such as gender, age, living condition and monthly income is collected from the participants.

Cultural capital. To measure participants 'cultural capital, the cultural capital scale is used (Khodadady & Natanzi, 2012). The cultural capital scale is a 5 points scale with 27 items and eight sub-scales: i) cultured family, ii) cultural commitment, iii) cultural investment, iv)

religious commitment, v) cultural visits, vi) art visits, vii) art appreciation, and viii) literate family.

Data analysis

Firstly, the frequency and descriptive statistics were used to present the demographic information. Secondly, ANOVA with the post-hoc test was adopted to explore the relationship between different living conditions and cultural capital. The interval confidence and significant level were estimated as 95% and 5% respectively.

Results

Results showed that 61% of participants were female, and 39% were male. 38.8% of participants were living in private housing, 35.9% of them were living in public housing, 18.9% were living in subsidized housing, and only 6.4% of participants were living in the SDUs. Moreover, only 24.9% of participants' family income is lower than 25,000 HKD. Nearly half of the participants' monthly family income is over 40,000 HKD.

The results were conducted by ANOVA with a post-hoc test. Tukey was selected for the post-hoc test in the present study. Firstly, there is a significant difference in cultural capital in different housing conditions, $F(3, 279) = 33.73$, $p < .001$. The results indicated that there was a significant difference between i) subdivided flat and public housing ($p < .001$); ii) subdivided flat and HOS ($p < .001$); and iii) subdivided flat and private housing ($p < .001$). However, there was no significant difference between public housing, HOS and private housing in the cultural capital. Moreover, subdivided flat residents scored the lowest scores in cultural capital.

After conducting the analysis, most of the results showed that there were significant differences between subdivided flats to public housing, HOS, and private housing. Moreover, all results showed that subdivided flat residents had the lowest scores in all sub-scales when compared to other housing conditions.

Discussion

In general, there was no significant difference between public housing, HOS and private housing in the cultural capital. At the same time, public housing, HOS and private housing had almost two-fold scoring in cultural capital than the subdivided flat residents in Hong Kong. The results showed that SDU's residents had the lowest scores in all aspects of cultural capital, especially on art appreciation, cultural commitment, and literate family. According to some previous studies (Hobcrafe, 2002; Sigle-Rushton, 2004), it was assumed that there were some adverse consequences to growing social housing (or is called public housing in HK). However, the present study wasn't consistent with the previous studies.

Weber and Friedrich's location theory (1929) focused on the site selection for factories due to the cost-effectiveness of the transportation costs, and later, it extended the content to the estate site selection, which focuses on the concept of "the location of economic activity". The theory pointed out that the authorities are more likely to reverse the most valuable site to the most valuable residents, such as the private housing residents (Weber & Friedrich, 1929). Based on this theoretical interpretation, it was assumed that there were some differences between the residents in private and public (social) housing. However, there was no

significant difference between public housing residents and private housing residents in the cultural capital.

To review the housing policies in Hong Kong, it had a building ratio of private and public (social) housing on the same site (land), the common ratio should be 6:4 (public: private) and will be adjusted to 7:3 in the future (Transport and Housing Bureau, 2021). In this way, whether the residents were living in public housing or private housing, they were living in the same community. They might share the similar, or even the same facilities and transportation, etc. According to the differential association theory (Sutherland, 1939), the frequency and intensity of interaction between different groups might lead to a learning process. This behavioral learning process would occur via interaction and contact, which also refers to a two-way learning process. In other words, the public and private housing residents were learning from each other. Therefore, the balance status of public and private housing residents would eventually occur. Thus, the difference in cultural capital was narrowed down between the public housing residents and private housing residents. In short, there was no significant difference in cultural capital.

In light of that, the subdivided flat residents might also share the same community; and share alike or the same facilities and transportation, why do they only get the lowest scores in the presented study? From the materials perspective, SDUs residents might show some difficulties in space utilization. For instance, they have no independent bedrooms, bathroom and kitchen (even no doors or partitions), no telephone connection and internet access, and no private space for each family member. In other words, their living conditions may not benefit from cultural cultivation and accumulation. On the other hand, SDUs residents were mostly working class, with long working hours, no leisure time, and no time for improving their literacy, eventually, they were unable to improve their living conditions.

Conclusion

There are two limitations to this study. Firstly, this study adopted convenient sampling for recruitment, and secondly, the sample size of the present study was small, which represented that the sample might not be representative enough in this study. For further study, employing a more reliable sampling method, and increasing the sample size should be the reasonable means to increase the representativeness of the data.

In conclusion, this study explored the association between housing conditions and cultural capital in Hong Kong. It is also found that the situation in Hong Kong does not show consistency with the previous conclusion drawn from location theory and previous studies. On the other hand, from a materials perspective, the space utilization in SDUs is poor. Most of SDUs' residents lack "space" for cultural development. Moreover, the characteristics of SDU residents further lead to the result of lack of chance to improve their living conditions.

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