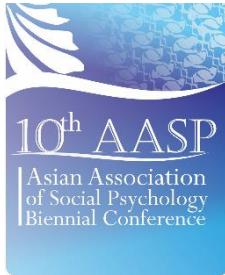# ASIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 10th ASIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

'Enhancing Quality of Life through Community Integrity and Cultural Diversity: Promoting Indigenous, Social and Cultural Psychology'

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'Enhancing Quality of Life through Community Integrity and Cultural Diversity: Promoting Indigenous, Social and Cultural Psychology'

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Proceedings of The 10th Asian Association of Social Psychology Biennial Conference

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Introduction to the Proceedings

This Proceedings is comprised of a subset of papers presented at the 10th Biennial Conference of the Asian Association of Social Psychology, held in August 2013, at Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. With the call for papers issued soon after the conference, we initially received 76 submissions. Each submission was carefully peer-reviewed, first by one of the Editorial Team members to initially evaluate the suitability, and subsequently by peer-reviewers, oftentimes other contributing authors to the Proceedings. Twenty papers were accepted through this process.

The papers included here showcase the Association in a few ways. First, it illustrates superb quality of research conducted among the members. The Proceedings may not be a traditional outlet for high profile research—for which, the Association has *Asian Journal of Social Psychology.* Nevertheless, with the peer-review process in place for limited page space, we ended up selecting those papers that report high quality research. In particular, many of the papers took advantage of approaches that may be found less commonly in mainstream journals in social psychology, such as the use of qualitative method and indigenous approach for theory construction.

Second, the papers included here encompass great diversity: 11 countries are represented among 19 manuscripts and their 47 authors. Topics examined in these papers varied greatly too. To sample a few, Boonyasiriwat et al investigated predictors of healthy (vs. unhealthy) food offering to Buddhist monks in Thailand. Chen and Bedford reviewed operational principles of Guanxi in workplace. Liu and Xing took evolutionary psychology perspective and examined effects of mating motives on conspicuous consumption. Nakano and colleagues analysed adjustment difficulties of Muslims students in Japan, and Janon and colleagues investigated effects of parenting disciplinary practices among children enrolled in childcare services in Malaysia.

Personally, reading through these manuscripts was a great learning opportunity. They highlighted cultural diversity represented in the region and research approaches that fellow members of the Association adopt in investigating social psychological issues that are salient in their society. We hope this volume, like Proceedings from the previous meetings, contributes to the future developments of Asian Social Psychology.

Takeshi Hamamura

On behalf of Editorial Team:
Takeshi Hamamura; Rogelia Pe-Pua; Faturochman; Ronnel B. King; Augustinus Supratiknya; and Kwartarini W. Yuniarti.
Editorial assistance was provided by Niken Rarasati and Haidar Buldan Thontowi of the Center for Indigenous and Cultural Psychology at Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Relationship between Students' Achievement Goals for a Professional Curriculum and for a Specific Subject within the Curriculum

Surawit Assapun*, Wiladlak Chuawanlee, Dusadee Yoelao, and Pasana Chularut

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Abstract

Achievement goals are future-focused cognitive representation that guides behavior to a competence-related end state that the individuals commit to either approach or avoid. They are important factors to explain students' behaviors. A classical theory considered the achievement goals as state variables which mean that the achievement goals of students will be different across contexts. However, some theories in the field have postulated that the achievement goals may generalize across similar contexts. This research examined the relationship among students' achievement goals for the curriculum they are enrolled in and for a specific subject within the curriculum. A research framework in this study was derived from Elliot's 2 x 2 achievement goals theory. One thousand three hundred and twenty seven educational students from eleven universities in Thailand participated in this research. The data were analyzed using two statistical analyses: canonical correlations and partial correlations. Findings suggested that there were relationships among achievement goals across broad and specific learning contexts.

Keywords: achievement goal, educational student, generalization

A.   INTRODUCTION

Students successfully performing academic tasks would develop their competency in their classroom, not only because their teachers have very good teaching skills or they learnt great curriculum, but also because they have motivation. As such, motivation is one of major factors for explaining the students' academic achievement (Weiner, 1990). Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece (2008) defined 'the motivation is the process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained.' As this illustrate, a goal is one of the main components of motivation because it directs the individual behavior. Elliot and Fryer (2008) reviewed the relevant literature and concluded that goals in psychology can be seen as a cognitive representation that focus on object in the future, with the person committing to approach to or avoid from it. The achievement goal theory is one of the most influential theories of goals in psychology.

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a.   Achievement Goals Theory

The achievement goals theory was influenced by the achievement motivation theory that focuses on the individual competence. As such the focus of achievement goals theory was the competence after completing the task (Hulleman, Schrager, Bodmann, & Harackiewicz, 2010). Moreover, the achievement goals theory stated that the achievement goals were multidimensional construct differing from the achievement motivation theory that suggested its unidimensionality. Psychologists have discriminated the achievement goals into at least 2 major types (Ames & Archer, 1987, 1988; Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Elliott & Dweck, 1988; Maehr & Midgley, 1991; Midgley, et al., 1998; Nicholls, 1984). The first type was the goal that focuses on demonstrating the competency, called performance goal. The other type was the goal that focuses on changing the competency, called mastery goal.

This theory supposed that the mastery goal is related with adaptive learning behavior such as effort, persistence, intension to maintain, and use of deep learn strategies, etc. On the other hand, the performance goal is postulated to be associated with maladaptive learning behaviors such as lack of effort, cheating, intension to quit, and use of shallow learning strategies, etc. (Hulleman, et al., 2010). Some research did not support this hypothesis, finding that the outcomes of performance goal were not consistent with the predictions. So the psychologists have classified each goal by using approach and avoidance dimension, and introduced the new model of achievement goal (Elliot, 1999; Pintrich, 2000). It was called 2 x 2 Achievement goal model that comprised of four types: Performance-Approach Goal, Performance-Avoidance Goal, Mastery-Approach Goal, and Mastery-Avoidance Goal.

According to this model, individuals with performance-approach goal would focus on performing the higher performance than other members or demonstrating their competence to the others. Those with performance-avoidance goal would focus on avoiding the lower performance than others in order to avoid showing their incompetency to the others. Those with mastery-approach goal would focus on their improvement or task-mastery. Those with mastery-avoidance goal would focus on avoiding lost chance for improvement.

Although there were these four types of goal in the model, individual may possess 2 or more goals in an achievement situation. Hence, a measure of achievement goal would not measure types of goals individual had; rather it measures the strength of each individual's orientation for each goal type. There are two well established measures of achievement goal—Midgley, et al. (2000)'s achievement goals scale in Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales (PALS) and Elliot & McGregor (2001)'s achievement goals questionnaire (AGQ).

b.   Generalization across Context

Goals should be seen as stage variables as a goal of an individual may change across situations, in a way similar to attitude or perceived self-efficacy (Schunk, et al., 2008). For example, goals of an individual in playing sport may differ from his/her goals in learning guitar. So researchers studying the concept of goals need to identify the context of a specific goal. There are many theories in this regard. For example, Locke & Latham (1990)'s goal setting theory discusses that the goals that affect a behavior should be specific such as the goal for studying a specific subject. The achievement goal theory, however, postulates that goals may be held broadly across contexts such as a goal in learning profession curriculum. Finney, Pieper, & Barron (2004) confirmed this hypothesis by finding the construct validity of achievement goals in general academic context. They concluded that it is possible to measure the achievement goal in general academic context.

Although goals of an individual may differ when the situation changes, there may also be some consistencies across contexts. Schunk, et al. (2008) argued that the achievement goals might generalize to goals in other contexts. For example, a student's goal in learning psychology might relate to his/ her goal in learning sociology. Okun, Fairholme, Karoly, Ruehlman, & Newton (2006) found that the students' achievement goals in psychology were the same as their achievement goals in their major subject. Therefore, the achievement goals could be measured in general context,and the achievement goals in different context might be related. However, there have been a limited number of research studies examining this relationship.

In the current study, generalizability of achievement goals across contexts was examined. The first context was the general context, curriculum for teacher training. The other context was more specific, learning a single subject within the curriculum. The effect of context was examined by 2 analyses: canonical correlation analysis investigating the overall correlation of all 4 goals and partial correlation analysis investigating the correlations between goals when other goals were controlled.

B.   METHOD

a.   Participants

1327 education undergraduate students from 11 universities in central region of Thailand participated. Most participants (84.02%) were female, whereas 15.98% identified as male. More than the half (53.62%) reported being sophomore, followed by 28.89% reported being junior, 10.25% reported being senior and 7.24% reported being student teachers. 50.57% of participants reported learning at university in Bangkok and 49.43% reported learning at university outside Bangkok. 52.22% of participants reported learning at

Rajabhat University (Teacher College) and other half (47.78%) reported learning at Public University.

b.   Measures

The achievement goal questionnaires were adopted to measure achievement goals on teaching curriculum and a single subject. These questionnaires were developed in research byElliot & Fryer (2008) and Hulleman, et al. (2010). Some items were adopted from Midgley, et al. (2000)'s achievement goals scale in Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales (PALS) and Elliot & McGregor (2001)'s achievement goals questionnaire (AGQ). This questionnaire consisted of 36 items divided into 4 subscales, 9 items each on performance-approach goal (e.g. I want to make the highest score of this class), performance-avoidance goal (e.g. I want to avoid to make something that the teacher would see me silly.), mastery-approach goal (e.g. I want to learn meet my potential), and mastery-avoidance goal (e.g. I learn hard for ensure that I am not lack of the important skill). The Alpha coefficients of each subscale were between .785-.903 for general context and .814-.936 for specific context as shown in Table 1.

c.   Analysis

The data was analyzed by 2 techniques: canonical correlations and partial correlations. The canonical correlation analysis examined the overall relation between 2 sets of goals whereas the partial correlation analysis examined the relation of each goal across context when all other goals are controlled. The results of these analyses were triangulated to examine the hypothesis.

C.   RESULTS

Goals in learning a specific subject received slightly lower ratings than the goals for the curriculum (Table 1). Goals were rated in the similar order. The highest goals in learning profession curriculum was Mastery-Approach goal (5.83), followed by performance-avoidance goal (5.26), mastery-avoidance goal (5.21), and performance-approach goal (4.02) respectively. On the other hand, the highest goals in learning a single profession subject was Mastery-Approach goal (5.74), followed by mastery-avoidance goal (5.25), performance-avoidance goal (5.07), and performance-approach goal (3.85).The correlations among goals for learning the curriculum were between .263 and .790,and the correlations among goals in learning for a specific subject were between .202 and .824. The correlation matrix of goals within each context was slightly different.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach's Alphas, and Pearson's Correlation Coefficients among Achievement goals in Learning Profession Curriculum and Single Profession Subject

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*α*	Correlation (Cronbach's Alpha)							
				Profession Curriculum				Single Profession Subject			
				1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4
1.Achievement Goals in Learning Profession Curriculum											
1.1. PerApp	4.02	1.03	.903	1							
1.2. PerAvo	5.26	.80	.824	.657	1						
1.3. MasApp	5.83	.66	.803	.263	.580	1					
1.4. MasAvo	5.21	.74	.785	.534	.790	.751	1				
2. Achievement Goals in Learning Single Profession Subject											
2.1. PerApp	3.85	1.16	.936	.794	.555	.146	.453	1			
2.2. PerAvo	5.07	.90	.849	.607	.765	.437	.663	.671	1		
2.3. MasApp	5.74	.77	.889	.242	.541	.731	.663	.202	.594	1	
2.4. MasAvo	5.25	.77	.814	.444	.672	.628	.753	.476	.785	.824	1

Note PerApp = Performance-Approach Goal, PerAvo = Performance Avoidance Goal, MasApp = Mastery Approach Goal, and MasAvo = Mastery Avoidance Goal.

a.   Overall Relationship between Two Sets of Goal across Contexts

The result of correlation analysis did not indicate that the goals in learning the curriculum are related to the goals in learning a specific subject because the bivariate correlation might not capture the intervening effect from the correlations of each goal within context. So we need some analytical techniques for examining the overall correlation of these goals or for controlling the correlation of goals within context, which would be presented as followed.

There were 4 goals within each context, so there were a maximum of 4 models of canonical correlation. The analyses found that for all 4 models, canonical variables were related significantly as presented in Figure 1. The canonical correlation of model 1 was .834 (Eigen = 2.256, χ^2= 2966.04, p < .001), and the canonical structure coefficients of the same goal for each context were same direction and similar size. Likewise, the canonical correlation of model 2 was .740 (Eigen = 1.209, χ^2= 1415.52, p < .001) with the canonical structure coefficients having the same direction and similar size across contexts. The results were similar for model 3 (Eigen = .242, χ^2= 374.42, p < .001) and model 4 was .257 (Eigen = .071, χ^2= .89.65, p = .001). The performance-approach goals in learning teacher curriculum had a weak negative correlation but the goals in learning a single teaching subject had a very weak positive correlation. However, the difference was not large. These findings indicate that the achievement goals between broad and specific learning context are related.

Figure 1. Canonical Correlation Analysis

Goal for curriculum — Goal for one subject

PerApp $\rightarrow$ GC3: -.226
PerAvo $\rightarrow$ GC3: .354
MasApp $\rightarrow$ GC3: -.262
MasAvo $\rightarrow$ GC3: -.036
GC3 $\leftrightarrow$ GS3: .441
PerApp $\rightarrow$ GS3: -.188
PerAvo $\rightarrow$ GS3: .372
MasApp $\rightarrow$ GS3: -.166
MasAvo $\rightarrow$ GS3: .010

Eigen = .242, Λ = .752, χ^2 = 374.42, df = 4, p < .001

Goal for curriculum — Goal for one subject

PerApp $\rightarrow$ GC4: -.126
PerAvo $\rightarrow$ GC4: -.144
MasApp $\rightarrow$ GC4: -.207
MasAvo $\rightarrow$ GC4: .301
GC4 $\leftrightarrow$ GS4: .257
PerApp $\rightarrow$ GS4: .000
PerAvo $\rightarrow$ GS4: -.082
MasApp $\rightarrow$ GS4: -.153
MasAvo $\rightarrow$ GS4: .299

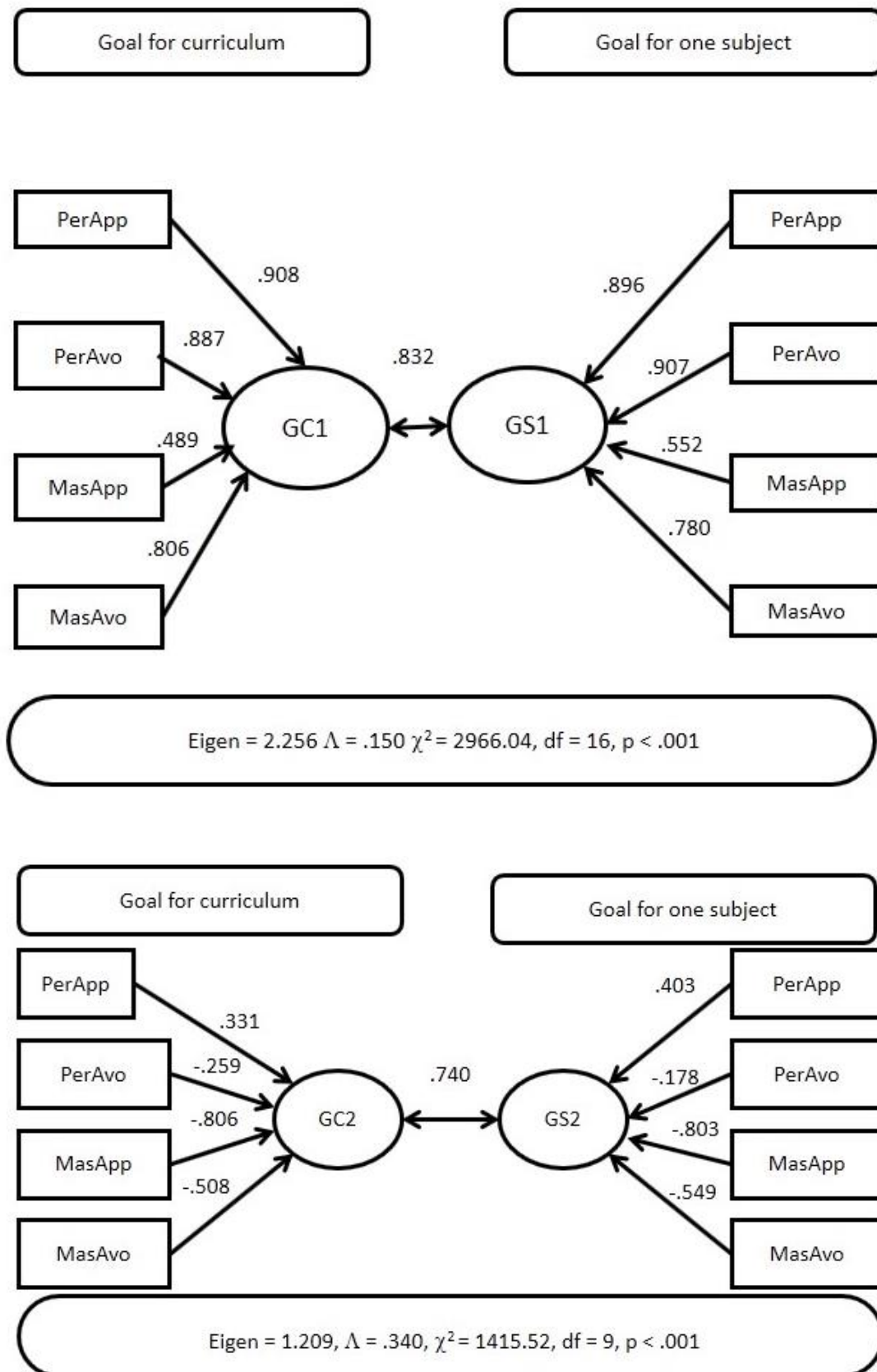Eigen = .071, Λ = .934, χ^2 = 89.65, df = 1, p = .001

Note PerApp = Performance-Approach Goal, PerAvo = Performance Avoidance Goal, MasApp = Mastery Approach Goal, and MasAvo = Mastery Avoidance Goal.
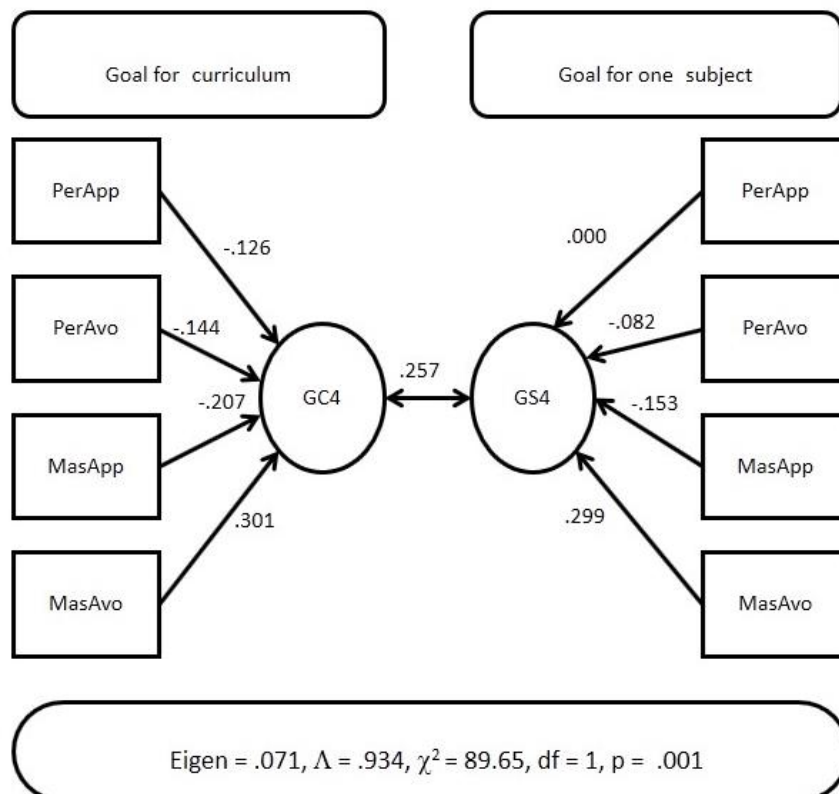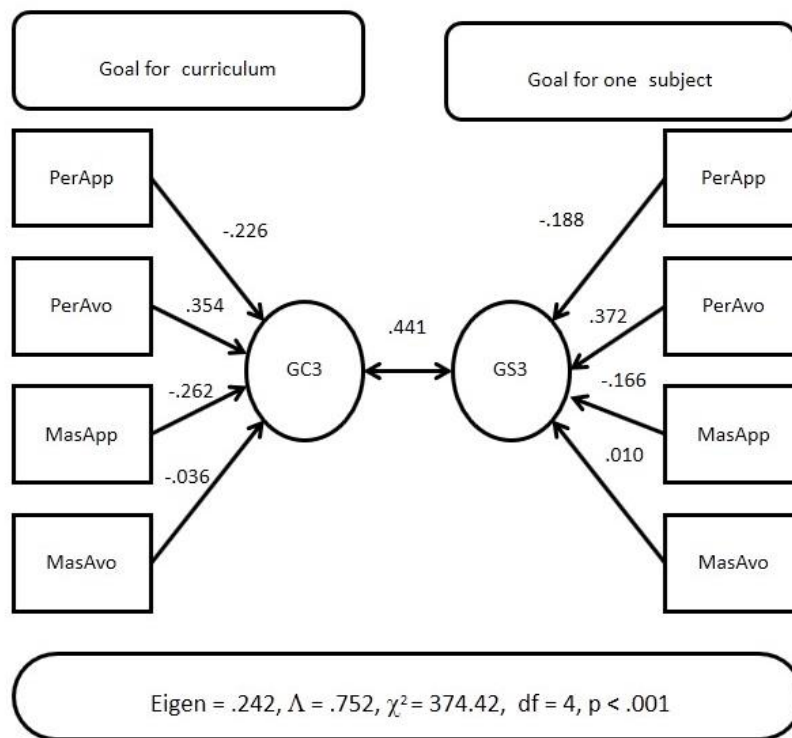
b.   The Relationships among Each Goal across Contexts

The partial correlation was used to examine the correlations among each goal in both contexts controlling for other goals in both context (Table 2).

There were only 4 moderate positive partial correlations of achievement goals across learning contexts. All these were the correlation for the same goals between contexts. We conclude that the achievement goals of both contexts were related.

In sum, the results of the two analyses were consistent. It could be concluded that there were the same type of goal on two similar contexts were related, represented that the achievement goals may generalized across context.

D.   DISCUSSION

This research confirmed the hypothesis that the achievement goals are related across learning contexts. Specifically, one's achievement goals for a general context were correlated with his/her achievement goals for more specific learning context. For example, students' performance-approach goal in learning to become a teacher was strongly related to their performance-approach goal in learning a specific subject in the curriculum compared to other learning goals. This finding is consistent with Okun, Fairholme, Karoly, Ruehlman, & Newton (2006)'s study that the relationship of achievement goals in learning psychology were same as their achievement goals in their major subject.

In conclusion, the present research examined the relation of two sets of goals across learning contexts. The result confirmed that learning goals are correlated across contexts, suggesting that the achievement goals may generalize across context. This findingmay remind educators that students' initial set of achievement goals after entering a curriculum may be important as it may set the goal for all subjects within the curriculum. Similarly, the finding may suggest the effectiveness of changing achievement goals of student for some subjects as it may carry over to other subjects or to the achievement goals of overall curriculum. The future research might examine these arguments.

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Predicting Intentions to Offer Healthy Foods to Buddhist Monks in Thailand Using the Theory of Planned Behavior, Self-efficacy, and Prosocial Motivations

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Abstract

Almost half of monks in Thailand are clinically obese and suffering from serious diseases such as diabetes and high blood pressure. This is partly due to consumption of foods high in fat and sugar offered faithfully by Buddhists. The current study aims to predict Thai Buddhists' intentions to offer healthy foods to monks. Thai Buddhist adults (*N*= 200, average age = 36.45 years) completed a questionnaire measuring their attitudes, subjective norms, perceived behavioral control, intention, as well as self-efficacy, and egoistic and altruistic motivations to offer healthy foods to monks. Hierarchical regression analysis revealed that subjective norms, perceived behavioral control, and self-efficacy were positive predictors, while none of the motivations was significant in predicting intentions. The overall model explained 55% of the variance in intentions to offer healthy foods to monks. These results as well as analyses of salient beliefs provide valuable insight into targets of future interventions to encourage offering of healthy diets to monks among Thai Buddhists.

Keywords: Theory of planned behavior, food offering, intention, Buddhist monks, self-efficacy, prosocial motivations

A.   INTRODUCTION

Buddhist monks are males who have undergone Buddhist ordination and taken vows to study and practice the teachings of Lord Buddha in searching for spiritual enlightenment. Besides meditation and studying of the teaching, Buddhist monks in Thailand have to follow a set of rules that includes a practice of leaving the temple where they reside to collect foods from lay people in the morning and when invited, and to consume that food at two decided times of the day between dawn and noon. Thai monks' physical activities are usually limited to sweeping their temple courtyard and walking within close distances. It is not a tradition for monks to engage in formal physical exercise as they are expected to remain calm and meditate in all moments. With a lifestyle lacking in physical exercise and with consumption of certain foods offered by lay people, it may not be surprising that recent surveys showed that 45% of nearly 300,000 monks in Thailand were clinically obese and suffering from serious cholesterol-related diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, and coronary heart disease (Angkatavanich & Zuesongdham, 2012). A major cause

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of these monks' health problems is consumption of foods offered by devout Buddhists that are high in fat and sugar, as well as beverages high in sugar monks typically consume in the evenings when they are to abstain from solid foods.

With monks' health concerns are significant and increasing, behavioral change interventions are needed to modify diet choices, both that of the monks and that of the offerers. The current study focused on the latter by examining factors related to Buddhists' offering of healthy foods to monks. Healthy diets are defined as foods and drinks that are low in fat, cholesterol, and sugar, rich in carbohydrates (i.e., high in fruits and vegetables) and protein (e.g., meat products, especially fish), as well as hygienic and fully-cooked. The goal of this study was to specifically examine cognitive and motivational predictors of intentions to donate healthy foods to monks among Buddhists donators—to our knowledge, the first study to do so. Understanding the intentions involved in this kind of prosocial behavior is crucial for designing a behavioral change intervention to promote the offering of healthier foods to monks, which will in turn improve monks' health and reduce their risk of food consumption-related illnesses.

a.   Theoretical framework

To examine some major determinants of Buddhists' healthy food offerings to monks, the theory of planned behavior (TPB; Ajzen, 1991) was employed as the theoretical framework for several reasons. First, the TPB emphasizes the role of social influence for performing behavior. In collectivistic cultures such as Thai society, social influence on behavior should be stronger than in individualistic societies. For instance, subjective norms of approval from significant others were found to be a stronger predictor of signing an organ donor registry among Koreans than Americans (Yun & Park, 2010). Second, behaviors such as offering specific kind of foods (i.e., nutritious diets) can be viewed as difficult when one feels low control over his/her own behavior (e.g., when one believes that such foods are more difficult to find or prepare as compared to less nutritious foods). Therefore, examining perceived behavioral control should shed light on factors that could be targeted by future interventions to encourage offering healthier diets to Thai monks. Finally, the TPB constructs (with and without additional constructs) have long been used successfully in predicting various kinds of prosocial behaviors such as blood donation (Conner, Godin, Sheeran, & Germain, 2013; Giles, McClenahan, Cairns, & Mallet, 2004; Masser, White, Hyde, Terry, & Robinson, 2009), organ donation (Hyde & White, 2009; Rocheleau, 2013), charitable giving (Knowles, Hyde, & White, 2012; Smith & McSweeney, 2007), and volunteering (Hyde & Knowles, 2013) with great amounts of explained variance in intention (more than 30% of the variance) and behavior (more than 25% of the variance; Armitage & Conner, 2001; Godin & Kok, 1996; Hagger, Chatzisarantis, & Biddle, 2002; McEachan,

Conner, Taylor, & Lawton, 2011; Rise, Sheeran, & Hukkelberg, 2010; Sheeran & Taylor, 1999).

According to the TPB, intention is the proximal predictor of behavior. Intention is in turn determined by attitudes, subjective norms (SN), and perceived behavioral control (PBC). Attitudes are overall positive or negative evaluation of a behavior. SN deals with perception of whether significant others would approve of a behavior, while PBC refers to individuals' belief about the extent to which performing a certain behavior is under their control. PBC has been proposed to also influence behavior directly (Ajzen, 1991). Meta-analyses of TPB studies consistently demonstrated stronger predictive effects of attitudes over SN and PBC (e.g., Armitage & Conner, 2001). SN usually correlates the least with intention (e.g., .34 in Armitage & Conner, 2001). Most studies on prosocial behavior tend to augment the TPB using context-specific predictors in order to increase the predictive power of the theory (e.g., Hyde & White, 2009; Rocheleau, 2013; Smith &McSweeney, 2007). Rocheleau (2013), for instance, included religious attitudes and anticipated affects into the traditional TPB and found that the former constructs explained unique variance beyond the TPB constructs in predicting intention to perform organ donation-related behavior (e.g., discussing with family about donation).

In the context of offering healthy foods to monks, such prosocial behavior is likely to be a long term commitment rather than such short term acts as deciding to donate an organ, as Buddhists are expected to donate foods and provide support to monks on a continual basis for as long as they are able. Research in volunteering and blood donation has revealed that volunteers and donators who are more likely to continue their prosocial behavior are those who gain personal benefits while also helping others (Ferguson, Farrell, & Lawrence, 2008; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). In social psychology literature, such self-oriented motivation to help others is referred to as egoistic, while helping that is motivated by concern for others' welfare represents altruistic motivation (Batson, 1987). When offering food to monks, it is possible that Buddhists are motivated both egoistically (e.g., by gaining merit for themselves and their relatives according to religious beliefs as they improve monks' health, feeling better about self, and creating positive self-image of a giver) and altruistically (e.g., by nourishing monks and supporting Buddhist religious in general). In order to better predict the behavioral intentions to offer nutritious foods to monks, the current study tested a model in which intentions to offer healthy foods was determined by both self-oriented and other-oriented motivations. Examining the motivations will increase our understanding of such behaviors and enable practitioners to craft effective interventions for promoting giving of healthy food to monks in the future. Two kinds of prosocial motivation, egoistic and altruistic, were therefore added to the traditional TPB framework.

Improving monks' health via provision of healthier diets would involve significant resources and effort (e.g., knowledge of food nutrition and selection, time, and money), as well as overcoming barriers (e.g., affordability and supply of low-fat foods) relatively similar to those for promoting our own diet. Research on promoting fruit and vegetable intake, low-fat diet, as well as low-cholesterol diet has consistently documented the significant role of self-efficacy (confidence in one's capability to perform a given behavior) as a positive predictor of intention and behavior (Armitage & Conner, 1999a, 1999b; Kellar& Abraham, 2005; McCann, Retzlaff, Dowdy, Walden, &Knopp, 1990). Self-efficacy is very conceptually similar to the PBC component of the TPB as both involve perception of ability to execute a behavior. Whereas several studies reported that adding self-efficacy to the TPB improved prediction of intentions (Armitage & Conner, 1999a, 1999b; Sparks, Guthrie, & Shepard, 1997). Ajzen (2002) argued that PBC is a higher-order construct that conceptually consists of self-efficacy and controllability of performing a behavior (the extent to which performing a behavior is perceived as up to the actor). Fishbein and Ajzen (2010) later proposed that both self-efficacy and PBC are two elements of the same latent construct of perceived ability, and that separation of both constructs might be inappropriate. To date, there seems to be no consensus regarding a conceptual distinction between self-efficacy and PBC. To carefully investigate potential determinants of a tendency to offer nutritious food to monks, we added self-efficacy as another predictor in the model.

The present study aims to explore the cognitive and motivational determinants of intention to offer healthy diets to Buddhist monks among adult givers. The TPB was utilized as the theoretical framework with the additions of egoistic and altruistic motivations and self-efficacy. To carefully examine the TPB constructs, direct measures of attitudes, SN, and PBC were included in order to examine basis of these predictors by assessing salient beliefs associating with each predictor. In doing so, a formative research study was conducted to elicit accessible beliefs associated with the behavior of offering healthy foods to monks. A TPB questionnaire then was constructed consisting of both direct and indirect measures of attitudes, SN, and PBC. It was hypothesized that the main TPB constructs would positively predict intention. Self-efficacy was expected to predict intention above and beyond the effect of PBC. Both egoistic and altruistic motivations were also hypothesized to positively predict intention. For indirect measures, salient beliefs as basis of the main TPB predictors that were predictive of intentions were identified for future behavioral change intervention.

B.   METHODS

a.   Participants

Participants were 200 Buddhist adults who lived in Bangkok, Thailand. The participants ranged in age from 19 to 72 years with a mean of 36.45 years (*SD* = 11.20).A majority of the participants reported that they occasionally offered foods to monks (59%), that their offering was almsgiving in the morning (94.5%), and that they offered already-prepared foods (instead of cooking the food on their own; 34%). Another adult sample (*N* = 80) was used in the formative study in which participants were asked to list their accessible behavioral, normative, and control beliefs in regard to offering healthy foods to Buddhist monks.

b.   Procedures

The TPB questionnaire was developed following guidelines by Fishbein and Ajzen (2010).During the formative research phase, questionnaires consisting of three open-ended questions assessing the three kinds of beliefs from the TPB were distributed to academic and supporting staff of a large university. Responses to each open-ended questionwere used to construct a list of modal beliefs that accounted for 75% of all beliefs (Ajzen&Fishbein, 1980). These beliefs were then used to construct a TPB questionnaire that assessed behavioral beliefs (strength and outcome evaluations), normative beliefs (strength and motivation to comply), and control beliefs (strength and power) as indirect measures of attitudes, SN, and PBC, respectively. Direct measures of these three constructs were also included. The questionnaires then were distributed to academic and supporting staff of a large university and employees of private organizations in Bangkok. The questionnaire took approximately 25 minutes to complete.

c.   Direct Measures

Intentions. Participants rated their agreement with four statements assessing their intentions to offer healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks (e.g., 'I plan to offer healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks') on a 7-point Likert scale (disagree-agree). The scale had very high internal consistency (α = .96).

Attitudes. Attitudes toward offering healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks were assessed using nine pairs of evaluative semantic differential scales, e.g., bad-good, harmful-beneficial, easy-difficult, pleasant-unpleasant (α = .89).

Subjective norms. Four items were used to assess subjective norms regarding offering healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks on a 7-point disagree-agree scale (α = .87). Two items assessed injunctive norms (e.g., 'Most people who are important to me would

think that I should offer healthy food to monks in the next two weeks'), and the other two measured descriptive norms (e.g., 'Most people whose opinions I value offer healthy foods to monks'). As both norms are proposed to represent subjective norms (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2012), both were combined to derive SN measure in the current study.

Perceived behavioral control. Four items assessed participants' control over offering healthy diet to monks in the next two week on a 7-point disagree-agree scale(α = .79; e.g., 'If I wanted to, I could offer healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks', 'For me, offering healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks would be easy', 'It is mostly up to me whether or not I offer healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks', and 'I have control over offering healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks'.

Self-efficacy. Six items were used to measure self-efficacy in regard to offering healthy foods to monks (α = .89). Examples of the items are 'I am certain that I can offer healthy foods to monks' and 'I am confident that if I want to offer healthy foods to monks I can easily do it by myself'.

Egoistic motivation. Thirteen items asked participants to indicate on a 7-point scale how much they agree with statements such as 'I believe that providing healthy foods to monks will result in good things happening to my life' and 'Offering healthy foods to monk will bring merit to my family and relatives' (α = .96). Our conceptualization of egoistic motivation thus included benefits both to own self and close ones.

Altruistic motivation. Six items were used to assess motivation to improve monks' welfare via provision of nutritious diet on a 7-point disagree-agree scale (α = .84). Examples of items are 'Monks will receive adequate necessary nutrition if I offer healthy foods to them' and 'My offering of healthy foods to monks will result in good health of monks'. Our measure of altruistic motivation therefore captured benefits to monks as food receivers.

d. Indirect Measures

Belief-based measure of attitudes. Seven behavioral outcomes were obtained from the formative study (for a list of outcomes, see Table 3 presented later). Participants were asked to indicate strengths of beliefs such as 'Offering healthy foods to monks in the next two weeks will improve monks' health' on a 7-point unlikely-likely scale ranging from 1 to 7. Participant also evaluated each outcome on a 7-point good-bad scale (e.g., 'For me, improving monks' health is...') on a scale ranging from -3 to 3. Each belief strength rating was then multiplied by its corresponding outcome rating. The products of the strength and evaluation were summed across the seven items to derive a belief-based measure of attitudes toward food-offering behavior.

Belief-based measure of SN. Five referents in regard to offering healthy food to monks were identified from the formative study (see Table 4). To assess strength of the beliefs, participants responded to statements such as 'My parents think that I should offer healthy food to monks' on a 7-point unlikely-likely (-3 to 3) scale. Motivation to comply to each referent was measured on a scale of 1 to 7 using a statement format of 'Generally speaking, I want to do what my parent think I should do.' An overall belief-based SN score was created using the same procedure as for the belief-based measure of attitudes.

Belief-based measure of PBC. Five control factors identified from the elicitation phase (see Table 5) were used to measure control belief strength using statements such as 'During the next two weeks, the likelihood that I will have no time to obtain healthy foods for offering to monks is...', on a 7-point unlikely-likely unipolar scale. Perceived power of each control factor was measured using statements such as 'Having no time to obtain healthy foods would further or hinder for my offering of healthy foods to monks' on a 7-point hinder-further scale (scored from -3 to 3). An overall belief-based PBC score was created using the same procedure as for the belief-based measure of attitudes.

C. RESULTS

a. Descriptive Statistics

Correlations and descriptive statistics are shown in Table 1. Participants reported, on average, highly favorable attitudes toward offering healthy food to monks, moderately strong social pressures, as well as high control over doing so. Participants' self-efficacy was also high and correlated moderately high with their PBC. Egoistic motivation was moderately high, and altruistic motivation was high. Participants reported moderate intentions to offer nutritious diet to monks in the next two weeks.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among the Variables (N = 200)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. ∑b_ie_i	-									
2. ∑n_im_i	.52***	-								
3. ∑c_ip_i	.03	.30***	-							
4. A_B	.40***	.36***	-.03	-						
5. SN	.55***	.64***	.21**	.29***	-					
6. PBC	.46***	.46***	.18*	.33***	.47***	-				
7. SE	.36***	.31***	.17*	.23**	.26***	.58***	-			
8. EGO	.59***	.53***	.21**	.30***	.47***	.30***	.31***	-		
9. ALT	.63***	.46***	.11	.31***	.41***	.42***	.52***	.65***	-	
10. BI	.39***	.53***	.22**	.26***	.56***	.57***	.52***	.44***	.52***	-
M	115.82	47.91	17.67	6.33	5.80	6.14	6.04	5.79	6.15	5.50

SD	28.92	31.91	46.13	0.74	1.09	0.84	0.96	1.12	0.80	1.28
Min	-3.00	-51.00	-105.00	1.11	1.75	3.00	2.00	1.92	2.83	1.00
Max	147.00	105.00	105.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00

Note: b_ie_i= behavioral belief x outcome evaluation, n_im_i= normative belief x motivation to comply, c_ip_i= control belief x perceived power, A$_B$ = attitudes toward the behavior, SN = subjective norms, PBC = perceived behavioral control, SE = self-efficacy, EGO = egoistic motivation, ALT = altruistic motivation, BI = behavioral intention.

b. Prediction of Behavioral Intentions

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to test the predictive effects of the TPB constructs and the additional variables in predicting intentions. Results are shown in Table 2. Age, gender, and frequency of food offering were entered in the first step. Attitudes, SN, and PBC then were entered in the second step. Self-efficacy was added in third step, and egoistic and altruistic motivations were added in a final step. Results are shown in Figure 1.

The overall model with all predictors was significant, $F (9,182) = 24.51$, $p< .001$, and explained 55% of the variance in intention. Age ($\beta= .20$, $p< .01$) and frequency of food offering ($\beta= .21$, $p<.01$) were positive predictors of intentions to offer healthy foods to monks. The inclusion of the TPB constructs in Step 2 increased the variance being explained by 36%, $F_{change} (3, 185) = 42.18$, $p<.001$. Only SN and PBC, but not attitudes, significantly and positively predicted intentions after controlling for the effects of the demographic variables, which partially support our hypothesis. As expected, in Step 3, self-efficacy made a significant contribution to the prediction of intentions with 5% additional explained variance over and above the TPB constructs and the demographic variables. The inclusion of the prosocial motivations in the last step resulted in small but significant increase in variance explained, $\triangle R^2= .03$, $p<.01$. Egoistic and altruistic motivations did not predict intention (the effect of altruistic motivation was almost significant, $\beta= .13$, $p = .086$), which did not support our hypothesis. In sum, perceptions of social approval, one's sense of control over, and confidence in one's own capability to offer healthy foods to monks were significant predictors of intentions.

Table 2. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Intentions to Offer Healthy Foods to Monk

Predictor	ΔR^2	β
Step 1		
Gender	*.11****	*.11*
Age		*.20***
Frequency of food offering		*.21***

Step 2		
Attitudes toward the behavior	*.36****	*.04*
Subjective norms		*.35****
Perceived behavioral control		*.36****
Step 3		
Self-efficacy	*.05****	*.27****
Step 4		
Egoistic motivation	*.03***	*.11*
Altruistic motivation		*.13*
Total R^2	*.55****	
N	*192*	

Note: **p<.01.***p< .001.
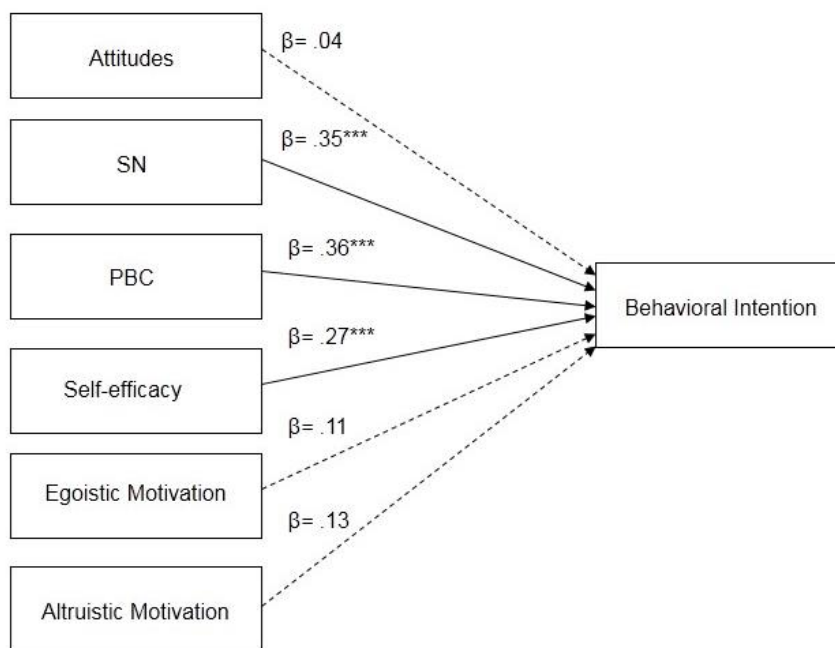
Figure 1. Standardized regression coefficients from the hierarchical regression in predicting behavioral intention. The continuous lines indicate significant paths (***p<.001), and dashed lines indicated insignificant paths

c. Belief-based Measures

As shown in Table 1, the overall belief-based measure of attitudes correlated significantly with the direct measure of attitudes (*r* = .40, *p*<.001), indicating that the behavioral beliefs represented the attitudes moderately well. The overall belief-based measure of SN also correlated highly with the direct measure (*r* = .64, *p*<.001). The belief-based measure of PBC, however, had a low correlation with the direct measure (*r* = .18, *p*<.05) which means that the control factors identified in the formative study captured the

appraisal of behavioral control over the behavior to some extent. A potential cause of this low correspondence between the direct and indirect measures of PBC could be a problem of elicitation of control beliefs. It is possible that as the behavior in focus was offering healthy foods to monks, our respondents focused on obstacles/facilitators of offering foods in general, rather than specifically to healthy foods. The problem should be addressed in the future investigation that could possibly alter wording used in the elicitation questionnaire or utilize different approach of gathering beliefs as basis of TPB constructs such as focus group (e.g., Greaves, Zibarras, & Stride, 2013). In sum, the low correlation between belief-based measure of PBC and direct measure may indicate low validity of the indirect measure that deserves attention from future research.

In order to identify behavioral, normative, and control beliefs that contributed to intentions, the product of each belief was correlated with intentions as shown in Table 3, 4, and 5.

Table 3. Correlations between Behavioral Factors and Attitudes and Intentions

| Behavioral factor | $b_i e_i$ | | Correlations | |
	M	SD	with A_B	with intentions
Improve monks' health	16.73	5.01	.27*	.40*
Feel personally pleasant	18.44	4.62	.31*	.27*
Reduce risk of monk's illness	14.34	6.15	.33*	.35*
Monks get to consume nutritious foods	17.47	4.75	.36*	.23*
Family, relatives, and ghost spirits earn merit	15.85	6.04	.28*	.28*
Support Buddhist religion	16.41	5.50	.29*	.30*
I would receive merit in return	16.58	5.85	.30*	.24*

*Note. $b_i e_i$= behavioral belief x outcome evaluation. *p<.05.*

Table 4. Correlations between Normative Factors and Subjective Norms and Intentions

| Normative factor | $n_i m_i$ | | Correlations | |
	M	SD	with SN	with intentions
Parents	11.45	8.29	.57*	.51*
Family and relatives	10.57	8.14	.56*	.48*
Monks in general	8.38	7.26	.55*	.48*
Friends	6.82	7.21	.55*	.35*
Ill monks	10.68	7.23	.44*	.39*

*Note. $n_i m_i$ = normative belief x motivation to comply. *p<.05.*

Table 5. Correlations between Control Factors and Perceived Behavioral Control and Intentions

Control factor	$c_i p_i$		Correlations	
	M	SD	with PBC	with intentions
No time to search/prepare nutritious foods	4.41	11.03	.16	.19*
Inconvenience of searching/preparing nutritious diets	4.52	10.93	.13	.19*
Nutritious foods would be more expensive	2.83	9.51	.18	.25*
Bad weather	2.95	10.57	.18	.18*
Getting up late and miss the offering time	2.95	11.21	.12	.12

Note. $c_i p_i$ = control belief x perceived power. **p*<.05.

Behavioral belief factors. As shown in Table 3, all correlations were significant, with beliefs that offering healthy food to monk will improve monks' health, reduce chances that monks will become ill, and support Buddhist religion have strongest correlations with intentions.

Normative belief factors. Correlations between the products of normative belief strength and motivation to comply, and the direct measure of SN and intentions are shown in Table 4. All correlations were significant, indicating that all identified referents were important determinants of intentions. Approval from parents, family and relatives, and monks in general has strongest effects on intentions.

Control belief factors. Table 5 shows correlations between the product of control belief strength and perceived power, and the direct measure of PBC and intention. The belief that nutritious foods would be more expensive than general foods had the highest correlation with intentions. However, the factor of getting up late in the morning (so one would miss food offering time) was not related to intentions.

D.   DISCUSSION

The current study aims to examine cognitive and motivational determinants of intentions to offer healthy foods to Buddhist monks in Thailand using an extended TPB that included self-efficacy, and two prosocial motivations; egoistic and altruistic motivation. The extended TPB explained 55% of the variance in intentions. Three cognitive factors emerged as positive predictors of intention; SN, PBC, and self-efficacy, and therefore provided partial support to our hypothesized model. Attitudes and prosocial motivations did not predict intentions. The finding for SN is in line with our expectations regarding Thai culture of collectivism and the notion of Buddhists' role in Buddhism; followers are expected to

support the religion through practices of supporting monks and religious activities, and following Buddha' teachings. The addition of self-efficacy made a significant contribution, explaining 5% of the intention variance over and above the predictive effect of PBC. This finding is consistent with previous research (Armitage & Conner, 1999a, 1999b; Kellar & Abraham, 2005; Manstead & van Eekelen, 1998; McCann et al., 1990; Norman & Hoyle, 2004; Rodgers et al., 2008) and therefore confirms the notion that PBC and self-efficacy are conceptually separable. Overall, the significant effects of PBC and self-efficacy highlight the role of perceived ability of Buddhists as a determinant of intentions to offer healthy foods to monks, which is beneficially informative for future interventions.

A possible explanation for the insignificant role of attitudes is that the behavior of offering healthy food to monks was viewed as highly favorable by our participants (as evident by the mean score of attitudes) regardless of whether they were thinking about doing it or not. Null predictive effects of attitudes have sometimes been obtained when predicting highly positive/appropriate behaviors such as exercising (Norman, Conner, & Bell, 2000), fruit and vegetable consumptions (Lien, Lytle, &Komro, 2002), and rule-following behavior (Broadhead-Fearn & White, 2006). Similarly, motivations did not contribute significantly to our understanding of the intentions. Our findings indicated that the intentions of supplying healthy foods to monks was not based on self-interest, and might probably be instead a result of concerns for monks' well-being. Given the marginally significant result for altruistic motivation as a predictor of intention, investigation is necessary to examine the role of this and other motivations. In sum, older adults who are more frequent food offerers, perceive social pressures, believe that they have more control over offering healthy foods, and are more confident in their ability to do so, have stronger intentions to provide healthy foods to monks.

As the first research investigation to understand Buddhists' plan to offer a specific category of diet to monks, we recommend that interventions to increase Buddhists' intentions to offer healthy diets to monks should (1) emphasize expectations from close others (e.g., parent, family, and relatives), and from monks in general, and (2) to enhance a sense of efficacy over healthy food offering by emphasizing convenience (e.g., the ease of acquiring healthy foods) and promoting knowledge and skills necessary to successfully perform the behavior (e.g., how to identify healthy foods in available convenient choices). Interventionists may also benefit from citing some favorable outcomes of healthy food offerings related to intention (e.g., health improvement of and illness prevention in monks).

The current study has some limitations. First, as mentioned earlier, our belief-based measure of PBC might have low validity. Although the direct measure was used in the model predicting intentions, this study cannot confidently ascertain the breadth of the facilitating/prohibiting factors identified via indirect measure process of PBC, which could

affect targeting such factors of future intervention. Second, we did not include affective and behavioral predictors in our model. Emotion such as anticipated and actual guilt have been found to motivate prosocial act and intentions, for instance, intentions to register as organ donors (Wang, 2011) and to make charitable donation (Basil, Ridgway, & Basil, 2006). Feelings of empathy (Batson, 1991) have also long been known to motivate various kinds of prosocial behavior (e.g., Batson et al., 2003; Eisenberg &Miller, 1987; Verhaert & Van den Poel, 2011). In addition, as the food offering behavior happens in the context of religious responsibility, a behavioral factor such as religious involvement, the degree to which individuals place importance on and engage in religious activities in their everyday life, might also predict intentions. Furthermore, we measured intentions to offer healthy foods to monks, not actual behavior. Although intention is the best predictor of behavior (according to the TPB), future investigation should extend our research by examining the actual behavior of offering healthy foods to monks. In spite of these limitations, the present study was able to identify some cognitive and social determinants of intention, and thus provided vital foundations for future interventions to improve monks' health via encouragement of offering healthy diets by Buddhists to monks.

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The *Guanxi* Code: Five Operational Principles of Workplace *Guanxi*

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Abstract

This study answers a call for empirical research on *guanxi* processes. The few existing articles on the topic are theoretical and lack empirical data. After reviewing existing theoretical models, we identified five principles of *guanxi* development: (1) do not return a favor immediately, (2) return a favor larger than received, (3) tailor favors to become personally meaningful to the receiver, (4) take care of *mianzi* and, (5) demonstrate trustworthiness in character and ability. We then conducted a qualitative study with 28 Taiwanese working adults to determine whether these theoretical principles are employed in modern workplaces in Taiwan. Results of the analysis indicated that all are evident, and supported the perspective of *guanxi* as an ethical platform for workplace relationships.

Keywords: *guanxi,* Chinese culture, *guanxi* processes, business relations, indigenous research

A. INTRODUCTION

a. The *Guanxi* Code: Five Operational Principles of Workplace *Guanxi*

Guanxi is the social fabric of Chinese societies. It refers to particularistic dyadic ties characterized by reciprocal obligation and mutual affection (Bedford, 2011). Due to its importance for business processes in China and China's expanding position on the global stage, there has been a surge of research dedicated to *guanxi* in the past decade (C.-C. Chen, Chen, & Huang, 2013) and a recent review concluded that changes in the legal and institutional structures in China have not diminished the prevalence of *guanxi* in business settings (Y. Luo, Huang, & Wang, 2012).

b. Benefits and Drawbacks

In the workplace, *guanxi* relationships tend to be characterized by mixed ties, which consist of both expressive and instrumental components (X.-P. Chen & Peng, 2008; J.-D. Luo, 2011). The high level of trust from the expressive component facilitates complex transactions with instrumental benefits to both parties. These benefits have been thoroughly documented by empirical research, for example access to employment opportunities (Grainger, 2003), negotiation success (Zhu, McKenna, & Sun, 2007), and career advancement (Wei, Liu, Chen, & Wu, 2010). Firm-level benefits from the strong

guanxi relations of its members have also been well-examined. These benefits include transaction cost reduction (Doney & Cannon, 1997), greater sales volume (X. Luo, Griffith, Liu, & Shi, 2004), enhancement of marketing capabilities (Shou, Chen, Zhu, & Yang, 2012), and promotion of inter-firm information sharing (Cai & Yang, in press).

Despite the importance of *guanxi* and its clear benefits, it has also been criticized for its potential and actual adverse impact on individuals and firms. Numerous scholars have labeled it unethical, nepotistic, and corruptive (e.g., Braendle, Gasser, & Noll, 2005; Fan, 2002). Others have documented its negative externalities, such as that it stifles open competition by acting as a barrier to entry for newcomers (Warren, Dunfee, & Li, 2004) and its potential to overload firms with obligations (Gu, Hung, & Tse, 2008). In addition, the recent stream of media reports on corruption in China, such as those relating to Bo Xilai's graft (Branigan, 2013), which attributed his corruption to *guanxi,* have increased the recognition of the negative impact of *guanxi*.

c.   *Guanxi* Processes

The vast majority of research on *guanxi* has focused on individual and organizational outcomes. Enumeration of the benefits and drawbacks of *guanxi* such as those just described can contribute to an understanding of its value for individuals, firms, and society. However, studies that focus on outcomes do not shed light on the social processes and norms that govern the operation of *guanxi* relationships. According to Chen and Chen (2004), the previous literature has been 'primarily concerned with the pragmatic utility of *guanxi*, but not with construct building and operationalization' and it has not been directed at the objectives and functions of *guanxi* (p. 309). Six years later, Taormina and Gao (2010) again highlighted the absence of research focused on *guanxi's* social and psychological processes, indicating that between 1979 and 2009, only seven papers were published on *guanxi* in the PsycINFO database. In a review of the literature on *guanxi* published almost 10 years after their initial observation, Chen and Chen et al. (2013) repeated their observation that while much research has been focused on how various *guanxi* ties affect outcomes, few studies address *guanxi* processes, and the models that do exist are conceptual and yet to be tested.

This paper addresses this gap by investigating whether the processes proposed in existing theoretical models can be identified in a modern office environment. The goals of this paper are to (a) review the major operational processes of workplace *guanxi* development as proposed in existing general models of *guanxi*; (b) integrate these models into a single set of operating principles based on the review; and (c) conduct qualitative interviews to determine whether these principles can be identified in workplace relationship-building processes.

In addition to providing empirical evidence to address published conceptual models, this study has practical value. Relationships are built on a 'cultural platform', meaning that the methods, values, and expectations supporting relationship development can differ across cultures (Buttery & Wong, 1999, p. 147). Outsiders who are unfamiliar with the norms of *guanxi* often face difficulty in understanding it (Ho & Redfern, 2010). For example, gift giving, a common practice in *guanxi* building (Yang, 1994), was associated with dissatisfaction in performance gains, feelings of uncertainty, and frustration with Chinese counterparts in a study of Canadian respondents (Abramson & Ai, 1999). In another study of UK firms in China, employees expressed a lack of understanding of gift giving and associated it with corruption and illegal payments (Millington, Eberhardt, & Wilkinson, 2005). In other words, foreigners may have a difficult time developing *guanxi* relationships as the underlying social processes and interaction norms may be opaque. Without an understanding of the inherent behavioral expectations and obligations supporting *guanxi* relations, outsiders may be tempted to focus only on *guanxi's* harmful aspects and overlook the benefits it can bring. Testing existing conceptual models and identifying specific behaviors that exemplify the principles of *guanxi* operation can help foreign practitioners who want to develop relationships in Chinese economies by providing guidelines for Chinese workplace relationship development.

d.   Conceptual Models of *Guanxi* Processes

We conducted a search using the keywords '*guanxi* + development + model' in the PsycINFO and Business Source Premier databases to identify scholarly articles proposing models of workplace *guanxi* development. From the resulting list of 40 items, we identified only five articles addressing the development of external *guanxi,* which is *guanxi* between people who work for different organizations (i.e., Bedford, 2011; Buttery & Wong, 1999; X.-P. Chen & Chen, 2004; Guo & Miller, 2010; Leung, Chan, Lai, & Ngai, 2011). We focused on external *guanxi* to address the most likely context for interaction between foreigners and Chinese.

After examination of these articles, we excluded three models: one highlighted possible routes of *guanxi* development, but lacked elaboration of the exact underlying processes (Buttery & Wong, 1999); and two specifically addressed entrepreneurship (Guo & Miller, 2010) and negotiation success (Leung et al., 2011) instead of proposing general models.

Two models remained: X.-P. Chen and Chen's (2004) three-stage process model and Bedford's (2011) dynamic process model. Neither of these models has empirical support. Moreover, they both focus on abstract principles of relational dynamics and do not provide clear examples of real life behaviors that contribute to *guanxi* development.

Guanxi development processes are inextricably intertwined with the cultural components that constitute *guanxi*, therefore a discussion of *guanxi* processes needs to consider the major *guanxi* components. Analysis of the two models revealed four major components of *guanxi* development: *renqing* (favor), *ganqing* (feeling), trust, and face (*mianzi* and *lian*). The two models converged on the first three components (*renqing, ganqing,* and trust), with some variation in the inputs necessary for developing each component. Bedford's model addressed the fourth component of face and provided some additional postulations pertaining to the moral underpinnings of *guanxi* processes.

a)   *Renqing* and Reciprocity

Renqing is crucial in both models. It has three aspects (Hwang, 1987)*.* It can refer to 1) a resource used in the course of social exchange (a favor), 2) a set of social norms supporting long-term reciprocal exchange, or 3) sensitivity to human emotion, or to the face of others.

Chen and Chen (2004) highlighted *renqing* in terms of dynamic reciprocity, which entails three rules of favor exchange. First, it has a long-term orientation; favor repayment should not be immediate. Immediate repayment 'closes rather than opens relationships' (p. 317).   Second, reciprocity entails unequal exchanges. Each side is expected to offer increasingly larger favors to the other such that one party is always in debt to the other. In other words, making an immediate equal repayment soon after a favor is granted would be detrimental to the relationship. As Bedford (2011) noted, storing up favors and creating indebtedness demonstrates an expectation of long-term commitment. Anticipation of repayment drives people to do favors for others and supplies the instrumental component of the relationship.

b)   *Ganqing* (Affection)

While favor exchange provides a basis for the instrumental component of the relationship, of no less importance is *ganqing*, the affective component of the relationship. Both Bedford (2011) and Chen and Chen (2004) suggested that *ganqing* is promoted by following the third rule of favor exchange: the act of reciprocity must have personal significance for the receiver. Instead of simply relieving the burden on the individual who needs to return the favor, reciprocity must be other-oriented. Individuals must spend time getting to understand each other's needs and interests in order to tailor their exchanges to be personally meaningful instead of mechanically following the social norm of reciprocity.

Bedford (2011) pointed out a way in which development of *ganqing* is supported by the third meaning of *renqing*: awareness of the appropriate emotional response in social interaction*.* This awareness can be displayed through sensitivity to the *mianzi* of

one's *guanxi* partner, which helps to increase affection in the relationship. Harming your partner's *mianzi* will decrease affection. In sum, the two models propose that *ganqing* can be developed by tailoring favors to the needs of *guanxi* partners by providing favors that are other-oriented rather than self-oriented and by taking care of the partner's *mianzi*.

Developing the affective aspect of *guanxi* is important. In fact, Bedford (2011) posited that *ganqing* is an important benchmark that distinguishes between *guanxi* that is rooted in cultural values from *guanxi* that is highly instrumental, power-dependent and has the potential to fall into the unethical realm.

c)   Trust

Both models emphasize trust. In Chen and Chen's model, ability and sincerity (*cheng*) are the keys to the development of trust (*xin*). Ability refers to the competence and employability of a *guanxi* partner. Sincerity means the *guanxi* partner has the other party's best interest at heart and is genuinely interested in entering a *guanxi* relationship.

In addition to demonstration of ability and an emotional connection, Bedford's model emphasized trust in a *guanxi* partner's moral character. Adherence to social norms (*li*), especially the rules of *renqing* (reciprocal obligation), is key to development of trust in *lian* (moral character). In other words, if a person demonstrates knowledge of *guanxi* norms and the rules of *renqing*, that person is demonstrating moral character, which engenders trust.

d)   Face (*Mianzi* and *Lian*)

While the two models converged on three major aspects of *guanxi* development, Bedford (2011) also discussed two types of face, *mianzi* and *lian*, which Chen and Chen (2004) did not address, to provide insight into why violating *renqing* obligations harms relationships. *Mianzi* refers to social standing. It is the face accorded by others. *Lian* refers to personal moral character and includes such aspects as an individual's credibility, integrity, and honesty (Earley, 1997; Hu, 1944). Both types of face connect the rule of *renqing* to personal consequences.

Although reciprocity is a universal rule across social exchanges (Gouldner, 1960), there is cultural variability in terms of the potential consequences for violation. In Western societies, the lack of reciprocity creates a disadvantage that is tilted towards the unreciprocated party, and not the self (Blau, 1964). For Chinese people, the same behavior carries stronger moral consequences for the self because Confucianism advocates self-cultivation to become a *yiren* (righteous person) through adherence to social norms, which includes the rule of *renqing* (Yeung & Tung, 1996).

Bedford (2011) explained that adherence to the *renqing* rule is a demonstration of *li* (propriety), which shows that an individual is aware of the appropriate social norms. Failure to reciprocate a favor can result in loss of *mianzi* (social standing) and *lian* (moral character) when others find out that one violated social norms and defaulted. The desire to maintain both types of face in front of others discourages opportunistic behavior by requiring reciprocation of favors received; the norm of reciprocity is morally binding (Bedford, 2011; Wong, Leung, Hung, & Ngai, 2007). Moreover, the cycle of reciprocation acts as a positive feedback loop that helps to build satisfaction and trust in the relationship.

In sum, analysis of the two existing *guanxi* process models revealed four major components that characterize *guanxi* development. They are: *renqing*, *ganqing,* trust, and face (*mianzi* and *lian*). The inputs necessary for developing, maintaining, and using these components are the five operational principles of *guanxi* development. *Renqing* (doing favors) is 1) future-oriented and entails 2) unequal exchanges. These characteristics demonstrate long-term commitment to the relationship, which supports trust development. Reciprocity norms are morally binding due to the role of face (both *lian* and *mianzi*), so fulfilling these norms also engenders trust in the character of the *guanxi* partner (*lian*). Exchange of favors that3) carry personal significance for the receiver supports development of *ganqing*, as do favors that take the form of 4) giving or saving another person's *mianzi.* And finally, trust is supported by 5) demonstration of character and competence, which occurs over time with the continued exchange of favors.

Both models proposed some consequences for lack of adherence to these *guanxi* principles. First, overall *guanxi* quality is negatively impacted by violation of *renqing* norms, such as failure to reciprocate or a lack of consideration to the timing or size of favors. Second, failure to follow reciprocity norms negatively impacts the individual in terms of loss of *mianzi* (social standing) and *lian* (moral character)*.* And third, lack of attention to *renqing* and *ganqing* reduces trust.

While both models enumerated core principles that sustain or damage *guanxi,* they differ in one important aspect. Bedford's model identified the role of face and distinguished between *mianzi* and *lian* in *guanxi*. This distinction allowed Bedford to consider moral aspects of *guanxi,* which were not addressed in Chen and Chen's model, including: 1) the role of *lian* and *mianzi* in making the rule of *renqing* a functional, morally-binding process, and 2) *ganqing* as a differentiating benchmark between morally appropriate and inappropriate *guanxi.* In Bedford's model, the importance of fulfilling moral obligations and the protection of moral character are the cultural platforms on which *guanxi* functions. Bedford's postulations provide an

explanation for the effectiveness of the operational principles of *guanxi* development–adherence to these principles, or lack thereof, carries moral implications.

e. The Current Study

Despite converging on some principles of *guanxi* development, neither model has been tested and specific examples of the principles described have not been identified. We conducted qualitative interviews with working adults in Taiwan to determine whether the theoretically proposed *guanxi* principles are supported by actual workplace processes.

In the current study, we explored two aspects of *guanxi* development as identified in our analysis of the two models. First, we examined whether the operational principles derived from the theoretical models are also described by participants in talking about their strategies for developing relationships to accomplish workplace tasks. The principles include: (1) do not return a favor immediately, (2) return a favor larger than received, (3) tailor favors to be personally meaningful to the receiver, (4) take care of *guanxi* partner's *mianzi,* and (5) demonstrate character and competence. Second, we examined participants' descriptions of workplace interactions to identify whether the outcomes that result from adherence (or lack thereof) to the major *guanxi* principles coincide with the following three consequences proposed by the models: (1) lack of adherence to the operational principles negatively affects *guanxi* quality, (2) failure to repay favors causes a loss of face, both *mianzi* and *lian,* and (3) lack of consideration for *renqing* and *ganqing* hinders trust development.

B.   METHOD

A total of 28 Taiwanese working adults were recruited for the qualitative study using a snowball technique. A female Taiwanese research assistant conducted the interviews. There were 19 female and 9 male participants (age range: 25-55, mean = 39). Participants came from diverse industries and occupations, including managers, sales representatives, media personnel, and lawyers.

We asked participants the following general questions: How do you build relationships that help you at work? How do you use your *guanxi*? How do others use their *guanxi* with you? The interviewer then used reflective listening to prompt the interviewees to elaborate on their experiences, especially when interviewees brought up terms of interest. Participants were not cued with any of the terms of interest or asked any direct questions about the *guanxi* principles. Each interview lasted for 1.5 to two hours and took place at a quiet coffee shop or a private room at the interviewee's workplace. Prior to the interviews, demographic data were collected and participants were informed that they could refuse to talk about anything and stop at any point in time during the interview, but none did so.

Data analysis was conducted using Spradley's (1979) developmental sequence method. In the first stage, we coded the interview data into domains using an open coding process to create categories for each new meaning unit. This stage allowed us to identify the major concepts (domains) in *guanxi* development and use.The second stage involved further analysis of the categories within each domain using two semantic relations, namely, strict inclusion (the attributes of a category) and means-end (the ways of doing something). The former helped us to identify real-life examples related to the major *guanxi* concepts as identified in the first stage, and the latter guided identification of the important processes related to *guanxi* development. All coding was done using the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO 10.1.

C.   RESULTS

Consistent with our review of the components in the two theoretical models, four domains emerged from the data characterizing processes of *guanxi* development, namely, *renqing, ganqing,* trust, and face. Further analysis provided insight into the operational principles related to each domain as presented in the following. Percentages in parentheses indicate the proportion of participants whose interview data supported the findings; they are provided as an indication of the pervasiveness of the responses and are not intended to be generalized to the population as the sample is not representative.

a.   Domain One: *Renqing*

The first domain that emerged from our analysis was *renqing.* Participants spoke of doing favors, such as providing preferential treatment and flexibility in times of need, as a display of empathy and sensitivity to people's emotions (82%). G*uanxi* exchanges were characterized as favor exchanges. As Participant 19 noted, 'If it is someone you know well, then doing a favor is just part of your daily interaction with that person'.

a)   Principle 1: Do not return a favor immediately

The motivation behind doing *renqing* was the anticipation of future-oriented return. As Participant 12 put it, 'You treat me nice not for nothing, but because I can also do something for you'. Participants clearly expected their favors to be returned. Equally clear was that they did not expect immediate return. They saved up favors for a rainy day not knowing when it would rain. The following account illustrates the accumulation of *renqing* and indebtedness and the expectation of distant future return:

> 'At least you have someone to go to when you have trouble with some issue, or emotionally… If you help them it is like saving money in a bank account… If you have good credit in this person's account, next time you can withdraw them.

That person will remember. So giving and receiving you can allow them to owe you some favor. There is a chance they can return the favor next time.' (P6)

b)   Principle 2: Return a favor larger than received

Participants emphasized the size of favors. One participant quoted a Chinese saying, 'when people help you with a drop of water, you have to return a spring' (P6), while another shared that 'when other people help out, it is a custom in [this] industry that recipients will have to return it two times more, or even three, four, or five times more' (P24). For another participant, the size of favors 'depends on the *guanxi* with the person. The *guanxi* with each person is different... If the *guanxi* is ordinary, not so deep, he will give equal. If it is deeper he will give more' (P16), which implies that favors have to be bigger than received if there is an intention to strengthen *guanxi*.

c)   Outcomes

According to the participants, adherence to and violation of the norms of reciprocity had consequences for overall *guanxi* quality and also for their assessment of the *lian* (moral character) of the other party. First, successful repayment of favors served as a positive feedback loop that strengthened *guanxi*. In one interview, the participant said that her relationship with a working partner following a *renqing* exchange was 'like the extension of *guanxi* brought up to another level' (P6). On the other hand, the failure to reciprocate could negatively affect *guanxi* quality:

> '*If someone else has helped you and you fail to help them out, your relationship will go sour later. I always show more gratitude than the other person... If you do not return the favor, this will become an obstacle in your relationship*.' (P24)

Second, reciprocity of *renqing* helped participants to demonstrate their character. For example, one participant shared his experience working with journalists and regarded being truthful and behaving in the other party's favor as 'a kind of favor' that helped him gain credibility:

> '*The journalists would not necessarily trust other people's comments. I think they trust me because I usually am truthful... Both of us know what to write and what not to write. This is also a kind of favor*.' (P17)

b.   Domain Two: *Ganqing*

Many of the participants regarded building *ganqing,* the emotional aspect, as an essential *guanxi* process (79%). According to them, *guanxi* is about showing 'other people you care about them' (P20) and *guanxi* building 'has to come from the bottom of your heart' (P6). Participant 16 shared that *guanxi* building 'is part of Taiwanese culture. It is a Taiwanese expression. You have to spend time with them. There are emotions involved'.

A second purpose for doing favors that participants emphasized (besides the expected favors in return) was to build *ganqing.* For example, Participant 1 noted, 'If you let people think that you are willing to help, it is possible to get a more intimate feeling of bonding'.

a)   Principle 3: Tailor favors to be personally meaningful to the receiver

Participants went out of their way to ensure that they showed very personal consideration of others' individual needs, including tailoring favors to become personally meaningful to the receivers. Participant 9 noted, 'You should try to be very considerate. You should find out what that person needs exactly, what that person's emotional need is, and how they express it' and do things like sending a nice gift during happy occasions. Participant 5 shared about doing a personally meaningful favor for her client:

> *'I will ask my colleagues to recommend another lawyer with a reasonable price, and who is able to help my client. When I can offer my client this kind of information the client will be delighted because that will save him a lot of time to search for a lawyer. My client can finish this issue very efficiently. There is added value from my help.'* (P5)

Participant 11 noted, 'The motivation [behind doing favors] is that clients will think we treat them well'. Making favors personally meaningful for *guanxi* partners is 'to let them know that their existence is very important, that they are important friends' (P9). Therefore, as Participant 6 noted, 'help has two meanings... One is the content the thing itself, the other relates to the emotional side'. Doing personally meaningful favors helps to meet the needs of *guanxi* partners and shows that they are important to the actors.

b)   Outcomes

Personally tailoring exchanges builds *ganqing*—an emotional connection. Building *ganqing* strengthens *guanxi* quality and has three main outcomes: people are more willing to do favors, it builds trust, and it decreases exploitation. First, according to the participants, having *ganqing* increased people's willingness to do *renqing* for each other. For example, Participant 25 mentioned that once a closer bond was established*,* 'in the future, people could talk about anything they want, everything was open to discussion. There is just one phrase needed for anything 'do me a favor''. Another participant said, 'Because people like you so they like helping you' (P17).

Second, participants regarded *ganqing* as an antecedent of trust. For example, Participant 6 explained, 'You have to take care of the matters and the emotions of the clients. Once I felt their emotions they would trust me to get things done'. Trust based on an emotional connection provided a form of assurance to people that their *guanxi* partners would not exploit the relationship. One participant explained that good

friends 'do not talk about kickbacks' and 'people will look down on you when you start talking with them about kickbacks' (P25). Similarly, another participant shared that once friendship has been established, 'that person will definitely help you. And that person will not be thinking what kind of benefit he will get out of it by helping you. Even if he is expecting something out of it like earning some sort of money, he thinks that amount will be reasonable' (P17). In short, the presence of *ganqing* assures people that their *guanxi* partners will not try to take advantage of them.

c.   Domain Three: Face

a)   Principle 4: Take care of *mianzi*

Mianzi refers to a person's social standing. About half the participants (50%) recognized its importance for building and maintaining *guanxi*. They emphasized the importance of giving people the level of respect accorded by their status and helping to save their face if they ever had the opportunity to do so. For example, a participant spoke of giving *mianzi* by considering social status when making business contact, which helps to maintain the target's public image:

> '*For Chinese it is important that the same-level people talk to each other. People have to talk with the right level. If your side sends the vice president, then the other side has to be the vice president.*' (P2)

Other ways to consider people's *mianzi* include publicly recognizing their strengths and accepting invitations. For example, Participant 4 noted that although she did not regard drinking as part of her job, 'I will give *mianzi* to the client and attend, but will not stay there long'.

b)   Outcomes

Showing consideration for *mianzi* is important in *guanxi* development. Participant 9 explained that taking care of *mianzi* would make the receivers 'feel valued or appreciated. Otherwise they will definitely think you don't care about them'. Participants explained that giving face by paying attention to hierarchy when making contact 'shows respect' and 'will affect the *guanxi*'.

d.   Domain Four: Trust

Participants emphasized trust-building in *guanxi* development (61%)*.* According to Participant 12, a sales agent, *guanxi* is 'about how to let partners trust me and give me their money'. Another participant explained, 'To turn one that does not know you at all into one that is familiar with you, you have to build a sense of trust. You have to contact the client and build a relationship with them. Then there will be this trust and it will add value' (P5).

a)   Principle 5: Demonstrate trustworthiness in character and competence

Participants emphasized the importance of working to demonstrate trust in *lian* so as to be seen by others as someone who is credible, reliable, and has integrity. Most also spoke about assessing the trustworthiness of others. For example, one participant said developing trust is about evaluating a person's character:

> '*During the interaction process you will find out if that person is trustworthy or not. You will find out about the reality. In the future if you really need something from that person, you will already have your own judgment.*' (P20)

As described previously, one way to develop trust in *lian* is to adhere to reciprocity norms. Another way is to demonstrate the ability to deliver what you promised. For example, Participant 6 spoke of gaining her clients' trust in her service 'based on the fact that the previous project was successful' and Participant 14, a news reporter, spoke of demonstrating her ability and credibility to her informants by using the information she obtained from them wisely without getting them in trouble:

> '*Then I was covering politics … I just use some tactics to get them to talk. Then when you write something, they find that you did get something off them, but not that sensitive. They think, 'This reporter is so good, knows how to handle very hot stuff. She didn't burn us, but still writes so well.' The next time they will give me more. They trust me.*' (P14)

Another participant spoke of building trust by spending time to understand her client and demonstrating product knowledge to cater to her needs:

> '*We discussed more than five times, so I know what [insurance] she really wants. She still is my customer... That is a good thing for me. She trusts me.*' (P12)

b)   Outcomes

There are benefits to having others trust your character and ability. First, it strengthens *guanxi* quality. As Participant 5 mentioned, 'Once you have reached the stage of trust, then you have moved on to the second stage of the relationship'. Second, people are more willing to do favors for people whom they trust. For example, Participant 12 indicated that she would help people because she trusts them. Lastly, having trust facilitates access to work benefits, such as increased information exchange, sales, and client network expansion. One participant spoke of getting things done faster when there is trust:

> '*For example, when I submit documents to the government bureau and I know the person who reviews the paper very well and that person has a level of trust with me, he will review it quickly and approve it.*' (P23)

D. DISCUSSION

a. The *Guanxi* Code: The Five Operational Principles of *Guanxi* Development

Analysis of two theoretical models identified five operational principles of *guanxi* development, which we termed the *guanxi code*. These five principles are: (1) do not repay favors immediately, (2) return a favor larger than received, (3) tailor favors to become personally meaningful to the receiver, (4) take care of *mianzi,* and (5) demonstrate trustworthiness in character and ability. Analysis of the qualitative data revealed examples of all five principles in action in modern workplace environments. In addition, most participants' anticipated consequences for adhering to or neglecting these principles that matched those proposed in the theoretical models.

b. Outcomes of the *Guanxi* Code

Adherence to the *guanxi* code had two main benefits. First, adherence to the five operational principles enhanced *guanxi* quality. Disregard for the principles adversely impacted *guanxi* quality. Second, adherence facilitated access to various benefits, including favors in times of need, which highlights the instrumental aspect of *guanxi*.

We found indirect support for some of the proposed outcomes pertaining to the lack of adherence to specific operational principles. First, observing the norm of reciprocity helped to demonstrate moral character and thus served to protect *lian,* which implies that the failure to repay favors could result in the loss of *lian.* We did not have data to support that failure to reciprocate causes a loss in *mianzi.* A study specifically targeting this topic would be needed to gather data as participants did not spontaneously bring it up. Second, trust was developed through following *renqing* norms and building *ganqing.* This finding implies that the failure to consider *renqing* by acting in ways that violate expected behaviors hinders the development of trust in *lian* because it reflects the actor's obliviousness of or inability to show consideration for social norms (*li*). In addition, as *ganqing* was regarded as a precursor to trust, the lack of consideration of *ganqing* in *guanxi* building is a potential barrier to trust development.

c. Moral Aspects of the *Guanxi* Code

Yang (1989) posited that *guanxi* is an art that 'lies in the skillful mobilization of moral and cultural imperatives, such as obligation and reciprocity in pursuit of both diffused social ends and calculated instrumental ends' (p. 35). Indeed, we found that the *guanxi* code is intertwined with moral considerations*.* That is, *guanxi* development involved the requirement to abide by moral obligations (*renqing*) so as to demonstrate moral character

(*lian*). The desire to protect one's own *lian* and to maintain *ganqing* safeguards relationships from opportunistic behavior.

While major Western theories of relationship development, such as social exchange theory (Blau, 1964), transaction cost theory (Williamson, 1971), and social network theory (Watts, 2003), are applicable to explaining the instrumental aspects of relationship development in the context of the Chinese workplace, they do not account for the moral considerations in *guanxi* development. For example, while social exchange theory addresses trust that is developed through reciprocity and expansion of exchanges over time (Blau, 1964), it lacks consideration of the consequences of unreciprocated favors for an individual's moral character. Similarly, social network theory posits that the interaction rules of *guanxi*, such as the protection of *mianzi,* safeguard social networks in times of social change (Hammond & Glenn, 2004; Watts, 2003), but it does not address the moral obligations that carry consequences for an individual's character.

E.   CONCLUSION

This study offers several contributions to *guanxi* research. First, it provides specific examples of *guanxi* processes and outcomes of those processes. Second, it contributes to the understanding of the perceived cultural norms of *guanxi* development and use,which is the starting point for examining the ethicality of *guanxi,* as moral judgments can only be comprehended when there is an understanding of the social meaning behind people's actions (Steidlmeier, 1999). Third, this research carries practical value for foreign practitioners who want to do business with Chinese people. As Su and Littlefield (2001) highlighted, it is important to know 'the way to enter and the rules to win the '*guanxi* game'' (p. 199). The operational principles identified in this study are tools for foreigners to understand the norms surrounding *guanxi,* thereby reducing potential cultural conflict.

There are some limitations to this study. First, this study focused on the most common type of *guanxi,* but not all the possible types of *guanxi* that have been suggested to exist in the workplace. Future research could examine other possible types of workplace *guanxi*, such as Bedford's (2011) backdoor *guanxi* and Su and Littlefield's (2001) rent-seeking *guanxi,* in order to provide a fuller picture of workplace relationships in the Chinese context.

Second, this study was conducted in Taiwan; generalization of the findings to other Chinese societies should be made with caution. Although conclusions of this study may apply to other Chinese societies with a similar social structure, different cultures may have their own unique historical and institutional trajectories (Lin, 2011).

Third, this study does not address gender differences, which is a topic worth investigating in the context of *guanxi* development. Research supports that socializing in

hostess clubs affords men opportunities for bonding with other men (Bedford & Hwang, 2013), which presents a potential source of discrimination against working women. Future studies could examine possible gender differences in *guanxi* building in the workplace apart from *yingchou* and specifically examine how women navigate their way through *guanxi* development.

Lastly, we suggest two additional areas for future research. First, it would be interesting to investigate the relative importance of various operational principles in different stages of *guanxi* development given the dynamic nature of *guanxi*. Second, a more systematic examination of *guanxi* processes would complement the exploratory approach adopted in this study and provide a more complete picture of *guanxi* development.

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Does Parenting Disciplinary Practices Affect Social Behavior of Children Enrolled in Child Care Centers: Effect of Quality Child Care

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IIUM

Abstract

This study examined the influence of parenting disciplinary practices on social behavioral outcomes of children who attend child care center. It also attempted to investigate whether the relationship between parenting disciplinary practices and children's social behavior vary with respect to the quality of child care center. It hypothesized that parenting disciplinary practices influence children's social behavior and the relationship is moderated by the quality of child care center. One hundred and twelve (112) parents of children aged 4-6 year old who attend child care centers around Kuala Lumpur and Selangor participated in this study. Data were collected via survey and observations using measures such as Caregiver Interaction Scale [CIS] (Arnett, 1989), Strength and Difficulty Questionnaire [SDQ] (Goodman, 1997) and Parenting Scale [PS] (Rhoades & O'Leary, 2007). Results indicated that ineffective parenting disciplinary practices significantly affect children's social problems. The results, however, did not show the moderating effect of quality child care. Thus, parenting disciplinary practices were significant predictors of social behavior of children in child care and their relationship was not moderated by quality child care. These findings are discussed in relation to current issues within the literature on child care, family and child development.

Keywords: parenting disciplinary practices, children's social behavior, quality child care

A. INTRODUCTION

For many years now, perhaps from the time of the industrial revolution or after the World War II, family structure has been changing. Wives are no longer staying at home all the time caring for their children when husband went out to work as the breadwinner in the family. Mothers have begun participated in the workforce and left children with someone else, predominantly relatives or neighbors. In recent years, there are many types of child care arrangements that parents could use. One of them is childcare center. In Malaysia, as of 2007, there are about 34,100 children enrolled in registered child care center (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2007). With this many children in child care, one issue that attracts attention of researchers is the role of parental disciplinary practices on children' social behavior after long hours spent in child care. Does parental disciplinary practice continue to influence children's social development? If it does, is the relationship depends on the quality of childcare? This study aims to answer those questions by examining the relationship between parental disciplinary practices and social behavior of children in childcare to find out whether the relationship depends on the quality child care.

a.   Parenting Disciplinary Practices and Children's Social Development

Studies have indicated that parenting disciplinary practices significantly influence children's social behaviors (Parent, Forehand, Merchant, Edwards, Conners-Burrow, Long & Jones, 2011; Sanders, Dittman, Keown, Farruggia, & Roase 2010; Deklyen, Bierbaum, Speltz, & Greenberg, 1998). Harsh disciplinary practices were found to consistently affect negative social developmental outcomes that include disruptive behavior (Parent, et al., 2011), behavioral problems (Deklyen, et. al. 1998), externalizing behavioral problems (Sanders, Dittman, Keown, Farruggia, & Rose, 2010) and aggressive behavior (Knuston, DeGarmo, Koeppl, & Reid, 2005). On the other hand, sensitive disciplinary practices were associated with positive developmental outcomes in academic performance (Brennan, Shelleby, Shaw, Gardner, Dishion, and Wilson, 2013), language development (Pungello, Iruka, Dotterer, Mills-Koonce & Reznick, 2009) and social behavior (Van Zeijl, Mesman,Van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, Juffer, and Stolk, 2006). These findings were mainly derived from samples who reported as the biological parents of the children. In addition, studies that examined the relationship between parental disciplinary practices and children developmental outcomes of foster parents also suggested similar findings that children exhibited externalizing behavioral problems when their foster fathers and mothers used harsh disciplinary practices (Linares, Montalto, Rusbruch, & Li, 2006; Lucey, Fox, & Byrnes, 2007). Thus, parental disciplinary practices, in particular the harsh practices that were exercised either by biological or foster parents, could influence children's behavioral problems.

However, research that specifically investigated the relationship between parental disciplinary practices and social behavior of children in childcare is limited. Other family variables such as maternal sensitivity and responsiveness (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 1997), maternal psychological condition (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 1997), maternal education (Melhuish, Lloyd, Martin, and Mooney , 1990), and home learning environment (Sylva, Melhuish, Sammons, Siraj-Blatchford & Taggart, 2004) have been studied. These studies have found that those family variables were associated with developmental outcomes of children in childcare even after controlling for quality of childcare. The present study explores whether another family variable, i.e. parental disciplinary practices could also influence social developmental outcomes of children in childcare after controlling the quality of childcare. This study hypothesized that parental disciplinary practices influence social behavior of children in childcare center. Harsh disciplinary practices are predicted to influence negative social behavioral outcomes while sensitive disciplinary practices are predicted to affect positive social behavioral outcomes.

b.   Quality Child Care and Children's Social Development

Studies have found that features of children care quality affect children's developmental outcomes. Structural features include number of children per adult, the group size and the caregiver qualification and training. Studies indicated that centers that met the USA Federal Interagency Day Care Requirement (FIDCR) were found to have classroom environments characterized by less harsh disciplinary techniques, and children in the classroom were rated high in social competency at 14 to 54 months of age (Howes & Hamilton, 1992). Another study that examined the ratio between caregiver and number of children has found that having fewer children per caregiver was positively associated with children's overall communication skills at 12 months and their language skills at 36 months (Burchinal, Roberts, Nabors, Bryant, 1996; Burchinal, Roberts, Riggins, Zeisel, Neebe & Bryant, 2000).

Process features of child care quality include overall classroom quality, caregiver and child interactions, positive caregiving, the choice of developmentally appropriate activities, as well as the level of language stimulation (Burchinal & Cryer, 2003; Campbell et al., 2000; Howes et al., 1992; McCartney, 1984; Melhuish, Mooney, Hennesy, & Martin, 1992; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000b, 2002a, 2005d, 2005h; Peisner-Feinberg et al., 2001; Sims, Guilfoyle, & Parry, 2005, 2006). Studies that examined classroom practices using the Early Childhood Environmental Rating Scale – Revised (ECERS-R) (Harms & Clifford, 1980; Harms, Clifford, & Cryer, 1998) suggested that observed classroom practices were related to children's language and academic skills at 4-8 years of age (Peisner-Feinberg et al., 2001). Other research that has examined the process feature of caregivers' interactions has suggested that the closeness of the caregivers and child relationship (measured by Student-Teacher Relationship Scale – STRS; Pianta, 1992) was related to both cognitive and social skills at 4-8 years old, with the strongest implications being for social outcomes (Peisner-Feinberg et al., 2001). Studies that investigated the effect of positive interactions as measured by the Observational Record of the Caregiving Environment – ORCE (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 1996, 2002a) suggested that more positive caregiving is significantly related to better or higher social competence and fewer social problems at 24 and 36 months as well as better linguistic, cognitive, and pre-academic functioning at 15, 24, 26 and 54 months (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 1998a, 2000b, 2002a). In short, earlier studies have indicated that both structural and process features of quality childcare affect child developmental outcomes. The current study focuses on process quality and hypothesized that sensitive caregiver interactions associate with positive social behavioral outcomes while harsh caregiver interactions associate with negative social behavioral outcomes.

c.   Moderating Effect of Quality Child Care on the Relationship between Family Variables and Child Development

In addition to the direct effect of childcare quality on children's development, studies have also investigated whether the childcare quality could moderate the relationship between family environment and children's development. For example, children who come from disadvantaged families often received less stimulation from their parents. This family condition often associates with negative developmental outcomes. However, by attending the Head Start program, the high quality childcare provided in the program moderated the negative effects of less stimulation from parents on children's cognitive and language development (Barnett, 1995; Zigler & Styfco, 1993). Another study (Peisner-Feinberg et al., 2001) found that the positive effect of high quality care on children's cognitive and language skills is stronger for children born of mothers with lower levels of education than those with higher levels of education. Similarly, Burchinal et al. (2000b) found that the effect of childcare quality on child   language   development   is   more   significant   for children   of   African-American background than those who are White non-Hispanic. Thus, the current study assumed that the relationship between parenting discipline practices and children social behavior depends on quality childcare.

To reiterate, the hypotheses in the current study are as follows. First, harsh disciplinary practices affect negative social behavior outcomes more than sensitive disciplinary practices. Second, sensitive caregiver interactions predict positive behavioral outcomes while harsh caregiver interactions influence social behavior outcomes. Third, childcare quality moderates the effects of parenting disciplinary practices on children's social behavior.

B.   METHOD

d.   Participants

Parents of children aged 4-6 year old, who send their children to child care centers around Kuala Lumpur and Selangor were invited to participate in this study. Out of 394 parents who were approached and agreed to participate, only 112 parents from seven child care centers completed and returned the questionnaires (a response rate of 28.4%). The other 282 parents did not respond and complete the questionnaire, although the researcher had sent out two reminder letters asking them to complete and return it.

Respondents' demographic information is presented in Table 1. Most of the children were five years old (44.6%, n = 50), with a mean of 5 years and a standard deviation of 0.74 years. With regards to gender, there were more boys (55.4%, n = 62) than girls (44.6%, n = 50). In addition, most parents were in age groups that ranged from 29 to 40 years old

(Fathers: M = 36.53; SD = 4.11; Mothers: M = 34; SD = 3.62). In terms of parents' educational background, the majority of mothers and fathers reported having university qualifications (Mothers: 67%, n = 75; Fathers: 67.9%; n = 76).

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

	Variables	Frequency /Percentage	Mean	Standard Deviation
i.	Age of child		5	.7
	(4 years old)	26 (23.2%)		
	(5 years old)	50 (44.6%)		
	(6 years old)	36 (32.2%)		
ii.	Gender of Child			
	(Boy)	62 (55.4%)		
	(Girl)	50 (44.6%)		
iii.	Age of father		36.5	4.1
	(29 - 34 years old)	36 (32.1%)		
	(35 – 40 years old)	60 (53.6%)		
	(40 – 46 years old)	11 (9.8%)		
	(47 – 52 years old)	5 (4.5%)		
iv.	Age of Mother		34	3.6
	(29 - 33 years old)	55 (49.1%)		
	(34 – 38 years old)	45 (40.2%)		
	(39 – 43 years old)	8 (7.1%)		
	(44 – 48 years old)	4 (3.6%)		
v.	Father's Education		-	-
	(Secondary School)	1 (0.9%)		
	(Certificate)	5 (4.5%)		
	(Diploma)	30 (26.8%)		
	(Bachelor's Degree)	62 (55.4%)		
	(Postgraduate Degree)	14 (12.4%)		
vi.	Father's Education		-	-
	(Secondary School)	1 (0.9%)		
	(Certificate)	5 (4.5%)		
	(Diploma)	30 (26.8%)		
	(Bachelor's Degree)	62 (55.4%)		
	(Postgraduate Degree)	13 (11.6%)		

e.   Measures

Except for the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ – Goodman, 1997) and Caregiver Interaction Scale (CIS –Arnett, 1989), other scales, i.e., the Parenting Scale (PS – Rhoades & O'Leary, 2007) and demographic questionnaire that were used in this study were translated into Malay Language using back translation method. The translator who is bilingual in both Malay and English had translated the original English version of the Parenting Scale and demographic questionnaire to Malay language and then, the second translator translated the Malay language questionnaire back to English. After that, both the original and translated versions were compared and the items that have been rated and accepted were retained. SDQ was not translated because the study used the Malay version of SDQ that was retrieved from Goodman's website (http://www.sdqinfo.org/f0.html). With regards to CIS, the observer has high level of English language proficiency and no translated version of CIS is required.

Caregiver Interaction Scale – CIS. Caregiver Interaction Scale measures the quality of social interactions between caregivers and children (Arnett, 1989). It has good psychometric properties with the items on each subscale have a minimum loading of .49 (Arnett, 1989). In Malaysian context, the internal consistency of the subscales ranged from a Cronbach's alpha of .87 (sensitivity) to .22 (detachment) (Janon, 2012). In the present data set, the internal consistency of the CIS scale was Cronbach's alpha of .81. Items are rated on a 4-point scale that indicates the extent of the caregiver's characteristics, from 1 = *not at all* to 4 = *very much*. Originally, the scoring is done separately for each subscale. However, in the present study, the scoring was done together so that the overall score for CIS is formed by calculating the mean of all 34 items after reversal of the negatively formulated items. Higher scores indicate a caregiver who is warm, engaged, and uses consistent and appropriate discipline strategies while lower score reflects a caregiver who is harsh, detached, and uses inconsistent or inappropriately strong forms of discipline.

Parenting Scale – PS. PS measures kinds of disciplinary practices that are used by parents (Rhoades & O'Leary, 2007). It consists of three subscales that include laxness, over reactivity and verbosity. The scale has high psychometric property that the internal consistency was Cronbach's alpha of .84 (Rhoades & O'Leary, 2007). In the present study, the internal reliability is high that the Cronbach's alpha is .74. Ratings for PS are made on 7-point scales that are anchored by one effective and one ineffective discipline strategies. After reverse coding of the relevant items, low score indicates effective discipline strategies while high score indicates ineffective discipline.

Strength and Difficulties Questionnaires – SDQ. SDQ is a brief behavioral screening questionnaire. It consists of 25 items that divided equally among five subscales that include

emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity or inattention, peer relationship problems, and prosocial behavior. The internal consistency of the scale is Cronbach's alpha .73 and the study retest stability after 4-6 months is .62 (Goodman, 1997). In this study, the reliability of the SDQ total score was Cronbach's alpha .70. It is rated on a 3-point scale with 0 = not true, 1 = somewhat true, 2 = certainly true (Goodman, 1997). Reverse scoring is used for items 7, 21, 25, 11 and 14. Scoring can be done either for individual subscales or total SDQ scale (i.e., all subscales except Pro-social behavior subscale). Higher total SDQ score means higher behavioral problems.

Demographic Questionnaire. A set of demographic questions was asked to participants to obtain children's gender and age and parents' demographic characteristics that include age, educational background, occupation and marital status.

f.   Procedures

The first step of conducting this study was obtaining a list of child centers in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor from the Ministry of Woman, Family and Community Development website (http://www.kpwkm.gov.my/). Second, after identifying the names of child care centers, the researcher contacted the directors of the centers for permission to conduct the study. After the permission was granted, the centers gave a detail list of all children aged 4-6 years old. The inclusive criteria for the selection of participants was the children have to be in the child care centre for at least six months so that the exposure to the environment of such care was likely to be long enough to lead to noticeable effects.

Following the selection, letters were sent inviting all children and parents whom met the criteria to participate in the study. Upon obtaining consent from parents, they were given a set of questionnaire that consists of demographic questions, parenting scale and Strength and Difficulty Questionnaire. All participants were given a duration of two weeks to complete the questionnaire and two reminders letters was sent to those who had not complete and return the questionnaire (i.e., the first reminder after two weeks and the second reminder after another two weeks).

Finally, while waiting for parents to complete the questionnaire, the researcher conducted observations on the interaction between caregivers and children.   Every observation was conducted during learning time and it took the researchers two hours of observation for each classroom.

g.   Statistical Analysis

There were two predominant statistical analyses used in analyzing data in this present study, bivariate correlations and hierarchical multiple regression (MRA). In the bivariate correlations, Pearson's product moment coefficient was used to analyzing the relationship between predictors and criterion variables. The results from the analysis show to what extent predictor variables were significantly associated with children's social behavior.

With regards to hierarchical regression, a series of the analyses were conducted to examine the explanatory power of different classes of variable. Child and family variables which have been shown by previous research have influence on child development (Gregory, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2006; Ramos, et.al., 2005) were usually controlled and entered in first in the regression analysis. However in the present study, none of the child and family variables correlated with dependent variables, therefore the variables were not controlled in the analysis. Thus, in examining the predictive effect of parental disciplinary practices on child's social developmental outcomes, the variables were entered as follows: (1) Quality Child care (i.e., the Total Caregiver Interaction Scales score); and (2) Total Parenting Score quality. The hierarchical multiple regression analysis was also used to test for interactions between caregiver child interactions and parenting disciplinary practices and child social behavior. Similar to the analysis of direct effect, regression analyses of interaction effect first quality child care, then, total parenting score and finally, cross product between parental disciplinary practices and quality caregiver child interaction.

C.   RESULTS

a.   Descriptive Results of All Metric Measures

Table 2. Summary Statistics of Psychometric Measures

Variables	M (SD)	Actual range	Possible scoring range
CIS			
Sensitive	3.00 (.39)	2-4	1-4
Harshness	2.42 (.35)	2-3	1-4
Detachment	2.95 (.25)	2-3	1-4
Permissiveness	2.08 (.28)	2-3	1-4
SDQ Emotional			
Conduct	5.21 (1.36)	0-6	0-10
Hyperactivity	4.28 (1.53)	0-6	0-10
Peer Problems	7.23 (1.52)	4-9	0-10
	5.56 (1.18)	2-9	0-10
PS			
Laxness	15.01 (3.72)	7-24	5-35
Overractivity	15.99 (3.63)	8-25	5-35
Verbosity	4.07 (1.10)	3-7	3-21

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics for all metric measures. Overall, children in this study experience more sensitive care than harsh and other kind of caregiver interactions. In terms of SDQ, children were scored higher in hyperactivity than other social behavior. With regards to parental disciplinary practices, the average scores reported for laxness and overractivity are higher than verbosity.

b.   The Relationship Between Studied Variables and Children's Social Behavioral Outcomes

Caregiver Interaction and Children's Social Behavioral Outcomes. The second analysis was conducted to examine the correlation between quality of caregiver-child interaction and children's social behavioral problems. The result of the correlation analysis showed a significant negative relationship between quality of caregiver-child interaction and children's social behavioral problems. The correlation value of these variables of (r = -.44, p < .01) was negatively correlated.

In relation to the intercorrelations between CIS subscales and SDQ, the sensitive subscale was negatively associated   SDQ   (r = -.35, p < .01). The subscale of harshness

was positively correlated with children's social behavioral problems (r = .55, p < .01). This result suggest that being hostile, threatening, and using harshly critical behavior toward children is significantly correlated to children's engaged in social behavioral problems.

Next, the detachment subscale was positively correlated to children's social behavioral problems (r = .23, p < .05). This result implies that there is a significant relationship between caregiver who was rated as uninvolved or uninterested in the children, and spends her time in activities that did not include interaction withSDQ. Finally, the permissiveness subscales was positively correlated with SDQ (r = .51, p < .01). This result suggests that children exhibited social behavioral problems when caregiver practices lax approach in dealing with children.

Parenting Discipline Practices and Children's Social Behavioral Outcomes. Table 3 shows that predictor variables significantly correlated with the outcome variables. Lax, over reactivity and hostility parental discipline strategies positively correlated with social behavioral measures.

Table 3. Correlation between Studied Variables and Social Behavioral Measures

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
PS							
1. Laxness	1						
2. Overractivity	.36*	1					
3. Hostility	.12	.23*	1				
SDQ							
4. Emotional	.34*	.16	.03	1			
5. Conduct	.37**	.33**	.15	.40**	1		
6. Hyperactivity	.39**	.14	-.01	.49**	.25**	1	
7. Peer Problems	.33**	-.04	-.07	.42**	.16	.38**	1

c. Parenting Disciplinary Practices as Predictor of Children's Social Developmental Outcomes

Table 4. Hierarchical regression analysis on the relationship between quality of caregiver-child interaction, parenting disciplinary practice, and children's social behavioural problems (N=112)

Variable	Adj-R^2	Δ-Adj-R^2	F	t	B
Step 1					
Total CIS score	.24	.28	7.61**	-4.27**	-.31
Sensitive interaction				-1.90**	-.42
Harshness				.66**	.16
Detachment				.37**	.57
Permisiveness				2.63**	.14
Step 2					
Total PS score	.38	.36	8.96**	4.45**	.38
Laxness				2.29**	.15
Overreactivity				1.74**	.11
Step 3					
CIS x PS	.28	.19	5.67	2.42	.39

Note: Betas are the standardized regression coefficients from the final stage of the regression analysis. ** $p < .001$

Table 4 shows the relationship between quality of caregiver-child interaction, parenting disciplinary practices and children's social behavioral outcomes. It shows that caregiver interactions significantly influence children's social behavior. The table indicates that the higher the caregivers being rated in harshness, detachment and permissiveness, the higher the children being rated having social behavioral problems. However, the table also display that when the caregivers were rated high in sensitive interaction, the children were rated low in social behavioral problems measures. With regards to parenting disciplinary practices, the table shows that it was significantly and positively associated with children's social behavioral problems. This suggests that the higher the parents become laxness and overreactivity in their parenting disciplinary strategies, the higher the likelihood of the children having social behavioral problems. Thus, even the analysis had control quality interaction between caregivers and children, parenting disciplinary practices still significantly influence children social behavioral outcomes.

In addition to the direct influence of parenting disciplinary practices and caregiver interactions on children social behavior, table 4 also show the results of the analysis whether the studied variables interact between each other in affecting children social behavior. The findings show that the caregiver interactions and parental disciplinary practices do not interact with each other in influencing children social behavior. They

are independently influencing children's social behavioral outcomes. This indicates that the influence of parenting disciplinary practices on children's social behavior is not varying by the quality of childcare.

D. DISCUSSION

This present study provides new evidence that quality of caregiver-child interaction has a significant relationship with children's social behavioral problems. Like children in developed countries, Malaysian children were also found in this study showed social behavioral problems when they experienced low quality caregiver-child interaction. Therefore, providing positive interactions that include warmth, encouragement, frequent responsive interactions, and sensitive to children in the childcare centre are essential.

It is also suggested in this study that children developed positive social behavioral outcomes when mothers are more sensitive and did not used harsher disciplinary practice. The finding from this present study is consistent with previous research conducted by Parent, et al., (2011), Knutson, DeGarmo, Koeppl, and Reid (2005), and Weiss, Dodge, Bates, and Pettit (1992). In general, the previous research suggested that children exhibited negative social behavioral outcomes when mothers used harsher disciplinary practices. However, children tend to engaged in positive social behavioral outcomes when children whose mothers are sensitive in controlling and shaping their behavior.

This present study further provide evidence whereby, regardless whether the children receive centre care or home care, the parenting disciplinary practices classified as laxness, overreactivity, and hostility, are negatively affect child social behavioral outcomes. According to a study conducted by NICHD Early Child Care Research Network (2006) reported that mothers who used harsh disciplinary practice has a significant direct effect on children externalizing behavioral problems even for children who attend child care centre. In relation to that, this present study supports the idea that it is vital for all mothers even who send their children to child care centre to provide positive parenting disciplinary practices characterized by warmth, responsive, and sensitive to their children in order to promote positive social behavioral outcomes in children.

However, the findings from the present study provide evidence that there was no significant interaction effect of quality of caregiver-child interaction on the relationship between parenting disciplinary practice and children's social behavioral problems. This implies that the effect of mother's parenting disciplinary practices on children's social behavioral problem is not varying with quality of caregiver-child interaction. The result of this study is consistent with the previous research findings that NICHD Early Child Care Research Network (2002) indicated that there is no significant   effect   of   positive

caregiver-child interactions on the relationship between family variables and children's social behavioral problems.

E.   CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the findings of the present study add to the literature on the significant role of parents and caregivers in the children's socialization process. The findings added to the field of child development that even for the children in child care centre who spend most of their waking time in the centre, their social behavioral development is influence by the way how their parents interacting with them. In particular, the disciplinary practices that children have experience at home, particularly the laxness and over-reactivity significantly contributed to the development of social behavioral problems in the children. Also, this study suggests that the risk of developing social behavioral problems when parents are practicing negative disciplinary strategies could not be reduced by the sensitive interaction that children experience with the caregivers throughout the day in the centre. However, this does not mean that caregivers have no influence on children development. Thus, caregiver interactions were found in this study to directly affected children's social behavior regardless of the parenting disciplinary practices that the children have been experiencing.

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SES Enhancement Model for Phanse-Paradhi Community in India

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Abstract

The Paradhi community members have been labeled as criminals since the British ruling period in India. Even after sixty-five years of Indian independence, they still bear the stigma of being labeled as criminals and were forced to live in isolated, as well as, economically disadvantaged areas. The Paradhis are divided into several sub castes such as Phanse-Paradhi, Gaav-Paradhi, Berad-Paradhi, Gaay-Paradhi, Chita-Paradhi and so on. The Phanse-Paradhis have remained socially and economically deprived in comparison to other sub-castes. This research contacted 40 families in Maharashtra state of India. These families were interviewed intimately and were asked to respond to the self-structured Socio Economic Status Enhancement Aspiration Scale (SES EAS), Prolonged Deprivation Scale (PDS) and Criminal Self Concept Scale (CSCS). Analyzed data showed that the Paradhies do not have enough motivation to increase their socioeconomic status. Results also revealed the causal order have started from SES enhancement aspiration to deprivation, and followed by criminal self-concept. In other words, low level of SES enhancement aspiration is found to have cause deprivation and later leads to positive criminal self-concept among Phanse-Paradhi people. This research discussed various strategies and plans to increase motivational level to enhance SES of Phanse-Paradhi People within its researcher's model.

Keywords: SES Enhancement Aspiration, Deprivation, Criminal Self Concept and Phanse – Paradhi

A. INTRODUCTION

Since ancient period, Indian society members have been divided into several Jaati and Upjaati (castes and sub castes) and were imposed by an unjustly, oppressive and draconian code of conduct. Furthermore, their work were based on a discrimatory cast system that controls specific works to only be done by certain individuals within a specific community. Eventhough India is slowly becoming a strong force in the world, a number of castes and sub castes are still victims of these exploitative systems and are still living very poorly. Phanse Paradhi is an example of one of the community in India, who does not even own an ich of a land to build a house even though India has the seventh largest land in the world. The Paradhies have many sub-castes like Phanse-Paradhi, Gaav-Paradhi, Berad-Paradhi, Gaay-Paradhi, Chita-Paradhi and so on. Among themselves the Phanse-Paradhis remain deprived socially and economically compared to other sub-castes.

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The term 'Paradhi' means 'hunter' and 'Phanse' means 'trap'. Phanse-Paradhi means those who live by hunting with trap. Nowadays, they do not have any business, farm, nor service as a tool of subsistence. Their houses are made out of grass and crushed sugarcane which are not permanent due to migration. Obviously, their children do not attend school either. The Phanse-Paradhi mostly resides in a few districts of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh states of India. They are small in numbers. The population of Paradhis have not been identified correctly, though they represents 0.01 populations in India. Phanse-Paradhi people were branded as 'criminal tribes' by Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) in 1871 by the British Government in India. Both the police and the community outside of Phanse-Paradhi still believe that the Phansi-Paradhis are still living by performing small burglaries and thefts. Unfortunately, little evidence has been found in each local police station. Such kind of reality leads police and public perception to believe that Paradhis are criminals by birth and business. Willingly or unwillingly this assumption is accepted by Phanse-Paradhi people themselves.

Paradhi people still unconsciously believe that their livelihood depends only on burglary and theft. People in Maharashtra could be frightened just by hearing the word Phase-Paradhi. It has been observed that this reality leads to a notion among Paradhi tribe that their existence will remain only by maintaining terror in the society. In brief, it is observed that the Criminal Self Concept is very high among Phase-Paradhi people.

Criminal Self Concept is a sub-type of self concept which has not been studied deeply. Self concept is a multidimensional issue and various researches have been conducted to identify it relating to education, health, social life, specific jobs or services and crime. In the present study such an attempt was made to measure the self concept regarding the criminal events or crimes. The Criminal Self Concept refers to how a person perceives himself or herself about his or her ability to perform a number of crimes. Further, the term Criminal Self Concept indicates the beliefs, values, ideas, thoughts, perceptions and attitude towards homicide, theft/burglary, rape, murder, terror, smugglings and other types of crimes. Though the whole world is facing the problem of criminal events and day by day the numbers of criminal events are increasing, very few studies have been carried out to assess the Criminal Self Concept.

People in a community who are deprived in all sections of life, living in a poor condition and still not having the chance to enhance socio-economic status, are supposedly living under slavery. In the words of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who is the staunch follower of Social Revolution in India, an Architecture of constitution of second largest democracy in world, protagonist of depressed people and promoter of Buddhism in India after its decline that 'Tell a slave, he is slave, he will revolt'. Though India is now slowly becoming a strong force, Phanse-Paradhi people are still living in a very poor condition, even worse than a

slave. They are deprived in all aspects of life. In Psychology the term 'Deprivation' has been used in different ways. In laboratory setting, deprivation refers to a number of operational procedures in which organisms are subjected to some sort of reduction in either sensory input, motor output, or both (Misra, G. and Tripathi, L., 1990). In other ways, it has been referred with deficiencies in different aspects of social life, insufficient satisfaction of basic psychological and physical needs. The relation between deprivation and crime has been explored by various theories such as subculture theories (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960), opportunity theories (Cantor and Land, 1985; Cohen et al., 1980), social disorganization theory (Kornhauser, 1978), conflict theory (Bonger, 1916; Taylor et al., 1973), economic theories of crime (Ehrlich, 1973; Blau, 1977), relative deprivation theory (Crosby, 1976; Gurr, 1970) and strain theory (Agnew, 1992). As well as various cross-sectional studies such as research conducted by Messner (1982); Allen (1996) and Paul O' Mahaony (1986) (Chiricos 1987) have also confirmed the hypothesis that there is a strong positive relationship between poverty, unemployment and crime. The classical view in all these theories shows that the relationship between economic deprivation and crime is that economic deprivation motivates individuals to offend. The present models' view is shown at Figure 1 below:
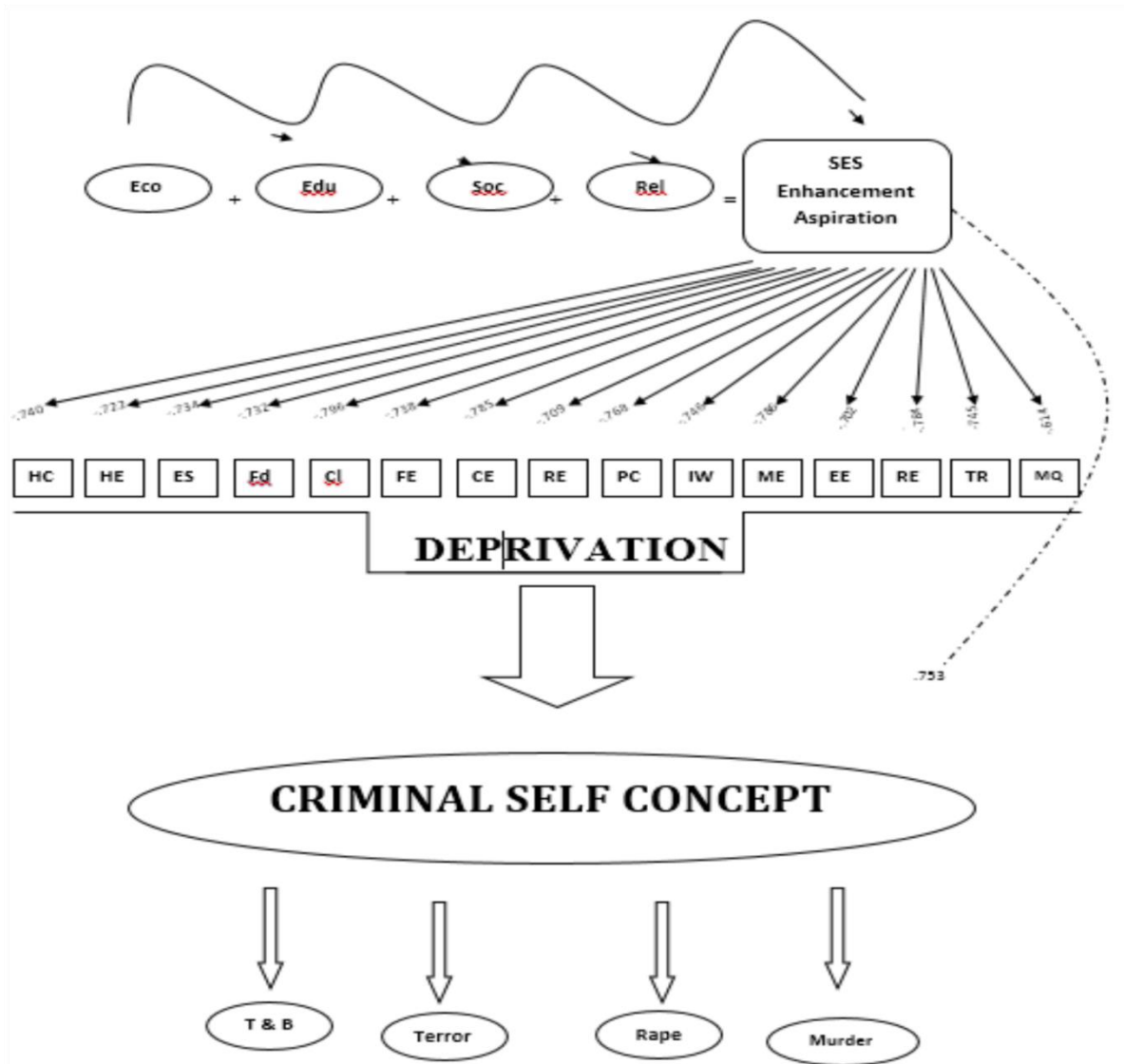
Figure 1. The Causal Order of Variables under the Study

HC= Housing Condition; **HE=** Home Environment; **ES=** Economic Sufficiency; **Fd=** Food; **Cl=** Clothing; **FE=** Formal Educational Experiences; **CE=** Childhood Experiences; **RE=** Rearing Experiences; **PC=** Parental Characteristics; **IW=** Interaction With Parents; **ME=** Motivational Experiences; **EE=** Emotional Experiences; **RE=** Religious Experiences; **T & R=** Travel and Recreation; **MQ=** Miscellaneous Quasi Cultural Experiences; **Eco=** Economy; **Edu=** Education; **Soc=** Social; **Rel=** Religion; **T & B=** Theft and Burglary.

Low level SES enhancement aspiration cause deprivation and it increases the motivation to offend. A longitudinal observation of researcher drawn from present study of Paradhi families suggest that low level of SES enhancement aspiration, exploitation by social system and social contradictions lead to the economic and other types of deprivation, which in turn promotes antisocial attitude towards others as well as the tendencies to commits crimes (Figure 1). Today Paradhis are living in 'Be as the Lord meant you to be, Let there be contentment' mentality. Not a single person who strive to enhance his or her socioeconomic status has been found. Moreover, it was observed that they did not have such motivation and aspiration. The government of Maharashtra, various NGO's, volunteers and social workers are trying in that direction. If we truly desire to raise their social status, it is most necessary to motivate them to enhance their SES by reducing the beliefs, views, attitudes and trust on crime. In brief, their mentality needed to be change. In other words their level of criminal self concept must be decrease by creating the confidence among themselves. Otherwise, it will be like offering crutches to the lame that does not have a wish to walk. It is the time to initiate the efforts of changing the mentality of tribal people by introducing the psychological intervention programmes probably little more than the government or NGO's activities or functions. According to such studies with reference to the study of other ethnic groups similar to Phanse-Paradhi community throughout the world is desperately needed.

B.   METHOD

a.   Aim

This paper will shed light into ways Indian society structure creates criminals in the form of Paradhi community. The SES enhancement model postulates that low level SES enhancement aspiration primarily cause to deprivation and it leads positive criminal self concept among Phanse-Paradhi community. If this causal order emerged significantly, then SES enhancement aspiration intervention would be suggested in devoting effort to alleviate their criminal self concept and enhance socioeconomic status.

b.   Objectives:

1.   To study the correlation coefficient between SES enhancement aspiration and deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people.
2.   To determine the strength of correlation coefficient between deprivation and criminal self concept among Phanse-Paradhi people.
3.   To predict deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people on the basis of level of SES enhancement aspiration.
4.   To predict criminal self concept among Phanse-Paradhi people on the basis of degrees of deprivation in various areas.

c.   Hypotheses:

1.   SES enhancement aspiration would be negatively and significantly related to deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people.

2.   Deprivation and criminal self concept would be positively and significantly related to each other among Phanse-Paradhi people.

3.   Deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people would be significantly predicted on the basis of level of SES enhancement aspiration.

4.   Criminal self concept among Phanse-Paradhi people would be significantly predicted on the basis of degrees of deprivation in various areas.

d.   Sample

Two hundred and nine Phanse-Paradhi people who came from approximately 40 families have been surveyed for the present study. They were residents in different villages at the riverbank of Krishna in Sangli and Satara districts of western Maharashtra in India. Sample consisted of house holder, wives and adult children among these families. Participants are ranged in age from 18 to 55 yrs. These people are registered as criminals in every local and other police station. They were jailed several times as offender or suspected offender.

e.   Tools

For the present survey research following psychological tests was used.

1.   **Socioeconomic Status Enhancement Aspiration Scale: (SES EAS)**
    The Socioeconomic Status Enhancement Aspiration Scale is a self constructed and developed scale that was primarily designed to measure how much motivation an individual have to strengthen his or her status at basic aspects of social life. The SES EAS has four components viz. economic, education, social and religion. As well as it has twenty items with five point Likert type response format ranging from strongly agree to strong disagree. The SES EAS have .91 Cronbach Alpha estimates.

2.   **Prolonged Deprivation Scale: (PDS)**
    The Prolonged deprived Scale is developed by Dr. Girishwar Misra and Dr. L. B. Tripathi. It measures degrees of deprivation in 15 areas of life. The PDS have 96 items with four alternatives and subjects have to select one option which describes their condition well. The PDS has .91 reliability and high level of predictive validity.

3. **Criminal Self Concept Scale: (CSCS)**

The Criminal Self Concept Scale (CSCS) is an instrument that is designed to measure the belief, attitude, values, thoughts, images and opinion regarding the crime. In other words it is a tool of assessing the criminal self concept through four dimensions viz. 'Theft and Burglary', 'Terror', 'Rape' and 'Murder'. This is a self constructed and developed scale. More specifically, each dimensions measure the feelings and thoughts that how easily one can perform the criminal conduct or events. The CSCS has 22items with five point Likert type responses format ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The CSCS has .93 Cronbach Alpha estimates. The scale has successfully been used in various project conducted by students and scholars in their study.

f. **Procedure**

District collectors of Sangli and Satara districts of Maharashtra states of India were contacted, the purpose of the study was discussed with them and the permission was sought for conducting the study on Phanse-Paradhi people. Moreover, social workers were also contacted who agitates the government for the social, economical and political justice for Paradhi people to approach the target group or members. Since Paradhis does not remain constant in terms of living at highlands or moorland away from village, earlier communication with them had to be established and revisited with research assistances. At every caravan, all family members were gathered at one platform and a small meeting was then conducted. Introductory speech was given by a mediator social worker and the purpose of the study was explained in front of them while common instructions were given by researcher. Research assistant team was divided into four to five groups and responses for all psychological scales were collected through face to face interview of all caravan members.

C. **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

In order to assess the level of SES enhancement aspiration and to identify or measure the degrees of deprivation in all areas of life among Phanse-Paradhi people, the descriptive statistical approach was employed. It was found that though Phanse-Paradhies are living in miserable condition they did not have enough aspiration to enhance their socioeconomic status. The mean score on SES enhancement aspiration is 39.97 with SD 19.86. It shows the lowest level of aspiration of SES enhancement. Moreover, it is seen that all aspects of SES enhancement aspiration viz. economy, education, social and religion remain at bottom level among Phanse-Paradhi. It is evident from Table 1 that the mean score of total deprivation for the whole sample is 334.95 with SD 47.94. This Figure indicates the extreme level of

deprivation among Paradhies. Moreover, it was found that people of Paradhi community have been prolonging deprivation in all areas of life. The housing condition, economic sufficiency, food, clothing and the rest of all factors show extreme point of deprivation. It would be stated that the word deprivation is only meant for Phanse-Paradhi people. The level of criminal self concept of these people also assessed and found that the Paradhies have positive attitude towards theft and burglary, terror, rape and murder. The mean score on criminal self concept of Paradhi people is 83.02 with SD 27.22 which indicates high level of CSC. If we consider all dimensions of CSC it is found that the mean score on theft and burglary and terror is respectively 23.22 and 22.89 which were comparatively high than rape and murder. Findings of this study clearly pointed out that they hold deep belief in their social mind to commit theft and burglaries. From glance of figures on descriptive statistics the causal order was seen in variables under the study. The low level of SES enhancement aspiration cause to deprivation in all areas and it lead to criminal self concept among Phanse-Paradhi tribe.

As shown in Table 2 the empirical support is received to the assumption from the study that low level of SES enhancement aspiration will lead to the deprivation in all areas among Phanse-Paradhi people. The correlation coefficient of SES enhancement aspiration with deprivation is quite high (r = -.770 P < .01). The economic status enhancement aspiration, educational, social and religion status enhancement aspiration are -.780, -.731, -.761 and -.613 of coefficient of correlation with deprivation. These r values are negative and significant on .01 level of significance. Figure 2 also indicated negative relation between SES enhancement aspiration and deprivation. Moreover, it is evident from Table 1 that all areas of deprivation and all components of SES enhancement aspiration also negatively and significantly correlated to each other. The results of the study seem to suggest the establishment of causal order between SES enhancement aspiration and deprivation. Hence, results gave supports to the present hypothesis.
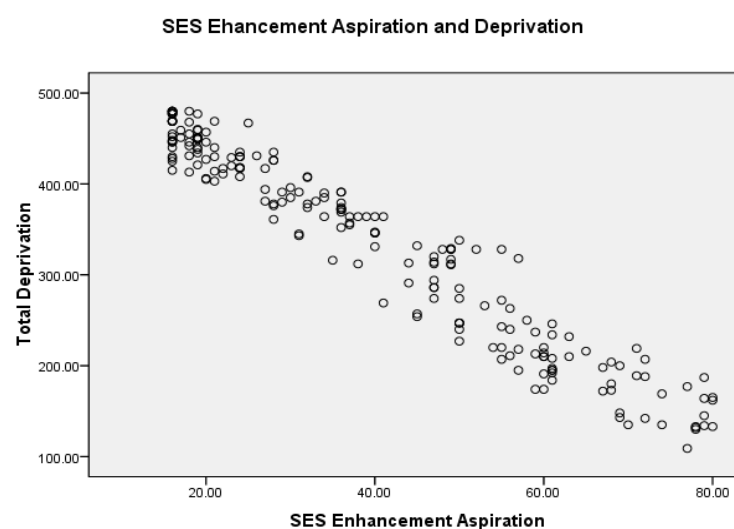
Figure 2. Relationship between SES enhancement aspirations and total deprivation

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for variables under the study

Sr. No.	SES Enhancement Aspiration Components	Mean	Std. Dev.	
1	Economy	12.76	5.86	Low SES
2	Education	11.02	6.23	
3	Social	7.58	4.11	
4	Religion	8.60	5.20	
5	SES Enhancement Aspiration	39.97	19.86	

Sr. No.	Deprivation Areas	Mean	Std. Dev.	
1	Housing Condition	20.17	8.90	Extremely High Deprivation in all Areas
2	Home Environment	25.62	8.94	
3	Economic Sufficiency	24.84	8.98	
4	Food	14.88	5.01	
5	Clothing	15.40	5.26	
6	Formal Educational Experiences	24.98	9.05	
7	Childhood Experiences	20.02	8.87	
8	Rearing Experiences	25.29	8.90	
9	Parental Characteristics	25.53	8.50	
10	Interaction With Parents	20.48	8.79	
11	Motivational Experiences	33.11	15.12	
12	Emotional Experiences	27.10	10.46	
13	Religious Experiences	15.73	5.23	
14	Travel and Recreation	11.89	2.72	
15	Miscellaneous Quasi Cultural Experiences	29.88	12.13	
16	Total Deprivation	334.95	47.94	

Sr. No.	Criminal Self Concept Dimensions	Mean	Std. Dev.	
1	Theft and Burglary	24.22	6.50	High CSC
2	Terror	22.89	7.17	
3	Rape	18.20	6.98	
4	Murder	17.69	7.73	
5	Total Criminal Self Concept	83.02	27.22	

Table 2. Correlation Matrixes of Deprivation and SES Enhancement Aspiration

	HC	HE	ES	Fd	Cl	FEE	CE	RE	PC	IWP	ME	EE	RE	T & R	MQCE	TD	Eco	Edu	Soc	Rel	SES
HC	1																				
HE	.710**	1																			
ES	.699**	.680**	1																		
Fd	.770**	.725**	.686**	1																	
Cl	.741**	.713**	.665**	.738**	1																
FEE	.719**	.697**	.700**	.743**	.702**	1															
CE	.708**	.659**	.701**	.703**	.691**	.695**	1														
RE	.695**	.732**	.701**	.722**	.681**	.714**	.661**	1													
PC	.746**	.716**	.756**	.768**	.752**	.772**	.739**	.716**	1												
IWP	.792**	.742**	.710**	.793**	.757**	.733**	.719**	.736**	.757**	1											
ME	.633**	.653**	.687**	.581**	.581**	.662**	.582**	.620**	.650**	.633**	1										
EE	.713**	.675**	.671**	.667**	.672**	.675**	.655**	.652**	.749**	.691**	.629**	1									
RE	.794**	.712**	.754**	.807**	.826**	.752**	.742**	.727**	.796**	.810**	.643**	.709**	1								
T & R	.745**	.782**	.745**	.726**	.742**	.748**	.687**	.716**	.765**	.740**	.717**	.725**	.754**	1							
MQCE	.735**	.715**	.705**	.715**	.700**	.759**	.696**	.706**	.778**	.741**	.646**	.727**	.737**	.739**	1						
TD	.868**	.848**	.849**	.852**	.835**	.863**	.826**	.839**	.890**	.879**	.799**	.833**	.887**	.872**	.874**	1					
Eco	-.771**	-.732**	-.749**	-.690**	-.660**	-.742**	-.726**	-.707**	-.759**	-.768**	-.796**	-.731**	-.729**	-.811**	-.781**	-.780**	1				
Edu	-.830**	-.762**	-.792**	-.806**	-.764**	-.791**	-.755**	-.773**	-.728**	-.731**	-.749**	-.763**	-.742**	-.723**	-.731**	-.731**	.757**	1			
Soc	-.719**	-.760**	-.758**	-.772**	-.755**	-.768**	-.687**	-.751**	-.712**	-.720**	-.641**	-.706**	-.788**	-.710**	-.717**	-.761**	.701**	.761**	1		
Rel	-.772**	-.797**	-.790**	-.822**	-.780**	-.806**	-.727**	-.772**	-.823**	-.797**	-.697**	-.763**	-.819**	-.733**	-.780**	-.613**	.766**	.753**	.721**	1	
SES	-.740**	-.722**	-.734**	-.732**	-.796**	-.738**	-.785**	-.709**	-.768**	-.746**	-.786**	-.702**	-.758**	-.784**	-.745**	-.770**	.710**	.748**	.794**	.747**	1

HC= Housing Condition; **HE=** Home Environment; **ES=** Economic Sufficiency; **Fd=** Food; **Cl=** Clothing; **FEE=** Formal Educational Experiences; **CE=** Childhood Experiences; **RE=** Rearing Experiences; **PC=** Parental Characteristics; **IWP=** Interaction With Parents; **ME=** Motivational Experiences; **EE=** Emotional Experiences; **RE=** Religious Experiences; **T & R=** Travel and Recreation; **MQCE=**

Miscellaneous Quasi Cultural Experiences; **TD=** Total Deprivation; **Eco=** Economy; **Edu=** Education; **Soc=** Social; **Rel=** Religion; **SES=** SES Enhancement Aspiration

Table 3. Correlation Matrixes of Deprivation and Criminal Self Concept

	HC	HE	ES	Fd	Cl	FEE	CE	RE	PC	IWP	ME	EE	RE	T & R	MQCE	TD	T & B	Trr	Rp	Mrd	CSE
HC	1																				
HE	.710**	1																			
ES	.699**	.680**	1																		
Fd	.770**	.725**	.686**	1																	
Cl	.741**	.713**	.665**	.738**	1																
FEE	.719**	.697**	.700**	.743**	.702**	1															
CE	.708**	.659**	.701**	.703**	.691**	.695**	1														
RE	.695**	.732**	.701**	.722**	.681**	.714**	.661**	1													
PC	.746**	.716**	.756**	.768**	.752**	.772**	.739**	.716**	1												
IWP	.792**	.742**	.710**	.793**	.757**	.733**	.719**	.736**	.757**	1											
ME	.633**	.653**	.687**	.581**	.581**	.662**	.582**	.620**	.650**	.633**	1										
EE	.713**	.675**	.671**	.667**	.672**	.675**	.655**	.652**	.749**	.691**	.629**	1									
RE	.794**	.712**	.754**	.807**	.826**	.752**	.742**	.727**	.796**	.810**	.643**	.709**	1								
T & R	.745**	.782**	.745**	.726**	.742**	.748**	.687**	.716**	.765**	.740**	.717**	.725**	.754**	1							
MQCE	.735**	.715**	.705**	.715**	.700**	.759**	.696**	.706**	.778**	.741**	.646**	.727**	.737**	.739**	1						
TD	.868**	.848**	.849**	.852**	.835**	.863**	.826**	.839**	.890**	.879**	.799**	.833**	.887**	.872**	.874**	1					
T & B	.686**	.743**	.726**	.745**	.726**	.747**	.638**	.730**	.763**	.694**	.580**	.668**	.750**	.767**	.680**	.819**	1				
Trr	.734**	.815**	.823**	.828**	.822**	.740**	.775**	.817**	.768**	.834**	.733**	.784**	.766**	.773**	.818**	.756**	.712**	1			
Rp	.749**	.759**	.771**	.756**	.750**	.721**	.792**	.777**	.743**	.757**	.641**	.759**	.778**	.700**	.718**	.731**	.727**	.729**	1		
Mrd	.760**	.773**	.781**	.760**	.740**	.711**	.794**	.789**	.737**	.777**	.664**	.759**	.786**	.720**	.713**	.738**	.797**	.720**	.757**	1	
CSE	.846**	.806**	.810**	.760**	.777**	.741**	.785**	.813**	.765**	.755**	.684**	.777**	.784**	.752**	.819**	.753**	.718**	.781**	.771**	.762**	1

HC= Housing Condition; **HE=** Home Environment; **ES=** Economic Sufficiency; **Fd=** Food; **Cl=** Clothing; **FEE=** Formal Educational Experiences; **CE=** Childhood Experiences; **RE=** Rearing Experiences; **PC=** Parental Characteristics; **IWP=** Interaction With Parents; **ME=** Motivational Experiences; **E=** Emotional Experiences; **RE=** Religious Experiences; **T & R=** Travel and Recreation; **MQCE=** Miscellaneous Quasi Cultural Experiences; **TD=** Total Deprivation; **T & B=** Theft and Burglary; **Trr=** Terror; **Rp=** Rape; **Mrd=** Murder; **CSE=**Total Criminal Self Concept

As shown in Table 3 the coefficient correlation of deprivation with theft and burglary, terror, rape and murder components of criminal self concept are .819, .756, .731, .738 and .753 respectively. All these r values are highly significant on a 0.01 level of significance and indicating that there exists relationship between deprivation and various components of criminal self concept among Phanse-Paradhi people. Moreover, it is seen that all areas of deprivation significantly correlates with criminal self concept and all its component. These results establish the truth that all criminal acts or phenomenon are committed by Phanse-Paradhi people due to all kinds of deprivation in basic social needs. The present analysis establishes a strong relationship between housing conditioning, economic sufficiency, food, clothing, formal educational experiences and other types of deprivation   and criminal self concept. In present study it was observed that deprivation has strong correlation with theft and burglary (r= 0.819), though the relationship was weaker than that between deprivation and murder (r= 0.738). Hsieh and Pugh (1993) carried out a meta-analysis of the 34 aggregate data studies on the relationships between poverty, income inequality and violent crime and found positive relation among these variables. Despite differences in methodology, the majority of studies such as   Sampson and Groves (1980) and Kawachi Ichiro et al (1999) agreed that crime is related to poverty or economic deprivation as well as to social exploitation or deprivation
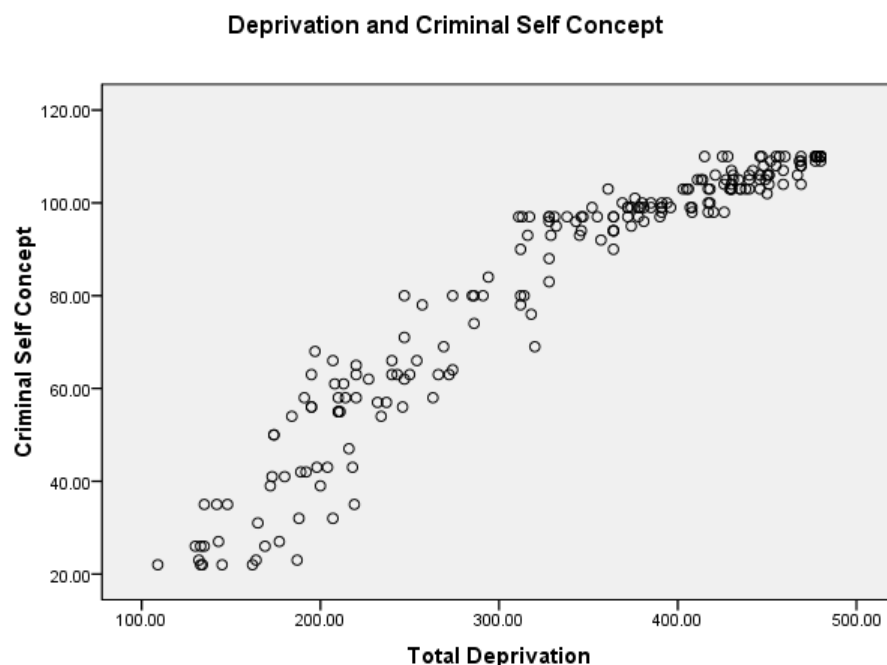

Figure 2. Relationships between Deprivation and Criminal Self Concept

Table 4. Showing Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Deprivation

Sr. No.	Predictors	Adjusted R Square	df	F	Standardized Coefficients Beta	Sig.
1	SES Enhancement Aspiration	.840	1, 207	326.5	.758	.000
2	Education	.741	1, 206	166.6	.517	.000
3	Economy	.587	1, 205	94.8	.396	.000
4	Social	.521	1, 204	90.7	.288	.000

To identify the predictors of overall deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people, stepwise multiple regression analysis was carried out where SES enhancement aspiration and its' four components were predictors, while overall deprivation was criterion variable. As seen from Table 4 that 'SES enhancement aspiration', 'Education', 'Economy' and 'Social' factors emerged as significant predictors of deprivation. However, 'Religion' doesn't contribute to the deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people. When the first variable 'SES enhancement aspiration' was entered into the model the obtained adjusted R^2 = .840, when 'Education' was entered the adjusted R^2 = .741 and when 'Economy' was entered the adjusted R^2 = .587 and finally when 'Social' was entered the adjusted R^2 = .521. It means that this model accounts for respectively 84 per cent, 74.1 per cent, 58.7 per cent and 52.1 per cent variance in deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people. Moreover, it is seen from Table 4 that standardized coefficient Beta for 'SES enhancement aspiration' is .758 therefore it is stated that this predictor has strong influence on deprivation. As well as it could be observed that rest of all predictors also significant impact on criterion variable.

To predict the criminal self concept of Phanse-Paradhi people on the basis of their prolonged deprivation step wise multiple regression analysis was performed. The fifteen components of deprivation were entered into the model but as noticed in Table 5 only 'Total Deprivation', 'Motivational Experiences', 'Clothing'. 'Food', 'Travel and Recreation' and 'Religious Experiences' emerged as significant predictors. However, remaining factors didn't contribute to criminal self concept among this community. When the first variable 'Total Deprivation' was entered into the model the obtained adjusted R^2 =.907 shows this model accounts for 90 per cent variance in criminal self concept as well as for this factor the standardized coefficient Beta value .74 indicating strong influence on criminal self concept. Moreover, the other factors in Table 5 also accounts for significant variance and influence on criminal self concept. A number of empirical studies such as Hasan Buker (2011) have confirmed that deprivation is in fact one of the strongest predictors of crime, when compared to a range of factors at various levels of analysis. Messner (1982) in his study found negative relationship between poverty and homicide and successfully predicted the rate of homicide on the basis of poverty.

Table 5. Showing Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Criminal Self Concept

Sr. No.	Predictors	Adjusted R Square	Df	F	Standardized Coefficients Beta	Sig.
1	Total Deprivation	.807	1, 207	2035.04	.743	.000
2	Motivational Experiences	.723	1, 206	1252.66	.453	.000
3	Clothing	.727	1, 205	877.296	.386	.000
4	Food	.719	1, 204	685.480	.304	.000
5	Travel and Recreation	.632	1, 203	566.956	.278	.000
6	Religious Experiences	.603	1, 202	480.722	.288	.000

D.   CONCLUSION

The precise findings on the deprivation of Phanse-Paradhi people in India have been yielded from this research. It is seen that The SES enhancement aspiration is very low among Phanse-Paradhi community. Further, the people of Phanse-Paradhi community have a very high level of positive criminal self concept. The most dramatic finding of this study is that Low level of SES enhancement aspiration is a cause of prolonged deprivation among Phanse-Paradhi people and that it leads to positive criminal self concept.

E.   RECOMMENDATIONS

Present research demonstrates that some psychological intervention programs can change the likelihood of Phanse-Paradhi people. This study does not, however, claim that other activities and programmes that were previously given to strengthen the status of Phanse-Paradhi people are not useful. Nonetheless, several recommendations that could be given based on this research are:

1.   Overall strategy plan is needed for the 'rehabilitation' for adults and youths of Paradhi community.
2.   The right way to improve SES enhancement aspiration is invite people from other sub castes of Paradhi to provide role model
3.   The imitation of other sub communities of Paradhi will be an important factor in successful rehabilitation of Phanse-Paradhi people.
4.   Cognitive intervention techniques should be employed to change the thinking style, belief, ideas, images, perceptions and values which build the (criminal) self concept.
5.   Deprivation threatens or undermines both the development and the maintenance of the cognitive, physical, emotional, and social abilities that constitute an attitude towards life. Hence, their level of motivation must be enhanced by organizing various social activities.

6. Special counseling sessions, training programmes and workshops must be sponsored by the Government and other NGO's to the leaders from Phanse-Paradhi community itself.

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EXPLORING STRESSFUL LIVE EVENTS ON INDONESIAN ADOLESCENTS

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Abstract

Adolescence is a turbulent time of normative developmental stress. Adolescents are more vulnerable to the effects of environmental stressors because of their dependence on the family. Identifying mechanisms that links life stress to negative mental health outcomes among adolescents is essential for public health professionals in developing preventive interventions to reduce the prevalence of stress-related psychiatric morbidity. Sociologists and cross-cultural psychologists have contended that different socio-cultural status patterns mediating through social support/coping determine a number of different subjective social stresses that vary across stratified social and cultural groups in a given society. To answer that challenge the current study aims to understand those psychological phenomena in a cultural context using indigenous approach. This study used a quantitative method with an open-ended self-administered questionnaire. The participants consisted of 742 students (45% girls; 55% boys) from middle, high, and vocational school in Yogyakarta and Surabaya with an age mean of 15 years old. Most of them are Javanese and their religion is Islam. The procedure consisted of giving an item 'Please write down case(s)/matter(s)/event(s) that made you stressed' to the participants, and then asking them to rate the results from 1 that means 'so light' to 100 that means 'very heavy'. The data from the open-ended question (multiple responses) were analyzed by identifying keywords and were later categorized into themes by three raters using the indigenous psychology approach. The stressful life events (SLE) in Indonesian adolescents consisted of *interpersonal related problems, family related problems, school related problems, self related problems, economy related problems, nature and unpredictable related problems, media and technology related problems,* and *grief*. School related problems, especially the National Examination, were perceived to be the most stressful life events by Indonesian adolescents. The family was perceived to be the major source of social support for them.

Keywords: stressful life event, adolescence, indigenous psychology, social support

A.   INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a turbulent time of normative developmental stress (Ahern & Norris, 2010) and the first time for youths to confront a wide range of stressors without any coping strategies to fall back on (Patterson & McCubbi, 1987; Yeo, Ang, Chong, & Huan, 2007). They

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are more vulnerable to the effects of environmental stressor because of adolescents' dependence towards their family (Swearingen & Cohen, 1985). The onset of the teenage years, ages 10 to 13, is an extremely important period in which many physical, social, and cognitive changes occur (Petersen & Taylor, 1980). Many of the cognitive and social development tasks during that years produce stresses and strains that challenge the adolescent's coping abilities and resources (Compas, 1987). Even though adolescents' concerns reportedly differ according to cultures, dominant areas of concern have consistently been reported in various studies worldwide.

Adolescents in both Eastern and Western countries appear to be concerned about school, peers, family, self, and psychological well-being. Consistent with the major task of adolescence in forging a sense of identity, frequent sources of stress stem from worries about self, which are often tied to coping with the expectations of friends, family, and the peer group (Bao & Haas, 2009; Yeo, Ang, Chong, & Huan, 2007). According to Ng and Hurry (2011), stress is correlated with non-productive coping. This reflects the interactive nature between experiencing stressful events and individual characteristics and states. Empirical data have shown an increasing relationship between adolescent psychological and physical health problems (DuongTran, Lee, & Khoi, 1996). Identifying mechanisms linking life stress to negative mental health outcomes among adolescents is essential for public health professionals to develop preventive interventions to reduce the prevalence of stress-related psychiatric morbidity (McLaughlin & Hatzenbuehler, 2009). The purpose of this study is to explore the stressful life events in Indonesian adolescents using indigenous approach.

a. Stress

Adolescence represents a significant developmental period to understand the relation between stress and mental health problems. Stress has long been recognized as a significant public health problem, given its association with morbidity and mortality across the life course (McLaughlin & Hatzenbuehler, 2009; Tubbs, 1994). Heuveline's (2002) and Das's (2007) found that the number of dead adolescents is increasing every year due to the psychological problems like stressful life event (SLE). This enforces the fact that adolescence marks a substantial increase in both the number of stressors and in the prevalence of psychopathology (McLaughlin & Hatzenbuehler, 2009).

In defining stress, researchers all over the globe have not found any agreement. It is mainly understood as an organisms' response to an adverse stimulation in the field of biomedical science. In psychology, stress is usually understood as the process where a person and the environment interact. Sometimes the nature of the stressor is the focus of research. In health psychology, the joint effects of the person and environment on

pathology are studied, along with mediating and moderating factors, such as coping and social support (Hobfoll, Schwarzer, & Chon, 1998).

Ellis (2006) explained that stress - as a sequence of events with the presence of a demand, and the perception that the demand - is taxing on an individual's resources well-being. According to Nichols, Selye, and others (in Nguyen & Mujtaba, 2011), the impact of stress can be physical, emotional, mental, and behavioral. Stress is all those real and perceived forces that intrude or are imposed on the individual (Mujtaba & McCartney, 2007). Sandin (in Ramirez & Hernandez, 2007) added that stress can be formulated and approached differently. It can be understood as a phenomenon of the external environment – where stress is considered as an independent variable - or as a response by the individual – where stress is considered as a dependant variable. Stress can also be seen as an interaction (transaction) between the individual and the environment.

The common procedures to assess stress are either dominantly stimulus-based - pointing at critical events and demands - or dominantly response-based - pointing at symptoms and feelings experienced (Schwarzer, 2001). Instrumentation for measuring stress has been developed predominantly along the lines of respondent-based or checklist methods. One such respondent-based instrument, developed to be used with children and adolescents, is the Life Event Record (LER). The LER and variations of the LER, such as the Life Events Checklist (LEC) have been widely used in studies of adverse events among children and adolescents with various psychiatric disorders (Williamson *et al.*, 2003).

Katschnig (in Williamson *et al.*, 2003) reported several limitations to assessing stressful life events with respondent-based instruments. First limitation is the finite number of events listed on the checklist. Thus, some events may be taking place in the past yet unlisted – causing it to be uncounted. Second limitation is checklists' inability to differentiate between acute stressors and ongoing or chronic stressors. Third, while stressful life events may pose various levels of adversity for different individuals, all events endorsed are assumed to carry a similar level of adversity for each person. Fourth, the dependency of the event to the subject's behaviour is not assessed. Finally, adolescents and/or their parents are only asked to indicate whether the event occurred during some preceding period of time, typically the past year. Thus, the occurrence of each event is not precisely dated, and the exact timing between event occurrence and onset of the depressive episode cannot be determined.

To shortcut these limitations, Williamson et al., (2003) interviewed several youths about SLE that he or she experienced. The 20 most frequently reported events among these subjects were: (1) 'hospitalization/surgery of other'; (2) 'start of romantic relationship'; (3) 'school performance problems'; (4) 'fights/arguments at school'; (5) 'death of pet'; (6) 'general health problems of other'; (7) 'general health problems of subject'; (8) 'being

bullied'; (9) 'changed schools'; (10) 'close relative died'; (11) 'injury accident of subject'; (12) 'arguments with siblings'; (13) 'increased arguments between siblings and parents'; (14) 'increased arguments with parents'; (15) 'breakup with boyfriend/girlfriend'; (16) 'change in physical appearance'; (17) 'change in parent's job'; (18) 'other caught committing crime'; (19) 'injury/accident of other'; and (20) 'additional events' not originally classified in the SLEs.

b.   SLE in ASIA

Based on the theoretical frameworks, sociologists and cross-cultural psychologists (Pearlin *et al.*; Pearlin; Meyer *et al.* in Uddin, 2010) have contended that different socio-cultural status patterns mediating through social support/coping determine a number of different subjective social stresses that vary across the stratified social and cultural groups in a given society. Sharma and Sud (1990) compared social stress among high school students selected from four Asian (Indian, Jordanian, Chinese and Korean) and five Euro-American (Hungarian, Turkish, Indian, German and American) cultures. They found that the level and pattern of worry and stress of Asian samples were higher than the Euro-American ones, because of their collectivistic cultural orientation and lower socio-economic status pattern.

Kononovas and Dallas (2009) have recently found that Japanese and Lithuanian with collectivistic cultural orientation and low socio-economic status pattern preceived more stress and lower self-efficacy compared to US students with individualistic cultural orientation and higher socio-economic status pattern. Uddin's cross-cultural studies clearly indicated that the Asian-American, African-American, Mexican-American with their respective language and collectivistic culture who migrated to the USA and other European societies faced more social stress than the native-born people in intercultural communication (Uddin, 2010).

Mui and Suk-Young (2006) also found similar result. Compared to other studies in the literature, the rates and incidence of depression in Asian immigrant elders were higher than those observed in most other ethnic elderly samples. The findings suggest that life stress and acculturation stress are major concerns of Asian immigrant elders. While in Nguyen's study (Nguyen & Mujtaba, 2011), Vietnamese people tend to hold stress and emotional problems for themselves or within the extended families. It seems a little hard for them to admit their stress because they consider it to be a sign of weakness and immaturity. As they do not normally reveal their stress, Vietnamese people find different ways to deal with it; such as smoking, drinking, spending time with family and friends, going to prayer sessions, or even gambling.

c.   SLE on Adolescents

Stress significantly correlates to health deficiency, yet the correlation vary significantly across ethnic groups (Singhammer & Bancila, 2011). For example, US youth have been reported having lower internalized and higher externalized problems than their counterparts in Thailand, Kenya, and Jamaica (Lambert, Weisz, & Knight, 1989). Within Cambodian, Laos, and Vietnamese teenagers, the biggest SLE is the strict social discipline imposed by the parents; overwhelming household chores, and personal pressure to get good grades (DuongTran, Lee, & Khoi, 1996). Meanwhile, Turkish teenagers suffer SLE such as financial problems; dissatisfactions with social activities; anxiety about the future; relations with other sex; alienation from new enviroment; risk of educational failure; anxiety about examination succes; and accommodation problems (Aktekin, Karaman, Senol, Erdem, Erengin, & Akaydin, 2001).

The main SLE domain in the Southeast Asian teenagers is academic performance as well as family and social relationship (DuongTran, Lee, & Khoi, 1996). Chang (2008) found that 21,3% of Chinese college students in Taiwan were reported experiencing academic stressors in the month before, 16,2% reported interpersonal stressor, and 31,8% reported having experienced personal or emotional stressors. Chen and Stevenson (1989) explain that Chinese children are assigned with more homework and spending more time on homework than Japanese and American children. While the urban students spend significantly more time on homework than rural students (Bao, Haas, & Pi in Bao & Haas, 2009).

In a non-Western culture, Hong Kong, prevalence rates from a population survey of adolescents for Major Depressive Disorder (MDD) are similar to those reported in a US community sample. Previously Chen *et al.* (1993) reported that this disorder is less prevalent in Hong Kong than in the West (Stewart *et al.,* 2002). Explanation of depression typically cites stress as a triggering factor and adolescence heralds an increase in environment stressor, for example academic pressure, the making and breaking of romantic relationship (Ng & Hurry, 2011).

Female adolescents tend to report more frequent and intense stressful events and to experience higher levels of stress for a longer duration than male adolescents (Ahern & Norris, 2010; Attar, Guerra, & Tolan, 1999; Wong, Stewart, Ho, & Lam, 2007; Yeo, Ang, Chong, & Huan, 2007). Adolescent girls are emotionally more vulnerable than adolescent boys and are at greater risk of developing mental health disorders (Yeo, Ang, Chong, & Huan, 2007). Girls have more worries about interpersonal relationships, school demands, family relationships, and personal and social adjustment, and experience more interpersonal difficulties than do boys (Ahern & Norris, 2010; Ng & Hurry, 2011; Yeo, Ang,

Chong, & Huan, 2007). Whereas female adolescents report more interpersonal problems, male adolescents report more school problems and exhibit externalizing behavior problems.

De Anda (1997) found that a majority of girls but only a small percentage of same-aged boys in middle adolescence reported sadness as an affective response to stress. A higher percentage of male than female adolescents reported feeling out of control (Yeo, Ang, Chong, & Huan, 2007). Hui (2000), Garber and Horowitz (2002) found that in contrast to male adolescents who made external attributions (i.e., school factors and peer influence), female adolescents were more inclined to attribute difficulties to their own deficiencies (i.e., ability and effort) and to family factors.

As a consequence of the developmental transition, stressful life changes likely produce a higher-risk situation for young individuals (Coelho, Yuan, & Ahmed in DuongTran, Lee, & Khoi, 1996; Reynolds, O'Koon, Papademetriou, Szczygiel, & Grant, 2001). The more stress experienced, the higher the level depressive symptoms reported (Ng & Hurry, 2011). Urban stress on boys and girls was significantly positively correlated with somactic complaints, anxious depressed symptoms, withdrawn behavior, aggresive behavior, and deliquent behavior. Girls reported significantly higher rates of somatic than did boys while aggresive and delinquent behavior higher than girls (Reynolds, O'Koon, Papademetriou, Szczygiel, & Grant, 2001). Recent stressful life events, especially physical and psychological abuse, significantly predicted suicide ideation in youth, even after controlling for a host of other risk factors (Beautrais, 2003; Thompson, Proctor, English, Dubowitz, Narasimhan, & Everson, 2011; Zhang, Wang, Xia, Liu, & Jung, 2012).

Globally, suicide is one of the three leading death causes among people aged 15–34 years and the rates have skyrocketed by 60% over the last 45 years (Li, Li, & Cao, 2012; Swahn, Palmier, Kasirye, & Yao, 2012). Suicide was one of the three most prevalent causes of death in teenagers in 2005 for South Koreans (Kim & Kim, 2008). In Japan, youth suicide occurred for reasons related to the larger problem (Tubbs, 1994). In Taiwan, mortality caused by suicide and self-harm among adolescents aged 15-19 grew significantly compared to the past decade (Ministry of the Interior in Tang *et al.*, 2009). In the last three decades (from 1975 to 2005), the suicide rate in India increased by 43% (Vijayakumar, 2010). Zhang (1996) explains that traditional Asian culture is highly patriarchal, with the status of women lower than that in the West. Certainly where women are oppressed and victimized and do not have access to redress, suicide acts can become an important avenue to end suffering.

B.   METHOD

Although culture is often implicated to explain ethnic differences in studies focusing on mental health, the cultural influences presumed to be responsible for these differences are not often directly measured (Polo & Lopez, 2009). Yeo, Ang, Chong, and Huan (2007)

stated that the majority of published research studies on adolescent concerns and coping have originated in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe. To answer that challenge, this study aims to understand psychological phenomena in a cultural context using indigenous approach. Indigenous psychology is a culture-based view of the nature of personal psychology, identity, and illness. Expressive culture representing cultural concepts of persons and their internal structures and motivations (Castillo, 1997). The basic research design used in this study is quantitative method with an open-ended self-administered questionnaire.

According to Kim and Berry (1993) indigenous psychology is 'the scientific study of human behavior or mind that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people'. The notion of general psychology is to create a broad and universal theory, while indigenous psychology focuses on understanding psychology in the social context of each nation (Kim & Park, 2006). The multiple perspectives derived from indigenous psychology can be seen as addressing different levels of the spectrum at the local culture at the time under study (Yang & Lu, 2007).

a.   Participants

The participants consist of 742 students from middle, high, and vocational school in Yogyakarta and Surabaya. The participants' age ranges between 12–18 years old with a mean of 15 years old. They consist of 334 females and 408 males. The majority of them came from Javanese families with Islam as their religious background.

b.   Data Collection

The data collection of this study was done by giving a self-administered questionnaire with a single item 'Please write down case(s)/matter(s)/event(s) that made you stress'. Participants were then asked to range the thing(s)/matter(s)/event(s) from 1 to 100 where 1 is so light and 100 is very heavy. Participants were also requested to write the time when it happened for the last time. This is an application of the open ended question method with the following main advantage: the participants were allowed to answer as the way their mind and experience suit them. The questions have no definite answer because the answers were expected to represent the expressions of the participants' true opinion and are related to their reality.

c.   Data Analysis

Obtained data from the open-ended question (multiple responses) were analyzed by categorizing them based on keywords and later put in themes. This process was conducted by at least three raters. Next, the categorized responses were open-coded by large

categories and small categories, which were given numbers in descending orders. These categories were used as the basis of descriptive analysis which was later cross-tabulated with the respondents' gender.

C.   RESULTS

The participants in this study are 742 adolescents (45% girls; 55% boys) with an average age of 15 years old. There are more than 742 responses because multiple responses were used. In average, girls responded to five LSEs while boys responded to three LSEs. The categorization was done on the entire responses and then open-coded. The two main categorizations are based on the adolescents' frequency and score on the LSE displayed in Table 1 and Figure 1. The results show that there are eight main themes: *interpersonal related problems, family related problems, school related problems, self related problems, economy related problems, nature and unpredictable related problems, media and technology related problems,* and *grief.* Another main category is *others* which contains meaningless, unrelated, and blank answers that were not able to be processed within the data analysis due to its lack of relevance to this study.

Table 1. SLE Themes and Categories Based on Frequency

No.		SLE Themes and Categories	Boys		Girls		Total	
			f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
1		**Interpersonal related problems**	**298**	**73,04**	278	83,23	**576**	**77,63**
	1.1	Conflict with peers	**91**	**22,33**	**65**	**19,40**	156	21,01
	1.2	Relationship prohibition from parents	87	21,30	43	13,00	130	17,56
	1.3	Conflict with girlfriend/boyfriend	17	4,10	63	19,00	80	10,81
	1.4	Breaking up with girlfriend/boyfriend	10	2,40	62	18,43	72	9,62
	1.5	Being single	41	10,10	22	6,70	63	8,57
	1.6	Bullied by peers	37	9,00	18	5,30	55	7,33
	1.7	Traffic violation	15	3,70	5	1,50	20	2,71
2		**Family related problems**	220	53,92	295	88,32	**515**	**69,41**
	2.1	Parents' anger towards participant	**62**	**15,10**	**100**	**29,80**	162	21,83
	2.2	Conflict with sibling	30	7,33	54	16,20	84	11,32
	2.3	Being compared to other relatives (brother/sister/cousin)	24	5,90	28	8,42	52	7,01
	2.4	Parents' conflict	29	7,20	21	6,30	50	6,74
	2.5	Academic demand from the parents	17	4,11	30	8,85	47	6,33
	2.6	Feeling cast aside	18	4,30	24	7,30	42	5,66
	2.7	Family conflict with others	22	5,33	14	4,12	36	4,85
	2.8	Divorce of the parents	11	2,80	10	3,10	21	2,83
	2.9	Parental Separation	7	1,77	14	4,20	21	2,83
3		**School related problems**	222	54,41	261	78,14	**483**	**65,09**
	3.1	Exam	**60**	**14,70**	**69**	**20,60**	129	17,39
	3.2	Declining achievement	13	3,10	65	19,40	78	10,51

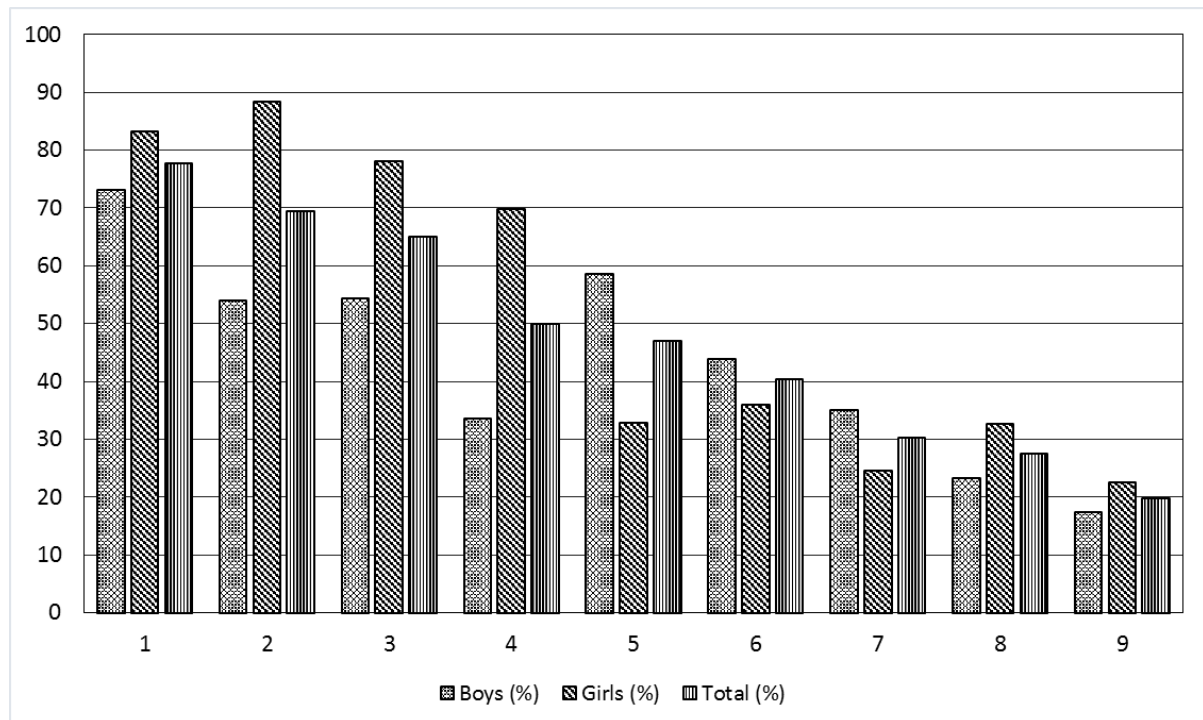| No.	SLE Themes and Categories		Boys		Girls		Total	
			f	%	f	%	f	%
	3.3	Punishment from teacher	23	5,60	30	9,00	53	7,14
	3.4	Impersonal teacher	16	4,00	32	9,61	48	6,47
	3.5	A lot of assignments	22	5,40	22	6,60	44	5,93
	3.6	Coming late	23	5,60	12	3,60	35	4,72
	3.7	Difficult study material	22	5,50	13	4,00	35	4,72
	3.8	Failure to enter a chosen school	24	5,90	8	2,50	32	4,31
	3.9	Forgot/late to submit the assignments	19	4,60	10	3,00	29	3,91
4	**Self related problems**		137	33,58	233	69,76	**370**	**49,87**
	4.1	Low self esteem	5	1,20	**78**	**23,50**	83	11,24
	4.2	Physical sickness	**41**	**10,00**	24	7,10	65	8,69
	4.3	Physical disturbance	35	8,61	23	7,00	58	7,89
	4.4	Packed schedule	35	8,50	18	5,40	53	7,10
	4.5	Loneliness	8	2,00	37	11,00	45	6,05
	4.6	Thinking about the future	5	1,30	32	9,60	37	5,04
	4.7	Insomnia	8	2,00	21	6,20	29	3,89
5	**Economy related problems**		239	58,58	110	32,93	**349**	**47,04**
	5.1	Family financial problem	102	25,10	**47**	**14,00**	149	20,10
	5.2	Running out of pocket money	**105**	**25,70**	43	13,00	148	19,98
	5.3	Tuition fee payment problem	96	23,50	25	7,40	121	16,25
	5.4	No pocket money	41	10,00	38	11,50	79	10,68
6	**Nature and unpredictable related problems**		179	43,87	120	35,93	**299**	**40,30**
	6.1	Catastrophe	**126**	**31,00**	**87**	**26,00**	213	28,75
	6.2	Vehicle accident	24	6,00	20	6,00	44	6,00
	6.3	Losing things	13	3,20	3	1,00	16	2,21
	6.4	Daily accident/injury	12	3,00	3	1,00	15	2,10
	6.5	Seeing accidents	4	1,00	7	2,10	11	1,50
7	**Media and technology related problems**		143	35,05	82	24,55	**225**	**30,32**
	7.1	Running out of phone credits	**38**	**9,40**	**23**	**6,90**	61	8,27
	7.2	Broken cellphone	29	7,00	19	5,80	48	6,46
	7.3	Blocked Facebook account	30	7,40	14	4,30	44	6,00
	7.4	Losing Facebook password	24	6,00	13	3,90	37	5,05
	7.5	Broken laptop	22	5,40	13	3,90	35	4,72
8	**Others**		95	23,28	109	32,63	**204**	**27,49**
	8.1	Meaningless	**59**	**14,50**	**60**	**18,00**	119	16,08
	8.2	Unrelated	16	4,00	28	8,50	44	6,03
	8.3	Blank	20	5,00	21	6,30	41	5,59
9	**Grief**		71	17,40	75	22,46	**146**	**19,74**
	9.1	Death of grandparent(s)	**29**	**7,20**	**35**	**10,50**	64	8,69
	9.2	Death of parent(s)	17	4,10	20	6,00	37	4,96
	9.3	Death of relative(s)	17	4,10	13	4,00	30	4,05
	9.4	Death of a pet	8	2,00	7	2,10	15	2,05
TOTAL			408	100,00	334	100,00	**742**	**100,00**

Figure 1. Gender Comparison of The SLE Percentages on Adolescents

Table 2 present SLE themes and categories based on the mean score. In *Figure* 2 the themes and categories are showed to compare boys' and girls' results.

Table 2. SLE Themes and Categories Based on Mean Score

No.	SLE Themes and Categories		Mean Score		
			Boys	**Girls**	**Total**
1	**Economy related problems**		**81,25**	83,25	**82,25**
	1.1	Tuition fee payment problem	75	**95**	85
	1.2	No pocket money	**95**	73	84
	1.3	Running out of pocket money	88	76	82
	1.4	Family financial problem	67	89	78
2	**Interpersonal related problems**		75,71	77,71	**76,71**
	2.1	Breaking up with girlfriend/boyfriend	**97**	**98**	97,5
	2.2	Conflict with girlfriend/boyfriend	92	**98**	95
	2.3	Conflict with peers	80	90	85
	2.4	Being single	88	80	84
	2.5	Bully by peers	71	80	75,5
	2.6	Relationship prohibition from parents	68	54	61
	2.7	Traffic violation	34	44	39
3	**School related problems**		66,67	85,67	**76,17**
	3.1	Exam	80	95	87,5
	3.2	Failure to enter a chosen school	**96**	72	84
	3.3	Declining achievement	66	**98**	82

| No.		SLE Themes and Categories	Mean Score		
			Boys	Girls	Total
	3.4	Difficult study material	70	92	81
	3.5	Punishment from teacher	68	92	80
	3.6	Impersonal teacher	57	88	72,5
	3.7	A lot of assignments	59	79	69
	3.8	Forgot/late to submit the assignments	49	89	69
	3.9	Coming late	55	66	60,5
4		**Family related problems**	59,56	87,89	**73,72**
	4.1	Being compared to other relatives (brother/sister/cousin)	**78**	85	81,5
	4.2	Parents' anger towards participant	74	88	81
	4.3	Divorce of the parents	62	**94**	78
	4.4	Family conflict with others	62	88	75
	4.5	Conflict with sibling	56	92	74
	4.6	Academic demand from the parents	60	88	74
	4.7	Parent's conflict	58	84	71
	4.8	Parental separation	42	93	67,5
	4.9	Feeling cast aside	44	79	61,5
5		**Media and technology related problems**	75	60	**67,5**
	5.1	Broken notebook	**96**	67	81,5
	5.2	Running out of phone credits	79	**76**	77,5
	5.3	Broken cellphone	89	56	72,5
	5.4	Blocked Facebook account	68	57	62,5
	5.5	Losing Facebook password	43	44	43,5
6		**Nature and unpredictable related problems**	52,2	69,2	**60,7**
	6.1	Vehicle accident	**79**	**85**	82
	6.2	Catastrophe	63	78	70,5
	6.3	Losing things	54	67	60,5
	6.4	Daily accident/injury	44	58	51
	6.5	Seeing accidents	21	58	39,5
7		**Self related problems**	51,71	64,14	**57,93**
	7.1	Physical sickness	**84**	62	73
	7.2	Low self esteem	45	**89**	67
	7.3	Insomnia	65	63	64
	7.4	Physical disturbance	66	51	58,5
	7.5	Packed schedule	48	68	58
	7.6	Loneliness	34	64	49
	7.7	Thinking about the future	20	52	36
8		**Grief**	51	53	**52**
	8.1	Death of grandparent(s)	**96**	**98**	97
	8.2	Death of parent(s)	93	90	91,5
	8.3	Death of relative(s)	80	90	85
	8.4	Death of pet	15	24	19,5
9		**Others**	23,5	25,5	**24,5**
	9.1	Meaningless	**26**	**27**	26,5
	9.2	Unrelated	21	24	22,5
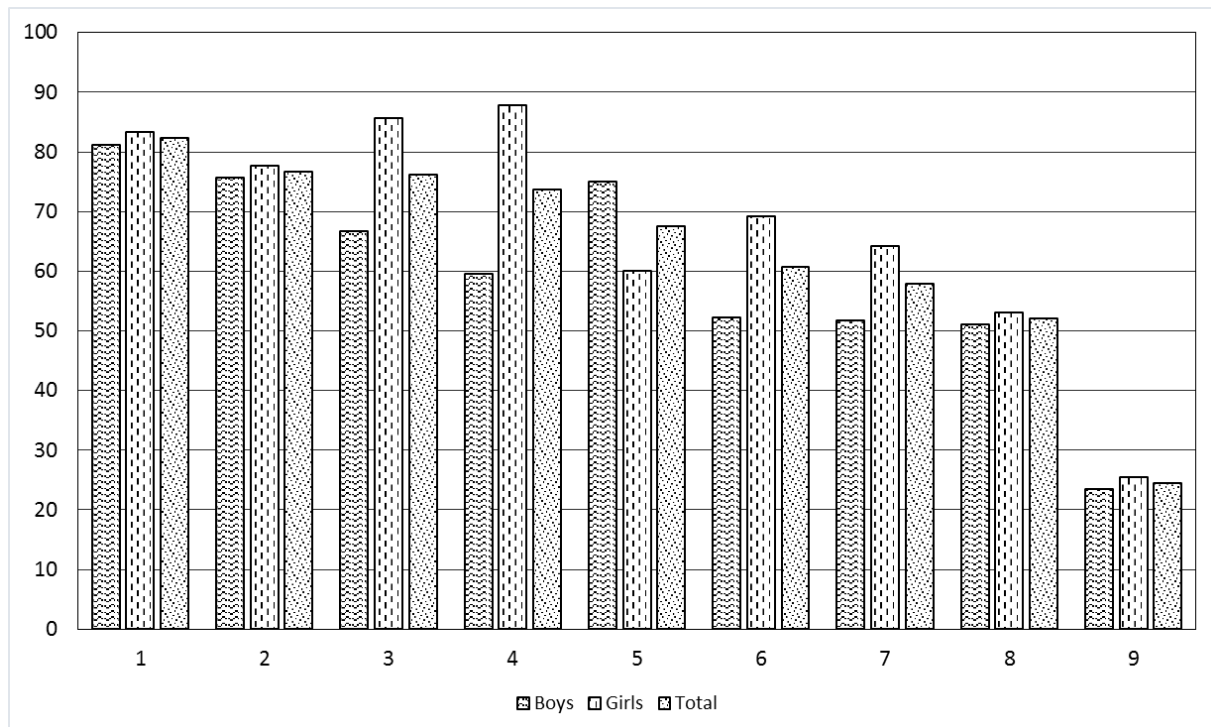
Figure 2. Gender Comparison of The SLE Mean Score on Adolescents

D. DISCUSSION

Most widely used psychological principles and theories are derived from research that is anchored in Western scientific practices. However, gender roles and economic equipment vary greatly across nations and cultures (Schwarzer, 2001). This study aims to explore stressful life event (SLE) on Indonesian adolescents as indigenous psychology. The exploration conducted by gender comparison and viewed SLE based on percentages of responses and SLE's mean score. The results show there are eight main themes: *interpersonal related problems, family related problems, school related problems, self related problems, economy related problems, nature and unpredictable related problems, media and technology related problems,* and *grief.*

The gender comparison showed that, on some themes, there are slight differences between boys and girls. Based on the percentage of responses, the big three of boys' themes are *interpersonal related problems* (73,04%)*, economy related problems* (58,58%)*,* as well as *school related problems* (54,41%). While girls tend to focus on *family related problems* (88,32%)*, interpersonal related problems* (83,23%) and *school related problems* (78,14%). This finding is a little bit different with Stewart's study (Stewart, Lam, Betson, & Chung, 1999). They found that compared to male, female adolescents tend to have more conflict with parents, perception of fulfilling parents expectations, and depressed mood. However, based on the SLE average score, the big three of boys' themes are *economy related problems* (81,25), *interpersonal related problems* (75,71) as well as *media and*

technology related problems (75). While the girls' are *family related problems* (87,89), *school related problems* (85,67), and *economy related problems* (83,25).

Number of percentages and average SLE scores show that girls experience more stress than boys. Newcomb, Huba, and Bentler's (1986) found a similar result that girls tended to perceive stressful events more extremely either positively or negatively, than boys. Hui (2000) found that Asian male adolescents in Hong Kong tended to make more external attributions for school related problems and maladjusted behaviors than Asian female adolescents. Their female peers tended to make more internal attributions for concerns related to family, psychological well-being, and school, and therefore appeared to take over more personal responsibility for their concerns than did boys. Nolen-Hoeksema (1994) noted that girls remain depressed longer than boys. This is because they generally consider and worry about their depressive states, whereas boys generally cope with depression by acting on it and solving the presented problems.

Interpersonal related problems ranked highest in the percentage (77,63%). Seen from the categories, *conflict with peers* is the highest percentage of the theme (21,01%). The average score given by teenagers towards *interpersonal related problems* is 76,71. Meanwhile, the second highest percentage is *family related problem* (69,41%) with an average score of 73,72. Boys are more stressed when being *compared with other relatives* (78) and girls are more stressed by the *parents' divorce* (94). In a collectivist society like Asians (Bao & Haas, 2009; Nguyen & Mujtaba, 2011), expectations of significant others such as parents and teachers have more salience for youth than in an individualistic society like the US. Failure to meet these expectations can be very emotionally distressing and lead to negative outcomes (Bao & Haas, 2009). Relative to European American youth, Asian American and Latin American youth also endorse stronger attitudes in favor of support and respect for family members (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999).

Categories in the *interpersonal related problem* with highest scores are *conflict with girlfriend/boyfriend* (97,5) and *breaking up* (95), despite their low percentages (10,81%; 9,62%). Robinson-Wood (2009) said that interpersonal relationship is central in being human and having particular relevance for young women seeking a partner and creating long-lasting and meaningful relationship. Aktekin *et al.* (2001) emphasized that romantic relationships and anxiety about the future were found to be the other factors associated with psychological test scores, such as depression. The interesting thing in this research is that the category of *being single* also becomes a distress for the teenagers. This might come from pressure from peers.

The third SLE that has highest percentage is *school related problems* (65,09%), especially for the girls, with the average score 76,17. The highest percentage and average score fall into the category *exam* (17,39%; 87,5). Zeng' study (Zeng & Tendre, 1998) showed

a link between exam pressures and a high adolescents' suicide rate that has been widely observed in countries such as Japan, where intense competition exists for placement in elite secondary and tertiary tracks. Chao (1996) explains that children's academic achievement is seen as a reflection of successful parenting and child rearing.

Children's success in school brings about honor to the family, while failure brings real embarrassment to the parents. In China, a child's educational achievement is considered to reflect the effort of the entire family. Moreover, Chan (2000) stated that there has been a high rate of violence against children in urban families, and most of the physical abuse is due to children's poor academic performance. Numerous studies have noted that the Chinese typically attribute academic success to effort and failure to lack of effort of the group (Bao & Haas, 2009). While in Western society, people chase after achievements simply for themselves (Matsumoto, Kiyatama, & Markus, 2000).

Economy-related problems show cases with an interesting result. In the respondents' percentage, it places itself on the fifth rank (47,04%), yet the SLE score puts it as the highest (82,25). Another interesting result is the differences between boys and girls. Girls care more on the *family financial situation* (14%) while boys experience stress due to the *pocket money* (25,7%). It was strengthened by the SLE score showing that girls are stressed out because they *could not pay the tuition fee just yet* (95) whereas boys are stressed out when they *do not get the pocket money* (95). Das, Do, Friedman, McKenzie, and Scott (2007) explain that under the social causation hypothesis, poverty may lead to mental health disorders through pathways such as stress or deprivation, or lower the likelihood of individuals receiving effective treatment. Poor people are more vulnerable and may be more likely to experience stressful life experiences such as exposure to violence and poor physical health, which are recognized as risk factors for mental health disorders (Das, Do, Friedman, McKenzie, & Scott, 2007; Patel & Kleinman, 2003), especially somatic complaints like headaches and stomachaches (Reynolds, O'Koon, Papademetriou, Szczygiel, & Grant, 2001).

According to Reynolds, O'Koon, Papademetriou, Szczygiel, and Grant (2001), there are at least two plausible explanations why somatic complaints are the common expression of psychological distress among low-income urban adolescents. First, somatization is the most culturally acceptable expression of internalizing symptoms among cultural groups (African American, Latino, Asian), who are overrepresented among the urban poor. Second, somatic complaints represent the most adaptive form of internalizing distress in the context of urban stress. Other internalizing sypmtoms like crying, anxiety, and low self-esteem may be interpreted as signs of weakness, possibly leading to victimization in an urban context that demands strength. This recent study found that boys are more stressed with *physical sickness*, both in percentage (10% v.s 7,1%) and higher score (84 v.s 62) compared to girls.

In addition, the endorsement of somatic complaints may legitimatize the avoidance of specific hostile situations, thus protecting youth from additional stress (Greene & Walker, 1997). Thus, adolescents living in low-income urban neighborhoods may find themselves caught in a dreadful cycle. As they are exposed to SLE, their risk for psychological problems is likely to increase. These problems, in turn, increase their risk for additional SLE, which place them at higher risk for further psychological distress (Reynolds, O'Koon, Papademetriou, Szczygiel, & Grant, 2001).

The next LSE is *nature and unpredictable-related problems* (40,3%). It can be seen from this study that *catastrophe* (28,75%) possesses higher percentage with the average score of 70,5. An interesting thing emerged as the teenagers ticking *catastrophe* like earthquake and volcano eruption are teenagers from Yogyakarta. The earthquake in 2006 and Merapi eruption in 2010 still make them stressed. This finding is in-line with Das' report (2007). The Indian and Indonesian studies suggest that the trauma from adverse events may persist long after the recovery of more traditional measures of welfare and there may very well be real individual and household costs to this persistence.

Media and technology development (30,32%; 67,5) can also be the source of stress for teenagers. Two main stress categories often experienced are *broken laptop* (81,5) and *no phone credit* (77,5). Social media like Facebook can also be a stressor source when teenagers *forgot their password* (62,5) or their *account blocked* (43,5). Looking at the gender, boys are more impacted by this *media and technology development* than girls (75 v.s 60). One of the reasons is that boys use their computer more often to play games, browse the internet, and access the social media. Running out of credits makes them unable to access the internet from their cellphone, thus hinder them from communicating with their peers.

In this study, *grief* (19,74%) is a stress theme with the lowest percentage. Yet looking at the categories, the scores given by the teenagers are quite high (52). They grieved over the *loss of grandparents* (8,69%), *parents* (4,96%), *relatives* (4,5%), and even *pets* (2,05%). The higher LSE score in the *loss of grandparents* (97) compared to the *loss of parents* (91,5) shows that teenagers are more stressed when their grandparents died. This might happen because in the collective culture like Indonesia, parenting is done not just in the nucleus family. Grandparents also tend to be more patient and spoiling than the parents, triggerring some kind of closeness and bond.

The last theme to discuss is *others* (27,49%). This *blank* (5%) category indicates that teenagers in this study are able to cope well. The other alternative is that the teenagers do not understand the concept of stress (most respondents who leave this blank are 11-12 years old). This assumption is strengthened by Wong, Stewart, Ho, and Lam (2007), who show that the older the teenager the bigger the suicidal tendency. *Meaningless* (16,08%)

and *unrelated* (6,03%) category can be interpreted that teenagers in this study possess coping ability below average, thus many things would be considered as distress.

Various studies show that there are differences between boys and girls related to stress and coping stress. According to Seiffge-Krenke (in Yeo, Ang, Chong, & Huan, 2007), '*Whereas females experience several transitions simultaneously at this stage (physical maturity, school transition and role transition), it is possible for males to stretch out these relevant developmental tasks over a longer time span, due to their slower maturational timing.*' Harmon (in DuongTran, Lee, & Khoi, 1996) try to explain from biological's and psychological's perspective. Females are at a greater risk for anxiety due to sex-linked genetic and/or biological factors such as hormonal changes and effects of androgen on the brain. Moreover, patriarchal culture's socialization practices of youth into masculine and feminine gender roles account for the gender differences.

Men and women are assumed to have different experience with social support. Whereas men are supposed to be more independent and self-reliant, women are expected to seek and provide support for others (Schwarzer, 2001). Girls have been known to use social resources and support, which are adaptive coping mechanisms. However, some studies have shown that female teenagers, especially girls in early adolescence, tend to engage in more maladaptive coping than do adolescent boys. An example is Chang's (2008) study that displayed that Chinese females are in more favorable attitudes toward seeking psychological help than their male counterparts. Male adolescents, in contrast, tended to cope with stressors by utilizing stress reduction activities, physical recreation, or aggression (Yeo, Ang, Chong, & Huan, 2007).

E.   CONCLUSION

With indigenous psychology approach, the stressful life events (SLE) on Indonesian adolescents were able to be explored. Those SLS were themed into *interpersonal related problems, family related problems, school related problems, self related problems, economy related problems, nature and unpredictable related problems, media and technology related problems,* and *grief*. Every theme has categories and interesting interaction if seen from percentage responses, LSE mean score, and gender comparison. The big three SLE themes frequency of boys are *interpersonal related problems* (73,04%)*, economy related problems* (58,58%)*,* as well as *school related problems* (54,41%). While girls tend to focus on *family related problems* (88,32%)*, interpersonal related problems* (83,23%) and *school related problems* (78,14%). Boys' SLE average score shows that the big three are *economy related problems* (81,25), *interpersonal related problems* (75,71) as well as *media and technology related problems* (75). While on the girls are *family related problems* (87,89), *school related*

problems (85,67), and *economy related problems* (83,25). In general, SLE in Indonesian adolescents found in this study is closely related to the Asian collectivism.

In summary, *adolescents' stress related to school problem* should get serious attention. Exam becomes such a 'frightening monster' to the participants of this study. Based on these findings, school and parents need to pay attention to their children's psychological condition around the exam time. Parents are also expected to guide their children because family is the source of social support for Indonesian adolescents.

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'Does he or she make you a shopaholic?' Mating motives elicit conspicuous consumption

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Abstract

Conspicuous consumption, an economic concept, has a new interpretation from the perspective of evolutionary psychology. Recent researches indicated an initial empirical link between mating motives and individuals' conspicuous consumption, positing that people might use costly products to display their wealth to potential mates. Building on the previous work, we examined conspicuous consumption as a signaling system in the context of Chinese culture. The present research tested whether priming individuals with mating cues would increase their willingness to spend more on the conspicuous displays compared with those primed with neutral cues (N=60). The results showed that mating motives elicited individuals' desire for conspicuous consumption; and a priming effect emerged in females. This may resulted from the unique Chinese culture of 'Mian Zi'. Previous work showed that failure in mating is an issue of losing face (Zhao, 2010). Since most Chinese unconsciously maintain their faces, it is possible that both men and women in romantic mindset spend more on luxury products, in an attempt to be competitive and face-saving. This research is important in that it provided valuable contribution to our understanding of the underlying mechanism in conspicuous consumption.

Keywords: mating motives, conspicuous consumption, evolutionary psychology, cross culture

A.   INTRODUCTION

A joint survey conducted by 'Insight China' and Tsinghua University showed that 51.9 percent of Chinese people are willing to scrimp on essentials in order to buy luxury goods (Zhang, 2012). Not only in China, purchasing premium versions of more ordinary products, such as fashionable clothes, fantasy shoes, and upscale wines, is ubiquitous (Frank, 2007; Silverstein, Fiske, & Butman, 2003; Sivanathan & Pettit, 2010). Yet any of them cannot be regarded as best buys with such high prices, consumers do not care about it (Sundie et al., 2011). Economist Thorstein Veblen defined such act as *conspicuous consumption*, which was coined to describe the behavior where people advertise their income and wealth through lavish spending on frivolous and wasteful items (Veblen, 1899). Since spending billions of money on unpractical products is not rational at all (Miller, 2009), motivation of conspicuous consumption caught many attentions in the past few years. Whereas lots of researchers explored the motivations from an economic perspective, for example, Neeman (2012) interpreted this behavior as a signal of showing unobserved income. Recently, this

behavior perhaps served a new function from the perspective of evolutionary psychology (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Sundie et al., 2011). Some empirical evidences showed a connection between mating motives and conspicuous consumption (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Griskevicius, Tybur, & Van den Bergh, 2010; Janssens et al., 2011; Roney, 2003; Saad & Vongas, 2009; Sundie et al., 2011). For example, when the female confederates were sexily dressed, single men paid more attention to luxurious products related to status and wealth in visual search tasks (Roney, 2003). In examining motives for conspicuous displays of altruism and charity, Griskevicius et al. (2007) found that situational activations of mating motives led men to pay more attention to conspicuously spending and perform public acts of heroism. Moreover, the level of testosterone, a hormone that has always been linked to male dominance across species, displayed a significant increase when participants driving a late-model Porsche Carrera (Saad & Vongas, 2009). Based on these results, it is necessary to consider the communicative functions of conspicuous consumption.

a. Sexual Selection Theory and Conspicuous Consumption

An interesting similarity to human's conspicuous consumption is peacocks' gorgeous but burdensome tail. It was only used to attract the peahens, retained as a result of *Sexual Selection* during the evolution(Buss & Duntley, 2008; Darwin, 1871; Sundie et al., 2011). The main purpose of sexual selection is to get reproductive success in order to make sure that good genes be passed down and to help their offspring get more chances of survival (Buss & Duntley, 2008). As a kind of sexual selection, intersexual selection, which refer to the selection between male and female, helps individual to search for and get a qualified mate and thus promote reproductive success (Frederick & Haselton, 2007). According to an empirical research involving 37 countries, it was confirmed that women generally prefer men with more social resources and higher social status as their potential mates (Shackelford, Schmitt, & Buss, 2005). By displaying men's possible high social status and richness, conspicuous consumption therefore helps men to be easily chose. Therefore, mating context may lead to men's conspicuous consumption.

b. Costly Signaling Theory and Conspicuous Consumption

In order to obtain better mates and win through the selection, animals and human display qualities in line with the observers' preference (Connelly, Certo, Ireland, & Reutzel, 2010; Zahavi, 1975). However, the manifestation of such traits sometimes require individuals to pay a certain or even higher price (Ainsworth & Maner, 2012; Griskevicius, Goldstein, Mortensen, Cialdini, & Kenrick, 2006). For example, the gorgeous long tail of the peacock, which was only used to attract the peahens, is more likely to be found by natural enemies; Melanesians have to spend a lot of time and risk preying the turtles, which will be used as the main course of the banquet, to show the good physical quality of the men in

their family (Smith & Bird, 2000). *Costly signaling theory* has made these puzzling behaviors reasonable (Farthing, 2005; Griskevicius et al., 2010; Janssens et al., 2011; Smith & Bird, 2000; Zahavi, 1975). According to the previous studies, the wealth and high social status that conspicuous displays represent are more emphasized by women who are selecting romantic partners (Lens, Driesmans, Pandelaere, & Janssens, 2012). Thus, paying a large amount of money as the cost appears to be worthy for being more popular among the potential partners.

c. Gender differences

According to the pioneering findings, it has been shown that the concerns of conspicuous displays of men and women in mating mindset are different. For example, men who were close to the young women would give higher praise for material wealth (Roney, 2003). A central driving force behind these differences is the evolved sex differences in mate preferences and parental investment (Farthing, 2005; Griskevicius et al., 2010; Janssens et al., 2011; Smith & Bird, 2000; Trivers, 1972). Women invest more in raising a child, and thus have more evolved to choose mates that can protect them and devote enough resource in offspring (Trivers, 1972). Hence, women favor mates with genetic fitness and who are able to invest resources in their offspring (Hill & Buss, 2008; Shackelford et al., 2005). Consequently, women are attracted to men with status (Lens et al., 2012). In response, men in a mating mindset attach more importance to their status and wealth. In turn, even for the females who were in mating mindset, they did not express more enthusiasm for conspicuous consumption (Griskevicius et al. 2007; Sundie et al., 2011). Women's luxury consumption were interpreted as a signal for other women who pose threats to their romantic relationships, rather than attract potential mates (Wang & Griskevicius, 2014). It is possible that conspicuous displays are the trustworthy signals of status rather than the qualities favored by men, such as youth and high fertility (Lens et al., 2012). Such reproductive qualities of women are irrelevant to richness and social status to some extent, and thus no priming effect elicited in women sounds reasonable.

d. Limitations of the previous studies

From the above, it is clear that the relationship between conspicuous consumption and mating motives of individuals mentioned above was mostly discovered in Western culture (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Griskevicius et al., 2010; Janssens et al., 2011; Saad & Vongas, 2009; Sundie et al., 2011). However, the differences between the Eastern and Western cultures is undeniable. As an ancient Chinese saying '*cai bu lu bai*' means, people in China are encouraged to not show their wealth off. In the interactions with other people in daily life, especially dealing with the issues about money, traditional Chinese people emphasized the principle of restraining and low-key. Interestingly, a trend of marrying a

millionaire, which is in conflict with the traditions, whipped up recent years. The number of people in China who take the point of 'Money is a panacea' and want to marry or to be a rich is increasing according to a survey conducted by Ipsos/Reuters (2010). And the younger generation in China are keen to buy luxury goods to show off (Yan, 2009). Such contradictory views of money may bring about different effects. Besides, mating motives had been ignored by the majority of Chinese researchers who focus on the motives giving rise to conspicuous consumption (Yan, 2009). Consequently, it is necessary to check out whether the mating motives can elicit the conspicuous consumption of Chinese.

e.   Hypotheses

Building on previous work (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Janssens et al., 2011; Saad & Vongas, 2009; Sundie et al., 2011), the current research attempted to examine how conspicuous consumption may function in service of mating goal. The present experiment tested whether priming individuals with mating cues would increase their willingness to spend more on conspicuous displays compared with people primed with neutral cues. To test this possibility, participants in mating condition were primed with photographs of highly desirable opposite-sex individuals and then indicated their possible spends on various conspicuous purchases. The specific hypotheses were:

Hypothesis 1. A mating prime would increase the Chinese participants' conspicuous consumption primarily compared with control group.

Hypothesis 2. When priming with mating cues, male participants would significantly increase their tendency of conspicuous consumption compared with female participants.

B.   METHOD

a.   Participants

Sixty participants (30 men and 30 women) were recruited from a university in Beijing, China (M_{age} = 22.617, SD = 2.443). All participants completed a ten page questionnaire and each got a thank-you lollipop after they completed the questionnaire.

b.   Design and materials

The overall design of the experiment was a two (Participants' gender: male vs. female) by two (Motivation: Mating vs. Control) between-subject design. Participants were randomly assigned to the mating condition and the control condition.

Mating Induction. Previous studies have shown that the images of individuals in the same race and similar age primed most effectively (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Hill & Buss,

2008; Roney, 2003; Durante, 2009; Hill & Durante, 2011). In the present study, all participants viewed and rated five photographs, ostensibly in preparation for future studies. Participants in the *mating* condition viewed and rated five photographs of attractive young women or men (an established technique to activate mating motivation, Baker and Maner, 2008; Durante et al., 2012; Griskevicius, Goldstein, Mortensen, Cialdini, & Kenrick 2006; Griskevicius et al., 2007; Roney, 2003; Wilson & Daly, 2004); whereas participants in the *control* condition rated five pictures of natural scenery. A pilot rating (N = 63, M_{age} = 22.23) confirmed that the photographs of attractive women were significantly above average in desirability, M = 6.36, SD = 1.13, t(62) = 9.55, p<0.001.

Conspicuous consumption. The measurement of conspicuous consumption used in the present research was from Yuan (2011), an adjusted version based on Griskevicius et al. (2007). To ascertain spending preferences, participants would finish the questionnaire with the following instruction:

> '*Imagine that you may have a chance to attend a TV mating show. Thus you got 50,000 yuan in your bank account and you're considering buying something new. We'd like to know how much money you would like to spend on each type of goods*'.

There were five items with no gender preference for participants to indicate their spend tendency and were already adjusted to Chinese culture (Yuan, 2011), including 'a suit of fashion-conscious clothes', 'new-style jewelry', and 'a new cell phone ',' a designer handbag 'and' a pair of fashionable sunglasses' Each item was exemplified with a luxury brand suggestion behind, for example, 'A casual wear from Armani, Armani is an international famous apparel brand' went after the item 'a suit of fashion-conscious clothes'. For each item, there were twelve levels of monetary distributions ranging from low (ie.below 500 or 1,000 yuan for jewelry) to high (ie, above 5,000 or 10,000 yuan for jewelry) represent as options. Specially, one more 'yes/no' question was added in the present study before each distribution question to measure the purchase intention of participants : 'Would you like to buy it? Yes/NO'.

Through a revision of the materialism scale the present study controlled the impact of personality of participants (Li & Guo, 2009). Besides, economic status was measured by the monthly disposable amount of money (Yuan, 2011), and the average level ranged from 1000 yuan to 2000 yuan.

c.   Procedure

At the beginning of the experiment, half of the participants were exposed to mating-related cues while the other half were exposed to cues unrelated to mating. Questionnaire was begun with the materialism scale pretending to be a study focused on the consumption

habits of college students. Then, in the second part of the questionnaire, participants were told to finish a survey concerning about the effect of first impression. For the mating group, they would view five photographs of highly physically attractive opposite sex. Each of the photos was followed by five questions, such as 'To what degree does the man appeal to women compared with others?', to elicit the mating motives. For the control group, participants would view five photographs of scenery, each of which was followed by three questions set like 'To what degree does this picture make you peaceful?'. Participants then indicated their monetary distribution on five types of conspicuous purchases and answered several questions in order to cover the purpose of the experiment. Upon completing the study, participants were debriefed and thanked.

C.   RESULTS

The number of 'Yes' answer of the questions measuring purchase intention was coded as 1 and the 'No' answer was coded as zero for counting. The total number of 'Yes' for each participant served as the predictor of the trend of conspicuous consumption intention. An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted, and the total number of the 'Yes' answers of five question on purchasing desire was the dependent variable. Participants' scores on the materialism scale were entered as the covariate. Consistent with the predictions, the results indicated that mating prime increased Chinese participants' conspicuous consumption desire (M = 2.93, SD = 1.55) compared with that of control group (M = 1.90, SD = 1.062; p = .008, F (1, 55) = 7.669, η^2 = .122). However, neither the main effect of gender (p =.237, F (1, 55) = 1.431, η^2 = .025) nor the the interaction between gender and group was significant (p =.240, F (1, 55) = 1.413, η^2 = .025). We then took the total scores of five pecuniary distribution questions as the dependent variable. Each question contained twelve levels of distributions ranging from low to high and were scored from 1 to 12. Higher distribution score represented the larger distribution of money on this product. The main effect of group was marginally significant (p = .053, F(1, 55) = 3.909, η^2 = .066), revealed that participants will spent more money on conspicuous products when they were in the mating mindset (M = 22.60, SD = 17.54) as compared to control group (M = 17.33, SD = 14.50). Still, neither the main effect of gender (p =.909, F(1, 55) =.013, η^2=.000) nor the interaction between gender and group was significant (p =.454, F(1, 55) =.569, η^2 = .010). Both intentions and virtual pecuniary distribution on conspicuous consumption of mating group and control group were showed in Figure 1.
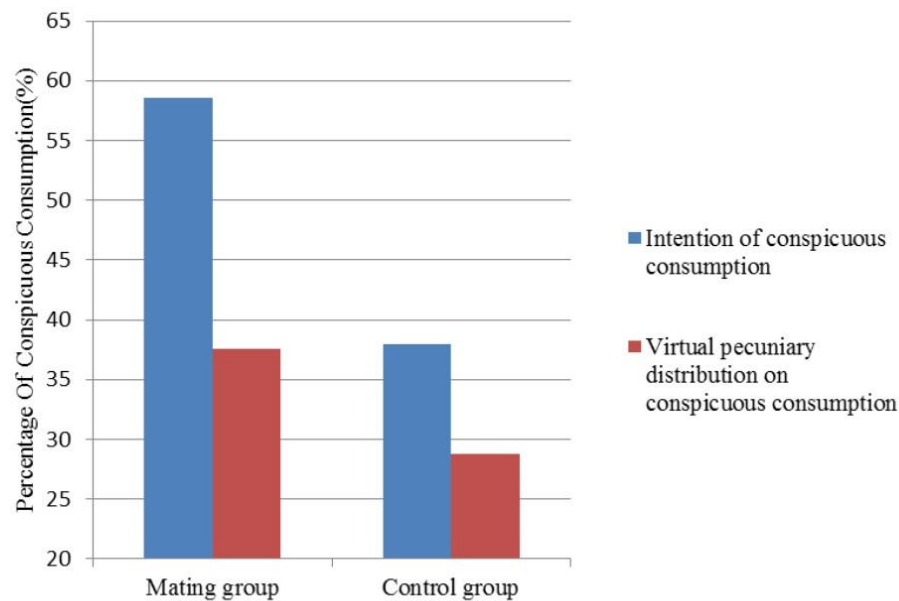
Figure 1. Intentions of and virtual pecuniary distribution on conspicuous consumption of mating group and control group

D.   DISCUSSION

The current study indicated that mating motives increased Chinese participants' purchase intention and virtual distribution of money on conspicuous consumption compared with the control group. Specifically, the current study also discovered the priming effect in female participant. Accordingly, it is highly possible that conspicuous consumption serves the communicative function in helping individuals display their mating advantages. Although spending large amount of money, individual who conspicuously buy these high premium version of ordinary goods show their status and wealth to potential mates. Thus, in order to obtain better mates, male participants showed higher intentions of conspicuous consumption in present study.

Recent researches raised an initial empirical link between mating motives and individual's conspicuous consumption, positing that people might use costly products to display their wealth to potential mates (Griskevicius et al., 2007). Building on this work, the present study examined more carefully considering conspicuous consumption as a signaling system in Chinese culture. These purchasing behaviors in mating group could be regarded as conspicuous consumption because the average amount of money they spend on the purchasing on each product (1,500-4,000) was much higher than the price of the ordinary counterpart (below 1,000 yuan; Zhang, 2012). Consistent with previous evidence, the present study found that people in mating group significantly chose more 'Yes' when

considering whether to spend money on the conspicuous displays. It clearly showed that participants who were in the romantic mindset had stronger desire for conspicuous consumption. For the specific distribution of the money, we found that mating group spent more money in total on all five products than control group. The results suggested that a romantic desire increased individuals' spending on conspicuous purchases— products that are luxurious, relatively frivolous, and publicly consumed. Conspicuous consumption, as a costly mating-relevant signal, could show their status and wealth off. Wearing these conspicuous displays to potential mates will increase their reproduction success. So, does he or she make you a shopaholic? Perhaps.

Moreover, we contribute to the literature by observing the priming effect on females. According to the previous studies, men and women behaved differently in conspicuous consumption after activating the mating motives and this difference was interpreted by the different mate preference and investments of to their offspring. However, in the present research, female participants increased their intentions of conspicuous purchase. Alternative explanation may involve the unique Chinese culture of 'Mian Zi'. According to the theory of 'Mian Zi', Chinese people like to show off their wealth to imply their status and power, further to maintain their face (Wu, 2004). Conspicuous consumption, which could definitely help people to gain the praise and admiration, and to boost their self-esteem (Wang & Griskevicius, 2014), is such a face work in China (Yan, 2009). Both male and female in romantic mindset have stronger desire to be unique, competitive and face-saving, and going through an unsuccessful mating will lose face and being embarrassed (Zhao, 2010). Moreover, most Chinese unconsciously maintain their face. It is possible that mating motivation spontaneously activated the female participants' desire to be competitive and face-saving stronger than control group, and thus increased the conspicuous consumption of females.

In this study, we chose attractive photographs of the opposite sex as the stimulus without doing the manipulation check due to several reasons. Firstly, this paradigm is mature and widely used, and is proved to be valid for evoking the mating motives in numerous studies (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Roney, 2003). Furthermore, empirical studies suggested that both the level of sex hormones and the heart rate will increase when the participants facing the attractive opposite sex, which empirically certificated that the mating motives could be triggered by watching high-glamor opposite sex(Ronay & Hippel, 2010). Thus, priming the concept of courtship will motivate the relevant concepts of mating.

The present study also has some limitations. First of all, most of the participants are college students from a university, they may not be representative of consumers of luxury products. Second, method in present study should be improved since the ecological validity of questionnaire is relative low. The present study is also limited in only measuring the

purchasing intention without including measures of the actual purchasing decisions. Besides, although the paradigm is mature enough, it is undeniable that there might be the case that changes of mood rather than motivation to attract potential mate elicited the conspicuous consumption in the present study. Future researches may also benefit by examining the attitudes of receivers of these costly signals and the changes of current mood of participants. Does the conspicuous consumption promote the mating success in reality? Do women really notice these signals in daily life? These questions need further explorations in the future.

The present work examined the effect of mating motivation on conspicuous consumption. The take-home message is that a romantic mindset leads to increased purchasing intentions of luxury products for both men and women in Chinese culture. Such a finding has important implication for suppliers and marketing agencies of luxury products by revealing a possible way to promote sales volume.

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A socio-psychological approach to household behavior: The importance of group-oriented I-intentions and we-intentions

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Abstract

Group oriented I-intentions and shared intentions of performing household behavior – specifically, maintaining, with other family members, a positive household budget – were studied by using students (N = 480) as key informants of their family decision making. Theory and measures from the literature on social action were drawn upon. Specifically, an augmented model of goal-directed behavior (MGB) with the inclusion of social identity was compared to the theory of planned behavior and some variants, by using structural equation modeling. Consistent with predictions, the MGB explained significantly greater amounts of variance in both types of intentions than traditional approaches such as the theory of planned behavior. Secondly, desire mediated all the effects of the antecedents (i.e., such reasons for acting as attitudes, subjective norms, anticipated emotions, social identity) on intentions. Finally, we-intentions, but not I-intentions, were predicted by social identification, as forecast. Findings are interpreted by taking into account recent household behavior and decision-making research.

Keywords: attitudes; desires; shared intentions; model of goal-directed behavior; social identity; household behavior.

A.   INTRODUCTION

a.   Approaches to the study of household behavior and budgeting

Families are economic units that share consumption, manage work activities and accumulate wealth (Browning, Chiappori, & Weiss, 2014). Consequently, household behavior and family budget management –the core behavior of this research– is a topic of fundamental importance to families themselves, as well as to academics and policy makers alike. Indeed, the survival of a household partly depends also on efficacious budget management and saving. As an example, reducing consumption or maintaining a positive balance is essentially a way to conserve resources over time.

Household behavior is a topic well investigated by classic economic literature (as an example Browning et al., 2014). Although this issue has mostly been analyzed using a single household mathematical utility function, consisting of aggregated individual preferences maximized under a budget constraint, recently, several multi-person households models have emerged. These

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approaches assume *explicitly* that households consist of a number of different members with specific preferences (Browning et al., 2014). Non- cooperative (or strategic) models assume that each individual within a household is considered to maximize their own utility, relative to their own budget constraints; cooperative (or collective) models, conversely, involve cooperative efficient solutions, which require binding commitments, enforced by formal or informal agreements. Collective economic models show that in terms of consumption choices, multi-person households generally differ from that of a single decision maker: changes in prices or incomes may impact the family budget constraint and affect the relative influence of the household members. Importantly for our discussion, collective models recognize the importance of considering household behavior as the result of *joint* decision making among family members.

From another perspective, behavioral economic studies in household behavior have brought attention to household financial management (budgeting). For instance, O'Neill and Xiao (2012) found significant differences in behaviors related to spending, budgeting, and planning between pre- and post-financial crisis samples. Shim and Serido (2010) found an increase in risky coping strategies and significantly more responsible budgeting behaviors in a sample of university college students.

In consumer behavior literature, the dominance of the individualist approach has persisted during many years even though the appropriateness of this perspective for studying a variety of consumer decisions has been questioned (Bagozzi, 2000). Additionally, the *family* decision-making framework seems to have been considered mainly only when the consumption objects are financially significant and/or socially important (Lackman & Lanasa, 1993).

Despite a number of socio-psychological factors have been examined for explaining household behavior, the literature is still fragmented (see Antonides, 2011). A general agreement exists that joint decision-making occurs *within* the family (Shepherd & Woodruff, 1988), but has not been studied much in this regard to date.

b.   We-intentions and social action

Collective intentionality has previously been studied in consumer behavior (Bagozzi, 2000), but never applied, to our knowledge, to target household behavior: contributing with the family members to the maintenance of a positive household budget (i.e., budgeting). This critical behavior for household survival and thriving includes all the efforts (proactive behaviors to gain money and diligence when buy products and services) that contribute to maintaining an active and healthy financial balance.

Philosophy of action assumes that in certain situations individual intentions alone are not enough to explain joint action, but require *mutual* (sometimes also called *shared, collective,* or *we*) intentions (e.g., Mele, 1992). Searle (2002) hypothesized that collective intention is best expressed

by the statement 'We intend to do X', which is different from both an individual intention ('I intend to do X') and a summation of individual intentions of this latter type. From an external viewpoint, the behavioral result may be similar in individual and collective outcomes: the key difference resides in the mental component and its contribution to action.

Tuomela (1995) defined a we-intention as 'a commitment of an individual to participate in joint action [that] involves an implicit or explicit agreement between the participants to engage in that joint action' (p. 2). We-intentions entail both a commitment to carrying out one's own part in the group's goal pursuit and a commitment to offering mutual support in order to further the (mutual) behavior. More recently, Tuomela and Tuomela (2005) clarified that acting as a group member involves thinking and acting: as a private person (I-mode), even if in some cases it may concern commitment to a group goal (i.e., the persons act in a pro-group mode); as a group member (we-mode).

This distinction has been adapted in the growing socio-psychological and consumer literatures that explain intentional social behavior by integrating attitude and social identity frameworks (Bagozzi, 2000; Gabbiadini, Mari, & Volpato, 2013; Tsai & Bagozzi, 2014). Bagozzi and Lee (2002) proposed that the concept of I-intentions refer to a personal intention to perform an individual action by oneself (e.g., 'I intend to eat more fruit'), whereas social forms of intentions exist in two forms. The first refers to I-intentions to perform a group act (e.g., 'I intend to play poker with my friends'). In this case, the individual plans to take part in an activity that has meaning only if all the friends involved take part in the action individually as well: the self and the group are two distinct entities with members acting in parallel for individual reasons. The second form of intentional social action refers to a we-intention to perform a group act ('We intend to celebrate our team victory'): a joint activity is performed, since the person is a member of a particular group and action is performed and shared together. That is, the action is conceived as either the group which acts, or the person who acts as an agent of (or with) the group, requiring a more holistic vision of the group.

In our study we will focus on the social form of intentionality. The first hypothesis is that in family budgeting to maintain a positive household budget the construct of group-oriented I- and we-intentions may be theoretically and empirically distinguished: indeed, a family member may act both using a non-cooperative strategy (then by endorsing an I-intention), or in a more cooperative way (by fulfilling a we-intention) (see Browning et al., 2014).

c.   **Socio-psychological processes of social intentionality**

Bagozzi and Dholakia (2002) assumed that social influence affects shared intentionality through compliance, internalization, and identification (see Kelman, 1974). Compliance refers to the need for approval from significant others; the construct of subjective norm – proposed within the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB; Ajzen 1991), discussed later on – is expected to tap this

aspect, even if, in predicting we-intentions, sometimes it plays a less influential role than other forms of social influence (Gabbiadini et al., 2013). Internalization, conceived as the adoption of decisions based on the congruence between one's values or goals and others' values or goals, is manifest by the proposed construct of group norms. The last process of social influence is identification: an individual is believed to make a decision in order to maintain a positive self-defining relationship with others. Under the social identity perspective (Tajfel, 1981), people need to belong to groups that increase (or do not decrease) their self-esteem, which produces a stronger self-definition in terms of prototypical group attributes (cognitive component), a more positive evaluation of one's own group membership (evaluative component), and stronger positive emotions related to their membership (affective component; Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999). In the present study we will divide the cognitive component into self-stereotyping and awareness of belonging, to yield four components (Capozza, Brown, Aharpour, & Falvo, 2006). We hypothesized that the higher the ingroup identification, the stronger the collective intentions to perform a group act.

Most of the literature regarding predictions of intentions and behavior uses the TPB (Ajzen, 1991). The TPB maintains that behavior is directly influenced by one's personal behavioral intention, which in turn is affected by attitudes toward the action, subjective normative pressure to behave according to relevant referents' expectations, and perceived behavioral control over the act. The TPB has been successfully employed in hundreds of applied studies, across different domains (see Armitage & Conner, 2001; Conner & Sparks, 2005).

The literature shows also that the effects of unmeasured or unconscious variables might be reflected by past behavior as a determinant of intentions (Mari, Tiozzo, Capozza, Ravarotto, 2012). Past behavior may be used to test the sufficiency of the TPB: its significant effect may indicate that other antecedents need to be considered (Ajzen, 1991). Additionally, past behavior may influence the formation of favorable intentions to perform the act when the behavior is not well learned (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001).

Another attitude-theoretic model relevant in predicting individual intentions is the Model of Goal-directed Behavior (MGB), which incorporates the TPB and improves on its predictive and explanatory power by adding the construct of desire (Perugini & Bagozzi 2001). The latter mediates the relationship between reasons for acting and intentions by providing impetus for intentions and transforming reasons for acting into motivational content. The MGB also considered the role of goal-directed emotions that the individual decision maker experiences when thinking about goal success and goal failure prospectively. Individuals wish, and thus develop intentions, to perform an act when they anticipate the likelihood of positive emotions occurring as a consequence of acting and/or achieving a sought for goal and negative emotions occurring as a consequence of acting and failing to achieve a goal.

The antecedents of individual intentions included in the TPB and MGB frameworks may be used also to explain social intentionality. Group-oriented I-intentions and we-intentions to perform a group act, indeed, may be described as functions of four classes of antecedents in which each includes a group act as its object or referent: individual reasons to perform the group act (e.g., attitudes toward carrying out the joint action; perceived control over the group action; anticipated emotions); normative pressure to perform the group action; group norms; and social identity. Group-oriented I-intentions and we-intentions have been recently examined in: small face-to-face groups (Bagozzi & Lee, 2002); and virtual communities (Bagozzi & Dholakia, 2002; Gabbiadini et al., 2013; Tsai & Bagozzi, 2014).

To sum up, to explain social forms of intentions to perform target household behavior, in the present study we considered the model proposed by Bagozzi and Dholakia (2002), which integrates ideas from attitude theory, motivational research, and social identity theory. Essentially, this model is an extended version of the MGB (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001), including the addition of social influence factors. We hypothesized that this model may explain and predict social intentionality in the household behavior better than previous models, such as the TPB. Additionally, we hypothesized that the effects of all the antecedents (i.e., reasons for acting) will be mostly captured by desire, which in turn, promotes the formation of both group-oriented I-intentions and we-intentions to perform the target behavior. However, we hypothesized that the effects of social identity will have greater effect on we-intentions than I-intentions, given its social focus.

B. METHOD

a. Participants and procedure

Participants were 480 university students (100 male and 380 female; mean age = 20.50 years, *SD* = 1.93) recruited and examined in the classroom. They were asked to answer a questionnaire and were informed about the study's privacy and confidentiality policies, which included the possibility of withdrawing from the research at any time during the session. The research was presented as a study on decision processes in the household domain. At the beginning of the questionnaire a brief explanation of the behavioral domain focused the participants' attention on the importance of maintaining a balanced budget, especially for households where a member is a university student as they were in this study. In order to delineate the group boundaries carefully, we provided an extended definition of the household (see Saraceno, 2008), which included not only the nuclear family, but also other live-in members of the household who contributed to household income. Additionally, because when attending university most students move to cities different from their hometowns, although maintaining a state of economic dependence, we specified that it did not matter if they physically lived with

their family or not. Students with total economic independence (*n* = 5) were asked not to answer to the questionnaire and thanked for their availability. Respondents were then asked to answer to measures of all the relevant constructs and some socio-demographic variables. The measures were adapted principally from Bagozzi and Dholakia (2002); in wording the items, we used a specific temporal framework –four weeks, to make the time for decisions specific and common for all respondents.

Attitude. We used eleven 7-point semantic differential items: six measuring the *affective* component such as unpleasant-pleasant, agreeable-disagreeable and so on, as well as five of the *evaluative* component such as advantageous-disadvantageous, beneficial-harmful, and others (Bagozzi, Lee, & Van Loo, 2001). Scales were anchored by one assigned to the negative pole and seven to the positive one, with four indicating *neither/nor*. A statement introduced the items: 'Contributing, together with my other family members to maintain, in the next four weeks, an overall positive household budget is…'

Subjective norms. Two 7-point items were employed: 'The majority of important people in my life think that I *should not* (one)/*should* (seven) contribute, together with my other family members in maintaining an overall positive household budget'; 'The majority of people important to me would disapprove (one)/would approve (seven) of my contributing, together with my other family members to maintain an overall positive household budget'.

Perceived behavioral control. The first of two items was: 'How easy or difficult do you think it is for you to contribute, together with your other family members, in maintaining an overall positive household budget?' A 7-point scale ranging from one (*very difficult*) to seven (*very easy*) followed. The other item asked respondents to answer on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (one) to *strongly agree* (seven) the following statement: 'For me it is easy to contribute, together with my other family members in maintaining an overall positive household budget.'

Anticipated emotions. Respondents were asked to express the intensity felt for a list of emotions, on a 7-point scale ranging from one (*not at all*) to seven (*very strongly*). The following statement introduced seven positive emotions: 'If I managed to contribute, working together with my other family members in maintaining an overall positive household budget, I would feel…' such as excited, happy, and so on. A similar statement with the negative conditional clause ('If I did not manage to contribute…') introduced the list of ten negative emotions such as angry, frustrated, and so on.

Identification. The four-component scale proposed by Capozza et al. (2006) adapted to the behavioral domain was employed. A total of 16 items (four for each component) was followed by 7-point scales, anchored with *absolutely false* (one) and *absolutely true* (seven). We measured the evaluative component (e.g., 'I evaluate positively being part of my family'), the affective one (e.g., 'I feel tied to my other family members'), self-stereotyping (e.g., 'I perceive myself as similar to my

other family members'), and awareness of belonging (e.g., 'In the course of a day, it often occurs to me that I am a… *(mentally complete the sentence thinking of your last name)*').

Desire. One of three items was: 'I wish to contribute, together with my other family members, in maintaining an overall positive household budget' where one indicates *strongly disagree* and seven *strongly agree*. Another example item was: 'I want to contribute, together with my other family members, in maintaining an overall positive household budget.' Participants were then asked to indicate on a 7-point scale if the statement described them: one = '*it does not describe me at all*'; seven = '*it describes me very well.*'

I-intentions. Two 7-point measures were used to assess group-oriented I-intentions. The first asked: 'How likely is your intention of contributing, together with your other family members to maintain an overall positive household budget?' The scale was anchored by *very unlikely* (one) to *very likely* (seven). The second item was the following statement: 'I intend to contribute, together with my other family members, in maintaining an overall positive household budget,' followed by a 7-point scale, in which one indicates *strongly disagree* and seven *strongly agree*.

We-intentions. Two agreement items were used to measure we-intentions: 'We – that is, my family members and I – intend to contribute together in maintaining an overall positive household budget,' 'My intention is that we – that is, my other family members and I – contribute together in maintaining an overall positive household budget.' Both items were followed by a 7-point scale, in which one indicates *strongly disagree* and seven *strongly agree*.

Past behavior. Frequency/recency of past behavior was measured as follows: 'How often in the past/in the last four weeks have you contributed, together with your other family members in maintaining an overall positive household budget?' Responses were rated on 7-point scales, ranging from one (*never*) to seven (*very often*).

C.   RESULTS

a.   Data analysis

We employed confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the adequacy of the measurement model and to verify the discriminant validity, whereas structural equation modeling (SEM) with latent variables was used to test the theoretical frameworks (LISREL software, Jöreskog, & Sörbom, 1999). Two indicators were used to operationalize each latent construct in both CFAs and SEMs. For latent constructs, where more than two items were available, we used the partial disaggregation method (Bagozzi & Heatherton, 1994), in order to reduce the number of parameters to be estimated. The models' goodness-of-fit was evaluated using the χ^2-test, which is satisfactory when it is non-significant. However, as this test is sensitive to sample size, we also considered the following: the CFI which must be greater than or equal to .95; the RMSEA and the

SRMS, which indicate an adequate fit when they are less than or equal to .06 and less than or equal to .08, respectively (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Models were also compared for their predictive power by inspecting the R^2 for the criteria within each model. In contrast, the chi-square difference was applied for nested models (Kline, 1998).

b.   Descriptive statistics

Reliabilities of the considered constructs were all satisfactory (see Table 1); the alpha for the evaluative component of attitude is .74, after removing one item. Descriptive statistics indicated that respondents have both evaluative and affective positive attitudes toward the target household behavior. The perceived social pressure is quite elevated, whereas the perception of control is moderate, even if respondents have tried to perform this behavior quite often. According to the emotions, the anticipation of success produced feelings of joy and pride; in contrast, the anticipation of failure did not produce considerable negative emotions. In addition, the identification with the family group is quite high in each component, except for awareness of belonging. Also, respondents declared their will and intentions (both group oriented I-intentions and we-intentions) to contribute, with the other family members, in maintaining a positive budget.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities of the Considered Constructs'

Variable	M	SD	α
Affective attitude	4.54	.88	.79
Evaluative attitude	6.19	.86	.74
Subjective norm	5.42	1.35	.72
Perceived behavioral control	3.78	1.34	.76
Positive anticipated emotions	4.17	1.30	.92
Negative anticipated emotions	2.72	1.23	.93
Identification – evaluative component	5.11	1.07	.59
Identification – emotional component	5.81	.84	.59
Identification – self-stereotyping	4.45	1.21	.74
Identification – awareness of belonging	3.10	1.47	.88
Desire	5.15	1.09	.87
I-intentions	5.50	1.11	.80
We-intentions	5.66	1.00	.86
Past behavior	4.14	1.44	.86

c.   Measurement models evaluation

A CFA model was built with 28 observed variables and 14 latent constructs (see Figure 1 for the factors' meaning and their relations with observed variables). Results showed that the model

fit the data well: $\chi^2(259) = 410.93$, $p \cong .00$; RMSEA = .034; SRMR = .028; CFI = .99. Factor loadings were all high and consistent. We then checked whether the correlations among the latent constructs (see Table 2) were significantly less than one. None of the confidence intervals of the ϕ-values (+/− two standard errors) included the perfect correlation, providing evidence of discriminant validity (Bagozzi & Yi, 1988).
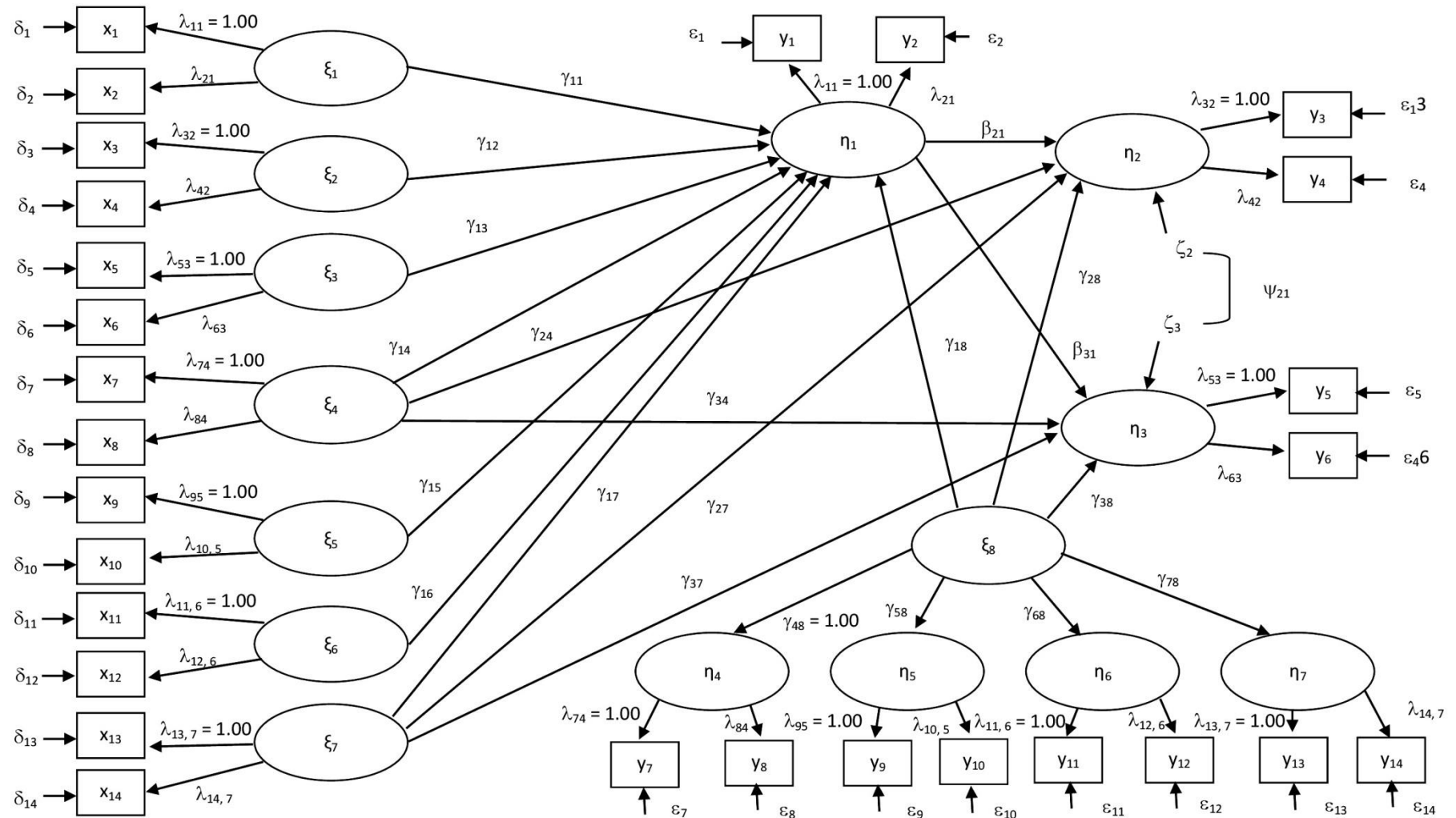
Figure 1. Model of goal-directed behavior plus past behavior and second-order factor of identification, theoretical model.
Note. Correlations are omitted for the sake of simplicity. See Figure 2 for names of latent variables.

Table 2. Correlations among Latent Constructs from the CFA Model

	AA	EA	SN	PBC	PAE	NAE	PB	EVI	SS	EMI	AB	D	II	WEI
AA	/													
EA	.47***	/												
SN	.14*	.37***	/											
PBC	.30***	.15**	.13*	/										
PAE	.36***	.29***	.15**	-.03	/									
NAE	.19***	.27***	.19***	.03	.43***	/								
PB	.20***	.23***	.37***	.26***	.10*	.23***	/							
EVI	.21***	.12*	-.10	.09	.29***	.17**	-.05	/						
SS	.36***	.30***	.09	.12	.29***	.19***	.09	.66***	/					
EMI	.19**	.26***	-.02	.05	.44***	.27***	.00	.82***	.71***	/				
AB	.18***	.11**	-.12*	.05	.24***	.18***	.04	.66***	.57***	.51***	/			
D	.37***	.42***	.37***	.21***	.44***	.40***	.57***	.13*	.32***	.31***	.13**	/		
II	.36***	.42***	.47***	.27***	.33***	.33***	.66***	.08	.30***	.31***	.11*	.90***	/	
WEI	.30***	.38***	.31***	.25***	.34***	.36***	.49***	.15**	.34***	.33***	.16***	.75***	.84***	/

Note. AA = affective attitude; EA = evaluative attitude; SN = subjective norm; PBC = perceived behavioral control; PAE = positive anticipated emotions; NAE = negative anticipated emotions; PB = past behavior; EVI = evaluative identification; SS = self-stereotyping; AB = awareness of belonging; EMI = emotional identification; D = desire; II = I-intentions; WEI = we-intentions.

*p < .05. **p < .02. ***p < .001.

We also performed an additional CFA to better inspect the discriminant validity between the two criterion variables (I- and we-intentions) and desire, a construct sometimes closely related to I-intentions (see e.g., Conner & Sparks, 2005). We tested a three-factor structure, in which the respective observed variables were the items measuring these three constructs. The fit was good: $\chi^2(6)$ = 18.45, p = .0052; RMSEA = .066; SRMR = .012; CFI = 1.00; this model performed significantly better than a one-factor solution: $\chi^2(9)$ = 230.32, $p \cong$ .00; RMSEA = .23; SRMR = .058; CFI = .93. These findings supported the choice to maintain the three factors as distinct.

In line with previous evidence (see Bagozzi, Dholakia, & Mookerjee, 2006), we also verified if identification might be modeled as a second-order factor, where the first-order factors were the affective and evaluative components, self-stereotyping and awareness of belonging. This structure fit the data well: $\chi^2(16)$ = 58.83, $p \cong$ .00; RMSEA = .073; SRMR = .027; CFI = .98, thus it was used also to test for competing models in the following SEMs, In this way, the exogenous variables, which are hypothesized to affect intentions, are reduced in numbers (i.e., one path instead of four).

d.   Tests for competing theories

SEMs were used to test for competing theories: the TPB (Ajzen, 1991), the same theory augmented with past behavior, and the extended model of goal-directed behavior (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001). Each theoretical framework was modeled with a bi-factor structure of attitude (evaluative and affective components) and with the second-order factor of identification as a predictor of I- and we-intentions, and, in the case of the MGB, also of desire. In Table 3 goodness-of-fit indexes and explained variance for competing models are presented; in all cases, the models fit the data adequately.

When considering TPB findings, the amount of variance explained in I- and we-intentions is comparable to that found in the literature and quite good, respectively 37 per cent and 26 per cent (see Table 3). The addition of past behavior to the model enhanced considerably the explained variance accounted for in both group oriented I- and we-intentions, respectively, to 59 per cent and 39 per cent. The application of the MGB augmented with identification (see Figure 1 for the theoretical model) improved even more notably the explained variance: 87 per cent for I-intentions and 58 per cent for we-intentions. The introduction of desire as mediator of the effects of the antecedents on the criterion variables is very useful (see Figure 2).
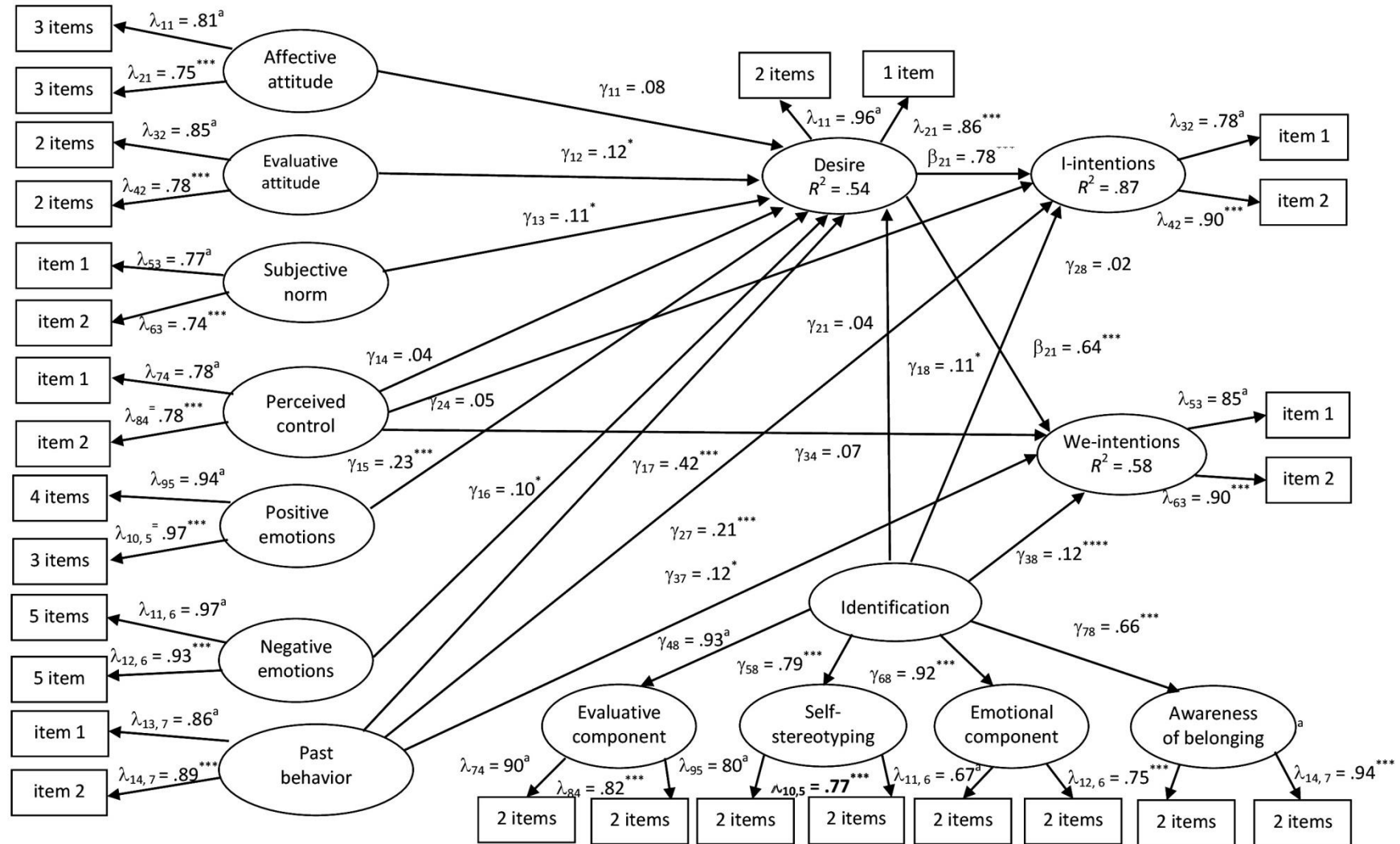
Figure 2. Findings for the model of goal-directed behavior and second-order factor of identification, completely standardized parameters (*N* = 480). *Note*. Correlations among exogenous factors are omitted for the sake of simplicity. a = fixed parameter; *p* < .05.

The motivation to engage in this household behavior was positively influenced by the evaluation of the action, compliance to perform the act, anticipation of positive and negative feelings in case of respectively, success and failure, identification, and past behavior. Desire (54 per cent of explained variance) in its turn strongly affects both I- and we-intentions. Perceived control does not have any significant effect, whereas past behavior has a direct effect on both I- and we-intentions. Social identity affected we-intentions but not I-intentions.

Table 3. Comparison of Goodness-of-Fit for Leading Theories, and Explained Variance for Intentions and Desire

	Fit indexes						Explained variance		
	χ^2	*Df*	$p \cong$	RMSEA	SRMR	CFI	R^2_I	R^2_{WE}	R^2_D
TPB + ID	288.92	146	.00	.044	.047	.98	.37	.26	/
TPB plus PB and ID	332.53	178	.00	.041	.045	.98	.59	.39	/
MGB plus ID	566.95	302	.00	.043	.043	.98	.87	.58	.54

Note. TPB = theory of planned behavior; ID = second order factor of identification; PB = past behavior; MGB = model of goal-directed behavior. R^2_I = explained variance for group oriented I-intentions; R^2_{WE} = explained variance for we-intentions; R^2_D = explained variance for desire.

e. Test of mediation of desire

The hypothesis that desire fully mediated the effects of some exogenous variables (attitudes, subjective norm, and anticipated emotions) on both I- and we-intentions was investigated by testing a series of nested models. Thus, the model including each direct path was compared to the baseline model (MGB plus identification). Chi-square difference tests were computed to check for significance of these direct paths. Findings showed that desire totally absorbs the effects of all the antecedent variables on I-intentions, except for subjective norm (γ = .09; *SE* = .03; *t* = 3.00; γ_{std} = .10) and negative emotions (γ = -.06; *SE* = .03; *t* = 2.21; γ_{std} = -.06). This latter negative effect is likely due to multi-collinearity; indeed, the correlation between the two latent constructs is positive and significant (ϕ = .33, *p* < .001; see Table 3.3). Findings revealed also a direct effect, unmediated by desire of negative emotions on we-intentions (γ = .07; *SE* = .03; *t* = 2.44; γ_{std} = .09). All direct effects are nevertheless very low in magnitude, suggesting that desire mediates most of the effects of reasons for acting, as hypothesized.

Table 4. Test for Sufficiency of Mediation of Desire

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2_d	p <
Baseline: MGB plus ID	566.95	302		
AA → II	566.94	301	.01	ns
EA → II	566.43	301	.52	ns
SN → II	557.49	301	9.46	.01
PAE → II	563.68	301	3.27	ns
NAE → II	562.26	301	4.69	.05
AA → WEI	566.90	301	.05	ns
EA → WEI	565.51	301	1.44	ns
SN → WEI	566.82	301	.13	ns
PAE → WEI	565.76	301	1.19	ns
NAE → WEI	561.07	301	5.88	.02

Note. MGB = model of goal-directed behavior; ID = identification; AA = affective attitude; EA = evaluative attitude; SN = subjective norm; PAE = positive anticipated emotions; NAE = negative anticipated emotions; II = I-intentions; WEI = we-intentions.

D.   DISCUSSION

We built on recent consumer research on social action (e.g., Bagozzi, 2000) to investigate a central household behavior: maintaining a positive family budget. Despite the importance of social, shared intentionality in household decision making previously recognized in the literature (Antonides, 2011; Browning et al., 2014; Lackman & Lanasa, 1993), our study represents a first attempt to integrate the concept of we-intentions (Toumela, 1995) in this behavioral domain.

As implied by previous literature (e.g., Bagozzi & Dholakia, 2002; Gabbiadini et al. 2013), our results reinforce indeed the importance of distinguishing between group-oriented I-intentions and we-intentions in studying mutual action: distinct psychological processes underlie these constructs. The comparisons between the competing models revealed that the inclusion of motivational processes such as desire, as a factor separate from intentions considerably improved the amount of variance explained. Desire captures the reasons for acting (in particular, normative, evaluative, and emotional reasons) and transforms them into intentions to realize the action. However, the processes involved in group oriented I-intentions and we-intentions are different: in the former case, the intentions to realize one's part of action – an action that implies the achievement of a group goal – does not need the effect of identification. It depends only on personal reasons. By contrast, the development of we-intentions also requires the influence of social identity

(Tajfel, 1981). In addition, having performed the behavior frequently in the past also affects both types of intentions.

As part of antecedent processes, another social factor, subjective norm has an important role. It showed a direct effect, unmediated by desire, on I-intentions. This finding is interesting because in general this variable has only a weak effect on intentions in many published studies (see Armitage & Conner, 2001). Here, its significance underlies the social meaning of the action considered. The realization of one's own part of action does not depend on the satisfaction of belonging needs, but on the reason to comply with important referents.

In our study, the measures used to tap group norms failed to capture this aspect of social influence (Kelman, 1974). These negative results may be due to the operationalization of the construct: although highly effective in other studies (Bagozzi & Dholakia, 2002), the measures used herein may be inadequate to investigate the type of group characterized by household financial decisions. Future research should consider the opportunity to develop other ways to measure group norms.

The importance of our study lies also in our attempt to study cooperative group action. According to Bagozzi and Lee (2002), social action may be classified on a continuum in which at one extreme are fully cooperative actions such as preparing a dinner together with one's partner, whereas on the other side there are also other minimal cooperative actions. These latter actions refer to situations in which members of a group might share common goals, but not necessarily a joint action to cooperate together such contributing to an online encyclopedia. However, the coordination governs only a part of this type of group action. In other words, the individual may also act individually, without interacting with the other members. In our opinion, this second case is applicable to the behavioral domain that we considered. In such a situation, there is the possibility that the group members may lack or have a weak personal sense of obligation or responsibility to carry out their own part of action, or they may have an ambivalent attitude because performing the action could also mean doing something against their desires or best interests, such as forgoing something that one craves.

Future research, indeed, should also take into account different roles in decisions that ultimately draw on shared family resources. Indeed, inside the family, some individuals may serve largely as information gatherers/holders, who seek out information about products of relevance, while others may be primarily influencers yet without being able to determine the specific consumer choices by themselves (see Browning et al., 2014). As a consequence, this line of research could also address family conflict management issues (see Lanasa & Lackman, 1993). To investigate this understudied problem, future research should study the

target behavior by inspecting all family members and by running analyses at a higher and more complex level of analysis: the entire household.

Another issue, linked to the previous one, concerns the nature of the group under study itself. Indeed, the household is sometimes an authority or non-egalitarian group, similar to military units and business firms. Generally, these types of groups utilize threats and promises in order to enforce the will of the group and contain a leader who exerts influence in the form of legitimate, coercive, and reward power.

One limitation of our study is that actual behavior was not measured, rather, we focused on decisions and their antecedents. Future research should consider a longitudinal design and measures of behaviors realized in order to achieve the household goal: maintaining a positive budget, among other goals. In doing so, both active consumption and the forgoing of products and services should be measured. Future research should also consider the importance of specific household financial management (Antonides, 2011), and examine we-intentions to engage in different budgeting activities (e.g., financial management and planning), without neglecting the role of mental budgeting: the psychological separation of economic categories. For instance, people may keep their budget for weekly food expenditures mentally separated from their weekly entertainment budget or monthly clothing budget (Antonides, de Groot & van Raaij, 2011). In a shared intentionality framework, mental accounting may influence the binding of specific consumer categories, when shared with the household members.

As a final note, we would like to underline that studying household behavior is important to indentify the specific factors that may guarantee the survival of the household unity and ultimately to promote community integrity and quality of life. Our study was a first step in identifying these processes; future comparative research should ascertain how these processes vary in distinct communities, differing for instance in levels of individualism and collectivism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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[1] In the study we also measured group norms, by asking participants to indicate the degree of shared goals between the self and each of the family members. However, because of the numerous missing values and of the unsatisfactory reliability, we decided not to use this construct in the analyses. A brief explanation of these negative results is presented in the discussion.

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Culturally Confluent Evaluation: At the interface

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Abstract

The contracting out of social services has provided increased opportunities for the development of Kaupapa Māori services. These services have faced an increased level of accountability through evaluation, a discipline founded in Western notions of science. Māori evaluators have to negotiate these often conflicting paradigms. My doctoral research focused on understanding how evaluation has captured the cultural concepts embedded within programmes derived from an indigenous worldview. I examined the ways service-providers, whānau and Māori evaluators managed and responded to the demands of an external evaluation. I have been theorizing the strengths and barriers to implementing an evaluation that incorporates both epistemologies, an approach which I have come to think of as Culturally Confluent Evaluation. In describing this notion I draw upon trends in evaluation's past to consider where evaluation contexts will potentially change in the future.

Keywords: Māori, culture, evaluation, confluence

A.   EVOLUTION OF EVALUATION

'…We're the meat in the sandwich, we get told that they want the Māori view, but when they don't like what they get [told about culture in the reports] they make us to take it out. Whose head is on the chopping blocks when iwi see what is in the reports? – not theirs...' (Rangi, Māori, Evaluation Practitioner)

This reflection by Rangi on being an evaluation practitioner working on government contracts captures one of the tensions experienced by those trying to bridge the two political worlds - between Māori and government. Torn between contributing to local and national Māori aspirations Māori evaluators have to navigate government agency politics, agenda, budgets and timeframes. Such demands shape the labyrinth continually negotiated by evaluators.

Tied to human evolution, evaluation is not a concept exclusive to modern society. Evaluation's link to human evolution is often noted (Marsden & King, 1975; Trochim, 2007). Examples can be seen in the evaluative analyses that have enabled language, cultural custom and psyche to interact and engage with contemporary society (Henare, 1988; Henry & Pene, 1999). Despite recognising evaluation's early (Guba & Lincoln, 1985) and continuing influence on our everyday decisions (Lunt, Davidson, & McKegg, 2003), the formal practice

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of evaluation as it is understood today is just over 100 years old (Mathison, 2005). New Zealand's colonial context provides rich examples of evaluative activities in attempting to negotiate a better outcome for Māori. From our arrival to these shores through to the current climate of surviving economic policies, evaluation has been essential for the examination, preservation and transmission of Māori knowledge (Edwards, 2009; Royal, 2003).

B.   EVALUATION IS POLITICAL

Guba and Lincoln (1985) attribute the grounding of evaluation historically in the fields of education and psychology. While they (Guba & Lincoln, 1985) credit John Stuart Mill, Joseph Rice and Alfred Binet as evaluation pioneers; such psychologists leant their research towards the hard-data measurement approach drawn from physical science. As a result the links to measurement tied evaluation to the scientific paradigm of inquiry in the study of social phenomena (Posavac & Carey, 1980). With the passage of time I have the benefit of being able to see that social scientists (at that time) were trying to duplicate methods and theories from physical science. They were doing so by applying physical science methods and theories to solving practical social problems. The multidisciplinary nature of evaluation means that it draws upon concepts from sociology, administrative and policy sciences, economics as well as education and psychology (Mathison, 2005).

Evaluation's formal origins in positivist paradigms with a tendency to be multidisciplinary support its connection to economic activities and political agenda. During its short history, the evaluation field has undergone huge changes as attitudes towards evaluation and the implementation of its practice have become more tightly linked to the social and political climate of the day.

a.   New Zealand context

Where New Zealand had previously followed a Keynesian interventionism model that fostered government responsibility to stimulate the economy (e.g. to affect un/employment and housing), with the election of a Labour-led government for a fourth term in 1984 a shift to apriori economic models (models based on economic theory and normative assumptions of what ought to be rather than what is) was used as a basis for policy and action (Kelsey, 1990, 1993; Lunt, 2003). The precipitating shift to Neo-liberal economics and the virtual hegemony enjoyed among economic commentators, policy-makers and business leaders left no room for the actions to be undone (and in fact were further implemented by the subsequent National-led Government) with New Zealanders kept constantly on the back foot (Kelsey, 1999, p. 27). Scepticism towards social science research grew with

Rogernomics and any evaluation of the impact such changes had on programmes was actively discouraged (Lunt, 2003, p. 12).

With the change in economic focus governments have increasingly devolved responsibilities on tāngata whenua to provide social services to their community. Service provision of social and health programmes increased alongside the expectation of accountability to the state for the provision of those services. Because such responsibilities came at the time when Māori were calling for more autonomy, some grasped the opportunity with both hands (M. Durie, 2005; R. Walker, 1990) and failed to see the devolving of government responsibility (G. Smith, Fitzsimons, & Roderick, 1998). As a result, Māori were not fully prepared for the subsequent rise in demand for accountability and delivery of outputs that did not match their ideology (M. Durie, 2005; Kelsey, 1999).

Since the mid-1990s as the desire for a more socially inclusive policy became evident, evaluation research was seen as a way both of softening the impact of policy decisions based solely on economic theory and of making policy decisions more informed and more inclusive of communities (Lunt, 2003). The corresponding increase in demand for evaluation research was reignited and gained popularity as a methodology for measuring the effectiveness of human service provision (Lunt, 2003).

Government's monopoly over evaluating human service programmes has served to strengthen its chokehold on the discipline in this country. With each successive election as the number of people living on the edge of poverty grows, so too does the demand for social/human service programmes (funded by the government). The over-representation of Māori in all negative statistics is highlighted in the following statement; 'as a population group Māori have on average the poorest health status of any ethnic group in New Zealand' (Ministry of Health, 2013). This statement reflects the demand that feeds a cycle of dependency and strengthens government control.

b.   Locating Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori

The foundation of Critical Theory is derived from a Socialist/Marxist theory tradition (Crotty, 1998) and holds the view that the 'social world is characterised by differences arising out of conflict between the powerful and the powerless' (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001, p. 20). Social class structures are placed as the key cause of inequity and injustice for the working class; an understanding of the forces that created and serve to maintain such disparities is needed in order for a process of change to begin (Crotty, 1998). Those leading the charge to expose, confront and challenge the inequity tend to come from members of the powerless group (Kiro, 2000) who are in the process of seeking emancipation (Bishop, 1996). Both Linda Smith (1999) and Leonie Pihama (2001) also locate Kaupapa Māori in relation to Critical Theory with its notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation.

Graham Smith (1997), Cindy Kiro (2000) and Russell Bishop (1996) propose that Kaupapa Māori theory aligns most with Critical Theory. Most prominent of these is the seminal writing of Graham Smith (1997) who emphasizes the fundamental need for Kaupapa Māori principles to be in an active relationship with practice.

A Mātauranga Māori perspective refers to a means to express Māori concepts as māori. Through the articulation of te reo Māori me ona tikanga (G. Smith, 1997), with recognition of te ao tūroa (Bevan-Brown, 1998) reiteration of whakapapa (Royal, 1998) and whānau (Bishop, 1998) the interconnection of physical and non-physical (Pere, 1991), tino rangatiratanga (Jackson, 1998), and ethical processes (Cram, 2001), our indigenous worldview is derived from Mātauranga Māori. This worldview places Māori values and processes as a taken for granted body of knowledge. Created and shaped by its members as a means to monitor the way in which we engage with others, an indigenous worldview has become a site for resistance against colonial processes (L. T. Smith, 1999). A Mātauranga Māori perspective is not limited to research but transcends such a narrow focus. Mātauranga Māori is an indigenous knowledge and belief system, whose transmission and use are highly localized and proprietary, and resist overly simplified generalization.

Mātauranga Māori is considered as the body of traditional knowledge that underpinned traditional Māori society and provided the basis of technological and philosophical skills of the community (Mason Durie, 2005; H. Walker, n.d., p. 1). Such traditional knowledge encompasses our interconnections with the past and present, the heavens and the earth, as well as their children, and their children's children (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Mason Durie, 2005). Māori cosmology and belief systems are a means of articulating the interconnection between realms, generations and Atua (Te Awekotuku, 1991):

> '*Māori cosmology and epistemology determine a relationship between individuals, their families and their environment, through an intricate web of interrelationships.*' (Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007, p. 150)

It is because of these inter-relationships with their environment that traditional Māori saw themselves as kaitiaki of the land and the natural resources of this country as opposed to owners of this commodity (King, 2003). Keeping in mind whanaunga, Atua and the future generations, Mātauranga Māori is applicable in contemporary society as those traditional values impact on our daily decisions and activities (Bevan-Brown, 1998).

Rife with multiplicities, indigenous methodologies have a common philosophical base - that being our epistemologies (ways of knowing), our axiologies (ways of doing) and our ontologies (ways of being) (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009).

While much is often said and written about Kaupapa Māori Research as a methodology and a theory (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; G. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith &

Reid, 2000), it would be a mistake to forget about Mātauranga Māori as an epistemology (Royal, 1998; Tau, 2001; H. Walker, n.d.). Mātauranga Māori underpins Kaupapa Māori theory and, therefore, informs methodology. Māori researchers refer to Kaupapa Māori Research by different terms (Pihama, 2001) and there are also various ways in which Māori researchers draw upon tikanga and mātauranga as the basis of their research methodologies. While some have engaged Matauranga Māori as an approach, I locate Mātauranga Māori at the higher level of epistemology for the purposes of framing my approach to research.

c.   Locating māori[1] in evaluation

Some evaluators (Lunt, et al., 2003) ascribe evaluation's development in Aotearoa from a government perspective noting its first example in 1910. However, I ascribe early formal evaluation activities to pre-date the Treaty of Waitangi – to letters written by Māori chiefs to King William IV petitioning him for formal recognition of the Independence and their nominated flag(King, 2003; R. Walker, 1990).

Given the link between evaluation and political climates of the day, political development of evaluation within Aotearoa is visible after 1900 through to 1945 - with the demand for social research (Royal Commissions) and the States interest in developing working relationships between economists, academics and public servants through the depression and the war periods. By 1945 government interest in social science research (especially evaluation) was growing but was still piecemeal by the 1950s. During the 60s and 70s increasing debate about, and demand for social science research grew. But with the shift to neo-liberal economics in 1984, scepticism towards social science research (and evaluation) was nurtured with the introduction of Rogernomics where the impact of changes was actively discouraged.

Government focus on fiscal accountability and the demand for evaluation grew simultaneously. This of course was happening when there was a strong desire on the part of Māori for the gaps in economic, social and health outcomes between Māori and Tauiwi to be closed. As one mechanism for achieving this goal, iwi and other Māori groups were looking to implement culturally appropriate programmes that would assist their own development and autonomy aspirations. Iwi provider groups embraced with open arms service contracts that allowed for the development and delivery of health service programmes to their people; services that drew from their own sources of wisdom.

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[1] Spelling māori in this manner is not a typographical error. Drawing upon (Barnes, 2000) I have chosen to use this option as a means of presenting Māori values as māori in this context.

Instigated in response to a funding agencies' informational needs (Rebien, 1996), evaluation in the 1990's was focused primarily on accountability and control. Providing the government with a means to monitor fiscal spending against health outcome gains (Durie, 1995) in New Zealand evaluation experienced a meteoric rise in popularity. Occurring concurrently with the change in our health structure and funding system New Zealander's experienced a shift from Ministries as service providers, to Ministries as purchasers or investors (Kiro, 2000). Such shift made it reasonable for communities to expect that providers would be able to demonstrate effective delivery of a tax-payer funded service (Nikora, 1999).

C.   MĀORI EXPERIENCES OF RESEARCH AND MY PROJECT

Negative experiences of research on Māori has been documented by Linda Smith (1999) whose seminal work is often cited so does not need repeating here. Over the years Māori attitudes towards reclaiming research through their own research stories have reflected a responsibility to recognize both pluralism and subjectivity of members (Dew & Kirkman, 2002) as well as the complexity of the social connections (Thomas & Veno, 1992). Challenges to forming partnerships (Lynch, 2002) and the likely impact of research on policy (Hong, 2001) dictate that research relationships are essential.

Despite negative experiences, by the late 1980s more Māori were and continue to be involved with research. While the number of Māori researchers was still low in comparison with non-Māori, and the control of research projects was more-often-than-not determined, and lead, by non-Māori, Māori researchers were quickly gaining experience and training. Concerns voiced by Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare researchers at an evaluation conference in Sydney reflect comments being raised among other Māori academics and researchers at the time:

> 'If colonialism is the process whereby raw materials are extracted from a community and developed for one's own personal gain and wealth, then the collection of information and data which is removed from a community and developed into research papers, books and theses with little or no resource return to the community, is colonising research.' (Watene-Haydon, Keefe-Ormsby, Reid, & Robson, 1995, p. 492)

Conscious that I did not want to continue a legacy of, or contribute to, colonising research, I employed a process of negotiating how my project could be of value to the communities I worked with. Within my research, I successfully recruited 5 services funded by 3 different government agencies (the Ministry of Health, Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Social Development). Each service delivered a programme that could be broadly described as a human service programme because these programmes focused on issues such as: family health and well-being; reduction in tobacco, alcohol and drugs; and, cultural

identity re-connection. A common feature of each of these programmes was that they self-identified and were recognised as Kaupapa Māori programmes.

While each self-identified and was recognised within its funding contract as a Kaupapa Māori programme, the understanding, definition and application of a Kaupapa Māori programme varied considerably across each of the sites. A brief statement about each programme is provided below and a visual presentation of programme (case study) delivery highlights the variations within Kaupapa Māori.

Case Study 1 (He Oranga Marae[2]) was a national mainstream programme that recognised marae as a central pillar for many Māori communities and resourced marae to implement healthy lifestyle options for families that reduce Māori obesity rates. As a national programme emphasis was pan tribal. I refer to this as Kaupapa a Motu. Both Case Study 2 and Case Study 3 were focused at a regional level – Kaupapa a Iwi. While Case Study 2 (Whaia te Ora) was a regional programme that was designed and delivered by a Māori provider (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002) with one specific region in mind, the focus of this programme was on promoting healthy lifestyles through cultural knowledge, leadership and whanaungatanga to members of that region. Case Study 3 (Kia Maia) was a programme delivered at multiple sites within a single regional boundary. As the programme gained popularity sites in different regions were being introduced and regional variations began to develop as they reflected iwi dynamics in their area. The final Case Study (Kereru) was a pilot programme delivered by an iwi provider who was funded to deliver services that specifically supported the key areas of concern (access, quality and maintenance of local housing) for a hapū group (Kaupapa a Hapū).

Figure 1. Service delivery focus of programmes derived from an indigenous worldview

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[2] All Case Studies have been given a pseudonym. Some details have been changed to maintain anonymity for each of the programmes in order to minimise repercussions to their funding contracts.

Engagement with each site and their experiences of an external evaluation, revealed that being labelled as, or giving themselves the label of, a Kaupapa Māori programme impacted the way funders engaged with each programme.

Exploration of each case study and the way each evaluation was originally configured to assess each programme highlighted a problem with being identified as a Kaupapa Māori programme. Kaupapa Māori was a 'catch-all' term that had been embraced by the Crown representatives (government agencies who were the funders of these programmes), which served to homogenise the programmes. Homogenising these programmes fostered a generic application of culturally-blind evaluation approaches that perpetuate the positivist history of the discipline; whose origins lie within social science history noted for its attempts to duplicate methods and theories from physical science approaches (Guba & Lincoln, 1985).

Recognition of programme focus variations at national, regional and sub-regional level should equate to variations in the approach to an external evaluation of those programmes. However a review of the call for evaluation proposals for each of the programmes revealed three commonalities. Firstly, evaluation funders wanted an evaluation that would provide a quantifiable record of 'measurable change' that occurred as a result of the programme. Secondly, frames for determining success were derived from an international perspective. Thirdly; universal application that maintained evaluation's historical connection to 'objective-positivist-science' by fostering a culturally-blind approach was embraced.

The presence of these three commonalities served to ensure that a Māori cultural worldview was not privileged in the evaluation of the case studies. As programmes funded because of their emphasis on delivering a programme that prioritised Māori ways of knowing and being that served their own self-determined aspirations, the absence of any such frame that specifically incorporated those aspects was an antithesis of why the programmes were funded to begin with.

Evaluators contracted to government agencies seeking to measure the success of these programmes had the difficult task of trying to meet the expectations of the various stakeholders involved with the programme. From the programme/evaluation funder who wanted to demonstrate measurable change had occurred; providers who wanted an evaluation to show that more resources invested into the programme would yield even better results than those achieved to date; through to service-users, their whānau and the wider community who wanted the evaluation to tell their experiences in such a way that highlighted the cultural gains that had been made went beyond the delivery of a programme.

For evaluators, particularly culturally aware evaluators, and especially Māori evaluators the demand to meet multiple, and diverse expectations contribute to their

feeling like the 'meat in the sandwich' (Rangi, Māori evaluator). The desire to work with cultural frameworks, follow appropriate processes, meet local expectations and contribute to wider cultural aspirations (either placed upon themselves or that others placed upon them) left Māori service-users, communities and evaluators scarred.

The impact of Crown agencies using evaluation, with its detached lens and culturally-blind frames, to determine the success of a programme attempts to condense Māori ways of being and knowing in to a single measure. Capturing Māori knowledge in this way has appeal to funders for its universality, but repulses Māori communities as it separates them from their knowledge systems – again rendering them invisible (Agrawal, 2002).

Kaupapa Māori Research sits within the ideology that embraces Māori principles and manipulates non-Māori principles to further its own (that being Māori determined) agenda. Where Kaupapa Māori Evaluation (KME) are often be reflected in the ideological and methodological approach, the primary distinction of KMEs are that they originate from Māori collectives and make an active contribution to Māori aspirations (Cram, 2003; Kerr, 2006). While the evaluators in my research made active attempts to contribute to Māori aspirations (whether at whānau, hapu or iwi level) the drive for the external evaluations came from a non-Māori, culturally blind agenda. Because the evaluations in my case studies did not emerge from a Mātauranga Māori position, instead being formalized by non-Māori to serve a non-Māori agenda, they did not fit within my understanding of a Kaupapa Māori Evaluation. In response to my thinking about KME, I had to reshape my thinking about the evaluations undertaken within my research. From there emerged the notion of culturally confluent evaluation.

D.   CULTURALLY CONFLUENT EVALUATION

After taking into account the culturally blind history of evaluation (Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Posavac & Carey, 1980; Scriven, 2001) and the clear desire of Māori for research to contribute to their self-determined goals (Reid & Cram, 2005; Robson, 2004; G. Smith, 1997; L.T. Smith, 1999; Watene-Hayden, et al., 1995), I felt that an approach that captured these two contexts was needed. Graham Smith (1997) and Mason Durie (2004) had earlier demonstrated the ability of Māori to adopt and co-opt non-Māori philosophy to contribute to Māori aspirations. With their lessons in mind, I began to ponder about Culturally Confluent Evaluation. In order to locate Culturally Confluent Evaluation I had consider it in contrast to, or alignment with, other evaluation frameworks.

All the case study evaluations were commissioned by a Crown representative that meant such evaluations were initiated in response to a non-Māori agenda and ultimate accountability for those evaluations went back to a non-Māori collective. Such culturally-blind evaluation serves a non-Māori agenda, so will not apply to Māori driven evaluations.

Whereby the communities, providers, and service-users of Kaupapa Māori programmes have a vested interest in the localised cultural markers and contextual provisions encapsulated within the programme, funders are more interested in standardised measures that allow comparisons that show return on investment. As a result Māori are caught in the middle of tensions that arise from a mono-cultural lens with pre-determined measures and definitions of success that favour an accultural application.

At one end of a continuum Kaupapa Māori Evaluation was embedded within a specific cultural context. At the opposite end of that (evaluation research agenda) continuum was culturally blind evaluation. My earlier analysis of international practice (Masters-Awatere, 2005) revealed a culturally blind orientation to evaluation. This 'generic' form of evaluation reinforced an 'objective' approach that clearly does not align, or originate, from a Māori agenda. With these two positions clarified I was able to locate the position of Culturally Confluent Evaluation (see Figure 2).
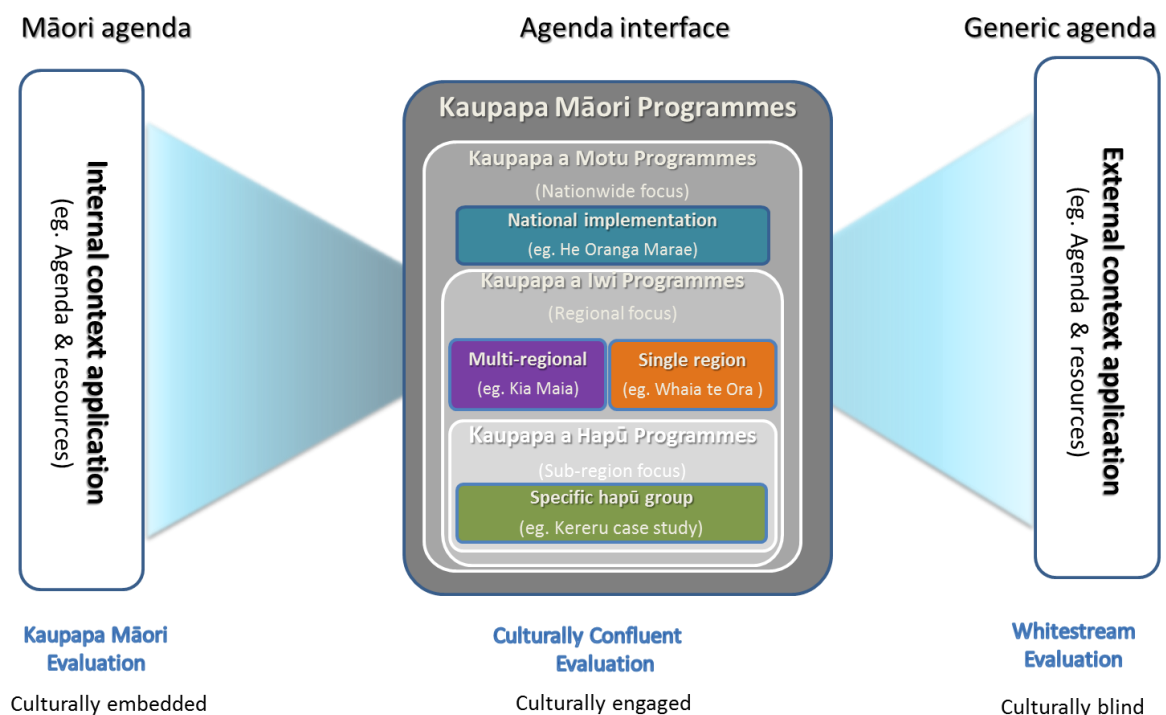

Māori agenda **Agenda interface** **Generic agenda**

Internal context application (eg. Agenda & resources)

Kaupapa Māori Programmes

Kaupapa a Motu Programmes (Nationwide focus)

National implementation (eg. He Oranga Marae)

Kaupapa a Iwi Programmes (Regional focus)

Multi-regional (eg. Kia Maia) Single region (eg. Whaia te Ora)

Kaupapa a Hapū Programmes (Sub-region focus)

Specific hapū group (eg. Kereru case study)

External context application (eg. Agenda & resources)

Kaupapa Māori Evaluation **Culturally Confluent Evaluation** **Whitestream Evaluation**

Culturally embedded Culturally engaged Culturally blind

Figure 2. Locating Culturally Confluent Evaluation

Culturally Confluent Evaluations can be initiated in response to either a Māori or non-Māori agenda. Given the current climate evaluations are likely to be developed for and by a non-Māori agenda. Whereas generic (culturally blind) evaluations advocate an objective orientation (and acknowledge some subjective elements), and Kaupapa Māori (ie. culturally centred) evaluations advocate for embedded and engaged approaches, Culturally Confluent

Evaluations are centred on a reflexive orientation that seeks to be transparent in its movement across a range of research orientations.

Inspired by my observations of a very sacred place for Māori (known as Cape Reinga or Te Rerenga Wairua) where the spirits of those who have died take their leave from our shores before heading to Rarohenga at the point where the Pacific Ocean and the Tasman Sea meet I have observed currents so strong that the churning water and multiple currents within the swirling masses make one feel insignificant. I liken this vision to the two previously independent bodies of indigenous ontology and evaluation approach colliding together. The messiness that overflows where the two forces meet are mirrored in the external evaluations of Kaupapa Māori programmes.

E.   CLOSING COMMENTS

This paper can only be a surface reflection of a complexity of issues that require an equally complex response. Developing relationships between Māori (service providers and service beneficiaries) and funders is a political relationship that has divergent expectations. In an ineffective partnership relationship opportunity for miscommunication can easily occur. With the added influence of political agendas that fluctuate at any point in time, depending on government directives, the privilege of those with the power means that resources will determine the way the relationship landscape is engaged.

For the past 100 or so years formal evaluation has taken its processes from frameworks that originated from a culturally-blind standpoint. Worldwide influence on evaluation practice comes from the United States, but the absence of any recognition of culturally (or indigenous) constructed frameworks there have resulted in a subsequent absence around the world. The context of evaluation in New Zealand has been somewhat different from the rest of the world.

Culturally Confluent Evaluation was inspired by the place where the currents converge and move swiftly together despite all the messiness in the surrounding areas (see Figure 3). Looking carefully to see where the sections of currents converge and the water moves swiftly in a given direction provides me with hope for the future of evaluation. Culturally Confluent Evaluation embraces, celebrates and fosters those small pockets of convergence despite the messiness.
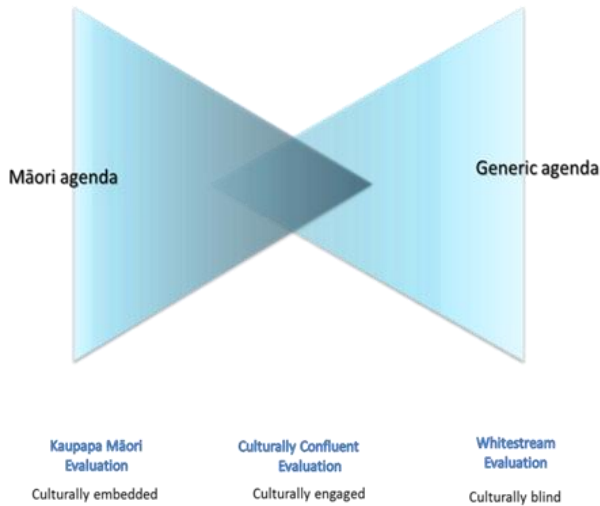
Figure 3. Conseptualising Culturally Confluent

Figure 4. Inspiration taken from The Meeting Point at Te Rerenga Wairua

With the emphasis of evaluation measures placed on providers to deliver the services that meet the commissioners' expectations, very little attention has been paid to the influence of evaluation commissioners on the contracting environment of evaluation. Additionally, even less attention had been paid to examining the culturally blind lens originating from the United States; or its influence on evaluation practice around the world. The problems with evaluation are structural – with its inherent power relations between Crown and Iwi – cultural competence approaches can only go so far unless the structural problems are addressed.

Through my doctoral research experiences the limitations of evaluation in its current government centred/driven orientation have been explored. With a complex backstory driven by many different political and social agendas, the invisibility of the dominant ideology has supported continued past experiences of research on Māori to occur in the context of evaluation. Moreover, the importance of addressing the power inequality experienced in evaluation indicates an urgent need to improve communication between stakeholder groups when making key programme and evaluation decisions.

Rangi's comments at the beginning of this paper and further examination from within my doctoral research highlight that more work is still needed towards ensuring the cultural value placed on funding a programme (as Kaupapa Māori) is considered with equal importance when it comes to determining the success of that same programme (through its evaluation).

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS[3]

Aotearoa	original Māori name for New Zealand
Aroha	to love, feel pity, feel concern, to empathise
Atua	guardian, deity, god, supernatural being, ghost, influencing ancestor
hapū	subtribe – the political unit of pre-settlement Māori society, to be pregnant
hauora	health, healthy, be fit, be well, good spirits
hui	gathering or meeting operating under tikanga Māori, for example Hui Whakaoranga – 1984 Māori health conference
iwi	tribe, aggregation of hapū sharing a traditional link, extended kinship group
kai	food, sustenance, eat
kaiārahi	guide, mentor, escort
kaiāwhina	helper, assistant
kaimahi	worker, staff
kaitautoko	supporter, advocate, sponsor
kaitiaki	guardian, steward, one responsible for care of a resource, trustee, caregiver
Kaupapa Māori	Māori focused, a Māori way, Māori ideology
kaupapa whānau	(see Durie, 2001 - Mauri ora)
korero	speak, narration, stories
kupu	word, words
mana	authority, integrity, standing, prestige
mana motuhake	autonomy, separate, distinct
manaaki	to entertain, provide hospitality, support
manuhiri	guest, visitor
Māori/māori	(noun) indigenous people of Aotearoa, original inhabitant (adjective) normal, native, indigenous
marae	the open space in front of the wharenui/ meeting house
Mātauranga Māori	Māori epistemology
mihi	greet/greetings, pay tribute, thank
mokopuna	grandchild/grandchildren
motu	island, separated
Pākehā	the settlers, may refer to all non-Māori, or be restricted to New Zealanders of European descent
pōwhiri	ceremonial welcome, ritual encounter, invite
rangahau Māori	research practice conducted in accordance with Māori principles
rangatahi	youth, teenagers, Māori youth
rangatiratanga	sovereignty, chieftainship, independence, effectiveness, integrity, dignity;
Rarohenga	the underworld
Rūnanga	council, board, assembly

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[3] Unless otherwise stated translations are sourced from: Williams, H.W. (1971). Dictionary of the Māori language (7th ed.) Wellington: GP Publications; or The online Māori dictionary: http://www.māoridictionary.co.nz/index.cfm

tangata/tāngata	person, people
tāngata whenua	'people of the land', indigenous people (applied to Māori as the native inhabitants of Aotearoa)
taonga	highly prized, treasure, precious
Tauiwi	foreign people, immigrants, non-Māori
te ao tūroa	the world, nature
Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa	the vast waters of Kiwa (Pacific Ocean)
Te Moana Tāpokopoko-a-Tāwhaki	tides of Tāwhaki (male waters of the Tasman Sea)
Te Puni Kōkiri	Māori name for the Ministry of Māori Development
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Rerenga Wairua	Cape Reinga, the leaping place of spirits
Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare	The Eru Pomare Māori Health Research Centre
Te Tai o Whitireia	tides of Whitireia (female waters of the Pacific Ocean)
Te Tiriti	the Treaty of Waitangi, also Te Tiriti o Waitangi
tikanga	customary procedures, rules, processes, practice
tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, see rangatira (above)
titiro	to look, see, seen
tuakana/teina	elder/younger, denotes relationship status and obligations among family members
wāhi tūtakitaki	meeting place, gathering place
waiata	song, sing
wānanga	forum, planning, or learning, Māori tertiary academic institution
whaea	mother, aunt, older female
whakaaro	thought, idea
whakapapa	geneology, knowledge of ancestry
whakarongo	listen, to hear, be heard
whānau / whanaunga	family, extended family, to give birth, born
whanaungatanga/ whakawhanaunga	creating and sustaining relationships between relations and close friends, family and relationship building
whānau hui	purposeful gathering of family/friends
whenua	land, country, ground; placenta

Job satisfaction, Life Satisfaction and Quality of Work Life: An exploration of perceptions among the University Teaching Faculties of Thailand and Malaysia

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Abstract

This main purpose of this study was to examine the quality of work life among two university teaching faculties in Thailand and Malaysia. Life satisfaction was hypothesized as a mediating variable between job satisfaction and the quality of work life. Data was collected using questionnaires. The survey instruments were adapted for use in Thailand by translation into Thai. All instruments were tested for reliability. Data was collected through stratified sampling in both the universities in Thailand (N=165) and in Malaysia (N=160). Data was analyzed to investigate demographic differences among the two samples. Correlation results showed positive significant relationships among the study variables for both samples. Research findings also indicated the role of life satisfaction as a partial mediator of the relationship between job satisfaction and the quality of work life. These findings could be valuable to not only researchers but also university managements and governing bodies to promote factors enhancing job satisfaction and quality of work among the teachers.

Keywords: quality of work life, job satisfaction, life satisfaction, university teachers

A.   INTRODUCTION

We all live in a world where physical boundaries ebb as knowledge is freely shared with the growing role of technology and internet. Yet it is undeniable that teachers still command a position of authority where knowledge dissemination is concerned. University teachers, engaged in imparting higher level education and developing research, perform a significant role in shaping the future of knowledge. But are these teachers 'happy' doing their work? Do they perceive that they have a good quality of life? Does being satisfied with life as a whole have any role to play in their 'happiness'? This research seeks to answer the above queries by evaluating the quality of work life among university teaching faculties and comparing the results in the participants from the two countries- Thailand and Malaysia. Both countries are a part of the ASEAN region but have some cultural differences when measured on Hofstede's research (2001) on six dimensions of cultural values.

Equipped with these research objectives, it also became a personal quest of knowing one-self as the author is a university teacher, and was also a part of extensive academic and research collaboration among the two universities (from Thailand and Malaysia), which constituted the sample of this research. Based on the review of previous research in the

work context, it is well established that job satisfaction and life satisfaction are two important variables. However, this study empirically tests the relationship and the effect of these variables on the quality of work life among the specific context of university teachers. The significance of the study is explained after a brief review of literature.

a.   University Teachers

If we think of how education was imparted a few decades ago in the university and compare it to the current time, it seems like an entirely different set of dynamics in play. The basic purpose of teachers is dual fold- 'knowledge creation as well as transmission' as noted by Romainville (1996). More-over, working in universities, teachers have additional work demands, with at least three major work domains that they must contribute to - teaching, research, and service or administration (Houston, Meyer, & Paewai, 2006). Indisputable impacts of globalization (Carnoy, 1999) and of innovation in technology (Glen, 2008) have and are changing the way these roles are carried out. Added to this are the lack of perceived organizational support and clear career paths that make it challenging to work in these 'increasingly demanding environment' (Houston, et al., 2006).

It is not just the work demands but the changing government policies that create further work challenges. For instance, Thailand and Malaysia are a part of the ten ASEAN nations, which are working towards the goal of AEC 2015 (ASEAN annual report 2008-09), aimed towards political-security, economic, and socio-cultural integration. In Thailand, the universities are already gearing up to meet the AEC 2015 objectives through the '31 policies of education' (Royal Thai Government, 2013), which implies additional challenges for the teachers to promote English as a language of communication among students.

To gain insight into the work life of university teachers, this study was guided by four main research questions:

1.   What are the mean levels of job satisfaction, life satisfaction and the quality of work life among the two university teaching faculties?
2.   What are the relationships among the study variables for each sample?
3.   Are there any demographic differences (based on nationality, gender, marital status and education) among the selected variables?
4.   Does life satisfaction mediate the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life?

Each of the study variables is explained briefly and lead towards developing the conceptual framework of this research.

b.   Quality of Work Life

Quality of work life (QWL) is a concept related to the perception of the employees about their work place- getting satisfaction from the quality of work experiences. This concept has several definitions according to the interest of the researchers. On one hand it could refer to the QWL programs offered by organizations to support their workers. On the other hand, QWL may refer to the different characteristics of work life that are needed by employees such as pay, social support, compensatory and non-compensatory benefits.

Tracing the roots of QWL, one can refer to Walton (1974) who pointed out eight dimensions or work conditions, such as adequate and fair compensation, that must be accounted for measuring quality of work life. In a somewhat different take, Hackman and Oldham (1976) suggested in their job characteristics model that a job can be redesigned by ensuring it has the five basic characteristics (such as task identity, skill variety). If these five are present in work, it becomes satisfying, motivating and is also perceived as of good quality by the workers. Later on Mirvis and Lawler (1984) suggested that quality of working life was associated with satisfaction with wages, hours and working conditions. Taking another perspective, Sirgy, Efraty, Siegel, and Lee (2001) suggested that the key factors in quality of working life are the satisfaction of seven work place needs. The current research measured QWL based on the concept elaborated by Sirgy et al. (2001).

This construct has a great deal of significance in the work sphere due to the many positive impacts on other work related outcomes at multi levels- individual, groups, organizational and external environment such as a country. Specifically measured with university academia, research validates the positive impacts of the quality of work life such as that on overall performance, participation, growth and development, organizational identification, job satisfaction, job involvement, organizational commitment, team spirit, and intention to quit, as well as organizational turnover (Carter, Pounder, Lawrence & Wozniak, 1990; Efraty & Sirgy, 1990; Koonmee, et al., 2009; Daud, 2010; Aketch, Odera, Chepkuto & Okaka, 2012).

Existing research review shows that the quality of work life is a multi-dimensional construct, and has positive work outcomes. The current study investigates the levels of QWL among the two samples of university teachers, and also studies its relationship with the two other study variables of job satisfaction and life satisfaction.

c.   Job Satisfaction

The area of job satisfaction has been of great interest to both academicians and practitioners, with the focus on understanding the factors predicting it as well as how to actually measure this construct. It has been defined as 'the extent to which people like (get satisfaction) or dislike (perceive dissatisfaction from) their jobs' (Spector, 1997). It is

measured either on an affective domain, a global feeling about the job (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969), or as a cognitive domain that measures attitudes about various aspects or facets of the job (Rocca & Kostanski, 2001). Job satisfaction is an important factor related with the working life quality (Cohen, Kinnevy & Dichter, 2007; Aryee, Fields & Luk, 1999) and has been shown to impact various other work related outcomes, such as the productivity of university teachers (Mamiseishvili & Rosser, 2011). The current research focuses on the overall affective measure of job satisfaction, its relationship with life satisfaction and specifically with cognitive needs satisfaction measured for quality of work life.

d.   Life Satisfaction

This psychological concept deals with the cognitive aspect of subjective well-being (Diener, 1984; Pavot & Diener, 1993), measuring the overall satisfaction with one's life. The instrument was developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985) to measure 'the global cognitive judgments of satisfaction with one's life', which was called 'The Satisfaction with life scale' (SWLS). This scale has been well researched to establish its meaningfulness and also shows temporal stability (Pavot & Diener, 1993), and hence is being used in the current study.

Life satisfaction has also been investigated to understand and establish its relationship with other life domains including work life, and also across various cultures. Job satisfaction & life satisfaction have be researched well and evidence shows significant positive correlation (0.44 as reported in their meta-analyses by Tait et al., 1989) and even reciprocal relationships among the two (Judge & Watanabe, 1994).

In an extensive cross cultural research, data was collected from 31 nations from college students (N= 13,118) by Diener and Diener (1995), and it verified the existence of the construct across cultures. In another study by Ahammed (2011) SWLS was used to measure and report high levels of life satisfaction among 103 universities teachers in the UAE. Erdogan, Bauer, Truxillo and Mansfield (2012) conducted a meta-analysis of life satisfaction in relationship to the work domain and found support for the significant relationships with career satisfaction, job satisfaction, job performance, turnover intentions and also the broader concept at work of 'quality of work life'. However life satisfaction has not been researched well in terms of its direct and indirect links with quality of work life (Erdogan et al., 2012).

e.   Significance of the study

In conclusion, this research aims to contribute to the research gaps by firstly testing and comparing the levels of all measures among both the selected samples of the two university faculties from Thailand and Malaysia each. There are studies measuring job

satisfaction- life satisfaction linkages, but in the context of university are rare (Ahammed, 2011). Research review showed that a gap exists in researches done to compare university faculties in the two participant countries. Research shows that cross cultural differences exist among nations and differences in societal cultures 'reside in (often unconscious) values, in the sense of broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others' (Hofstede, 2001). So this research was a unique endeavor in this direction as it sought to compare the scores of quality of work life in two different cultures specific to the work context of university teachers.

The distinction between the affective, cognitive and conative aspects of behavior has been the focus of classic research in psychology. Affect was thought to be a post-cognitive process (Muncy, 1986) but was challenged by later theorists (Zajonc, 1980). According to Duncan and Barret (2007), this debate goes on since the focus is on the 'distinctiveness in experience as evidence for distinctiveness in process'. Therefore, the second significance of this study was to empirically test these linkages by measuring the direct effect of job satisfaction on life satisfaction, where the former is a global measure of affect, and the latter is a cognitive evaluation.

So if a person is happy with his/her job, does it contribute to their cognitive evaluation of being satisfied with life; and does this evaluation affect how the person feels about his/her job and the relationship with perceived quality of work life? Hence this research is also important as it tests the direct effect of life satisfaction on QWL, an area which does not have sufficient research based evidence (Erdogan et al., 2012).
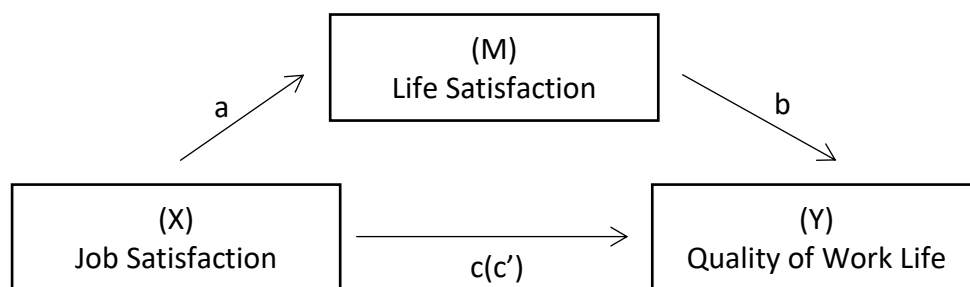
Figure 1. Hypothesized conceptual framework

Note: Path 'a' shows the effect from independent variable (X) to the mediator variable (M); path 'b' shows the effect from the mediator variable (M) to the dependent variable (Y); path 'c' shows the effect from the independent variable (X) to the dependent variable (Y); and path 'c'' shows the mediation effect.

The final significance of this research is that it seeks to test life satisfaction as a mediator of the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life (figure 1). According to MacKinnon (2011) most programs of mediation research employ both mediation to seek an explanation of effects among variables, and secondly as a design for intervention. This research aims to corroborate the first goal of the effect of life satisfaction as a mediator. The second aspect of proposing intervention based on mediation results would be explained in the last section of the paper. Thus, this research empirically tests whether life satisfaction mediates the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life in both Thailand and Malaysian samples, as shown in the conceptual framework (figure 1). The analysis of the proposed framework would be based on the mediation model analysis of Baron and Kenny (1986).

B. METHOD

a. Participants

The participants for this research were the university teaching faculty. In Thailand, the 165 participants, from a public university, were selected through quota sampling technique from the faculties of social sciences, humanities, education, and nursing. For the comparison of measures, data was collected from a sample of 160 teachers who also worked in a public university in Malaysia. The data was collected at different times during 2012, when the teaching semester was over in the universities and it was convenient for the teachers to give the information.

b. Materials and Procedure

As this research was a part of a collaborative effort by researchers in Thailand and Malaysia, the instruments were selected based on the research interest and appropriate evaluation of current scales. To successfully complete the research project within a time constraint, most instruments were adapted for use. Then the whole set was translated to Thai language for the data collection in Thailand. This translation process followed the rigors in cross cultural adaptation of instruments as highlighted by Borsa, Damásio, and Bandeira, (2012). The translation and adaptation of instruments and the process included:

1. Forward translation (from English to Thai)
2. Expert panel Back-translation (from Thai to English)
3. Pre-testing and cognitive interviewing
4. Final version (Thai language)

The total survey instrument consisted of the four parts, one for taking information about the demographic details of the sample, and rest for measuring the three study

variables. The summarized version of the research instruments is shown in table 1. The complete set of instruments in English and Thai were verified for reliability and validity. All instruments were reliable with Cronbach's alpha scores ranging from 0.69 to 0.94 as shown in table 3 and reliability acceptance measures were checked using the specifications by Nunnally (1978).

Table 1. Research variables and Instruments

Research Variable	Instrument adapted from	Type of scale	Number of items
Quality of work life	Quality of work life (QoWL) scale by Sirgy et al. (2001)	6 point Likert scale	16
Life satisfaction	The satisfaction with life scale (SWLS), Diener et al. (1985)	5 point Likert scale	5
Job Satisfaction	Job Diagnostic Survey, Hackman & Oldham (1975)	5 point Likert scale	3

c.   Data Collection and Analyses

Data from the Thai university was collected during August to October 2012. A total of 405 questionnaires were distributed and the completed questionnaires that were returned were 165, a response rate of 40.7%. The data from Malaysian university was collected in April 2012 where the sample size was of 160. The data was analyzed using descriptive statistics, correlation analysis and mediation regression analysis.

C.   RESULTS

The data was analyzed to answer the four research questions and is explained in the following three sections.

a.   Descriptive and Correlation Analysis

Descriptive statistics of both the samples from Thailand and Malaysia are shown in table 2. There were more females (63.3%) in the Thai sample, but gender was almost equally represented in the Malaysian sample. In the Thai sample there were around 48.5% married teachers, while almost all (96.3%) were married in the Malaysian sample. Mean age of both the samples was around 43 years. Major religious orientation in Thailand was Buddhist (95.3%) while in Malaysia was Islam (99.4%).

Means, standard deviation, and correlations among study variables are presented in Table 3, to evaluate the first and second research questions. In the table 3, the lower diagonal numbers show the Thai sample's statistics, while the upper diagonal shows that of

the Malaysian sample. The correlation analyses for both samples show that there are significant positive correlations among all the three variables. In the Thai sample, correlation results were- job satisfaction and QWL (r=.494, p<.01); job satisfaction and life satisfaction (r=.430, p<.01); and life satisfaction and QWL (r=.410, p<01). In the Malaysian sample the results also showed significant correlations among variables, job satisfaction and QWL (r=.498, p<.01); job satisfaction and life satisfaction(r=.486, p<.01); and life satisfaction and QWL (r=.527, p<01).

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of the Research Samples

Characteristics	Thailand		Malaysia	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
N=	165		160	
Gender				
1. Male	58	34.30	83	51.90
2. Female	107	63.30	77	48.10
Marital status				
1. Single	79	46.70	-	-
2. Married	82	48.50	154	96.30
3. Divorced	3	1.80	4	2.50
4. Widowed	1	0.60	2	1.30
Religion				
1. Christianity	2	1.21	-	-
2. Buddhism	161	97.57	1	0.60
3. Islam	-	-	159	99.40
4. Others	2	1.21	-	-
Highest education level				
1. Bachelor	-	-	11	6.90
2. Master	64	37.9	46	28.70
3. PhD	97	57.4	103	64.40
4. Others	4	2.4	-	-
Age				
1. Mean	43.78		43.77	
2. SD.	10.056		7.24	

Note: 'Thailand'= Thailand university teachers; 'Malaysia'= Malaysian university teachers

Table 3. Construct correlations, means, standard deviations and reliabilities

Malaysia / Thailand	1	2	3	Mean	SD	Cronbach's Alpha
1.Job satisfaction	-	.498**	.486**	4.57	0.66	.69
2.Life satisfaction	.430**	-	.527**	2.59	2.68	.82
3.Quality of work life	.494**	.410**	-	4.52	0.61	.92
Mean	4.00	3.41	4.32			
SD	0.69	0.68	.67			
Cronbach's Alpha	.74	.79	.90			

Note: * $p< 0.05$ level (2-tailed), ** $p< 0.01$ level (2-tailed)

b. T-test Analyses

An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the samples from Thailand and Malaysian on all the study variables and to answer the third research question. Results, presented in table 4, showed that there were no significant differences among samples in their scores on job satisfaction. However, in comparison to Thai teachers, the Malaysian teachers had significantly higher scores on life satisfaction, $t(323)=-2.571$, $p<.05$; and also on quality of work life, $t(324)=-.2.809$, $p<.01$.

Further t-tests were also done to analyze demographic differences in each of the sample, and results showed no significant differences in the Malaysian sample based on gender, marital status and educational background. In the Thai sample no significant differences were found based on t-test analyses for gender, and marital status; but for educational background QWL was significantly higher for teachers with Master degree than Ph.D., $t(159)=2.896$, $p<.01$.

Table 4. Results comparing Thai and Malaysian samples on t-test for all study variables

Variables	Thailand		Malaysia		t-test	df	Sig
	M	SD	M	SD			
Job Satisfaction	4.0	0.69	3.86	0.75	1.752	323	0.081
Life Satisfaction	3.41	0.68	3.61	0.69	-2.571*	323	0.011
Quality of work life	4.32	0.67	4.52	0.61	-2.809**	324	0.005

Note: * $p < .05$, **$p < .01$

c. Mediation Regression Analyses

Regression analysis was conducted to test the last research question for analyzing the mediation effect of life satisfaction on the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life for the data collected from both the study samples.

Table 5. Mediation Regression Analysis

Step	Predictor	Criterion	F	R^2	B
1	Job Satisfaction	QWL	99.409	0.235	.485***
2	Job Satisfaction	Life satisfaction	80.999	0.2	.448***
3	Life Satisfaction	QWL	119.656	0.268	.520***
4	Job Satisfaction	QWL	86.67	0.35	.316***
	Life Satisfaction				.379***

Note: **p < .01, ***p< .001

Table 5 shows the mediation analysis where in 'X' the independent variable was job satisfaction, 'Y' the dependent variable was quality of work life and 'M' the mediator variable was life satisfaction. The test of mediation was based on the four steps guideline given by Baron and Kenny (1986) and the results were:

1. X predicts Y (path c)- Job satisfaction was a significant predictor of quality of work life (path c: β = .485, *p* <.000)
2. X predicts M (path a)- Job satisfaction was a significant predictor of Life satisfaction (path a: β = .448, *p* <.000)
3. M predicts Y (path b)- Life satisfaction was a significant predictor of quality of work life (path b: β = .520, *p* <.000)
4. X and M together predict Y(path c')- When Job satisfaction and Life satisfaction are entered in to the model, the effect of X on Y was reduced but was still significant (path c': β = .316, *p* <.000)

The result in the last step showed the partial mediation effect of life satisfaction on the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life, and is depicted in Figure 2.
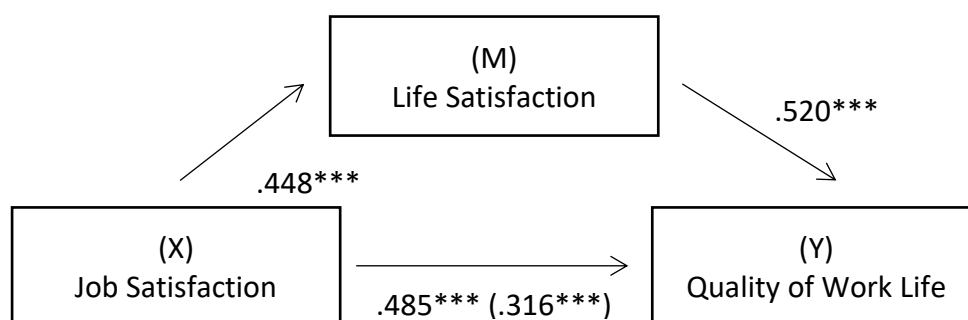

Figure 2. Mediation Regression Analyses Results

Note: Standardized regression coefficients are shown for the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life as mediated by life satisfaction. The standardized regression coefficient between job satisfaction and quality of work life when controlling for life satisfaction is shown in brackets. This indicates 'partial mediation effect' of life satisfaction. ***p<.000

Furthermore Sobel's test (1982) reported the significance of the partial mediation effect (Sobel's test statistic: z=8.26, p=0.0). The hypothesized model was statistically significant (p<.000, R=.592, R =.350, Adjusted R =.346), and 35% of the variance in the model to predict quality of work life is explained by both job satisfaction and life satisfaction.

D.   DISCUSSION

The empirical data of this research supports the hypothesized relationships among the variables of job satisfaction and life satisfaction with the quality of work life of university teachers in Thailand and Malaysia. Findings of the current study showed that the teachers in both samples had high levels of job satisfaction, life satisfaction and quality of work life.

 This study found significant positive correlations among all three variables relationships, which is supported by previous researches. Job satisfaction has been found to have a positive relationship with quality of work life (Cohen, Kinney & Dichter, 2007). Findings from a meta-analysis of life satisfaction indicated that it had a significant relationship with many work outcomes and also with the overall quality of work life (Erdogan, et. al, 2012). Life satisfaction was found to have a positive relationship with job satisfaction, which is consistent with the previous research findings (Tait et al., 1989; Judge & Watanabe, 1994).

For evaluating differences among samples, it was found that the Malaysian teachers had significantly higher scores than Thai sample for life satisfaction, and quality of work life, but not on job satisfaction. These findings could be investigated further to find what contributes to these differences. For instance do cultural values impact the self-report of the samples for each of the constructs? Early researchers in QWL indicated that cultural factors must be taken into account when measuring this construct in an organization (Wyatt, 1988). In a survey by White (2007) to compare all nations in the world on life satisfaction, it was found that Malaysia ranked 17th and Thailand a way below, 76th in the list. When assessed on the Hofstede's Model (http://geert-hofstede.com/thailand.html), Thailand scores differently from Malaysia in all the six dimensions measuring values of nations. These cultural differences can be predicted to remain over long periods of time (Hofstede, 2011) and could perhaps validate the differences in the current research.

The findings from this research show that life satisfaction is a significant partial mediator of the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life. Keeping in view previous investigation of the job-life satisfaction relationship wherein Judge and Watanabe (1994) mention that one cannot show the causal nature of the relationship. Partial mediation also shows that the effect and magnitude of other variables needs to be reviewed in understanding more about quality of work life (Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty, 2011). Another aspect that these mediation results could contribute to is for

developing interventions (MacKinnon, 2011); for instance university authorities could promote programs for work-life balance which would enhance job and life satisfaction and could further impact QWL.

There were some limitations of the study, which could suggest as opportunities to be explored in future research with use of multi methods and in depth qualitative techniques or longitudinal studies that might provide further insights into the linkages between the research variables. As life satisfaction was only a partial mediator, other variables could be explored such as the role of work family conflict (Kinman & Jones, 2008). Future research could explore the impact of QWL on other outcomes in the university context as found in other researches (Daud, 2010; Aketch et al. 2012).

In conclusion this research showed that the university teachers in the selected samples form Thailand and Malaysia reported high levels of satisfaction with their life, jobs and quality of work life. The present findings could be useful to university authorities to support and enhance the employee's needs and develop programs that promote quality of work life. On a wider perspective with developing ties between ASEAN nations reach the AEC 2015 goals, this study could be extended to other nations to build a comprehensive data base with more extensive cross cultural analyses to find differences and similarities among the nations. These could be useful in preparing for cross cultural exchange between universities across the ASEAN region.

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Interpersonal Behavioral Difficulties of Muslim Students in Japan During Intercultural Contact Situations

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Abstract

This research explored the interpersonal behavioral difficulties experienced by Muslim students in Japan when interacting with Japanese people within the Japanese sociocultural context. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 21 international Muslim students in Japan and analyzed the interpersonal behavioral difficulties they experienced using the KJ method. The results indicated that their interpersonal behavioral difficulties could be grouped into two primary categories: 'difficulties concerning understanding and adopting Japanese culture' and 'difficulties retaining Muslim culture'. The former included two sub-categories: (1) communicating properly in conversations with Japanese people and (2) adapting to Japanese interpersonal or relational styles; the latter included three sub-categories: (1) having restrictions on eating and drinking different from the Japanese, (2) having behavioral restrictions different from the Japanese, and (3) having Japanese individuals understand about religious practices. While some findings agree with those of previous studies on Muslims in non-Islamic environments, others do not. The present survey also uncovered new difficulties associated with the culture-specific characteristics of Japanese relationships (that is., understanding how Japanese people respond in daily communication and maintaining appropriate distance from Japanese people). Explaining Muslim customs to Japanese people, talking to Japanese individuals who have a lower religious consciousness, and misunderstandings arising from differences in observance of the Muslim faith were difficulties unique to the present socio-cultural context resulting from the blend of Muslim and Japanese cultures, with the latter being not as religious. Some common difficulties based on religion exist due to differences between Muslim and non-Muslim cultures, while the degree to which other difficulties are experienced may vary according to the differences between elements specific to the host culture and individuals own religious norms. These findings could contribute to help Muslim individuals living in non-Islamic societies preventing misunderstandings and potential conflicts, as well as provide host individuals with valuable insight on how to better understand their Muslim guests.

Keywords: Intercultural conflict; Interpersonal behavioral difficulties; International students in Japan; Muslim students

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A.   INTRODUCTION

Over the past 30 years, the international student population in Japan has experienced a substantial thirteen-fold growth. The 300,000 International Students Plan, proposed in 2008, delineated the strategy to further boost the estimated 140,000 strong international student community to a robust 300,000 by 2020, in order to make Japan a country more open to the world and expand the flow of people to and from Japan. Thus, a national effort is being made to significantly raise the number of foreign students in the country. If the number of international students continues to grow at the expected rate, one in ten students in Japan will likely be foreign by 2020 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology, 2008). Consequently, associated increases in the probability of interpersonal contact with people of different cultural backgrounds can be expected with this significant growth in numbers across Japan.

This growth has brought cultural as well as religious diversity to university campuses in Japan. Recent statistics show that approximately 7,000 international students are from Islamic countries—4,595 from Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia), 1,881 from the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Uzbekistan), and 213 from Africa (Egypt) (Japan Student Services Organization, 2013). It is a relatively new phenomenon to have this many international Muslim students in Japanese universities.

Muslims have specific religious needs and behavioral patterns that differ from those of Japanese individuals. Studies have reported the profound influence of the Koran on their sense of values, upon which many of their actions are based (Shimada, 1997). Matsumoto and Juang (2004) have described culture as being:

> *'A dynamic system of rules, explicit and implicit, established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviors, shared by a group but harbored differently by each specific unit within the group, communicated across generations, relatively stable but with the potential to change across time.'* (p. 10).

From this perspective, the common beliefs, norms, attitudes, behaviors, and values based on Islam that Muslims share with one another as a group can be regarded as 'Muslim culture,' which we explored further in our study of international Muslim students in Japan.

Studying the religious needs of Muslim students in Japanese universities, Kishida (2009) reported that Muslim students sought halal food and space to pray on campus. In 2012, the Education Center for International Students of Nagoya University in Japan published a guidebook for Japanese educators and students that explained some of the facets and practices of Muslim culture in greater detail, such as eating halal food, worshipping daily, and observing the month of Ramadan, to enable a more accurate understanding of the culture, as well as provide appropriate support for Muslims on

campus. These religious acts of worship are unfamiliar to many native Japanese, as they have not encountered many Muslims in their predominantly mono-cultural and non-Islamic society. Several universities in Japan have begun serving halal food in their cafeterias and securing prayer rooms on their campuses to meet these needs of their students (Kishida, 2011). Although these changes occurring on Japan's university campuses are pioneering, many institutions have yet to implement them.

While the religious needs of Muslim students are beginning to receive more attention, their interpersonal relationships with the Japanese have broadly been overlooked. Previous studies on international students in Japan and in Western countries have reported that they experience difficulties in their interpersonal relationships with host individuals (Amano, 1995; Amarasingham, 1980; Fontaine & Dorch, 1980; Tanaka & Yokota, 1992; Word & Kennedy, 1994). Given that Muslim students observe their rather restrictive religious practices based on their faith, they may have some difficulties in their relationships with host individuals who may be unfamiliar with their customs or faith. However, empirical research to date has not properly examined interpersonal behavioral difficulties of international Muslim students in Japan with host individuals. Clarification of interpersonal behavioral difficulties is needed to promote the development of corrective measures such as psycho-educational support to facilitate adaptation. This study thus aimed to determine difficulties experienced by Muslim students when interacting with Japanese people within the Japanese socio-cultural context.

B.   METHODS

a.   Participants

The informants were 21 Muslim students (11 men, 10 women) enrolled in universities in Western Japan who had resided in the country for a period of 2 months to 18 years. The informants were from Southeast Asia (n = 10), the Middle East (n = 9), and Africa (n = 2). Participant characteristics are shown in Table 1.

b.   Procedures

Semi-structured individual interviews were conducted, each lasting from 60 to 180 minutes. Informants were first asked to state their attributes (for example, 'Where are you from?', 'How long have you stayed in Japan?', and 'How old are you?'). Following this, informants were each asked to describe their experience in Japan, especially as it pertained to interpersonal behavioral difficulties (e.g., 'How would you describe your relationships with the Japanese people around you?', 'Are you dissatisfied with Japanese culture or the behaviors of Japanese people?', 'What surprises you about Japan?', 'When do you experience stress?', and 'Have you faced any problems in your relationships with the

Japanese people?'). The interviews were relatively informal and conducted in a relaxed atmosphere. Informants extensively discussed concerns related to student life in Japan. Interviews were recorded with a voice recorder with the informant's consent and later transcribed for analysis. Informants were informed of the purpose of the study and assured that their identities would be kept confidential. We obtained informed consent from all informants before the interviews. Furthermore, the research protocol, which the first author submitted as part of her application to the Okayama University's graduate program of study, was reviewed and then approved by the university with admission into the program. She is currently receiving support and implementation guidance with the research from the university.

c.   Analysis

To organize and identify their difficulties with regard to interpersonal behavior, we analyzed informants' comments with the KJ method (Kawakita, 1967), a bottom-up method employed to form new concepts from data gathered. Their comments were sorted by their units of meaning. First, we extracted segments of the transcribed narratives corresponding to points in the interviews during which informants discussed their difficulties, surprise, confusion, and discomfort when they came in contact with Japanese people. Then, within these segments, the items that were unrelated to interpersonal relationships with Japanese people (for example: the difficulty they had in locating an appropriate space in which they could pray), were excluded from the analysis. Second, all information was written on individual cards. Following this, the cards were shuffled, spread out, and carefully read. Cards containing similar content were grouped together; a title was given to each group and placed upon the group of cards. This process of grouping was repeated to further divide the primary categories into secondary categories, which were assigned different titles.

Table 1. Characteristics of informants

Informant	Age	Gender	Home country	Major field	Japanese level	Years of stay in Japan
Student A	30	Male	Iran	Science	Beginner	4 years and 5 months
Student B	22	Male	Malaysia	Science	Advanced	4 years and 3 months
Student C	32	Male	Sudan	Science	Beginner	5 months
Student D	27	Male	Syria	Science	Beginner	2 years and 3 months
Student E	27	Male	Iran	Science	Beginner	1 year and 2 months

Student F	27	Male	Iran	Science	Advanced	10 years and 7 months
Informant	Age	Gender	Home country	Major field	Japanese level	Years of stay in Japan
Student G	23	Female	Iran	Arts	Beginner	1 year and 5 months
Student H	20	Female	Malaysia	Science	Advanced	1 year and 3 months
Student I	30	Female	Iran	Science	Beginner	4 years
Student J	38	Male	Philippines	Science	Beginner	4 years and 4 months
Student K	20	Male	Saudi Arabia	Science	Intermediate	3 years and 2 months
Student L	20	Female	Sudan	Arts	Advanced	18 years
Student M	22	Male	Afghanistan	Arts	Advanced	11 years
Student N	20	Female	Malaysia	Science	Intermediate	2 years and 2 months
Student O	31	Male	Malaysia	Science	Advanced	7 years and 6 months
Student P	24	Female	Indonesia	Science	Beginner	6 months
Student Q	22	Female	Indonesia	Science	Intermediate	2 months
Student R	31	Female	Indonesia	Arts	Beginner	7 months
Student S	21	Female	Indonesia	Arts	Advanced	8 months
Student T	21	Male	Saudi Arabia	Science	Advanced	1 year and 2 months
Student U	19	Female	Malaysia	Arts	Intermediate	3 months

C.   RESULTS

Total of 84 segments was obtained from the analysis of comments of international Muslim students in Japan. The number averaged 4 (SD = 2.30) per informant. From the analysis, two primary categories were identified pertaining to the interpersonal behavioral difficulties encountered by these students: difficulties concerning understanding and

adopting Japanese culture and difficulties retaining Muslim culture. These are further detailed in Table 2, while examples of informant narratives regarding these difficulties, along with others, are presented in Appendices 1 and 2. The former primary category included difficulties arising from trying to understand and practice certain aspects of Japanese culture; this category consisted of two sub-categories: I. Communicating properly in conversations with Japanese people and II. Adapting to Japanese interpersonal or relational styles.

Broad Category I included difficulty communicating due to differences in communication and representation styles, and difficulty responding in a way that is expected when talking to Japanese individuals. This category comprised six sub-categories: (a) understanding the implications of suppressed Japanese emotions, (b) understanding the true intentions of Japanese people, (c) speaking in Japanese is expected, (d) understanding how Japanese people respond in daily communication, (e) using honorific language, and (f) comprehending the meaning of unclear expressions of Japanese people. Of these tertiary categories, the most frequent was (a). The students felt a level of anxiety with regard to not knowing how Japanese people really felt as their facial expressions often remained relatively unchanged. Furthermore, the students expressed anxiety regarding conversations with Japanese people, who, they often felt, seemed to make only positive comments without saying what they really thought. Thus, Muslim students often found themselves struggling to figure out what Japanese people truly meant or intended. The students were also puzzled by their indirect expressions in conversations (e.g., not saying 'no' clearly when they refuse), which further made it difficult to grasp their true intentions. Thus, the students struggled with the indirect, euphemistic communication style of the Japanese, and had trouble reading their faces in conversations. Even though Japanese individuals often nodded or responded at frequent intervals to facilitate the flow of conversation as they listened, Muslim students found it difficult to talk to them. The Japanese response of 'Hi' ('Yes'), which may not always mean 'Ok' or 'I agree', added to their confusion in conversations with Japanese host individuals. This style of communication, unique to the Japanese, is one that international students from other countries are often unaccustomed with. The international Muslim students in our study expressed difficulty understanding and adopting these characteristics defining conversations with Japanese individuals.

Broad Category II, 'Adapting to Japanese interpersonal or relational styles,' referred to difficulty stemming from uncertainty concerning how to build interpersonal relationships within the Japanese sociocultural environment, such as in making friends with Japanese individuals and in developing rapport with seniors or teachers. Its sub-categories were (g) understanding how to approach passivity shown by host individuals in initiating interactions with foreigners, (h) understanding the severity of the Japanese hierarchical order, and (i) maintaining appropriate distance from Japanese people. These tertiary categories, the most

frequent was (g). The students were surprised that Japanese individuals found it difficult to initiate interactions with foreigners. They worried about how they should behave in making friends with passive host individuals. For example, some students felt it was inconvenient to have to meet numerous times before they could become close friends with Japanese individuals. Some students felt uncertain whether they had actually become a friend of a Japanese person.

The latter primary category, 'difficulties retaining Muslim culture' was divided into three sub-categories: III. Having restrictions on eating and drinking different from the Japanese, IV. Having behavioral restrictions different from the Japanese,and V. Having Japanese individuals understand Muslim religious practices. The difficulties described in sub-category III were related to attempts to observe the Muslim faith in social situations involving alcohol or non-halal food, which often led to feelings of distress. This category further comprised two sub-categories: (j) encountering social situations where alcoholic drinks are served and (k) not being able to share meals with Japanese individuals. Because consumption of alcohol or non-halal food is prohibited in Islam, the students often felt uncomfortable—sometimes, pain—when participating in activities that involved drinking or dining with the Japanese, and worried about losing such opportunities to get to know host individuals better. Some of the students also detested the smell of liquor or seeing a person get drunk. Others were concerned about possibly consuming food cooked with liquor. Thus, having dietary restrictions that Japanese individuals did not share frequently contributed to difficulties establishing relationships with them.

Broad Category IV, concerned difficulties related to behavioral restrictions on their religion. Its sub-categories were: (l) hearing talk about romantic relationships, (m) anxiety about possibly being judged by Japanese people for wearing a headscarf, (n) participating in events with members of the opposite sex, (o) participating in gambling-like activities, (p) hearing someone speaking negatively of others behind their backs, and (q) exposing skin. The most frequent tertiary category in Broad Category IV was (l) hearing talk about romantic relationships. It was difficult for them to participate in such conversations about boyfriends or girlfriends as they were not permitted to date members of the opposite sex before marriage. Some students were also reluctant to work with individuals who were not of the same gender. Additionally, the students felt uncomfortable when hearing talk of someone behind the person's back as their religion discouraged such behavior. This discomfort was also felt in gambling-like activities because gambling is forbidden in Islam. Further, to adhere to teachings of their faith regarding modesty, almost all of the female participants regularly wore a headscarf. Some of them were worried about how it would be perceived by others—whether they would be able to build relationships with Japanese people while wearing a scarf. Thus, they felt uncomfortable when they did not wish to do like the Japanese, since they were to observe their religious restrictions.

Large Category V included difficulties and misunderstandings by host individuals frequently related to a lack of understanding or knowledge about the Muslim faith. Its sub-categories were: (r) explaining Muslim customs to Japanese people, (s) talking to Japanese individuals who have a lower religious consciousness and (t) misunderstandings arising from differences in observance of the Muslim faith. The most frequent tertiary categories were (r) and (s). The students often felt compelled to explain why they behaved in a certain way when practicing their religion in everyday life because from the perspective of Japanese individuals who did not share the same religion, their religious practices might appear to be somewhat bizarre. They also expressed feeling disappointed when they found that Japanese individuals hardly knew about their religious practices. At other times, Japanese individuals were not aware of the presence of different degrees of observance of religious restrictions among individuals who practice the faith. Despite the Muslim students' efforts to explain their beliefs, discussions on faith and religion frequently did not deepen because Japanese individuals had a lower religious consciousness, and as such, ended up imagining a similar, concrete 'relationship with God.'

Of the participants, 17 had been living in Japan for less than seven years, while others had been living there for 7, 10, 11, and 18 years, respectively. An average of 4.12 (SD = 2.42) interpersonal behavioral difficulties were reported by those who had been in Japan for less than seven years, while a mean of 3.75 (SD = 1.64) such difficulties were indicated by those who had stayed for more than seven years. There were no significant differences between the two groups in terms of the average number of difficulties they had experienced ($t(19) = .27$, $p < .05$). The study also revealed that even those who had stayed in Japan for a long time and who were used to the Japanese culture experienced interpersonal behavioral difficulties in trying to retain their Muslim faith, as demonstrated by Student M's narrative: 'I cannot do against the rules of Islam. I know the rules of Japanese society, but, because I'm Muslim, I must live in Islamic society while maintaining the faith. So, I must observe the rules of Islamic society'. However, some informants described, 'I am getting used to Japanese culture' (Student M) or 'I have come to understand and accept the Japanese' (Student F). The results suggested that, despite the difficulties they had experienced, some had come to understand or accept characteristics of Japanese culture. A task for future research would be to examine whether length of stay influences types of difficulties experienced by international Muslim students.

Table 2. Interpersonal behavioral difficulties of Muslim students in Japan

‹ Difficulties concerning understanding and adopting Japanese culture ›		
Broad category (number of segments of comments)	*Small category (number of segments of comments)*	
I. Communicating properly in conversations with Japanese people (28)	a) Understanding the implications of suppressed Japanese emotions	(8)
	b) Understanding the true intentions of Japanese people	(5)
	c) Speaking in Japanese is expected	(5)
	d) Understanding how Japanese people respond in daily communication	(4)
	e) Using honorific language	(3)
	f) Comprehending the meaning of unclear expressions of Japanese people	(3)
II. Adapting to Japanese interpersonal or relational styles (14)	g) Understanding how to approach passivity shown by host individuals in initiating interactions with foreigners	(8)
	h) Understanding the severity of the Japanese hierarchical order	(4)
	i) Maintaining appropriate distance from Japanese people	(2)
‹Difficulties retaining Muslim culture›		
Broad category (number of segments of comments)	*Small category (number of segments of comments)*	
III. Having restrictions on eating and drinking different from the Japanese (13)	j) Encountering social situations where alcoholic drinks are served	(8)
	k) Not being able to share meals with Japanese individuals	(5)

(Table 2 continued)

Large category (number of segments of comments)	*Small category (number of segments of comments)*

	l)	Hearing talk about romantic relationships	(5)
	m)	Anxiety about possibly being judged by Japanese people for wearing a headscarf	(4)
IV. Having behavioral restrictions different from the Japanese (18)	n)	Participating in events with members of the opposite sex	(3)
	o)	Participating in gambling-like activities	(2)
	p)	Hearing someone speaking negatively of others behind their backs	(2)
	q)	Exposing skin	(2)
V. Having Japanese individuals understand Muslim religious practices (11)	r)	Explaining Muslim customs to Japanese people	(5)
	s)	Talking to Japanese individuals who have a lower religious consciousness	(5)
	t)	Misunderstandings arising from differences in observance of the Muslim faith	(1)

Note: the total number of the segments of comments per category is given in parentheses.

D.   DISCUSSION

As previous studies have reported, Muslims have specific religious needs and display behavioral patterns that may differ from those of their host society. However, research to date has not sufficiently examined the possible influence of these behavioral patterns on their psychological states or difficulties when interacting with host individuals in other countries. In this paper, we focused on the interpersonal behavioral difficulties experienced by international Muslim students in Japan and analyzed these from a psychological perspective. The results revealed that some psychological difficulties they experienced in their interactions with Japanese people within the Japanese sociocultural context were brought on by culture-specific aspects of their behavior and cognition. By comparing our findings with those of previous studies conducted on international students in general in Japan, and on Muslims in predominantly non-Islamic environments of Western societies, we discuss possible factors influencing interpersonal difficulties experienced by Muslims and effective ways to build interpersonal relationships with host individuals in non-Islamic environments.

While some findings agree with those of previous studies, others do not. Contents of the primary category of 'difficulties concerning understanding and adopting Japanese culture' are partially consistent with those revealed in previous research on international students in general in Japan. Such difficulties likely arise from culture-specific characteristics of Japanese interpersonal relations or daily communication, which include suppressed emotions, specific expressions, respect of hierarchical order, and specific manners of interacting with foreigners, as reported in previous research on cross-cultural

communication (Asano, 1996; Condon, 1984; Hayashi, 1990; Iwao & Hagiwara, 1988; Kamiya & Nakagawa, 2007; Nishida & Gudykunst, 2002; Nomura, 1980; Tanaka and Tabata, 1991). Difficulties noted with regard to understanding the true intentions of Japanese people and the meanings of unclear Japanese expressions, along with implications of suppressed Japanese emotions identified in the present study, concur with results obtained by Tanaka and Fujihara (1992), who examined interpersonal behavioral difficulties of international students in Japan. Like other international students in general, Muslim students in Japan struggle to understand the euphemistic, modest, and specific expressions used by Japanese people. Newly uncovered difficulties in the present survey were 'understanding how Japanese people respond in daily communication' and 'maintaining appropriate distance from Japanese people.'

On the other hand, our study suggested that some common difficulties based on religion exist due to differences between Muslim and non-Muslim cultures. The contents of the primary category, 'difficulties retaining Muslim culture,' have similarly been reported in previous studies on Muslims in non-Islamic environments of Western societies (Bloomer & Mutair, 2013; Fahlman, 1983; Katakura, 1990). For example, Katakura (1990), who researched Egyptian Muslims in Canada, reported that Muslims experienced conflict largely caused by being misunderstood by host individuals due to a lack of knowledge and acceptance of Muslim customs, or peer pressure in social situations where drinking was involved. In addition, Fahlman (1983), who studied Muslims in North America, reported that Muslim students experienced conflict related to restrictions in the practice of their religion in everyday life, such as not being able to share halal food with host individuals or wear a scarf without feeling judged. The findings of the present study concurred with Katakura's (1990) and Fahlman's (1983). Conflict has been reported to arise from differences in values between Islamic and Western cultures as to what to wear (e.g., clothes that expose one's skin in front of the opposite sex are not condoned in Muslim culture) or in attitudes toward liquor. Our survey of Muslim students revealed new, more concrete difficulties they faced stemming from their religious behavioral restrictions, as they experienced these in their university lives and day-to-day interactions with host individuals, including feeling uncomfortable with: talk of romantic relationships, participating in activities involving the opposite sex, speaking of others behind their backs, or gambling. These results suggest that they are likely to feel differences between non-Islamic and Islamic cultures, and experience some level of psychological conflict in their attempt to observe their Islamic faith while living in non-Islamic countries.

Although they experience some difficulties based on religion in non-Islamic countries, the degree to which difficulties are experienced may vary according to characteristics of the host society. Our findings on issues concerning wearing a headscarf among Muslim women are not consistent with those obtained on Muslim women in the US, despite the fact that

Japan and the US are both non-Islamic countries. Muslim women in Japan feel anxious for fear of attracting attention by wearing their scarves in public. However, the female Arab-Muslim international nursing students in the US in McDermott's study (2011) did not, and they reported that this was enabled by the fact that Americans tended to 'mind their own business' or 'have their own life.' The difficulties we uncovered with regard to 'talking to Japanese individuals who have a lower religious consciousness' and 'misunderstandings arising from differences in observance of the Muslim faith' were unique to the present sociocultural context resulting from the blend of Muslim and Japanese cultures. If the host society is highly religiously diverse and tolerant of different religions, the types of interpersonal behavioral difficulties international Muslim students experience might be reduced. Because such an environment would allow Muslim students to practice their religious beliefs more freely without fear of judgment, retaining their religious practices could be considerably easier as a result.

In addition, our results indicated that the degree of difficulty experienced may vary according to cultural distances and differences between culture-specific elements of the host culture and individuals' own mother cultures. Although both Muslims in Japan and Canada deal with issues concerning the strength of emotional expression of host individuals, their evaluations of such strength were found to be reversed. While Muslims in Katakura's study were struggling to grasp the strong emotional expressions of Canadian host individuals, it was the opposite for Muslim students we surveyed in Japan, who were puzzled by the weakness of emotional expression among Japanese people in comparison to their own. The cultural distance between Japan and Canada is relatively vast. The degree to which individuals experience difficulties of the primary category 'difficulties concerning understanding and adopting Japanese culture' may vary, depending on the extent of cultural distance and variation in culture-specific elements between the host culture and individuals' own mother cultures. For example, some Asian Muslims may experience less difficulty than some Arab Muslims in Japan as their cultures may be closer to that of Japan.

Our results suggest that Muslim students in Japan struggle with two primary issues. The first concerns their ability to process Japanese cultural norms that differ from their own. They may feel conflicted regarding the appropriate behavior or response when confronted with social situations they find difficult participating in. Therefore, when encountering Japanese cultural norms that are in conflict with their own, they need to be competent in both understanding and differentiating these two contradictory points of reference in order to determine how to behave. The second issue concerns their ability to create an environment in Japanese society such that they would have less difficulty retaining their own religious practices. Almost all of the Muslim students we interviewed believed that unwavering adherence to the stipulations of Islam was necessary, but that Japanese society was not always compatible with their religious restrictions. For example, when dining with

the Japanese, Muslim students are often faced with the challenge of finding dishes or a menu composed of items they can consume according to their religion. In such situations, developing the skills necessary to explain their specific dietary practices, asking for the components they need, and negotiate their preferences (e.g., the possibility of preparing a non-alcoholic drink instead) could be instrumental in facilitating a better understanding of their needs. This would then make it easier for them to practice their religion in daily life. A possible solution to easing communication with Japanese hosts is using more indirect expressions in conversations with them. Supporting students' efforts to nurture the knowledge and skills they require to respond appropriately within a particular host society is crucial to reducing misunderstandings and intercultural conflicts that might otherwise arise. The present study would contribute to the development of valuable insights on how host individuals can better understand and build intercultural relationships with Muslims.

Several limitations of this research should be noted. Because of the study's relatively small sample size, further research is needed to verify the generelizability of its findings. Second, the present results on interpersonal behavioral difficulties experienced by international Muslim students in Japan did not take into account the potential influence of gender, degrees of faith, or cultures of countries of origin. Therefore, more analyses of difficulties possibly associated with each of these factors are expected. Finally, a challenge for future research is to explore and develop a variety of effective social skills that international Muslim students could apply in different societies throughout the world.

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APPENDIX 1. Informant comments on difficulties concerning understanding and adopting Japanese culture

I. Communicating properly in conversations with Japanese people
a) Understanding the implications of suppressed Japanese emotions
Student D: 'If Japanese people get angry, they do not express it clearly. Their facial expressions do not change. I do not know whether they are angry or laughing because their facial expressions are unchanged. So, it can be frustrating.'
b) Understanding the true intentions of Japanese people
Student O: 'Even though they smile when we talk face-to-face, I don't know what Japanese people really think. They may say something bad behind my back. They seem to hide their real emotion. They always make positive comments, even when this isn't what they think.'
c) Speaking in Japanese is expected
Student R: 'Japanese people are too shy to speak in English. They sometimes try to communicate in English, but usually leave after a few conversations. I think Japanese people prefer that I speak in Japanese because they lack confidence. Before I came to Japan, I thought I did not need to study Japanese because (I thought) all Japanese people were able to speak English. However, the fact is that I do need to learn and study Japanese to get along with Japanese people.'
d) Understanding how Japanese people respond in daily communication
Student R: 'Japanese people often say, 'Hai, hai, hai, hai' [Yes, yes, yes, yes].... 'This response is intended to convey to the speaker that they are listening; it does not mean 'OK' or 'I agree.' This habit of repeatedly saying 'Hai [Yes]' in conversation makes me very confused when I talk with Japanese people.'
e) Using honorific language
Student A: 'The Japanese language has different levels. It is really difficult for me to understand which level is appropriate. This prevents me from talking because I do not know which one is polite in this case and which one is impolite.'
f) Comprehending the meaning of unclear expressions of Japanese people
Student A: 'It is necessary to hesitate before speaking in Japan. You cannot be honest because if you say something directly, it may be perceived by some as impolite. We have to monitor what we say to some professors and Japanese friends.'
Ⅱ. Adapting to Japanese interpersonal or relational styles
g) Understanding how to approach passivity shown by host individuals in initiating interactions with foreigners
Student C: 'It is difficult to establish good relationships with Japanese people. If I don't initiate a conversation, I cannot talk with them. I have to start talking to them because they never start talking to me.'
h) Understanding the severity of the Japanese hierarchical order
Student I: 'Students and assistants must comply with everything said by heads or professors. The head is some kind of god. Even students are not allowed to get closer to professors.'
i) Maintaining appropriate distance from Japanese people
Student T: 'It is difficult to make new friends. In Japan, people hang around together once every week or 2 weeks, even with people they refer to as their close friends. I would not consider that a close friend in my country. When we call someone 'friend,' we spend time together almost every day. So, it is difficult for me to judge whether I have actually established a relationship with a Japanese person.'
Notes: ( ): supplementary information [ ]: meaning of Japanese words *I, II*: names of Broad categories *a)–i)*: names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Table 2

APPENDIX 2. Informant comments regarding difficulties retaining muslim culture

III. Having restrictions on eating and drinking different from the Japanese
j) Encountering social situations where alcoholic drinks are served
Student D: 'Due to religious restrictions, I am not even permitted to attend, let alone drink. I do not like the smell. I do not like how Japanese people totally change when they drink.'
k) Not being able to share meals with Japanese individuals
Student D: 'Since I cannot eat anything that contains pork or meat, or drink sake or mirin [a type of sweetened sake], I do not want to have lunch with Japanese people. So, this causes some trouble.'
IV. Having behavioral restrictions different from the Japanese
l) Hearing talk about romantic relationships
Student D: 'A Japanese person in my lab talks a lot about girls and girlfriends, or something. But I am not allowed to have a girlfriend. I cannot even talk about girls.'
m) Anxiety about possibly being judged by Japanese people for wearing a headscarf
Student S: 'Since they do not wear headscarves in Japan, I was worried that wearing a scarf would prevent me from building good relationships with Japanese people. I was concerned what people would think if I wore one.'
n) Participating in events with members of the opposite sex
Student L: 'I'd joined a club, but I later decided to withdraw because, besides regular club activities, there are many events such as drinking alcohol, BBQs, and swimming in the ocean. I have swimsuits for Muslims, but I feel uncomfortable spending time with opposite-sex people.'
o) Participating in gambling-like activities
Student D: 'The lottery is not allowed. Things that benefit you because of another person's loss are not allowed. We once had a football game between my lab and a neighboring lab, but the problem was that the loser was to buy drinks for both teams.'
p) Hearing someone speaking negatively of others behind their backs
Student D: 'Many times I've heard Japanese talking behind another person's back. But in my religion, it isn't allowed; therefore, it's difficult to talk to them when they're doing that.'
q) Exposing skin
Student T: 'Being naked when I get into the public bath is very shameful. It's prohibited in my country. When I went to the hot spa for the first time, I thought I should get naked like the others, but I really hesitated. The Japanese friend told me that going into the hot spa together means we would prove our trust in each other. While Muslims believe this is abnormal, this improves relationships in Japan. It's interesting, but I still cannot walk without clothes in front of people.'
V. Having Japanese individuals understand Muslim religious practices
r) Explaining Muslim customs to Japanese people
Student H: 'It is difficult to explain Muslim customs to Japanese people because they hardly know anything about Islam.'
s) Talking to Japanese individuals who have a lower religious consciousness
Student M: 'I tried to explain what religion is, but the Japanese person I was speaking with did not understand. No Japanese person starts a conversation about religion. If I ask what their religion is, they say Buddhism, even though they do not have a faith. Japanese people do not understand religion, so I do not talk about religion with them.'
t) Misunderstandings arising from differences in observance of the Muslim faith
Student D: 'The problem in my lab is that I am not the only Muslim; there are two others. So, even if I explain why I cannot attend something, a Japanese person does not understand why I cannot attend if the other Muslim friend can attend. So, Japanese people do not understand that there are degrees of strictness.'
Notes: ( ): supplementary information [ ]: meaning of Japanese words *I, II*: names of Broad categories *a)–i)*: names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Table 2

Social exclusion, health and wellbeing of Iranian women: a review of the literature

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Abstract

There is a growing understanding of the detrimental relationship between social exclusion, health and wellbeing. However, evidence shows that it differs between genders particularly in traditional societies like Iran. It has been documented that women in these societies, experience more social exclusion than men. Despite significant improvements in Iran in terms of women's status in society such as increasing education and employment opportunities and levels, women do not enjoy an adequate level of social inclusion which influences their health outcomes. The literature review has found that the most prominent barriers that cause Iranian women to feel excluded are problems related to work, role-conflict and restrictive gender roles. As a result these social inclusion barriers may lead to boundaries separating women from men that affect their access to resources associated with leisure, civic and employment opportunities. Furthermore, the low utilization of health and treatment services by women increases the difficulties in identifying social factors leading to health related problems. Results of the literature review indicate the need for more research into social exclusion, health and wellbeing particularly in less industrialized countries like Iran. Thus, this literature review has the potential to inform policies and intervention programs that will improve the social inclusion of women in Iran.

Keywords: social exclusion, social inclusion, health, wellbeing, traditional societies, women, Iran

A. INTRODUCTION

Societies with high levels of social inclusion are defined as societies where all people feel valued, their needs are met, their differences respected, and therefore can live in dignity (Cappo, 2002). Generally social inclusion enhances the equity of access to basic social and economic rights and also overcomes obstacles that make people feel excluded from their society. Hence, the ultimate role of social inclusion is making sure that individuals are socially connected with other individuals and to their broader community (Young, 2000). On the other hand, 'social exclusion is defined as limiting access to chances and opportunities and/or restricting the ability required to capitalize on chances or opportunities offered by society' (Hayes, Gray, & Edwards, 2008, p. 6). Hence, social

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exclusion is not the same as poverty or deprivation, rather, it is basically and mostly about a lack of social participation (Saunders, Naidoo, & Griffiths, 2007).

Some literature shows that social exclusion emerges at the individual or group level including inadequate access to resources and social rights, limited social participation and a lack of normative integration (Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007; Vrooman & Hoff, 2013). These dimensions are modified by different factors such as personal and socio-demographic risk factors; macro societal changes, and government rules and regulations (Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007; Vrooman & Hoff, 2013). Social exclusion result in lower level of participation at both individual and societal levels including social, economic, and political life (Young, 2000), and this subsequently affects health and wellbeing (Salehi, Harris, Coyne & Sebar a, 2014 a).

The literature shows that social exclusion is a social determinant of health (Salehi, Harris, Coyne & Sebar a, 2014 a). It has been known for decades that lack of social participation and social exclusion is detrimental to health (Berkman & Syme, 1979; Fujiwara & Kawachi, 2008). There is strong evidence of the negative effects of social exclusion at different societal levels on happiness, life satisfaction and suicide rates (Halpern, 2005). The evidence indicates that there is a strong relationship between social exclusion, inequality and public expenditure patterns and that these contribute to differences in population health (Campbell, Wood, & Kelly, 1999; Halpern, 2005). For example communities that empower all citizens to play a full and useful role in the social, economic and cultural life of their community are likely to be healthier than those where people face insecurity, exclusion and deprivation (Fujiwara & Kawachi, 2008). Hence, decreasing social exclusion issues can result in higher social cohesiveness and greater standards of health and wellbeing (Fujiwara & Kawachi, 2008).

Women are more likely to experience social exclusion and lack of connectedness to their community, which may severely impact their sense of wellbeing and increase the risk of psychological and physical ill-health (Salehi, Harris, Coyne, & Sebar, 2014b). The literature supports that the effect of social disconnection is high among women when they feel excluded from and devalued by their communities (Fakhr El Islam, 2001). Additionally, the cost and low utilization of treatment services by women may also increase difficulties in identifying social factors leading to health related problems (Douki, Ben Zineb, Nacef, & Halbreich, 2007).

Women's mental and physical health is, at least in part, a response to the communities and societies in which they feel they do not belong to or within which they do not feel valued (Fakhr El Islam, 2001; WHO, 2000). For example, approximately half the population of the Middle East and Iran are women, and the extent to which this population can be healthy and productive depends on how their needs are met within the structure of

these societies (Assaad & Roudi-Fahimi, 2007). It seems that despite significant improvements in Iran in terms of women's status in society such as increasing education and employment opportunities and levels (Ahmad Nia, 2002), women do not enjoy an adequate level of social involvement which influences their health and wellbeing outcomes (Mahdi, 2003). In countries like Iran, there has been very limited research into the role of social exclusion on health related issues. Given the structure of such societies including the particular expectations and restrictions placed upon women in general, and young women in particular (Assaad & Roudi-Fahimi, 2007), it would be interesting to better understand social exclusion issues and its connection with health and wellbeing. Therefore the overall aim of this article is to review social exclusion and health related issues among Iranian women and discuss implications for health promotion. More specifically, the article aims to:

1. Understand the factors that influence Iranian women's social exclusion such as work, education and restrictive gender roles; and
2. Understand how social exclusion issues influence women's health in Iran.

B. BACKGROUND TO ISLAMIC SOCIETIES AND IRAN

Islam is the second largest religion in the world after Christianity (Campbell & Guiao, 2004). There are more than one billion followers worldwide in more than 120 countries (Anderson, 1988; Campbell & Guiao, 2004; Ott, 2003). Although Islam is commonly associated with the Middle East, only about 25% of Muslims are in the Middle East with the majority being in Asian or African countries (Ott, 2003). Islam is a living and growing religion, transcending almost all races and cultures across the globe (Narayanasamy & Andrews, 2000). It is growing at an unprecedented rate and is the fastest growing religion in the world (Anderson, 1988). In the general context of the interdependence of the social and religious realms, in Islam, there is little or no distinction between 'cultural' and 'religious' elements of society (Ahmadi, 2003).

Some studies suggest that Islam can be a negative influence in some Muslim societies especially in the areas of women's social rights and social inclusion. It is suggested that the nature of the Islamic value system cannot be easily aligned with democratic values (Jamal & Ilkkaracan, 2004). However, it is believed by some authors that the efforts to decrease the rights of women come from different fundamentalist sects within Islam (Campbell & Guiao, 2004). This may be related to Islam's reaction to the expansion of western culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To resist the decline of Islamic beliefs, certain Islamic sects adopted values that set them apart from other faiths. Such were to include aspects of Islam that are associated with undermining women's social rights today (Beyer, 1990; Campbell & Guiao, 2004). Debate and discussion on the social and legal position of women has been coloured by the sharp contrast between patriarchal and women-centred

interpretations of women's social rights in Islam. By the late nineteenth century, debate around women's issues and women's socioeconomic situation in Iran had become widespread among intellectuals, modernists, nationalists, and anti-colonial forces (Paidar, 1995; Sansarian, 1982).

In Iran, a process of Islamization has been started from 1979. This movement has enjoyed considerable momentum at some points of time resulting in Islamists taking over sources of power (Moghadam, 1993). This has brought about changes to some aspects of Iranian society including culture, economy and political equations (Mahdi, 2003). Around the time Islamization was practiced and enforced by revolutionary forces in Iran with efforts to close the country's borders to outside influences, another process was taking shape on the world stage, namely globalization. Both Islamization and globalization affect Iranian people particularly women in a contradictory way. On the one hand, Islamists tend to limit women's access to some social involvements and on the other hand, women like to participate in the global processes of democratic developments and autonomous civil society (Mahdi, 2003). Furthermore, Iran's relationship with other countries and sanctions at a macro level have shaped national to local social processes and developments (Mahdi, 2003).

Although some research has shown that the status of women in Iran is much better than women in most middle eastern Arab countries (Moghadam, 1993), Iranian women do not have complete choice in employment, clothing, leisure activities and lifestyle, as they follow a more localized normative system (Mahdi, 2003; Mistry, Bhugra, Chaleby, Khan, & Sauer, 2009).

C.   METHODOLOGY

To meet the aim of the literature review, five databases were searched including PubMed, Scopus, ISI Web of Science, Google Scholar and Embase to locate articles and abstracts about women and their social inclusion/social exclusion in Islamic and/or traditional societies. These databases afford broad coverage of the three interrelated elements of the review: women as a population of interest, social inclusion/social exclusion and wellbeing. Since a relatively small number of studies exist on the topic and the information was scattered, a 'bottom-up' search strategy was required, and no time frame was considered in the searching process. Journal articles were retrieved from diverse fields of study including public health, sociology, psychology, psychosocial research, health services research, national documents and reports. A variety of different terms related to social inclusion/social exclusion, women, and wellbeing were used in these databases to seek relevant papers. Search terms included 'women,' 'traditional societies,' 'Islamic

societies,' 'Iran,' 'social inclusion,' 'social exclusion,' 'health,' and 'wellbeing.' The reference list of each article was reviewed in detail to find additional articles.

The assessment of papers was undertaken to narrow the focus of papers to social exclusion/social inclusion and women and wellbeing as inclusion criteria. Studies about women and social exclusion/social inclusion in more industrialized societies were excluded from this study. When the search was completed, the title, key words, and abstracts of studies were reviewed for final selection by the first author and those studies which were eligible for inclusion were selected.

Two independent reviewers evaluated the relevance of retrieved articles, and recorded the main findings of each study in a table (n @ 100 articles) in relation to the inclusion and exclusion criteria. Overall 39 articles which described the main social exclusion/social inclusion issues of women in Islamic and/or traditional societies including Iran were included. In addition 30 more articles have also been used for explaining the general concept of social exclusion/social inclusion and health. An analysis of these articles revealed key themes including work situations, role-conflicts, and restrictive gender roles such as dress codes, outdoor activities and sexual relationships as the main issues related to the social exclusion of Iranian women.

D.   RESULTS

1.   Education and employment of women in Iran

There is a directional link between both education (Halpern, 2005) and employment with social inclusion (William, Ritzen, & Woolcock, 2006). Education appears to enhance social participation, as well as social participation helping to foster educational attainment (Halpern, 2005). In addition, workforce participation is a fundamental source of decreasing social exclusion. It creates opportunities for financial independence and personal fulfilment which results in enhancing individuals' self-respect and social identity (William et al., 2006). Currently in Iran, there is an increasing number of female students in education particularly in higher education institutions (Salehi-Isfhani & Egel, 2007). The closing of the gender gap in education has been one of the Islamic Republic's important achievements (Mehran, 2003; Salehi-Isfhani & Egel, 2007; Tavakol, 2007) and, according to statistics, women now outnumber men in entering universities two to one (Salehi-Isfhani & Egel, 2007). The growing number of educational qualifications obtained by women raises their chances of obtaining jobs with higher status and better conditions which, in turn, increases their chances of social participation in society (Ahmad Nia, 2002).

Although increasing the education and employment of women in Iran increases their self-confidence, economic independence and feelings of worth, there are still some issues in

terms of employment, role-conflict and, in some cases, disagreement of husbands about their paid working role (Ahmad Nia, 2002). While women now outnumber men as university students, upon graduation they are less likely to obtain employment as men, and work opportunities decrease once they marry and have children (Salehi-Isfhani & Egel, 2007). The decrease in work opportunities associated with marriage is likely to be linked with the prominence and value placed in Iran upon the roles of women in home duties and motherhood (Ahmad Nia, 2002). Thus, seemingly the life course of women in Iran is still influenced by the attitude, behaviour and needs of significant others around them (Ahmad Nia, 2002). This situation can influence women's chances of taking up paid work by making it challenging and difficult. Furthermore, there are difficulties and barriers at the wider societal level, such as employer preference for male employees and formal or informal job-segregation policies that significantly influence women's participation in society and workplaces (Ahmad Nia, 2002). The feeling of guilt for not being a good mother also influences their participation, and finally those who work despite their husband's disagreement undergo risks to their mental and physical health through experiencing role-conflict and increased stress. For Iranian women their traditional roles as wives and mothers are prioritised. In their own views, their traditional roles come before their paid work role (Ahmad Nia, 2002).

Based on different studies in western countries, women's paid work is associated with higher level of health and well-being outcomes. However, there were not any significant differences in health between working and non-working women in Tehran, Iran (AhmadNia, 2002). The reason for this could be mainly because of the increasing self-esteem as a positive consequences of paid work on the one hand, and increased stress because of the role-conflict issues on the other hand (AhmadNia, 2002). Iranian society's particular socio-cultural climate contributes to this finding, with its dominant gender-role ideology; the priority and extra weight placed on women's traditional roles as wives and mothers, and the influential impact of husbands' attitudes on women's roles (Ahmad Nia, 2002). Therefore, women's working conditions are difficult in some cases because of the obligations associated with their reproductive and family roles (Fallahian, 2004). To achieve a suitable social involvement, and prevent social exclusion, there is a need for women to feel confident about societal support, as well as support from their husbands and other family members, in order to enter the public sphere (Ahmad Nia, 2002) which consequently enhances their quality of life (Asadi Sadeghi Azar, Heidari, Asadi Bidmeshki, Forghani, & Basirani, 2008).

2. Restrictive gender roles in Iran: Dress code and outdoor activities

The literature shows that social requirements and norms of women can affect their quality of life and happiness (Chinikar, Maddah, & Hoda, 2006). As studies show, not all aspects of lifestyle are voluntary and in some cases, broader social and technical systems can constrain the lifestyle choices available to individuals (Spaargaren & VanVliet, 2000). In a society like Iran, social rules in some cases regulate what women can wear, how they can act and what extra-curricular activities they can partake in. For example, these regulations prevent women from participation in active aquatic activities. In Iran, there are limitations on the spatial mobility of women, that is, women do not have the freedom to be in all places at all times. Also, there are limitations on social interactions of women by limiting and conditioning their interaction with male strangers and limiting their occupational mobility (Mahdi, 2003).

The introduction and maintenance of these boundaries and limitations became a major part of the Iranian government's social policy and a permanent task of the state, both military and civilian. A female vigilante group is organized to maintain state codes of female appearance in public, and even in some private arenas (Mahdi, 2003). Subsequently, the suppression of ideologies and Islamization of the society resulted in the large out-migration of educated and skilled individuals from Iran, including many women either as singles or married accompanying their husbands/parents (Mahdi, 2003). These cultural and social policies applied to women have affected the lives of Iranian women in different aspects and results in social disadvantages for them which consequently increase their social exclusion (Mahdi, 2003; Papanek, 1994).

Studies show that there is a significant relationship between these kinds of social inclusion barriers and health and quality of life. One clear example in Iran affects young women ages 20-40 where regulations for participation in exercise, particularly outdoor activities are limited (Mahdi, 2003). The lack of exercise opportunities means this population gains weight faster than other groups (Bakhshi, Seifi, Biglarian, & Mohammad, 2012), resulting in increasing diseases such as coronary artery disease and metabolic syndrome (Sarrafzadegan et al., 2008), which are among the leading causes of mortality among women in Iran (Chinikar et al., 2006).

3. Sexual relationships

Sexual relations are related to the social structure of each society (Moradi, 2009). They are socially and culturally constructed. Thus, sexual relations are constituted differently depending on the sociocultural context, and the construction of sexuality can vary from one society to another (Ahmadi, 2003). Islamic societies recognize the right of (married) women to have sexual fulfillment and encourage men to take care of their

spouses' sexual desires. However, in reality the taboo of women' sexuality still predominates in some societies and young women are heavily restricted in terms of their social and physical interactions with men (Mahdi, 2003; WHO, 2003).

Social and cultural values in Iran, as well as religious advice lead Iranian women to practice modesty in almost all aspects of their social behaviour including verbal and non-verbal communication, dress, and across-gender social relationships (Merghaty Khoei & Richters, 2008; Shirpak et al., 2008), which could affect women's social inclusion and their social connectedness. For example, modesty can be one of the main barriers to women seeking counseling, information and help particularly regarding sexual concerns and issues (Shirpak et al., 2008). Modesty has been noted as a cultural attribute and a social barrier to heath care utilization in some research (Andrews, 2006; Galanti, 2003; Shirpak et al., 2008; Syed, Ali, & Winstanley, 2005). Maticka-Tyndale and colleagues (2007) found that shame and modesty among Iranian immigrants to Canada interfered with accessing essential sexual health services (Maticka, 2007). Additionally, this conservative upbringing in some cases can result in development of fear of sexual intercourse and even non-consummation of marriage (Shirpak et al., 2008). This shows that the most important concerns of Iranian women's sexual issues are related to communication, and their ability to maintain a strong marriage (Shirpak et al., 2008), which is one of the primary socialization agents and makes a significant contribution to social support, and thus wellbeing.

Other examples of issues related to sexual relations in traditional societies is related to the loss of virginity, illegal pregnancy, abortions, and the subsequent health issues which could have a negative effect on social inclusion. The literature shows that in traditional societies, loss of virginity and illegitimate pregnancies are severely condemned and results in social isolation which consequently leads to psychological problems such as depression and anxiety (Saif & Dawla, 2001). In most cases illegitimate pregnancies lead to unsafe abortions or to the abandonment of the new-born. According to WHO, the majority of unsafe abortion are happening in developing societies, mostly because of the restrictive abortion policies (WHO, 2003). Hence, unsafe abortion is one of the main public health problems in the Middle East and North Africa region, and approximately 1.5 million abortion in 2003 was performed by unprofessional health care providers in unsafe settings (WHO, 2003). With regard to Iran, there is no official data for unsafe abortion as estimation of the level of clandestine abortions do not exist for most countries where abortion is illegal (WHO, 2003).

Recently in Iran there have been some plans and changes for decreasing these problems such as the introduction of comprehensive reproductive health programs (Ahmadi, Al-Mohammadian, & Golestan, 2005). However, there is still very limited sex education available in this country (Shirpak et al., 2008). Hence, it is necessary to increase

sex and reproductive health education programs that address the specific information needs and concerns of Iranian women (Shirpak et al., 2008).

Studies show that in Iran in terms of some other sex related issues such as imposed marriage, early marriage and childbearing (Mahdi, 2003) and polygamy, the situation has improved both in the past ten years and in comparison with other similar countries. This has positive implications for improving women's social inclusion in terms of autonomy and self-worth. One example is the increasing age of marriage for girls. Traditionally, girls married at a significantly earlier age than boys. This age was fixed at nine for girls and 14 for boys in Iran as it was established by the Ottoman Law (Hoodfar, 1999). Early marriage and childbearing is associated with serious health problems both for mothers and their children and impedes young women's educational and vocational opportunities as a chance for social inclusion (Hoodfar, 1999). However, the official age of marriage has recently been increased to 14 for girls (Mahdi, 2003). Furthermore, the decreasing rate of polygamy has affected the social inclusion of women in a positive way and decreased its mental impacts on women's health (Campbell & Guiao, 2004). Although Islamic Shari'a law does allow men to marry up to four wives (Campbell & Guiao, 2004) and polygamy is still legal in the traditional Islamic world (Douki et al., 2007), polygamy is now rare in most parts of the Middle East (Campbell & Guiao, 2004).

According to the above information, there has been some progress and improvements in terms of sexual relation issues in Iran, however, there are still some matters in terms of modesty, loss of virginity, illegal pregnancy and abortion which influence women's social inclusion and consequently increase the risk for negative psychological and mental health outcomes.

4. Social exclusion and vulnerability of women in traditional societies

Negative effects of social exclusion occur in societies where social connection is used as a private, rather than a public good, or when individuals or groups are isolated from certain networks (Field, 2003). For example, in paternalistic societies, control at all levels of the society belongs to a powerful few that limits the social connectedness of some groups, most commonly women, within the society (Leonard & Onyx, 2004). This situation enforces strict conformity, infringes on individual freedom, and creates pressure in terms of the level of social connections (Quibria, 2003), which consequently affect wellbeing and quality of life particularly for women (Wethington, McLeod & Kessler, 1987).

Although there are still issues regarding social exclusion, discrimination, gender development and inequalities worldwide (Douki et al., 2007), there are more inequalities experienced by women, in the living and working conditions in traditional societies, which increases their risk factors in terms of social involvement (Fakhr El Islam, 2001). Research

shows a positive relationship between the frequency and severity of social discrimination and the frequency and severity of mental health problems in women, with evidence of an inverse relationship between social situation and physical and mental health status among this population (Fakhr El Islam, 2001). For example, in Iran the rates of both completed suicide and attempted suicide are higher among women than men (Mostafavi Rad, Anvari, Ansarinejad, & Panaghi, 2012), which social isolation is considered to be a common risk factor of self-immolation among women in Iran, and research has shown that social support is one of the important protective factors against suicide (Mostafavi Rad et al., 2012).

On the other hand, social inclusion and supportive components of social networks are strongly related to better health and wellbeing for women. For example, the quality of marital and work roles is predictive of subsequent morbidity and mortality for women (Judith & Clyde, 1993). Supportive aspects of the marital relationship appear to be strongly linked to the mental health of women (Barnett & Gotlib, 1988). Married women sharing equally in decision-making and companionship in a marriage are protected against death (Judith & Clyde, 1993). Furthermore, satisfactory work support also protects against death, malignancy and stroke among employed women (Judith & Clyde, 1993). Therefore in conditions of gender inequality in domestic relationships women would experience more psychological issues (Kawachi & Berkman, 2001). Hence women in traditional societies may experience higher levels of disconnection and psychological distress which may increase levels of mental diseases among women with low resources (Fakhr El Islam, 2001).

E.   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In different societies there are a range of understandings around social exclusion of women. This literature review has explored these concepts. It is believed that social exclusion of women is closely connected with cultural and social tendencies, of every society. As such, inequalities against women are defined differently and therefore in some cases it is not easy to realize and measure its intensity with the same approach. However, according to studies in most cases social inclusion differs by gender particularly in traditional societies and women not only possess lower social positions and resources but also have fewer opportunities of encountering high-status individuals in their daily social interactions. Thus, they are more likely to interact with people of the same gender and they may be therefore more disadvantaged in making connections with contacts of high status (Campbell, 1988; Lin, 2001; Song, 2011).

At present, although there have been significant improvements in Iran in terms of the status of women in society (Mahdi, 2003), there is still a social environment which precludes women from having a full and satisfactory social participation in many aspects of society. This results in boundaries separating women from men in terms of social involvement in

different levels of society that can subsequently affect their access to resources, associated with both leisure, civic and employment opportunities, and hence their health and wellbeing (Mahdi, 2003). Therefore, the feelings of self-worth, competence and autonomy as well as physical, sexual and emotional safety and security which are essential to participate in social events and support good mental health may be denied in some cases to women simply because of their gender (Douki et al., 2007; Saif & Dawla, 2001; WHO, 2003). Hence these gender inequalities dictate the construction of social rules that place women in a disadvantaged position (WHO, 2005), and where women lack autonomy, decision making power and access to independent income, some other aspects of their lives and health may be outside their control (Okojie, 1994). Therefore social exclusion could be more significant for women in societies such as traditional countries with mental health issues due to a great extent to existing inequalities between men and women (Douki et al., 2007).

There is a direct relationship between social exclusion and lower levels of health and wellbeing. Therefore in societies like Iran where social participation may be limited for some groups, such as women, the outcomes include entrenchment of inequalities and associated health outcomes such as mental illness. In such situations, the protection of women's mental health is not only a medical challenge but a cultural one, involving many partners to promote a policy of steady empowerment and advances to reach real equality (Douki et al., 2007). In order to improve Women's health and well-being in Islamic societies some national and international efforts are needed to empower women and eliminate all forms of discrimination against them. Health policies aimed at improving the social status of women are needed, along with health policies that target the entire spectrum of women's health needs (Douki et al., 2007). From these points of view, social inclusion could be seen as a broader factor playing an important role in reducing inequities in societies with development of appropriate intervention programs to target those determinants with greatest effect on women's health and wellbeing.

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Coping Style of Non-tenured Lecturers

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Abstract

The changing status of public university in Indonesia has allowed public universities to recruit new lecturers independently. These new lecturers are called non-tenured contract employees and are sometimes treated differently. This research aims at exploring the coping styles of non-tenured lecturers in public universities in Indonesia. Qualitative approach was used to investigate the psychodinamics of the coping mechanisms of new lecturers. There were four participants in this study. Interview and observation were used to collect data from the four respondents. All data were then analyzed using theoretical coding method, which consisted of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. Data verification was based on four criteria, i.e. *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability*. Results showed two coping styles of non-tenured lecturers, i.e. problem-focused coping and emotional-focused coping. Problem focused coping consisted of *exercised caution*, *instrumental action*, and *negotiation*. Emotional-focused coping only consisted of *minimization*, and *escapism*. Results also showed one specific coping style that could not be categorized as either problem-focused coping or emotional focused coping. This coping style, also termed in this study as '*nerimo*' was reinforced by social supports, which gave the non-tenured lecturers the strength to stay in their job. The kind of social supports they received included academic involvement and career opportunity.

Keywords: coping style, social support, academic involvement, career opportunity

A.   INTRODUCTION

The constant change of today's world forces organizations to abandon their old managerial methods and make adjustments in order to continue to grow and not become a victim of change. Educational institutions are one such organization that is constantly changing and needing to adapt to this rapid change. One of these educational institutions are public universities.

Over the past ten years, some public universities in Indonesia are changing their institutional status to *Badan Hukum Milik Negara* or BHMN (State-Owned Legal Entity), which has implications on their staffing, contract and management of employment policies (Nurulparik, in Eriyanti, 2005). The authorization to recruit new employees without the formal recruitment procedures dictated by the *Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara Ministry* or the Ministry of PAN (Ministry for the Empowerment of State Apparaturs) allows BHMN to recruit non-tenured lecturers. BHMN no longer needs to wait for open

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recruitment periods scheduled by the Ministry. Furthermore, the right to recruit new lecturers are given at departmental level, so each department is allowed to appoint non-tenured lecturers according to the department's need. In 1999, Indonesia piloted four universities to be BHMN Universitas Indonesia (UI), Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB), Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB), and Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM). In 2004, BHMN membership added two more universities, (i.e. Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU) and Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI). In fact, the national government has set the goal that in 2010 there will be 20 public universities converted to BHMN status. This status change has prompted the Directorate General of Higher Education to increase public university's efficiency (Gatra, 2004). As a result of this policy, many public university's management methods are no longer suitable to manage BHMN.

Preliminary research on the impact on BHMN status and recruitment procedures on non-tenured lecturers' has documented that lecturers faced many uncertainties. The main problem expressed by respondents was the uncertainty of contract-based recruitment. Some respondents were recruited on departmental level, while others on university level. The contract was only valid during the leadership of the dean or the rector who signed the contract. The contract could be annulled as the dean or the rector was replaced by his/her successor. On the other hand, there were non-tenured lecturers who managed to stay employed by the department or university despite the changing leadership. They did not get contract dismissal, but unfortunately also did not get a contract extension. They continued to teach and give lectures without having a clear contract. Some lecturers continued to work based only on the verbal request of the dean.

This uncertainty also translated itself in several other aspects such as the lecturers' salary. Although these lecturers might have the same background level of education as their tenured counterparts, their salary base was different, depending on the financial capabilities of each department. Furthermore, these lecturers also faced uncertainty in their career development path as their institution did not provide clear platform for their development. Opportunities for career development were often constrained by the status of one's tenureship (i.e. more opportunities were available for tenure-track lecturers.) Non-tenured lecturers also did not know if their research and publication could be used as performance appraisal item because there were no clear rules on its procedures for these lecturers. Finally, they face uncertainty in terms of their contract renewal in that they could not ascertain whether or not their contract would be extended once their initial contract has expired. Together, these factors influenced non-tenured lecturers' career uncertainty.

Page (2008) defines uncertainty as the lack of information on some variables that are considered relevant. Henisz and Delios (2004) argue that uncertainty arises because of lack of information in specific environment. Uncertainty also occurs in the event of change.

Baxter and Montgomery (1996) suggest that uncertainty is the degree to which the situation cannot be predicted or cannot be adequately understood. Brashers (2001) further argues that uncertainty will arise when the details of situations are ambiguous, complex, unpredictable, or full of possibilities. Uncertainty also occur when required information is not available or is not consistent, and when individuals feel insecure with their knowledge or knowledge of general conditions.

Based on the experts opinions above, it can be concluded that uncertainty is a condition which occurs in the absence of information that are considered relevant, because details of the information required is not available, ambiguous, complex, unpredictable, and individuals feel insecure with their knowledge. This definition of uncertainty will be used in this research.

Many experts have examined the impact of uncertainty on individuals in different research settings. Maurier and Northcott (2000) in their study of hospital nurses found that employment uncertainty made them suffer from high-level stress. This result is consistent with other research results which found that work uncertainty as associated with higher stress level of employees, reduced job satisfaction and commitment, and increasing desire to leave organization (Matteson & Ivancevich, 1990; Pollard, 2001; Terry & Jimnieson, 2003).

Uncertainty of career development path, contract extension or dismissal, are among those significant threat faced by non-tenured lecturers. These certainly will affect their psychological condition and stimulate coping. Coping is effort by individuals to master, reduce, or eliminate the pressures they experienced (Parry, 1992).Coping is effort by individuals, visible or invisible, to deal with threatening or stressful situations (Billing & Moos, 1984; Stone & Neale, 1984; Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongins, & Gruen, 1986). Coping is also a collection of thoughts and behaviors of individual in the face of stressful situations. Lindsay and Powell (1994) argue that coping is individual ability to conduct a set of reactions to face and overcome stress or problem.

Based on the above arguments, coping can be defined as the process of cognitive activity which is accompanied by behavioral activity in adjusting to stressful situation sin life. This definition of coping will be used in this research.

Lazarus and Folkman (Inawati, 1998) classify coping into approach coping and avoidance coping. Approach coping, which is also called problem-focused coping (abbreviated as PFC), is characterized by logical analytics, seeking information, and trying to solve problem with a positive adjustment. Avoidance coping¸ which is also called emotional-focused coping (abbreviated as EFC), is characterized by repression, projection, denial, and various other ways to minimize threats (Hollahan &Moos, 1987).

Aldwin and Revenson (1987) classify PFC into three types, (a) *exercised caution*, (b), *instrumental action*, and (c) *negotiation*. *Exercised caution* is when one thinks, reviews, and considers some available alternative solutions, Exercised caution also includes careful decision making, with holding action which may cause more harm than good, and evaluation of strategies that have been done before. *Instrumental action* consists of human effort and action that lead to direct problem solving, and to develop action plans and implementations. People who use instrumental action as a coping strategy often know what to do, so they increase their efforts to make things work. *Negotiation* is efforts done by individuals that is devoted to other people and related to the problem, in hope that the problem can be resolved. Using this strategy, the person attempts to change someone's mind or opinion, to make an offer, to negotiate, or to compromise in order to get something positive out of the situation.

On the other hand, Aldwin and Revenson (1987) categorize EFC into four types: (a) *escapism*, (b) *minimization*, (c) *self-blame*, and (d) *seeking meaning*. *Escapism* is characterized by avoiding the problem. Individuals might daydream or imagine being in a better situation or time, or sleep more than usual, drink alcohol or use drugs, and reject other people. *Minimization* characterized by refusing to think about the problem and assuming as if the problem does not exist. *Self-blame* is characterized by blaming and punishing his/herself, regretting what had happened, and promising that it will be different or better at a later time. This strategy is passive and intropunitif directed inward. Finally *seeking meaning* is characterized by searching for the meaning of experience, and trying to see other things that are important in life.

The psychological dynamics of non-tenured lecturers facing career and work uncertainties is worth investigating because it can be used by the institution to build better system management. One way to examine these complex psychological dynamics is through their coping style. Therefore, this research foregrounds the coping styles of the four non-tenured lecturers as its focus.

Indigenous psychological approach was used in this research. Kim and Berry (1993) mention that indigenous psychology is 'the scientific study of human behavior or mind that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people'. This approach is chosen because an understanding of coping style of non-tenured lecturers in Indonesian higher education contexts needs to be placed on its emerging context. This context-bounding will lead to an understanding of coping style does not deviate from respondents' own understanding of their cultural contexts. This interpretive bounding also makes this research different from prior research. Prior research such as Aldwin and Revenson (1987) might be accurate for subjects from western culture, but might not be

inappropriate for subjects from eastern culture because of these cultural context differences.

Based on literature and problem mentioned above, researcher propose a research question: What kind coping style used by non-tenured lecturers in the face of uncertainties?

B.   METHOD

This research used case study design. Yin (1994) states that case study design is used when researchers have question 'how' or 'why' of contemporary events in which they only have little or none control.

This research had four respondents. Respondents were selected using purposive sampling. As Payne (2007) suggests, in purposive sampling a researcher selects respondents based on the belief that they could be believed and give contribution or information relevant to the research topic.

The researcher selected four non-tenured lecturers as the research respondents. The researcher established four sampling criteria of respondents:

1.   Non-tenured lecturer whose primary job was teaching or giving lectures;
2.   Willing to be a research respondent;
3.   Have never been trained as a civil servant[4].

Respondents were recruited using snowball sampling. Creswell (2012) mentions that in snowball sampling, a researcher asks his/her respondent to identify others who could become another research respondent. The researcher met with the first respondent in an event in a university. He agreed to become the respondent and was asked to identify other non-tenured lecturers who would be willing to participate in the research. Using this sampling method, the researcher obtained four respondents. Half of them were non-tenured lecturers from the same department, while others came from social sciences departments. Only one respondent was female, while the other three were males. All of them were below thirty five years old, and had been working in their departments for two years. Before interviewing them, the researcher introduced the research title and purpose, and asked them to sign an informed consent if they agreed to participate in the research.

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[4] In Indonesian public university system, tenured-track lecturers are required to take a national training (*Latihan Prajabatan*) before their formal contract as tenured lecturers is issued by the Ministry of PAN (Ministry for the Empowerment of State Apparaturs). Once they pass the national training, they will be recorded as national government employees (civil servants).

Researcher use two methods to collect data: semi-structured interview and observation. Smith and Eatough (2007) suggest that semi-structured interview is an interview which is guided by questions. These questions were compiled by the researcher. Smith and Eatough also suggest that semi-structured interview allows the researcher to follow up important and interesting issues which emerge during the interview. Each respondents were interviewed two to four times. The researcher asked six questions to the respondents:

1. What did the recruitment process look like based on your experienced?
2. How do you see your current status as non-tenured lecturer?
3. How does your department manage non-tenured lecturers?
4. How do you see uncertainty of contract extension?
5. What is your experience as non-tenured lecturer?
6. How did you cope with the uncertainty of being a non-tenured lecturer?

Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor, and Tindall (1994) argue that observation is an activity which consist of accurate watching action, recording phenomena which arise, and considering relationship between aspects of phenomena. In this research, observation conducted along with interview. This will make a researcher understand the context of the phenomena or the words of the respondents (Yin, 1994).

Qualitative research have standards to test the research results. Moleong (2002) suggests that examination of data in a qualitative study are based on four criteria, i.e. *credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability*. The researcher accomplished these criteria through the following procedures: *Credibility* was established by attaching all interview verbatim, signed informed consent of the respondents, and observation records. *Transferability* was established by clearly describing the research design, the data collection methods, the respondents, and the data analysis methods. Furthermore, the researcher established *dependability* by consulting every research step to his supervisor. The researcher also kept records of each step of the data collection and analysis, including the transformation of interview verbatim to coding and categories, and the development of relationships between emerging categories. Finally, the last criteria is *confirmability*. The researcher established this criteria by doing member checking to all respondents after collecting data. The researcher's supervisor was involved during the data analysis to check inter subjectivity or linkages between aspects that emerged from the data. The researcher then used theoretical coding method to analyze data. Theoretical coding consists of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. These coding are different steps to analyze data, in which –if necessary-the researcher can move backward and forward in the analysis process (Flick, 2002).

C.   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Non-tenured lecturers faced many threats in their work environments. They only got a small amount of salary, where one respondent even said that she did not receive salary every month. Due to their status, they faced uncertainty every year. They did not know if their contract would be extended or terminated. Their status also made their career path unclear. They did not know if their research could be used in performance appraisal, because career development procedures and program did not exist for non-tenured lecturers. They were told from the beginning that becoming non-tenured lecturers does not guarantee their tenureship. They also faced negative treatment from senior lecturers or co-workers. They were treated differently, and sometimes not allowed to participate in department activities. These threats made them feel uncomfortable, worried, and insecure.

Non-tenured lecturers overcame these threats by taking various coping styles, both PFC and EFC. PFC consisted of *exercised caution*, *instrumental action*, and *negotiation*. *Exercised caution* was actuated by maintaining good attitude and behavior in their social relationships among lecturers. They always tried to abide by the rules, and not to make any mistake. *Instrumental action* was done by focusing on their job, and did not pay attention to negative comments. They always tried to give their best effort. Instrumental action also done by trying to find a side job to get an additional income. *Negotiation* was done by asking their department leaders to clearly define the rules and regulations or to treat them fairly. These coping styles were conducted by all respondents.

Unlike PFC, only two EFC emerged from the data, and they were *minimization* and *escapism*. Minimization was done by comparing their condition with other non-tenured lecturers. By doing so, they came to the realization that that their condition was better than that of other people. They also reasoned that the department need them to maintain the number of its academic staff when retiring senior lecturers are retiring. Another form of minimization was not thinking about the uncertainty. These copings could decrease their anxiety level. *Escapism* conducted by withdrawing from co-workers who discriminated them. This action was done to avoid conflict and reduce anxiety.

Results also found one specific coping style that could be categorized as PFC or EFC. This coping style was labeled here as '*nerimo*'. This coping style was different from *seeking meaning* coping style. In *seeking meaning*, individuals are searching for the meaning of an experience, and trying to see other things that are important in life (Aldwin & Revenson, 1987). But in *nerimo,* individuals just accept their condition as part of life's choices. They were aware that becoming non-tenured lecturers was their choice, so they would accept every consequence (W.R.IV.02, 379-380). As a respondent commented,

'But what else [can you do], it is what it is... Well, what else can you do, right? Still accepting it? Yes...I must. That's the consequence. There it is,...there's no other choice' (W.R.III.04, 172-175).

Another respondent said,

'So if … yeah if you can say I accept it, because there was nothing else I could do to change that status, because I could not come to the university then ask for tenureship promotion, that's not possible' (W.R.I.02, 69-72).

These copings style was reinforced by social support, which gave these lecturers the strength to stay in their job. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define social support as a psychological resource that defines an individual's perceptions with regard to the quality of their social relationships. The kind of social supports they received were academic involvement and career opportunity. Academic involvement was provided by involving them in all faculty activities alongside with tenure-track lecturers (W.R.I.02, 117, 119). They were involved in meetings, trainings, workshops, seminars, and various committees (W.R.I.02, 222-224). The departments also gave them research fundings (W.R.I.02, 100-102). Career opportunity was provided by acquainting non-tenured lecturers to lecturers from around the world, as well as helping them to find dissertation supervisor and scholarship (W.R.II.01, 272-275; W.R.II.02, 43-45). These social supports made the lecturers feel committed to the department. They trusted the department (W.R.I.01, 367; 02, 90), and did not try to apply as tenure-track lecturers in another university (W.R.I.02, 194-199, 253-256). They made the decision to come back and serve the department after completing their master's degree (W.R.III.03, 2-3) and chose to for the current department for the rest of their lives (W.R.II.02, 115-116).

Based on these research findings, the researcher suggests that *nerimo* be theoretically included as an indigenous coping style, which is relevant in Indonesian cultural context. Practically, this coping style can used for anyone who has chosen the job that he/she loved but face many uncertainties or threats in their work. One limitation of this research is that it does not use respondents who represent department's leader or manager. These kinds of respondents can give additional information about non-tenured lecturer policy and verify the accuracy of information given by the respondents. Future research should include these respondents to get more comprehensive information.

D. CONCLUSION

Non-tenured lecturers in BHMN face many threats. They do various copings to overcome these threats, such as problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping, and *nerimo*. This coping style is reinforced by social supports, which give them the reinforcement to remain in their current job. The kind of social supports include academic involvement and career opportunity.

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The impact of some disease related variables on the psychological problems of chronically ill children

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Abstract

This study examined disease related variables that are thought to play some role in exacerbating psychological problems among chronically ill children. The participants included 63 parents of children suffering from cancer, epilepsy, and asthma. The parents rated their children's behavioral and emotional problems and provided information on the frequency of hospitalization, onset and duration of the illness and the age of the child at the disease onset. The child behavior checklist developed by Achenbach was used. Multiple regression analysis and correlations were computed to determine the relationship of disease related variables to the psychological problems of the children. One way between subject ANOVA was used to analyze the psychological problems of children of different age groups. The results showed positive relationships between both the frequency of hospitalization and the later onset of the illness and the psychological problems among children. It also showed that children in the age group of seven up to 11 years had the highest number of problems compared to other age groups.

A.   INTRODUCTION

Childhood chronic illness is any medical illness or disability that affects children for an extended period of time, often for life (Garrison & McQuiston, 1989). A chronic illness incapacitates or significantly impairs a child's sensory, physical and mental aspects, interferes with his/her daily functioning, and is only manageable but seldom curable. Studies suggest that the family of a chronically ill child experiences denial, disbelief, distress, depression, guilt, 'burden of responsibility' a 'changed identity', family conflict and resentment in response to the child's illness (Coffey, 2006; Gortmaker, Walker, Weitzman, & Sobol, 1990; Jusiene & Kuchinskas, 2004; Reiter-Purtill, Schorry, Lovell, Vannatta, Gerhardt & Noll, 2008). The mothers of children suffering from cancer reported anxiety, insomnia, depression, somatic symptoms and social dysfunction (Sawyer, Antoniou, Toogood, Rice & Baghurst, 2008)

Although, the childhood chronic illnesses are relatively rare, their estimated prevalence in children under the age of 18 years is ten per cent up to 30 per cent (Newacheck, 1994). Other prevalence studies suggest 15 per cent-18 per cent of all children in the U.S. suffering from a chronic health condition, with asthma as the leading illness

affecting approximately six million children (Judson, 2004); and one of every 3 Medicaid children in the U.S. reported a chronic health condition (Heflinger & Saunders, 2005).

Survey studies conducted in Malaysia indicate that approximately one child below 12 years is being diagnosed for cancer per week (Sarawak Tribune, 2002) and the National Cancer Registry records about 42,985 new cancer entries each year (Chye & Yahaya, 2004). The number of children suffering from asthma has increased from ten per cent to 13 per cent between 1995 and 2002 (Othman, 2003) and prevalence of epilepsy among children is estimated at 0.5 per cent (Guide for nurses, 2003; Manonmani & Tan, 1999).

The results of a National Health and Morbidity Survey indicates a prevalence rate of 13 per cent psychiatric morbidity among Malaysian children and adolescents (Lee, Ming, Peng, Maniam, Onn, Abdullah, Sararaks, & Hamid, 1999); a significant proportion of these children were suffering from asthma, cancer, physical disability, speech disability, and hearing impairment (Toh, Ding, Peng, Maniam, Lim, Abdullah, Sararaks & Hamid, 1999).

A number of surveys and research studies indicate that chronically ill children are at a greater risk of maladjustment, mental health and psychological problems than children without such conditions (Caplan, Siddarch, Gurbani, Hanson, Sankar & Shields, 2005; Glazebrook, Hollis, Heussler, Goodman & Coates, 2003; Gortmaker, Walker, Weitzman & Sobol, 1990; Judson, 2004; Lavigne & Faier- Routman, 1993; Osofky & Fitzgerald, 2000; Wallander, Varni & Babani, 1998; Zeegers, Rabie, Swanevelder, Edson, Cotton & van Toorn, 2010), and are thrice more at risk for psychiatric disorders, social maladjustment, impairment in self care, communication and learning as compared to healthy children (Witt, Riley & Coiro, 2003).

Children and adolescents suffering from chronic illnesses show emotional and psychological problems such as anxiety and depression (Caplan et al., 2005; Jaffee, Liu, Canty-Mitchell, Qi, Austin & Swigonski, 2005; Jusiene & Kuchinskas, 2004), difficulties in peer group relationships (Berge & Patterson, 2004; Parkes, White-Koning, Dickinson, Thyen, Arnaud, Beckung, Fauconnier, Marcelli, McManus, Michelsen, Parkinson & Colver et al., 2008), behavior problems (Fagnano, van Wijngaarden, Connolly, Carno, Forbes-Jones, & Halterman, 2009; Halterman, Conn, Forbes-Jones, Fagnano, Hightower, & Szilagyi, 2006), greater number of fears (King & Gullone, 1990), lower self-concept and lower levels of perceived health control (Kellerman, Zeltzer, Ellenberg, Dash, & Rigler, 1980), low social self-esteem and high social anxiety (Meijer, Sinnema; Bijstra, Mellenbergh, & Wolters, 2002), health risk behavior (Surís, Michaud, Akre & Sawyer, 2008), stronger beliefs in external control (Garrison & McQuiston, 1989), higher negative attributional styles (Paterson & Seligman 1984), and internalizing problems (Alati, O'Callaghan, Najman, Williams, Bor & Lawlor, 2005). This shows that chronic illnesses negatively affect the physical and psychological well-being of children. In addition, many 'disease-related' variables related to

the life circumstances of chronically ill children may also affect their psychological well-being.

Disease-related variables may include the frequency of hospitalization, the duration of illness, the age of the child at the onset of illness, the child's age and the gender. Research shows that frequent hospital admissions, at least in the short-term, cause adverse effects on the child's well-being, and expose him/her to a number of stressors, which include stress of separation from the family, school and friends, pain of treatment, unfamiliarity of the surroundings, and fear of the unknown (Rachman & Philips, 1975; Pao, Ballard, & Rosenstein, 2007), helpless dependency, immobilization, and a limited freedom of movement (Elander, Nilson & Lindberg, 1986; Mattson, 1977). Physical stressors experienced during the hospital stay were found to be related to psychological distress among chronically ill children (Saylor, Pallmeyer, Finch, Eason, Trieber & Folger, 1987). Chronically ill children experienced hospitalization related effects, such as trouble sleeping at night, bad food, lack of privacy, and the medical procedures as more disturbing than their illness or pain (Spirito, Stark, & Tyc, 1994). Children who were not well prepared for hospital admission and who were subjected to invasive procedures showed increased verbal and physical aggression, behavioral regression, and greater anxiety (Aisenberg, Wolff, Rosenthal, & Nadas, 1973). Recurrent hospitalization of chronically ill children is also associated with physical dysfunctions (Kelly & Hewson, 2001), and increased behavior disturbances and poor reading ability (Douglas, 1975). Children also show an increase in negative behavior after being discharged from the hospital, regardless of their age or medical condition (Thompson & Vernon, 1993).

Another factor related to the psychological problems among chronically-ill children is the duration of disease. A number of studies of chronically-ill children indicate severe adjustment problems with extended illness into adolescence (Jacobson, Hauser,Willett, Wolfsdorf, Dvorak, Herman, & de Groot, 1997; Orr, Weller, Satterwhite, & Pless, 1984; Tebbi, Bromberg, Sills, Cukierman & Piedmonte, 1990).

The onset of illness at a specific age may also affect lesser to greater extent the physical, social, and cognitive development of a child and her/his well-being. Different studies show that children with later onset of illness compared to earlier onset show greater psychological problems (Johnson & Rodrigue, 1997; Johnson & Meltzer, 2002), have more difficulties in adjusting to their disease (Brown, Kaslow, Sansbury, Meacham, & Culler, 1991); and exhibit greater internalizing and externalizing problems (Schoenherr, Brown, Baldwin & Kaslow, 1992). A longitudinal study by Kovacs, Brent, Steinberg, Paulauskas & Reid (1986) found that anxiety and depression were heightened at the time of diagnosis but dissipated thereafter.

The age of the children and their level of cognitive development are crucial factors affecting children's adjustment to their illness and their coping strategies. Children younger than seven years of age exhibit more distressing behaviors than their older counterparts, e.g., they are more likely to cry, scream, and require physical restraint (LeBaron & Zeltzer, 1984). Chronically-ill adolescents were also found to use cognitive strategies more than their younger counterparts who used wishful thinking (Spirito et al., 1994).

Our study examined the impact of three factors, namely, the frequency of hospitalization, the duration of illness, and the age of the child at the onset of illness on the psychological problems among chronically ill children. We selected three medical categories of oncology, neurology and respiratory problems because they differ on disease related dimensions including age of the onset, duration and severity of illness, perceived prognosis, course, and degree of interference with the daily living (Johnson & Rodrigue, 1997; Kelly & Hewson, 2001; LeBaron & Zeltzer, 1984; Schoenherr, Brown, Baldwin & Kaslow, 1992 Spirito, Stark, & Tyc, 1994).

There is ample evidence that socio-cultural factors play a significant role in health and disease processes (Ahmad, 2000; Cheung, Nelson, Advincula, Cureton & Canham, 2005; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; McPherson et al, 2006). A number of cross-cultural studies show that social support in collectivist culture buffers many types of stresses (Matsumoto & Fletcher, 1996; McPherson et al., 2006; Triandis et al, 1988). We believe that the family and the parent-child relationship in the Malaysian collectivist culture may, to some extent, mitigate the negative impact of disease related variables (Berry & Hardman, 1998). On the other hand, we also feel that as the parent-child relationship and parental support in a collectivist culture is deep rooted (Ahmad, 2000; Cheung, Nelson, Advincula, Cureton & Canham, 2005; Triandis et al., 1988), any short or long term separation of children from their families may negatively impact the physical and psychological health of the child. This may be, especially, applicable in the case of hospitalization of the child. The first hypothesis of the study on the frequency of hospitalization states that greater the frequency of hospitalization of chronically-ill children the more psychological problems they will face.

Social contact and participation are part of the life of a child in Malaysia. Any inability of a child to participate in everyday social activities may affect the well-being of the child. The second hypothesis of the study postulates that longer the duration of the illness, the children will face more psychological problems.

A child who has been healthy and enjoyed a care free life for most of his/her childhood may react with utter disbelief and denial when diagnosed with a chronic illness compared to a child in his/her early childhood. The diagnosis of chronic illness in the later life compared to the earlier years of life may have more negative consequences for a child.

The third hypothesis predicts that later the onset of the illness, more psychological problems will be experienced by chronically-ill children.

B.   METHOD

a.   Participants

The participants were 63 parents of chronically ill children including 51 mothers and 12 fathers in the age range of 20-51 years. Majority of the parents were housewives, others were working in the government or private sector. The parents were recruited from the outdoor pediatric clinics and wards of Kuala Lumpur General Hospital after they agreed to participate in the study.

The children were 39 males and 24 females in the age range of four up to 17 years. Twenty-nine children were the middle child, 15 were the eldest, 17 were the youngest, and two were the only child in the family. As regards their schooling, 25 children attended school for one up to three years, 15 attended school for four up to six years, 16 attended school for seven up to nine years, five children attended school for ten up to 12 years, and two children did not yet attend any school. 34 children came to the clinic for the follow-up while 29 were hospitalized for the treatment. Detailed demographic characteristics of the respondents and the children are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the parents and their chronically ill children

Variable	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
1. Parents' Characteristics		
Parenthood		
Mother	*51*	*81.0*
Father	*12*	*19.0*
Age (in years)		
20-30	*4*	*6.3*
31-40	*28*	*44.4*
41-50	*21*	*33.3*
50 and above	*10*	*15.9*
Occupation		
Housewife	*37*	*58.7*
Government servant	*20*	*31.7*
Private sector	*5*	*7.9*
Others	*1*	*1.6*
2. Children's Characteristics		
Sex		
Male	*39*	*61.9*
Female	*24*	*38.1*

Age (in years)		
4-7	24	38.1
7-11	18	28.6
11-17	21	33.3
Number of siblings		
0-4	27	42.9
5-8	33	52.4
9 and above	3	4.8
Order of birth		
First child	15	23.8
Middle child	29	46.0
Youngest child	17	27.0
Only child	2	3.2
Years of Schooling		
No schooling	2	3.2
1-3	25	39.7
4-6	15	23.8
7-9	16	25.3
10-12	5	8.0
Type of visit		
Outpatient	34	54.0
Hospitalized	29	46.0

b.   Measures

A demographic questionnaire and the Child Behavior Checklist for the age range of four up to 18 (CBCL, Achenbach, 1991) were used in the study.

Child Behavior Checklist. Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL, age 4–18; Achenbach, 1991) was used to assess the psychological problems of chronically ill children. The checklist has 118 items and is used to obtain information about children's competencies and problems from their parents or surrogate parents. Responses are scored on a three-point rating scale ranging from '0' through 'two' (0 = 'not true of the child'; one = 'sometimes true of the child'; and two = 'very true or often true of the child') during the past six months.

The profile of CBCL displays eight syndromes derived from the statistical analyses of the problems of 4,455 children referred to mental health services, such as withdrawn, somatic complaints, anxious/ depressed, social problems, thought problems, attention problems, delinquent behaviors, and aggressive behaviors. The eight syndromes are categorized into two major groups of disorders, internalizing and externalizing problems. The externalizing problems involve children's conflicts with others and comprise of aggressive and delinquent behavior syndromes. The internalizing problems consist of disorders of emotion and subjective inner distress among children such as anxiety and depression, withdrawn, and somatic complaints (Achenbach, 1991).

The internal consistency of subscales of CBCL ranges from 0.54 to 0.96 (Achenbach, 1991). Content validity of CBCL is demonstrated by the ability of nearly all of its items to discriminate significantly between demographically matched referred and non-referred children. Construct validity is supported by numerous correlates of CBCL scales, including significant associations with analogous scales on the Conner's (1996) Parents Questionnaires, and the Quay-Peterson (1983) Revised Behavior Problem Checklist. Criterion validity is supported by the ability of the CBCL's quantitative scale scores to discriminate between referred and non-referred children after demographic effects were partialled out. Clinical cut-off points on the scale were also shown to discriminate significantly between demographically matched referred and non-referred children (Achenbach, 1991).

Demographic Questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire was constructed to collect personal and clinical background data of children and their parents. Information obtained included children's age, gender, number of siblings, years of schooling, diagnosis of disease, age at the onset of illness, duration of illness, frequency of hospitalization, and current treatment. Demographic parental information obtained was the gender, age, occupation, and relationship with the child.

c. **Procedure**

The data were collected at the Pediatric Department of Kuala Lumpur General Hospital. The permission for data collection was obtained from the director of the hospital.

Kuala Lumpur General Hospital has five pediatric wards and three outpatient pediatric clinics for children suffering from cancer, epilepsy, and asthma. The researcher approached the parents whose children were either suffering from cancer, epilepsy or asthma during their visits to the pediatric outpatient clinic or while accompanying their children in the pediatric wards. If both the parents were present, the mother was requested to fill out the questionnaire.

The researcher explained to the parents the purpose of the study first, which was to know about the psychological and other problems of chronically ill children. Then, their consent to participate in the study was obtained and they were assured of the confidentiality of information. The respondents were administered the CBCL and then the demographic questionnaire. Most of the parents preferred to be interviewed rather than completing the questionnaires themselves. The researcher administered the questionnaires individually. Each interview took 25 to 40 minutes. After the interview the researcher thanked the parents and briefed them on the purpose of the study.

C.   RESULTS

The internal consistency of CBCL was computed to determine its reliability for our sample. A coefficient alpha of 0.94 indicated high reliability for our sample. A multiple regression analysis was used to determine the significance of disease-related variables to the psychological problems of children. The duration of illness, the frequency of hospitalization, and the age of the children at the onset of the illness were entered as the predictors and the psychological problems as the criterion variables in the equation.

One way between subject analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the psychological problem scores of children in different age groups to analyze the differences in their psychological problems.

Table 2 shows a highly significant effect of multiple regression analysis, *F (4, 58) = 56.18, p < .001.* The results show that the predictors significantly contribute toward the psychological problems of the chronically ill children, the criterion. The multiple correlation (R) was 0.89, the R-squared (R²) was 0.79, and the adjusted R² was 0.78. This shows that 79% of the variance of the criterion (psychological problems) was accounted by the predictors, namely frequency of hospitalization, age of the children at the onset of illness and the duration of illness.

Table 2. Multiple regression coefficients, F- value, degrees of freedom and significance of F for the frequency of hospitalization, age at the onset of illness and duration of illness

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F	df	p
1	.89	.79	.78	56.18	(4.58)	.001

Predictors: Duration of illness, Frequency of hospitalization, Age on illness onset.; Dependent variable: CBCL

Results in Table 3 show a highly significant relationship between the frequency of hospitalization and the psychological problems (*r = 0.80; β = 0.61; t = 8.67; p < .001*), a significant relationship between the age at the onset of illness and the psychological problems (*r = 0.21; β = 0.29; t = 4.21; p < .001*), and a non-significant relationship between the duration of illness and the psychological problems of chronically-ill children. These results indicate that more frequently the children were hospitalized, and the older the children were when afflicted by the illness, the more psychological problems they experienced.

The beta coefficients in table 3 show highest β-weight for the frequency of hospitalization followed by the age of the children at the onset of illness. This means that frequency of hospitalization was the most important predictor of the psychological problems among chronically ill children.

Table 3. Correlations, unstandardized and standardized coefficients, and t- values for multiple regression analysis of disease related variables and the psychological problems of children

Variables	r	B (Unstandardized Coefficients)	β (Standardized Coefficients)	t
(Constant)		-8.80		1.28
Frequency of Hospitalization	0.80**	4.73	0.61	8.67**
Age aat Illness onset	0.21*	0.18	0.29	4.21**
Duration of illness	0.05	8.212E-02	0.11	1.59

** p < .001; * p < .05

One-way between subject analysis of variance on the psychological problem scores of the children for their age in Table 4 shows a significant difference in the psychological problems of children in different age groups, *F (2, 60) = 12.85, p < .001.* The mean psychological problem score of children in the age range of 7 - 11 years was the highest, (*mean = 73.2; S.D. = 23.28*), followed by the age ranges of 11 - 17 years, (*mean = 61.4; S.D. = 21.04*) and 4 – 7, (*mean = 37.0; S.D. = 26.0*). These results indicate that children in the middle age range suffered from more psychological problems as compared to the children in the lower and upper age ranges.

Table 4. One-way between subject ANOVA on the scores of psychological problems of children in the age range of 4-7 years, 7-11 years, and 11-17 years.

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Between groups	14531.62	2	7265.813	12.85	.001
Within group	33916.08	60	566.268		
Total	48447.714	62			

The intercorrelations among the variables in Table 5 show a significant negative correlation between the age at the onset of the disease and the duration of the illness *r (61) = -.519; p <.000*. This means that younger the child with the onset of the disease the longer the child will suffer from the disease.

Table 5. Intercorrelations between age at the onset of the disease, duration of illness and the frequency of hospitalization.

Variables	Duration of illness	Frequency of Hospitalization
Age at the onset of disease		
Pearson correlation	*-.519***	*-.031*
Sig. (2-tailed)	*.000*	*.809*
N	*63*	*63*
Duration of Illness		
Pearson correlation		*0.90*
Sig. (2-tailed)		*.485*
N		*63*

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

D.   DISCUSSION

This study examined the relationship of three disease-related variables, namely frequency of hospitalization, duration of illness, and age of the children at the onset of illness to the psychological problems among chronically ill children. The results supported the first hypothesis of the study that postulated a relationship between the frequency of hospitalization and psychological problems of chronically ill children. This implies that frequency of hospital admission is strongly associated with the psychological problems among chronically-ill children. Other studies show that frequent hospitalization of sick children causes psychological dysfunctions (Kelly & Hewson, 2001; Pao et al., 2007), specifically depression, emotional difficulties, anxiety, behavioral disturbances, and aggression (Douglas, 1975; Kaplan et al., 1987; Alati et al., 2005). Repeated or prolonged hospitalization may put excessive demands on the children because of separation from the family and friends and restricting their participation in social activities (Haslum, 1988). This sense of deprivation may make the children feel inadequate, handicapped, inferior and depressed.

A hospitalized child may face the dilemma of adjusting to an unfamiliar, regimented hospital environment and painful medical procedures (Jones, Fiser & Livingston, 1992). Exposure to unfamiliar nursing care in a hospital instead of caring by the parents may cause feelings of helplessness, embarrassment and irritation among children. Evidence suggests that dependency and hopelessness result in the feelings of anxiety, humiliation, withdrawal, apathy, depressed mood, babyish behavior, throwing tantrums, anger, and aggressiveness (Alati, et al., 2005; Caplan et al., 2005; Mattson, 1977; Pao et al., 2007; Zeegers et al., 2010). A study of Malaysian mothers of children with cerebral palsy found that repeated or lengthy hospitalization put great demands on the child and the family, led to the deterioration of

caregiver's health and morale and, in few cases, to family disintegration (Ong, Afifah, Safiah, & Lye, 1998).

Malaysian children live in a diverse social circle as they socialize with their relatives and neighbors and visit their friends after the school. Hospitalization may make sick children feel lonely, bored, and predispose them to emotional and behavioral problems.

Further, a positive relationship between the age of the children at the onset of illness and the psychological problems support our second hypothesis. A comparison of different age groups showed that children in the age of 7 -11 years had the most psychological problems, followed by the children in the age ranges of 11-17 and 4 – 7 years. A child who had been healthy for quite some time, the diagnosis of chronic illness may devastate the child and force her/him to adapt to this new unwelcome and unpleasant reality. Thus, the feelings of anxiety and aggression may be heightened during this particular time.

The results of a national survey of psychiatric morbidity among Malaysian children and adolescents indicated the highest number of mental health and psychological problems for ten up to 12 year old children (15.5 per cent) followed by 13 – 15 year old (14.4 per cent) and five up to six year old (9.7 per cent) respectively (Toh, Ding, Peng, Maniam, Lim, Abdullah, Sararaks & Hamid, 1999).

Other findings also suggest that children in the middle childhood stage experience more problems in dealing with their illness because they are in the developmental stage of an increasing need for autonomy, initiative, and mastery of new skills (Garrison & McQuiston, 1989; Witt et al., 2003). Chronic illnesses that impose limitations on physical activity and social interaction, restrict the children's freedom, deprive them of the experiences crucial to their development of self-esteem, sense of mastery and control over their environment (Meijer et al., 2002; Perrin & Gerrity, 1984). A sudden change from normal life to illness in the middle and later childhood takes its toll in the form of behavioral and emotional problems (Fagnano et al., 2009; Schoenherr et al., 1992; Suris et al., 2008), however, children may adjust to and overcome these difficulties, especially, the feelings of depression and anxiety over time (Jusiene & Kuchinskas, 2004; Kovacs et al., 1986), if family support and good nurturing is available (Berge & Patterson, 2004).

The significant negative correlation between the age at the onset of the disease and the duration of illness simply indicates that if the onset of the disease is at an early age the longer the children suffer from the sickness, a medical fact which may negatively impact a child's health.

Our study found no relationship between the duration of illness and the psychological problems of children in contrast to some Western studies (Jacobson et al., 1997; Matsumoto & Fletcher, 1996; McPherson et al., 2006; Orr et al., 1984; Tebbi et al., 1990).

We believe that the collectivist Malaysian society may be a mitigating force on the long term effects of a chronic illness as it provides opportunities to the sick children to participate in everyday activities and to be part of the main stream society (Matsumoto & Fletcher, 1996). The opportunities of social contact and interaction in extended families in the collectivist cultures may alleviate the negative psychological and physical effects associated with the duration of sickness (Berry & Hardman, 1998; Triandis et al., 1988).

E.   CONCLUSION

The outcome of this study may be useful to improve the psychological well-being of chronically-ill children by proposing a culturally relevant approach to taking care of chronically ill children which may have more promise of success (Gracia, 2006; Uziel-Miller, Lyons, Kissiel & Love, 1998). Our study shows that recurrent hospitalization and the onset of disease in the middle childhood are the two factors contributing toward the psychological problems among chronically-ill children. Obviously efforts need to be made to avoid repeated or prolonged hospitalization of children. The Malaysian joint family system offers a promising alternative to provide care to a sick child at home. The grand parents and other family members can take care of sick children. If the family members are trained to take care of a chronically-ill child, they may do it with more care, involvement and passion. The child will remain at home and will be spared of the stress of hospitalization.

If hospitalization is indispensable, then certain measures, if adopted, may lessen the impersonal impact of the hospital. The pediatric wards need to have a 'live in' basis, i.e., admitting both the mother and the child, allowing visits at all times, and promoting home atmosphere in the ward through ingenious decoration, lively wall colors, toys, and books (Kornhauser, 1980). The hospitalization should not affect the education of the children, but instead enable them to learn, interact with their teachers and the class mates to enhance their development. The hospital administration and clinicians encourage the parents and the family members to visit the children on regular basis.

Taking care of the physical and psychological needs of the children who fall sick in the middle stage of their childhood would enable them to better cope with the adverse impact of the illness. The existing child and adolescent health care facilities need to be improved by including mental health services for chronically-ill children and their promotion among the parents and the care givers. It is important on the part of service providers to understand the social impact of chronic illness has on the family system so that they are in a better position to provide effective services and empower families to increase their resources, coping behaviors, and problem-solving skills to deal with the stressors involved in caring for a family member with chronic illness (Coffey, 2006; Livneh Hanoch & Antonak, 2005).

The Ministry of Health needs to develop a comprehensive and sustainable training program for the nurses, social workers, psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, child psychologists, and counselors to deliver mental health services to the chronically-ill children and adolescents.

Childhood is a vital stage in human development. Chronically ill children in particular, demand special care and attention, to ensure their well-being. Mental and psychological problems in childhood tend to continue into adulthood, hence, they require attention and management at the earlier stages of sickness.

F.   LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

There are a number of limitations of our study which future research may capitalize upon. The sample size of the study is small which may put certain limitations on its generalizability. The major reason for the small sample size is the infrequency of children suffering from chronic illness compared to the general population. The reluctance on the part of some of parent of the children suffering from chronic illnesses also makes it difficult to recruit a reasonable number of participants. The time constraints on the study did not allow recruiting the participants over a longer period of time. The small sample size put constraints to perform some other analyses on the data leading to other limitations.

We could not perform analyses on the differences between disease categories on the internalizing and externalizing problems.

We also faced restrictions to perform disease specific analyses on some demographic variables because of insufficient number of subjects in different categories of these variables; e.g., it was not possible to determine the hospitalization effects for the three disease categories because the low number of hospitalized asthma and epilepsy children.

G.   SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

We suggest that future research should use a bigger sample to increase the external validity of the results. This would also help test the factor structure of the CBCL on the sample of the research and examine the role of various chronic illnesses on the psychological problems of the sick children. The future research may also consider incorporating various chronic illnesses as the covariates in the research design to assess their impact on the externalizing-internalizing and overall psychological problems.

The future research may also include single versus joint/extended family as moderating factors on the psychological problems of sick children. It would be worth examining how family members can mitigate adverse impact of chronic illness on the physical and mental health of sick children.

An applied component in the future research may assess different arrangements in the hospitals that may not adversely affect the sick child in the case of hospitalization.

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A Small Key Opens Big Doors: A Case Study of Textual Analysis on Perspective Taking in a Contact-Hypothesis-Based Religion Course in Pembangunan Jaya University

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Abstract

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or Unity in Diversity has been Indonesia's National Motto since this nation declared its independence in 1945. Yet nowadays, appreciation for diversity is deteriorated by religious conflicts rooted in the exclusive characteristic of Indonesia's Religion education. Pembangunan Jaya University (UPJ) in partnership with Indonesian Conference of Religion and Peace (ICRP) developing compulsory Religion course aiming to combat religious prejudice by adhering to contact hypothesis which facilitates perspective taking – the ability to adopt the perspective or point of view of other people. From September-December 2012, third semester students from ten departments underwent a course comprising of individual reflections of their religious experience, two-day excursions to religious facilities in Jakarta, lectures and question-and-answer sessions, film discussion as well as group works. Using textual analysis on students written assignments of 37 opinions about out-group relationship, this research aims to identity themes of perspective-taking emerging from the writing pieces. The findings confirm Turkish proverb used as the title of this paper – that a 'small key' of Religion course has opened 'big doors' by identifying commonalities with the out-groups, re-assessing their previous beliefs about in-group out-group relationship and by imagining how things look from other people's perspective.

Keywords: religion, prejudice, in-group out-group relationship, contact hypothesis, perspective taking, textual analysis

A.   INTRODUCTION

Stereotype, according to journalist Walter Lippmann, is the little picture we carry around inside our heads (Aronson, Wilson and Akert, 2010). This picture represents a generalization about a group of people, which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group. This is done so regardless of actual variations existing among the members. However, stereotype goes one step further beyond simple categorization. Allport (1979) argues that stereotype operates in such a fixed way as to prevent differentiated thinking about certain concepts. Komblum and Julian (2009) explain that it functions by acting both as a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group as well as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in

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perception and in thinking. When stereotype is toned with affective or emotional component, social psychology recognizes it as prejudice. Brown (2010) explains that prejudice refers to a hostile or negative attitude toward people in a distinguishable group based solely on their membership in that particular group. Aronson, Wilson and Akert (2010) elaborate prejudice as an attitude, emotion or behavior, toward members of a group that directly or indirectly implies some negativity toward that group. Prejudice touches nearly everyone's life, both the minority and the majority groups. According to Hogg and Vaughan (2011), it is because human beings are remarkable versatile in being able to make almost any social group a target of prejudice. Hence, we are all victims or potential victims for no other reason than our membership in an identifiable group – be it on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender, national origin, sexual orientation, body size or disability to name a few (Aronson, Wilson and Akert, 2010). All of these may lead to discrimination – an inappropriate treatment of individuals because of their group membership, involving unjustified negative behavior toward members of the target group or less positive responses to an out-group member than would occur for an in-group member in comparable circumstances (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2010).

There are several educational programs designed to address stereotype, prejudice and discrimination as documented in Ballantine and Spade (2011). African American and Caucasian children who are placed in an interracial classroom in United States schools are more likely to develop close interracial friendships. Groups with strong multicultural education programs provide schools and community organizations with literature, videos and other materials aimed at combating stereotype, prejudice and discrimination. Whitley Jr. and Kite (2010) adds anti-bias education in the forms of lectures, media presentation, role-playing and class discussion, designed to assist students in learning about the nature of bias, its history and its current forms and effects.

Addressing stereotype, prejudice and discrimination, specifically religious one, has also been particularly important in the Indonesia. According to Center for Religious and Cross Cultural Studies (CRCS) in Gadjah Mada University as quoted by Susanto and Muryanto (2013), religious conflicts in Indonesia have begun to show a rising trend during the last five years - most of them are related to blasphemy and houses of worship. According to Setara Institute as quoted by Spielmann (2003), there have been 264 religious attacks in 2013 alone. This trend represents a bitter irony to Indonesia - with its country's official motto of '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' or unity in diversity. Spielmann (2013) elaborates how the irony stings even more because amidst in this worrying intolerance, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was awarded 'World Statesman' by The Appeal of Conscience Foundation (ACF) due to his merits regarding religious tolerance.

This is, unfortunately, deeply rooted in Indonesia's nation-wide public education. Baidhawy (2007) argues that during Indonesia's 1966-1998 New Order era, Soeharto regime has long planted the seeds of religious conflicts. It is because the State misused religion education in school curricula especially in public schools, to limit freedom of religion and to promote a model that is not sensitive to diversity and differences. This is done as its exclusive model leans toward dogmatic indoctrination which systematically negated mutual respect and neglected minority group contributions to Indonesian culture which leads to the process of nation-wide homogenization and cultural hegemony. Hence the term 'harmony' became artificial because it fails to reflect dialectic dynamics or cooperation among religious communities. The following table is drawn from Baidhawy (2007) based on his observation on teaching and learning practices in class from 1998 to 2002.

Table 1. Exclusive Characteristics of Religious Education in Indonesia and Its Implication

No	Characteristic	Implication
1	It only introduces its own system of religion	Narrow system of knowledge
2	It does not recognize the other religion as genuine and authentic	Truth and salvation claim
3	It ignores the otherness in religions and regards it as 'the other' and inferior	Sense of superiority
4	It regards the other as invaluable thing	Prejudices, biases, and stereotypes
5	It views the other religions and the world through its own religion	Myopic
6	Its extreme loyalty of religious belief protected outsider influence and existence	Religious fanaticism and radicalism
7	Its mentality of conversion and/or missionary are very forceful	Religion's burden of proselytism

Source: Baidhawy (2007)

Exclusive characteristics of Indonesia's religious education lead to distinct separation between groups and the polarization of in-group and out-group. According to Matsumoto and Juang (2008), in-group or we-group is characterized by a history of shared experiences and an anticipated future which produce a sense of intimacy, familiarity and trust. Meanwhile, out-group or other-group lacks these qualities because it is associated with greater ambiguity and uncertainty. Brauer (2000) highlights that individuals generally favor their in-group over their out-group, concerned with their own groups and attribute superior essence to their own compared to out-group – be it genetic, linguistic, religious, cultural and so on. This is partly due to out-group homogeneity effect or the tendency to view members of out-groups as more homogenous than members of the in-group.

With strong in-group out-group division and artificial notion of harmony embedded in Indonesia's religious education, is it possible to combat stereotype, prejudice and

discrimination, and furthermore prevent religious conflicts? Aronson, Wilson and Akert (2010) highlight how combating stereotype, prejudice and discrimination takes more than simply providing people with facts. When people are presented with two or three powerful disconfirming piece of evidence, they simply dismiss the examples as exceptions that prove the rule. Yet when bombarded with many examples, they gradually modify their beliefs. Also, repeated contact with members of an out-group can effectively address intergroup bias. This is known as the contact hypothesis (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans and Sam, 2011). Brown (2010) states that contact hypothesis is one of the most long-lived and successful ideas in the history of social psychology which received wide supports due to its positive consequences. Aronson, Wilson and Akret (2010) explain that contact hypothesis sums up six conditions of intergroup contact to successfully reduce prejudice:

1. mutual interdependence, or the need to depend on each other
2. a common goal, or a goal to be accomplished that is important to each group
3. equal status, or in other words, group members are very much the same in terms of status and power
4. informal, interpersonal contact, which facilitate interaction on personal level
5. multiple contacts, and
6. social norms of equality, through reinforcement of a norm of acceptance and tolerance.

Contact hypothesishas been applied to school setting through cooperative learning groups or jigsaw classroom (Brown, 2010). In such setting, learning experience of the students is organized so they become co-operatively interdependent in a small group in which students need each other to achieve their goals. According to Aronson, Wilson &Akert (2010), the process of working cooperatively encourages the development of empathy.Jimenez (2009) defines empathy is the ability to discern or vicariously experience the emotional state of another being and as an affective response that stems from perceiving or understanding another's emotional state or condition. With empathy, students would be able to see the world from the perspective of others. When a student develops the ability to understand what another person is going through, it becomes virtually impossible to feel prejudice against that person. It is because this setting facilitates the enhancement of knowledge about the out-group, the reduction of anxiety about intergroup contact and the increase of empathy and perspective taking. According to Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans and Sam (2011), those are three mediating variables connecting contact hypothesis and prejudice reduction.

Zooming in on perspective-taking, Parker and Axtell (2001) elaborates by describing perspective taking is a cognitive or intellectual process of mental flexibility that results in the affective response of empathy. David (1980) defines perspective-taking as the ability to adopt the perspective or point of view of other people, to shift perspectives or to step

'outside of the self' when dealing with other people. Galinksy and Moskowitz (2000) argue further by stating that perspective taking can de-bias social thoughts by decreasing stereotype. Perspective taking has been acknowledged as the royal avenue to empathy (Decety, 2005). According to David (1980), perspective taking is identified by the ability to believe that there are two sides of every issues and the willingness to try to look at them both, the ability to try to put oneself in other people's shoes, the ability to see issues not as black and white and to accept that the truth is somewhere in between, the ability to see things from other people's point of view, the ability to imagine how would one feel if one were in other people's place, the ability to imagine how things look from other people's perspective. Poor perspective taking leads to the mistrust of others (Harmon and Jones, 2005). On the other hand, healthy perspective taking would help ones to understand and work effectively with other people and enable them to handle difficult social situations because they are able to display empathy and compassion for others (Leyen, 2001). Hence, perspective taking could be considered as a way to address religious prejudice, stereotype and discrimination deeply rooted in Indonesia's education as marked by its exclusive characteristics, and hopefully, prevent religious conflicts in the country.

There are a number of researches carried out on perspective taking. Batson et al. (1997), Dovidio et al. (2004) and Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) in Gutsel and Inzlicht (2013) highlight perspective taking can be helpful in an intergroup context. Also in Gutsel and Inzlicht (2013), perspective taking facilitates active contemplation of other's psychological experience and leads to altruistic behavior (Batson et al., 1997), promotes conflict resolution (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin& White, 2008) due to the fact that perspective taking improves evaluations of specific members of the out-group (Shish, Wan, Trahan Bucher and Stotzer, 2009) and of the out-group generally (Dovidio et al., 2004, Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000). Biernat and Danaher (2013) document how perspective taking has been examined in terms of reducing prejudice toward out-groups. In Biemant and Danaher (2013), Batson et al. (1997) documents that perspective-taking instructions induces empathy toward individual stigmatized others, which led to improved attitudes toward the relevant group as a whole: people with AIDS, the homeless, and murderers, even when these attitudes were measure one to two weeks after the empathy induction. Also in Biemant and Danaher (2013), Batson, Chang, Orr and Rowland (2002) elaborate how individuals led to take the perspective of a heroin addict later allocated more funds to a drug-treatment agency (Batson, Chang, Orr and Rowland, 2002). Moreover, induced perspective taking also increased favorable attitudes toward African Americans, regardless of whether the target individual confirmed or disconfirmed racial stereotypes (Vescio, Sechrist and Paolucci(2003) in Biemant and Danaher (2013)). Also, in Biernat and Danaher (2013), Davis, Conklin, Smith and Luce (1996) argues that perspective taking leads to a merging of self and the other or inclusion of other in the self, a mechanism central to the contact hypothesis described

above. Given all the benefits of perspective taking, a perspective taking mindset could potentially be a powerful tool to decrease address prejudice. One of many ways of examining perspective taking in prejudice reduction is through writing an essay. Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) in Castano (2012)investigate the effects on stereotyping by simply looking at the world through the eyes of an out-group member. In a first study, they presented participants with a photo of an elderly man and asked them to write an essay describing a day in his life. Instructions varied between conditions, asking participants to either suppress their stereotypic preconceptions or to take the perspective of the individual in the picture when writing their essays (*imagine a day in the life of this individual as if you were that person, looking at the world through his eyes and walking through the world in his shoes*). The third condition gave no specific instructions. Participants then completed a lexical decision task aimed at measuring the accessibility of negatively valenced, stereotypical traits of the elderly, and finally wrote another essay about another elderly man. Results showed that while both suppression and perspective-taking instructions led to diminished stereotypical content, perspective-taking was the most effective strategy in augmenting the positive content in the description of the elderly man.

Perspective taking is adopted as an underlying idea that couches Religion in Pembangunan Jaya University (UPJ). This is a compulsory course developed under the partnership between UPJ and Indonesian Conference on Religion and Peace (ICRP), a non-government organization focusing on inter-faith dialogues. Unlike typical religion courses in typical universities in which students are divided in separate classes and taught according on their religious affiliations, this course implements all six conditions of contact hypothesis. ICRP, with its Sekolah Agama (Religion School), is one of the advocates for religious tolerance amongst other initiatives including Sekolah Pluralisme (Pluralism School) by Gadjah Mada University (ICRP, 2013). Salim, Kailani and Ezekiyah (2011)also show initiatives attempted in a number of high schools, in which emancipative negotiation and resistance against cultural dominance are introduced to students. This is also in line with examples from different parts in the world in which religion education is designed to represent religion in their diversity and complexity of cultural expression, delivered side by side with peace and citizenship education, in order to give students more agency and autonomy in exploring issues of value, in learning how to listen to others and engage with difference, to break stereotypes and at the end to combat prejudice and discrimination(Jackson & Fujiwara, 2007).

The objective of this writing is to describe perspective taking expressed by UPJ students as they participated in Religion course. It hopes to contribute to the continuous development of a body of knowledge on how to reduce prejudice, stereotype and discrimination, issues important to Indonesia and to Asia due to their vulnerability to intergroup conflicts. This writing wishes to also take part on the efforts to look at how

perspective taking can contribute to intergroup relationship. There have been very few empirically-driven studies that have attempted to investigate how education programs could reduce religious stereotype, prejudice and discrimination and this writing represents an attempt to do so.

B.   METHOD

This Religion course is designed and delivered in partnership between UPJ and ICRP for 47 3rd semester students from September to December 2012. This is the first time the course is delivered, considering that UPJ itself is a new university which started only in 2011. These students come from Architecture, Civil Engineering, Accounting, Management, Psychology, Communication Sciences, Information Technology, Information System, Visual Communication Design and Industrial Product Design. This course is delivered by three ICRP facilitators assisted by three UPJ lecturers as co-facilitators. ICRP facilitators are selected by the organization based on their experience in various inter-faith dialogues, education and training. One of them is Catholic priest, two of the facilitators are Moslems – and throughout the delivery of the course, they work in a team-teaching setting. Co-facilitators from UPJ are three lecturers from Psychology, Communication and Architecture departments working in an ad-hoc team under Liberal Arts unit – all with interests in human rights, pluralism and tolerance issues. While ICRP team is responsible for content and materials to be delivered, UPJ team is responsible for technical and administrative part of the course.

Description of the course is as follow. Religion is a compulsory university-wide course comprising of 8 in-class sessions with 100-minute duration, and 2 whole-day excursion sessions to a number of religious facilities in Jakarta. This religion education begins with an introduction of the program and of 3 ICRP facilitators and 3 UPJ co-facilitators involved. Then, students fill out personal bio of personal information on their age, gender, department, educational background as well as religious affiliation. It is to be noted that in filling out the information regarding religious affiliation, the students are instructed to fill it in according to affiliation of choice. It means that the students can write down Atheism or Sikh as their religion affiliations, even though they are not officially recognized in Indonesia – a country which only acknowledges Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. This bio also requires students to fill out data regarding their family members such as ages, professions, education backgrounds as well as religious affiliations. Students are also requested to write down their general views about religion; along with their religion- and non-religion-related role models. The next session is done by giving students assignments to write down their experience on their own religion and of others, to later on be shared in a small, mixed group discussion.

This is followed up by 2-whole-day excursions. Excursion destinations are Istiqlal Islamic Mosque, St Ursula Chapel and Cathedral Catholic Church, Immanuel Protestant Church, Sikh Gurdwara Temple, Dharma Jaya Toasebio Confucian Temple and Aditya Jaya Hindu Temple and Vihara Jakarta Dhammacakka Jaya Buddhist Temple. In these excursions, representatives of each religious facility received the students for a discussion and question-and-answer sessions. Afterwards, they are allowed free time to explore the premises and take picture of objects they found as interesting. Next, the students go back to the classroom with pictures of particular objects found in religious facilities. They were given a writing exercise to be done in class. Guideline for this assignment is to describe the reasons why they find thoseobjects interesting. This is followed by another writing exercise on their impression regarding the excursion. Guideline for this writings is an instruction to reflect on both what they think and feel before and after the excursions and to describe their thoughts and feelings and, if any, changes on how they think and feel. Afterward, they again are given the opportunity to write an opinion piece. Guideline for this assignment is the students are instructed to write an opinion similar to newspaper or magazine columns based on their experience during the excursion. Students are instructed to explore issues involving intergroup relationship in Indonesia as well as to exercise taking of the out-groups.

Afterward they receive lectures from various guest lecturers on formal and non-formal religion, interfaith marriage and religious violence. Lectures are followed by group discussion, in which they were given cases to be examined and the group is assigned to provide consensus-based recommendations. Grouping is designed in such a way so they comprise of members with different background in terms of gender, study programs, age, and religion. The group work continues as they are preparing their final projects – creative expression to promote religious tolerance and anti-violence messages. Their projects, along with their assignments, are part of learning evaluations. In the program that runs from September to December 2012, the students produces one photo wall exhibition on daily religion practices, one hand puppet show on religion-based political campaign, a poster series to promote open mind and religious tolerance, one poster series of religious conflict, one video documentary comprising of interviews with fellow students who come from interfaith marriage and one videography presentation of social commentaries on religious intolerance. Lastly, they took part in ICRP National Congress on Merajut Damai dengan Pendidikan Humanis (Weaving Peace through Humanistic Education) on 12 December 2012, in National Library Jakarta to share their experience. From the description of the course, it is clear that it implements six required contact hypothesis conditions. Students are working on equal status to each other, in small groups that facilitate interpersonal contacts and they are interdependent to achieve goals meaningful to them.

In terms of strategies of inquiry, because this writing focuses solely in UPJ context, hence it can be categorized as an example of case studies. According to Stake (1995) in

Creswell (2009), in a case study the researcher explores in-depth a program, event, activity, process or one or more individuals. This applies to the nature of the case of this writing – which is limited to UPJ only. The objective of this writing is to describe perspective taking expressed by UPJ students as they participated in Religion course. Research questions formulated for this writing is: how UPJ students participating in Religion course apply perspective taking in describing the out-groups? Such research objective is best addressed with qualitative research design. According to Creswell (2009), qualitative research design is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data.

The focus of this writing, which is perspective taking, is examined by selecting its data source which represents student perspective. The type of data in this research is personal documents, which are writings produced by students throughout Religion course. According to Berg (2009), personal documents are any written record created by the subject that concerned his or her experiences, comprises of documents produced by students in writing as part of their learning process to describe their experience and articulate their opinions. By examining written documents through nonreactive or unobtrusive research, this writing attempts to interpret means to assign significance or coherent meaning without disrupting the people (Neuman, 2011). This approach is chosen due to the fact that their writings produced by students reflect the subjective views and perceptions of their creators, offering intimate information and insight about how the students perceived the world around them. In other words, their written assignments function as their personal diaries. Due to the fact that these documents reflect the subjective views and perceptions of their creators, this very nature makes them useful as data in this case study because they provide information and insight about the subjects. Other inquiries, such as interview or focus group discussion, may not be able to delve into such deep, intimate level of openness as they are prone to social desirability factor.

Tool used to examine text, as anything written, visual or spoken that serves as a medium of communication, is textual analysis. Neuman (2011) describes textual analysis as a process of revealing the content such as meanings within a communication source. To analyze text means systematically to organize, integrate, and examine; and as one does this, one search for patterns and relationships among the specific details by connecting particular data to concepts, advance generalizations, and identify broad trends or themes. This is done through the process of coding. Neuman (2011) explains that coding requires carefully looking at text and converting it in a very systematic manner into measures of significant

words, symbols, or messages, by using a coding system - general rules to guide the interpretation of the test and to determine that particular themes, in this case, perspective-taking of the out-group, are present. Codes used in this writing adopt the research by David (1980). According to David (1980), perspective taking is identified by the ability to believe that there are two sides of every issues and the willingness to try to look at them both, the ability to try to put oneself in other people's shoes, the ability to see issues not as black and white and to accept that the truth is somewhere in between, the ability to see things from other people's point of view, the ability to imagine how would one feel if one were in other people's place, the ability to imagine how things look from other people's perspective. These are then applied into the data source, which results in the selection of quotations which reflect perspective taking codes.

To ensure reliability, as suggested by Creswell (2009), the researcher checks and rechecks the data for accuracy. Meanwhile, in terms of validity, peer review as suggested by Creswell (2009) is used. In this writing, peers are four Psychology lecturers who are colleagues of the author. The primary concern of this type of research, according to Neuman (2011), is the privacy and confidentiality of using available information because the researcher may lacks substantial knowledge of the data collection process. This issue is effectively addressed with the fact that the researcher is involved throughout the process as one of UPJ co-facilitators. Therefore, even though the researcher is familiar with the process, the delivery of the overall initiative is not on the hand of the researcher, giving the researcher a healthy distance to examine the text, as suggested by Creswell (2009).

C.   RESULTS

Data source used in this research is student opinion piece. This opinion piece is one of the written assignment students completed after their excursions. It is because this particular assignment encapsulates the perspective of the students in terms of their personal opinions regarding religious relationship in Indonesia. In writing their opinions, they reflect on the excursion as well as lecture and group discussions they had in the class. Hence, this research examines 47 opinions written by 47 Religion students.Out of the 47 opinions, 37 opinions deal about relating with their out-groups. This is identified by comparing religious affiliation the students write in their biodata and the content of their opinions. The rest 10 students choose to write about their own in-group and hence, perspective taking could not be examined from those texts. These 37 opinions are then selected as the final data source or texts to be analyzed.

These 37 opinions are written by 25 female and 12 male students. In terms of age, they come from 18 to 31 years old of age. Based on religious affiliation, 26 of them are Moslem, 6 of them are Protestant, 2 of them are Catholic, with two students wrote

Agnosticism and another student wrote 'I do not know' as their religious affiliations. From these 37 students, 8 of them have family members from the out-groups and six others have family members who used to be the out-groups. Based on the analysis on how these 37 students apply perspective taking in describing the out-groups in their opinion piece, the writing identifies the following findings. These findings are identified in the attempt to answer the research question on how UPJ students participating in Religion course apply perspective taking in describing the out-groups.

One way to apply perspective taking is apparent as the students express their opinions by identifying commonalities with the out-groups. This can be examined from the quotations below:

> *'I observed that when Catholic people enter the Cathedral, they dipped their fingers into a bowl of holy water to make cross signs. … I find it interesting because it is not different compared to Moslems who take the cleansing water of wudhu before prayer.'*

> *'To those who do not understand, statues are the gods of Hindu people. Now I know that Hindu people believe in 'Om', not the statues themselves, and the gods are personifications of the Almighty. … I find the idea is somehow similar to Catholicism who uses figures to symbolize Jesus Christ.'*

> *'I heard how Sikh guru mentioned about 'what you reap is what you sow.' This is similar to what Christianity believes.'*

Based on the examples, students applied perspective taking as they learn more about the out-groups and identify similarities - which decreased their stereotypes about groups different than their own and de-bias their social thoughts. Similarities identified cognitively become the avenue for empathy toward out-groups as they look at things from other people's point of view. Regarding how students apply perspective taking, this is one way they do so.

Moreover, perspectivetaking is also apparent from how students re-assess their previous beliefs about in-group-out-group relationship and to decide whether an opinion is always true, sometimes true, partly false or false. This represents another way used by the students in applying perspective taking.

> *'At first I had my doubts because according to some friends, Moslems could not enter churches. But then I thought, there is nothing wrong with paying a visit as long as I remain true to my faith… It is because I believe all religion teaches good things to their people.'*

> *'What is interesting for me is how the Bhikkhu welcomes people from other religion to study Buddhism. … By learning about other religions, we would not be vulnerable to any incitement of hatred by provocateurs because we understand better. … This is important especially because we long for peace after all the religious conflicts we have.'*

Besides identification of similarities and re-assessment of their previous beliefs of the out-groups, students are also able to take the perspective of others. This is best exemplified with the following quotation - when students were exposed to experience they find as dubious or incomprehensible at first - as exemplified below.

'When I went to the ladies room or when I put my shoes in the deposit box in the mosque, a female janitor requested me money. First I found such commercial gesture rather odd … But after awhile, I began thinking that perhaps there was nothing wrong with it. The money was a donation to be used for continuous development of the mosque. … Let's think positively … No more negative thoughts… Let's respect each other and be tolerant to others.'

This reflects that as perspective taking is applied, students begin to see issues not as black and white and there are two sides of every issue. Students apply perspective taking by using their positive assumption regarding the out-group by imagining how things look from other people's perspective and prevent themselves from making immediate judgment.

Furthermore, perspective taking is applied by the students as they imagine how they would feel if they were in other people's place. This is done so by taking by stepping outside of themselves that results in affective response of empathy. This is concluded from the use of affective words such as 'feeling hurt and ashamed' and experiencing 'difficulties' - indicating the transition between cognitive perspective-taking and affective empathy. This is reflected in the quotations below:

'When the mosque janitor in shoes deposit counter asked us, 'All of you are Moslems, right?',inside I wonder: why a person has to be a Moslem in order to have his or her shoes placed in some boxes? I think such remark is rather intimidating to my non-Moslems friends - I myself feel hurt and ashamed.'

'When explaining the history of the musical instrument of orgel, the church representative explained that one time it did not sound right as it should because an ulema came one time and played a dangdut song with the orgel. 'Perhaps the orgel is angry,' said the man. I think some people may find if offensive. … This might trigger dispute between religious groups. … I begin to wonder that perhaps leaders of different religions in Indonesia often do such things… No surprise that Indonesia suffers from religious conflicts.'

'I found out that Sikh is not recognized as a religion in Indonesia and therefore, Sikh people have to list themselves as Hindu. Also, others with faiths unrecognized by Indonesian government have to put religions such as Islam or Christianity in their identity cards. … This thing should never happen… The government should guarantee its citizens freedom of religion because each person has the right to choose what he or she wants to believe. … If I were put in their positions, I would have difficulties to deal with the fact that I had to put other people's religion as if it were my own.'

Going back to the research questions on how UPJ students participating in Religion course apply perspective taking in describing the out-groups, the findings show a number of ways on how perspective taking is applied by the students. This is done by identifying

similarities with the out-groups, re-assessing their previous beliefs about the out-groups and by imagining how things look from other people's perspective and by taking by stepping outside of themselves that results in affective response which signals the emergence of empathy.

D.   DISCUSSION

The findings indicate that perspective taking is evident in the texts examined. Considering perspective as the primary avenue to empathy, it is hoped that this would lead to reduction of prejudice in intergroup relationship. These findings support the opportunity to continue developing such approach to address intergroup bias deeply rooted in Indonesia's exclusive characteristics of Religion education as a long-term prevention to religious conflicts in the country. Meanwhile, one theoretical implication of these findings to be further explored is how contact hypothesis applied in educational settings can effectively combat prejudice and address stereotype. It is hoped that this would contribute to the development of the body of knowledge in the fields of social as well as education psychology.

There are issues potentially explored in the future research. Further research upon this case should be done to explore how prior experience with out-groups facilitates perspective taking. It is known that 14 out of 37 students have family members from or used to be from the out-groups. Follow up research should also be done to explore how contact with the out-group relates to attitude toward in-group. Another direction is to explore the relationship between perspective taking and in-group perspective. Besides 37 students addressing the out-groups, the other 10 students choose to talk about the in-group, with rather critical tone - as identified by preliminary open coding. It would be interesting to see the connection between out-group contact with the development of out-group empathy and critical thinking toward the in-group. Limitations of this research should be noted. This course was delivered for the first time only, meaning that there are more to be explored as the course continues in the coming years. Other tools of inquiry should also be added to complement textual analysis. The qualitative nature of the case study itself limits the generalization of the findings to other contexts. All of these could be the directions for future research.

E.   CONCLUSION

We conclude that Religion course which adheres to contact hypothesis contributes to perspective taking of the participating students in viewing their relationship with the out-

groups. This is done by identifying similarities with the out-groups, re-assessing their previous beliefs about the out-groups and by imagining how things look from other people's perspective and by taking by stepping outside of themselves that results in affective response which signals the emergence of empathy.The findings confirm Turkish proverb used as the title of this paper – that a 'small key' of Religion course has opened 'big doors' by identifying commonalities with the out-groups, re-assessing their previous beliefs about in-group out-group relationship and by imagining how things look from other people's perspective.

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The Perilous Terrain of Racist Comedy in Malaysia: A Qualitative Inquiry Into Understanding How Malaysians Perceive Racist Comedy

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Abstract

Research into racist comedy is usually divided along the line of whether or not individuals perceive racist jokes to be humorous or offensive. Our primary research question was to find out 'how Malaysians perceive racist comedy?' The social constructivist paradigm and a Basic Qualitative Approach was used to understand the subjective perceptions. Three Malaysians (Malay, Chinese & Indian) were purposively recruited an introductory research methods class from a large private institution in Malaysia. Semi-structured interviews were utilized to allow flexibility during the interview sessions. Data was analyzed via Thematic Analysis. Results indicated that Malaysians generally have a good perception of racist comedy but this is subject to specific circumstances surrounding the presentation of such comedy to an audience. Deviant cases revealed insights which helped in the understanding of how people overcome the paradox of the negativity of a racist joke and its comical nature. The findings highlight several factors and possible implications in racial understanding and intercultural sensitivity within Malaysia.

A.   INTRODUCTION

Before we delve into the juicier bits of this research allow me to illuminate areas of past research regarding my topic. Did you know that few people actually deny not having a sense of humor as opposed to readily admitting to defects like a poor memory or physical problems (Olsson, Backe, Sorensen, & Kock, 2002).As suggested by Fry (1992) as cited in Olsson et al. (2002) humor is an innate ability wrought together by life experiences and tempered by culture. In fact, culture has been suggested by Apte (1985) as cited in Chiang-Hanisko, Adamie, and Chiang (2009) as the foundation for most humor and this notion further raises the issue that Apte went on to emphasize; that people who are not members of a certain cultural group may not experience humor in the same way as they have been unable to internalize the patterns or values of the other culture group. In other words we have all got a sense of humor but at the same time, culturally specific ways of appreciating it.

What happens when racism is added to comedy? An interesting research by Park, Gabbadon and Chernin (2006) on the movie 'Rush Hour 2' showcased how despite the lead characters conforming to typically negative racist stereotypes, the movie itself was a huge success. Park et al. continues to describe this as a fascinating paradox between a blatant embodiment of racist representation and its ability to transcend racial boundaries under the

right circumstances. In the context of that research, comedy appeared to be an essential element rendering normally harmful stereotypes as benign. The present study therefore provides a further investigation into the perception of comedy with racist elements within a Malaysian context.

Research provides arguments for both a positive or negative view on racist comedy. Firstly for the negative, we see in research by Bilig (2001) that ethnic and racist humor (in American society) results in a paradox in which the mirth associated with humor is at odds with the insidious harm that might result from a racist joke. In fact, as described by Greengross (2011) an experiment found that participants (holding anti-homosexual views) who had been exposed to anti-gay humor actually had significantly higher budget cuts for homosexual organizations (in an imaginary setting). In agreement with this we have research by Hall(1990); Omni (1989); as cited in Park et al. (2006) whereby stereotypes have been observed to reinforce racial hierarchy when used in a society which is already deeply rooted with racism. It is interesting to note is that these above studies account for the negative effects of racist humor as a result of a person already holding racist opinions.

Research supporting racial comedy however, claims that racial stereotypes allow for an efficient establishment of instantly recognizable traits of specific races therefore are a good source of humor too (Bowes, 1990; King, 2002, as cited in Park et al., 2006).Studies by Gillota (2012) and Park et al. (2006) have revealed that the comedic portrayal of racial stereotypes (in exaggerated fashion) may be used as a 'parody' of the stereotype itself thereby allowing for a criticism against the racial norm. In other words joking about the stereotype itself renders it powerless. 'Comedy often inverts stereotypes to generate humor' (Park et al., p. 159). There is however a danger as Raj (2009) suggests that the joking of racial stereotypes actually reinforces the stereotype rather than neutralizing it. Purveyors of racist humor have claimed that society has reached a level of enlightenment allowing us to realize that people do not necessarily believe the stereotypes being used thus justifying our enjoyment of humor at the expense of another (Bilig, 2001). But how to Malaysians perceive racist comedy? Do we naturalize racial differences within our community or can the power of comedy subvert racial stereotypes in order to destabilize a harmful racial hierarchy. These questions lead to the development of the central research question for the present qualitative study.

Now to put this research into the context of Malaysian society. Malaysia is considered to be a multicultural country (Rajendran, 2012, Buttny, Hashim, & Kaur, 2013).Unfortunately however, there are underlying racial undercurrents which pervade the current Malaysian society (Malott, 2011). The author describes how the tourism industry and official statements from politicians highlight the harmony and peace between races, but this is not the case. He briefly highlights the numerous race related issues which plague the Malaysian

society on a daily basis. A simple search about 'Racism in Malaysia' on online media would confirm this too. At the same time researchers like Tamam (2010) emphasize the importance of sustaining intercultural communication in a multicultural country for the sake of racial harmony. But how do we achieve this? The researcher noticed that there exists one venue in which racism can be talked about more openly and be received with a positive response, namely, comedy clubs. This more positive reaction of Malaysians towards racism in a comedic format is what prompted the researcher to focus on understanding how Malaysians perceive racist comedy.

a.   Research Paradigm

For the purpose of this research I choose to look at my topic from the social constructivist lens which implies that participants 'construct reality in interaction with their social worlds' (Merriam, 2009, p.22). Meaning is not inherent, but rather interpreted. Considering the world of comedy and its incredibly subjective nature, as Billig (2001) cleverly described how humor is universally found in every society yet paradoxically there is nothing quite so universally funny. It all boils down to (or perhaps bubbles over to) subjective interpretation. Racism is no different. This is pertinent to my research as it requires me to structure my qualitative analysis such that it may allow for a diverse and in depth study of such subjective experiences people may have.

b.   Research Question

The main focus of this study is to answer the question on 'How do Malaysians perceive racist comedy?' I am interested to find out if there are underlying similar themes between the three main races in Malaysian society in the context of racist comedy. Do all races view comedy similarly or does each hold their own unique subjective perspective?

B.   METHOD

a.   Approach

I utilized a Basic Qualitative approach for this current qualitative study, justified because I wanted to study the subjective understanding of Malaysians with racist comedy. This approach is compatible with the social constructivist paradigm aforementioned (Merriam, 2009).

b.   Questions

By using semi-structured interviews I explored participant's opinions on the topic in depth. According to Merriam (2009) semi-structured interviews allow for a more flexible

method for me to both question and respond to the answers I receive as opposed to being overly bound by structured questions only. Appendix A contains a list of Interview Questions used for this study. Face to face interviews were conducted with each participant in environments conducive for dialogue, and were audio recorded using a voice recorder. Interviews ranged from 30 – 45minutes in length. The audio recordings were then transcribed for analysis.

c.   Sample

Participants were recruited via purposive sampling from an introductory research methods course in a large private tertiary education institution in Malaysia. Participants were required to have had direct exposure to racist comedy (either by listening or telling racist jokes themselves). This requirement is necessary as I wanted 'information-rich' cases which are described by Patton (2002) as cited in Merriam (2009) as participants who are more aware of the topic as they would be able to provide greater insight into their opinions on racist comedy. I sampled one participant each from the major racial groups in Malaysia; namely one Chinese, Malay and Indian participant respectively. By having one representative of each major racial group in our Malaysian context, I was able to focus my questions on drawing out more in depth information from the participants from their respective racial perspective.

d.   Data Collection Procedures

All interviews were audio recorded (in a suitable room) and participant's names were substituted with pseudonyms to ensure anonymity in the subsequent transcription. Informed consent forms were signed by participants and a copy of the interview questions were given to them before the start of the interview for their perusal. Before each interview, the interviewer would build rapport with the participants to make sure they would be comfortable before the start of the interview.

e.   Reliability & Validity

Firstly, as described by Morse et al. (2002), data is more valid when samples of participants are knowledgeable about the research topic. In alignment with this, the researcher chose to sample participants who had exposure to racist comedy in Malaysia. Next, the researcher utilized triangulation of data by taking note of the participants accompanying body movements and integrating those observations when interpreting the data in order to make it as valid as possible. Also, the researcher probed the participants with appropriate follow up questions for any important points raised during the interview as a measure of establishing reliability. The researcher questioned participants until satisfied that the data was saturated with information and also spent enough time immersing himself

in the data analysis process so as to ensure that the data would be well understood. Lastly, the researcher practiced Reflexivity (Merriam, 2009) by bracketing all possible biases and keeping a sensitive mind to ensure that participant's responses would be captured as authentically as possible. A combination of these measures helped to maintain the reliability and validity of this research.

f.   Analysis

Data was analyzed via Thematic Analysis; a method of analysis which entails 'identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.6). Data was first transcribed and then open coding. Open coding involved the researcher identifying statements made by the participants which were relevant to the research question and subsequently assigned them primary codes. Next was axial coding; a process which involved the researcher grouping similar codes into groups (Corbin & Strauss, 2007, as cited in Merriam, 2009). These groups were mutually exclusive of each other and were also relevant towards answering the research question. The researcher later identified emerging themes from these groupings of data which represent a comprehensive understanding of the participant's opinions on racist comedy. Several pieces of data were unable to be fit into the groups and thus were treated as deviant cases. Although these deviant cases did not fall under the main emerging themes, but they were still interpreted and contributed towards the overall understanding of racist comedy.
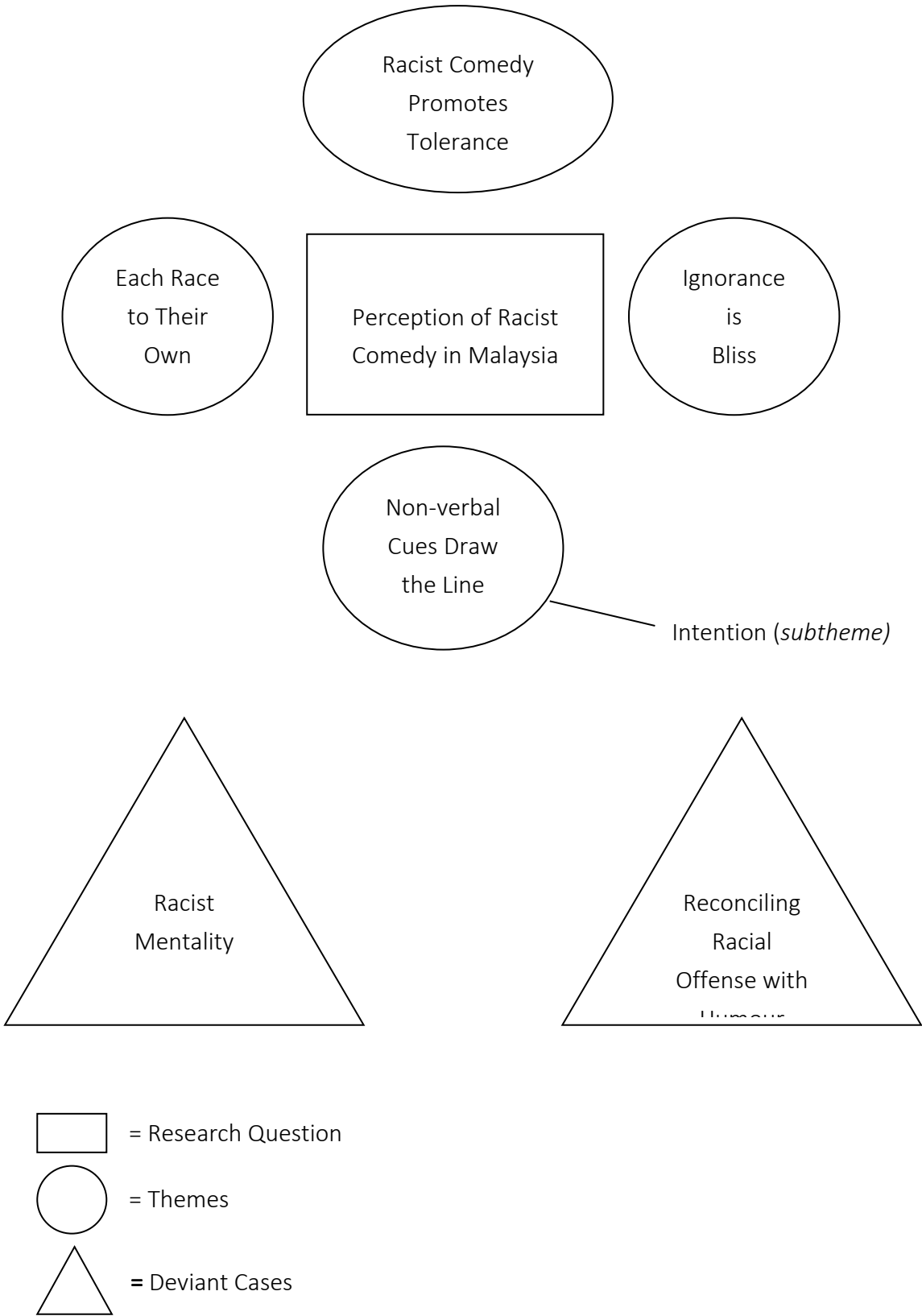
C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Racist Comedy Promotes Tolerance

Each Race to Their Own

Perception of Racist Comedy in Malaysia

Ignorance is Bliss

Non-verbal Cues Draw the Line

Intention (*subtheme)*

Racist Mentality

Reconciling Racial Offense with Humour

☐ = Research Question

◯ = Themes

△ = Deviant Cases

Figure 1

a. Ignorance is Bliss

By 'Ignorance' here I am actually referring to the act of 'ignoring' something, not 'ignorance' in the understanding of one who lacks knowledge. Bliss is bliss thankfully. Some of the responses:

'I would say that I would slightly feel offended. which I and I also don't… don't want to create any extra trouble because if the person is being too much we can know that he is kind of an extreme person so why want to create another trouble come out, just ignore it la….I can't recall any specific joke, but I do know that I do sometimes get offended by some jokes la… Yeah most of the time reacted by ignoring.' (W: 61, 63, 65)

'Like if they make like something that is true, I mean like that they kinda like add those humor like a bit spice into it. I think its not going to be that hurt unless you know like some people they tend to use like a very more harsh humor and it might like hurt me a little but I don't think I'm gonna like make a big fuss out of it because it's just as the end of the day it's just a joke.' (H:49)

Rather than confront racist jokes, participants were more willing to ignore and just let the joke slide. Yes, perhaps slide under the rug and end up drilling holes through our multicultural fabric of Malaysian society. The researcher suggests that collectivistic values are playing a role here. According to Keshavarz & Baharudin (2009), collectivistic cultures are usually defined as those emphasizing on interdependent relationship with one another and Malaysia does represent itself as a collectivistic nation. Our values are instilled from a young age and one of them would be the value of *Face* – which is a salient East Asian value – refers to someone's social prestige and serves to maintain harmony within a group (Ho, 1991, as cited in Liao, Louie, Wang & Carideo, 2009). The need to *save face* may be the underlying reason for the highlighted need for the participants to avoid conflict with others despite situations when comedy is hurtful or offensive. A quick internet search revealed to me 'Asian-Americans are still mocked and parodied because they don't get mad, mean, and in your face' (Wolf, 2013). Saving face, while helping to avoid conflict, may be detrimental if it allows hurtful racist jokes to propagate. Another participant added that racist jokes, although sometimes hurtful, should be taken as jokes and nothing more. The participants explained that she would not need to fuss over something that should just be considered a joke at the end of the day.

This theme helps answer the research question by providing us an understanding into the perception of Malaysians regarding racist comedy in which they seem to ignore the racial elements in racist jokes either to avoid conflict or they are able to appreciate that racist jokes are just jokes. However, the researcher feels that more research is needed to more accurately understand the underlying motivations of whether or not Malaysians avoid confronting others on issues regarding race in order to save face or has the Malaysian

society reached enlightenment such that they are able to effectively appreciate the humor of racist jokes rather than get upset at their accompanying racist connotations.

b.   Each Race to Their Own

Participants were asked as to what they believed were the main themes underlying racist jokes made against their own race. Chinese people for instance are usually viewed as business oriented, overly calculative and have a funny slang. Malay people are seen as lazy, overweight and have problems being punctual. Indian people are seen as noisy, scary, drink (alcohol) too much and usually stereotyped as third class workers. These stereotypes sound quite socially anecdotal and I probed participants as to why they felt their race was seen as such. For the Chinese:

> '*Because I would say that er…. Well from the past history I mean just for this country, from the past history it also shows that since the beginning of the... before independence and even after independence most of the… business sphere are still dominate by the Chinese...Until modern days we can start to see its more evenly distribute la...But still most of the big corporate are still under Chinese la I would say*.' (W: 47)

This participant felt that in Malaysia, the Chinese people have had a historical dominance in the business field, and when speaking, they generally carry a distinct accent with them. These have resulted in the emerging stereotypes of their race. My Malay participant revealed that people tend to overgeneralize Malays as being lazy despite there still being a few hardworking individuals in a group. This laziness is then associated with them being overweight too. Also mentioned that when my participant arrives late at a gathering, friends would comment:

> '*You know like erm… the most main thing that I receive a lot is like… not I… la <laugh> We don't really, we're not really a punctual race, so they tend to like make jokes like.. for example if I'm like late with a gathering with my friends, like whatever race like a mix of race and I'll be late and they'll be like "oh lambat? Biasasalah melayu" (translation: oh late? normal for Malays).. you know that kind of thing and I'll be like "yeah of course" that kind of thing*.' (H:37)

The participant felt that Malay people lived up to their attributed racial stereotype of being lazy and late. Lastly my Indian participants shared an opinion regarding her race in relation to racist comedy:

> '*I think Malaysian Indians become the butt of the joke because er… we drink a lot, we're very noisy, er… they always tend to look quite scary <laugh> more often than not, er… always portrayed as being 3rd class worker unfortunately… but its still funny <laughs>...I think that's why it's funny, it's funny cause its true*.' (T: 27, 29)

She felt that Indians were usually the major punch line for a racist comedy set. The researcher suggests there may also be something to do with the fact that in comparison to

the other races, Indians have the smallest representation in society. More research would be required to establish whether or not there is a link between racist comedy and racial representation in Malaysia.

From the data the researcher notes that racial stereotypes appear to find their basis in each respective racial group's day to day behavior and attitudes. As one participant explained by saying:

> '*I think its stereotype usually comes from when like we see a lot of this like this idea that coming to life, like for example this time Malay and like 6 or 7 of them show like their lazy side <emphasis> although the 3 of them like work their ass off its just that we tend to look at the bad side more.*' (T:62)

In agreement with this, another participant mentioned about the shaping of stereotypes though social and historical circumstances. Even from a young age we are constantly exposed to a lot of stereotypical information about groups in our daily lives (Devine, 1989,as cited in Tasdemir 2011).We seem to have learnt to accept our stereotypes as they are, though this is not necessarily a bad thing. After all according to Allport (1954) p. 19, as cited in Tasdemir (2011) 'The human mind must think with the aid of categories… Once formed, categories are the basis for normal prejudgment. We cannot possibly avoid this process. Orderly living depends upon it.' Categories in this sense referring to stereotypes towards racial groups. In fact a lot of good comedy relies on the fast establishment of instantly identifiable and unique traits of a certain race all of which are easily supplied by stereotypes (Bowes, 1990; King, 2002, as cited in Park et al., 2006).A problem however, exists when these stereotypes are interpreted in a negative light.

This theme helps contribute towards understanding another aspect of the perception of racist comedy among Malaysians in that each race perceives specific racial stereotypes in racist comedy which are used to generate humor. These stereotypes appear to have some basis in truth as people of the race tend to reflect behaviors consistent with the stereotype. Participants however, did not elaborate on whether they found racist jokes about their own race funnier than racist jokes about other races. This provides an avenue for future research to study how race plays a role in the appreciation of racist comedy.

c. **Nonverbal cues Draw the Line**

> '*Erm...I see the difference through the tone of the person that jokes. That makes this jokes...The tone and their facial expression I would say...The tones would be…. You know some kind of casual tone?...Where you just say something casually and you have the laughing tone when you are talking about that…...It is the kind of tone that I would perceive it as a joke la....*' (W:67, 69,71, 73, 75)

> '*I would say it's nearly same with the tone kind of thing. If your facial expression is somewhat like laughing, you have a laughing facial expression well obviously it's a joke*

la… and if you have a… serious kind of facial expression, or you even trying to have that anger facial expression or trying to find trouble then there there will be a racism already…I think that.. for for me, verbal is not that serious la. Or I don't take verbal into account because I would say that you give two different person the same sentence, one will make it into a joke and one will make it into a boring statement…It depends on your tone, your gesture your facial expression.' (W: 85,87,89)

This participant elaborated that being light hearted, having a laughing face and casual tone were essential elements in helping them perceive something as funny. In past research this is unsurprising as nonverbal cues can account for even up to 70 per cent of our human communication (Goman, 2008, as cited in Dumbrava & Koronka 2009).Our interpretation of nonverbal information has been extensively studied and is found to be central to how participants perceive a particular event (Argyle 1994, Vogelaar and Silverman 1984, Delmonte 1991, Giles and Robinson 1990,as cited in Gabbott & Hogg, 2001).

'Er… Number one would be their manner, they need to be light hearted enough, they need to you know… just pass it up as a passing comment, something that doesn't carry a lot of weight. They themselves have harbor no malice no… they can't come across as having seen the truth in that statement, the moment they do that then it seems like their insulting rather than just telling a joke…Secondly of course would be the way they put this material in the flow of the entire show, like if it becomes a stand alone joke it's quite odd, but if they combine it with a series of other jokes that have already made fun of so many other… racist … or other things… then people would just laugh it off… okay its just part of this thing.. its not just stand alone… its not a personal attack.' (T: 60, 61)

A subtheme to this theme would be in regards to the intention of the comedian Participants felt there should also be no malicious or ulterior motives behind the joke, or else the comedian is then perceived as not nice and the joke may sound more insulting and racist than humorous. As opposed to a standalone racist joke, the inclusion of a racist joke to flow with a group of similar jokes in comedy material may help to lower the offensive nature of such jokes as one participant suggested. From personal experience the researcher himself has noticed that racist jokes work best when used in a comedy set on stage as opposed to just randomly telling one or two among a group of friends.

This theme helps contribute towards answering the research question by revealing the importance of nonverbal cues in the perception of racist comedy among Malaysians. Participants felt that these nonverbal cues were essential in ensuring whether or not a racist comedy discourse would end up being humorous or offensive.

d. Racist Comedy Promotes Racial Tolerance

'I think if you're open minded enough to be able to laugh at racist comedy you'll generally be a lot more tolerant towards the other races.' (T: 67)

This participant felt that the appreciation of racist comedy can lead to more tolerances among difference races. Dynamic changes in the demographic diversity of communities around the world are requiring a heavier emphasis on intercultural sensitivity in pluralistic societies (Taman, 2010). All human communication is becoming increasingly intercultural in nature and therefore such sensitivity is essential not just in theory but in a practical sense too (Sarbaugh, 1988, as cited in Taman, 2010).The possibility that racist comedy may be able to boost intercultural sensitivity by making people more aware of racial differences and at the same time inspiring tolerance through an appropriate usage of humor is a pertinent thought indeed. As mentioned in my Introduction, comedy is often used to invert stereotypes on themselves to generate good humor, in other words, making fun of what we perceive to be racist(Park et al., 2006). One participant shared similar views:

'Because you're taking something that people view so seriously and such a controversial light and making fun of it. Fun of it not in a bad way. Not in the manner of insulting but rather laying it out in a way that shows that we're all equal, I can make fun of you you and you, it doesn't matter we're all the same, there's something to be laughed at in everyone's culture, everyone's racial background so there's nothing special abot you. It kinda levels the playing field.' (T: 69)

The researcher personally feels that comedians are actually more in touch with racism than most people because we spend so much time showing people how pathetic and hilarious it really is in life. The participant continued to say how Malaysian comedians were doing a good job of making jokes about all the races pretty equally.

This theme is more of a benefit of racist comedy in which participants perceived that it was able to promote racial tolerance among the different races particularly when racist comedy was used to make fun of all races, promoting equality in a sense.

e.   Racist Mentality (Deviant Case 1)

With reference to my last theme mentioned above, one of my participants responded with an interesting opinion:

'Because er.. in my hometown which is… erm… a small city I would say and there's a strong racism among Malay and Chinese. Therefore no matter what kind of joke you are trying to do, its not quite wise la to do racism joke in the small town … they are mostly close minded and they don't think openly and perceive each other as human but they perceive each other as Malay or Chinese, where the ideology in their brain is like own race must help own race. And their race is superior than each other. Those kind of thinking la, so I don't thinkit actually works la.' (W: 98, 102)

My participant is referring to the racist notions which still exist strongly in his hometown in Malaysia. When asked, my participant explained that racist comedy would likely be more damaging in his hometown's community which is already racist. This is similar

to a past research by Hall (1990) and Omni (1989) as cited in Park et al. (2006) which found that when a society is already deeply rooted in racism, using stereotypes and in addition to that, research by both Omni (1989) and Schulman (1992) as cited in Park et al. found that the making fun of stereotypes via humor can consequentially strengthen the racial hierarchy instead of nullifying it. Additionally the same participant added that:

'...Except you know the person very well, and if is only your close friend ya then will be okay la, but if you just trying to make a comedy in public, I don't think it works la in that situation.' (W: 98).

Friendship was not originally considered when I designed my study. But this deviant case has made me rethink its importance. While an enlightened society seems to allow tolerance to flourish with the appropriate usage of racist comedy, a close minded society may require a catalyst to help boost the humor in the equation of racist comedy. The factor of friendship may be something worthwhile considering.

f.   Reconciling Racial Offense with Humor (Deviant Case 2)

'I think somewhere at the back of my mind some part of it finds it really quite offensive, and quite sad when you listen to these kinds of things… but at the same time you just really can't help laughing.' (T: 31)

So there's quite a clear cognitive (or rather comical) dissonance here. How does one deal with the offensive nature of a racist joke and the desire to laugh at its hilarity? The same participants explained further under probing:

'Those Indians that do get the comedy always feel they're slightly better off than those that the jokes are made about. Maybe that's why we distance ourselves, we find it quite funny.' (T: 35)

I found this reply quite insightful and to explain it I'd like to bring in some social psychology concepts on the formation of groups. According to the Social Identity Theory (SIT) in-groups are seen to differentiate themselves from the out-group's in order to preserve their positive social identity (Tajfel &Turner, 1986). To add to that the Social Categorization Theory (SCT) argues that individuals are motivated to raise their self-esteem levels by increasing their group status in comparison to the out-groups (Tasdemir, 2011)In light of what this participant revealed, it seems possible that the receiver of the racist joke imagines themselves to be in a different group as they 'got' the joke and thus can elevate themselves above the group of people which are the subject of the racist joke. This seems to allow enough distance to be able to simultaneously appreciate the joke without being too offended by it. It does indeed help the researcher answer a personal question on the ironic paradoxes underlying racist comedy; how one reconciles the offense of a racist joke with the humor that it offers.

D.   LIMITATIONS

This research is primarily limited by its small sample size. Participants are also only exposed as audience members towards racist comedy, the researcher suggests that it would be good to collect data from the opinions of comedians themselves to add to the understanding of racist comedy. The results from this study should not be generalized but instead, they provide a stepping stone for future research into this area.

E.   FUTURE RESEARCH

This research highlights the interesting paradox created when humor meets racist elements and the researcher was interested in studying how Malaysians perceive this combination of comedy and racism. Future research could expand on the sample size in order to gain more in-depth qualitative data into understanding the perception of racist comedy. Also, the researcher suggests that future studies may want to incorporate samples of comedians who tell racist jokes themselves. A sample consisting of both audience members and comedians both exposed to racist comedy may provide a comprehensive view on the understanding of this phenomenon. Additionally, there is room for research to study the underlying motivations behind why some people choose to avoid confrontation despite perhaps being offended by a racist joke. There is also room to study how the factor of friendship may play a role in moderating the effect that racist comedy has on people. Lastly, to add a quantitative component to perhaps explore the effects of racist comedy in society so as to provide more empirical support.

F.   CONCLUSION

In a nutshell, the emerging themes and deviant cases above have been duly interpreted to provide a comprehensive understanding of the perception of racist comedy among Malaysians. To answer the primary research question, the researcher has found that racist comedy is generally perceived to be positive by Malaysians. The following themes provided details for the specific circumstances such as appropriately comedic nonverbal cues from the comedian to the open mindedness of audience members, all of which affect the perception of humor. Racist comedy can also be used to equalize racial differences or strengthen racial hierarchies; it is a unique utility that can be wielded either way. According to Taman (2010) in a pluralistic society like Malaysia, intercultural sensitivity is necessary to facilitate harmonious relationships and this research shows preliminary evidence that when used appropriately, racist comedy has a practical value of allowing tolerance to flourish. Nonetheless there are various other factors to be considered and circumstances surrounding racist comedy to be accounted for too, I end with the words of one of my participants which struck me as a significant concluding remark:

'As with all good things everything's a double edged sword la' (T: 71).

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Could you please define in your own words: Racism &Comedy?
2. What do you think is the main underlying theme behind jokes made against your own race?
3. How do you feel when you hear someone make a racist joke against your race?
4. Where would you draw the line between a joke that might be interpreted as funny or racist?
5. What purpose do you think racist comedy might serve to our Malaysian society?

Challenges and Constraints Experienced by Chinese Immigrants in the South of Sweden

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Abstract

Improved economic and cultural ties between China and Sweden have contributed to more Chinese immigrating to live and work in Sweden. The purpose of this phenomenological study was to explore the views of a group of Chinese migrants living in the south of Sweden and their perceptions of the challenges they experienced upon arrival. Primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews with seven Chinese immigrants in five cities in the south of Sweden. The findings indicated that the Chinese immigrants had difficulties with language and anxieties about future in the short-term, and that they had trouble establishing social relationships in the long-term. They had not yet fully integrated into the Swedish society despite being generally satisfied with life in Sweden.

Keywords: adaptation, Chinese immigrants, language, socialisation, Sweden

A.   INTRODUCTION

Increasingly more Chinese migrate to developed countries and immigration is becoming a popular social phenomenon for the overpopulated and polluted areas of China. According to NationalMaster.com (2012), there are about 3,852,000 Chinese immigrants globally, the 12th largest group of immigrants in 195 countries included in the survey. In Sweden alone, there were about 11,900 Chinese immigrants in 2012. This might not be a large number but it is still increasing. There is also more connection between China and Sweden, especially in business and trade with China being Sweden's biggest trading partner in Asia with exports estimated at about 35 billion Chinese Yuan in 2010 (Report on Swedish Business in China, 2012). Traditionally, Chinese people have migrated to countries like the United States (US) and Canada. Nowadays, however, the Nordic countries have also become a choice for many because of the open immigration policies and a host of advantages such good social welfare, a well-developed economy, and cultural diversity. Sweden, in particular, is promoting cultural exchange and as a developed country, also pays more and more attention to the rights of minority groups such as immigrants. Sweden in particular provides a lot of support to minority groups in terms of equal rights (Global Gender Gap Report, 2010) and social welfare. Nonetheless, a series of riots by immigrants in recent years in Stockholm made the headlines around the world (Collins, Bhatti, & Jemsby, 2013), and

gave rise to questions about the experiences of particularly the Chinese immigrants to this otherwise peaceful host country.

Thus, the present study aimed to explore the experiences of a group of Chinese immigrants in the southern part of Sweden. The central question focused on the challenges and difficulties of Chinese immigrants, and the way they made sense of living in a foreign country such as Sweden. In this regard, we explored the perceptions of a small group of Chinese migrants to Sweden, and questioned their adaptation and decisions to stay in the country despite the challenges they might have experienced. Although we did not assume the experiences of Chinese immigrants to Nordic countries to be much different from the experiences of those migrating to other countries, we hoped to gain some insights from the Chinese immigrants to Sweden as a general reference of people who intended to adapt to a new environment. We were also interested in how traditionally conservative Chinese youth experienced the equality among different races, cultures, and sexual orientations, given that Sweden has seeming became an attractive destination for younger Chinese people to study, live and work.

All three authors have had experiences of adapting to a host country very different from their countries of origin. As an academic exchange student in Sweden, the first author had a first-hand encounter of the cultural adaptation experienced by Chinese people in a Swedish society—being the only Chinese person at a welcome party shortly after arrival, confronted by an open and free lifestyle dissimilar to that of China, and maintaining contact with family at home due to time differences. For this author wanting to break away from the norm of socialising with other Chinese exchange students, was a challenge was to find an entry point into the Swedish student community. Despite her efforts to attend activities with Swedish friends, she still failed to make real friends amongst the Swedes, and lost most of her contacts after returning to China. The second author had experienced adaptation challenges when she, as a Chinese student, enrolled in a master program in the United Kingdom. Even though language was not a big problem, she consistently felt anxious about how to find a job, and how to integrate into the local life instead of being only with Chinese friends. The third author moved from South Africa to Macao SAR (China) for a career in academia and encountered the challenges of having to learn a new language in order to engage in social conversation with local people. With the adaptation experiences we all had, we were therefore curious about how Chinese immigrants viewed Sweden and how they experienced the country that was much different from China.

a. Background

Previous research investigated the common adaptation models of immigrants, indicating residential relocation, biological challenges, cultural shock, and psychological

adjustment (Kim & Gudykunst, 1988) as key to the adaptation process. Berry (1997) stated that individuals need to deal with two issues in order to adapt successfully: (1) cultural maintenance (i.e., maintaining a positive attitude towards their own culture), and (2) contact-participation (i.e., having regular interaction with the host country members) (Berry, 1997; Virta & Westin, 1999, Stodolska, 2008, Mo, Mak & Kwan, 2006). Marginalisation occurred when neither of these two issues is successfully mastered. Winkelman (1994) also indicated that a positive attitude, and pro-active interaction and socialisation with the host culture members could make the adaptation process easier.

In contrast, Yakhnic (2008) identified potential stressful events that would increase the risk of psychological symptoms such as anxiety, depression and psychosomatic complaints could challenge the immigrant's adaptation in the host culture. These stressors include cultural, instrumental, social, family, and emotional stressors. There is also an on-going debate whether the psychological adaptation would be similar for Chinese immigrants, as opposed to their Western counterparts migrating to Asia. Kim (2004) suggests that language is one of the most important problem immigrants face, while employment issues are one of the least controllable problems. Furthermore, Chinese students seemingly lack basic social skills despite apparently having high scores on language tests and learn a new language with great ease (Pham, 2010). In the present study we aimed to explore the stressors generally observed amongst non-Chinese migrants to see if these could also apply to the adaptation of Chinese immigrants in the south of Sweden (Kim, 2004; Pham, 2010; Yakhnic, 2008).

B.   METHOD

Adopting a phenomenological approach, the present study focused on the central question of how Chinese immigrants in the south of Sweden experienced the challenges of adapting to a new environment. As an exploratory study, the phenomenological method was considered appropriate to gain an understanding of the possible adjustment difficulties this group of immigrants encountered. The aim was not to generalise to the larger group, but to explore the particular experiences of a small group of informants based on the prior models for immigrant adaptation. Thus, we assumed that Chinese immigrants would experience cultural, instrumental, social, family, and emotional stressors when they arrived in Sweden (Yakhnic, 2008), and that language would pose an important challenge to adaptation (Kim, 2004). Since we were interested in the lived experiences of participants and the ways in which they made sense of these experiences in Sweden, we considered a qualitative method with semi-structured interviews more appropriate than a pre-designed survey.

a.   Participants

Chinese participants in the south of Sweden were recruited using the snowball method (Trochim, 2006). After meeting with a Chinese immigrant in Sweden, who organized an event called 'Embraced' in the town Vaxjo, the first author was introduced to several other people of Chinese origin and who have immigrated to Sweden over the past several years. This resulted in a total of seven participants with permanent residency and living in five cities in the south of Sweden, including Gothenburg, Vaxjo, Norrkoping, Uppsala and Helsingborg at the time of the interviews in 2012. Four females and three males (M_{age} = 28, age range: 20 to 44 years) agreed voluntarily to participate in this study.

Before the interviews, consent was obtained from the participants to audio record the interview for further research purposes. Participants were assured of confidentiality and protections of privacy, and we used aliases for the data analysis and reporting. Basic personal information was recorded for each interviewee, which included current occupation, family situation and motivation of migration to Sweden. Four participants were working full-time, and their occupations were project manager in a regional museum, local governor, an international company manager, and a supermarket assistant. Three participants were studying at university.

b.   Data Collection Procedures

Data collection proceeded through individual, semi-structured interviews with four participants at a place and time that was convenient to the individual and each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes. Three participants who shared similar backgrounds and knew each other preferred to participate as a group (Kitzinger, 1995). The group interview proved to be a quick way to collect data and encouraged participants to interact with each other and share their thoughts and viewpoints. However, it also had an influence on how the participants shared their viewpoints and the priming effect of earlier comments on later ones. Most of the participants were interviewed in Chinese except for one woman who was interviewed in English, as she did not speak Chinese. The first author conducted all the interviews in Mandarin, allowing participants to speak freely and express their viewpoints in their native language. Although the interviewer was also fluent in English, conducting the conversation in this language could have lead to some misunderstandings. Nonetheless, all materials were double checked and discussed with the English-speaking interviewee afterwards to clarify unclear points.

The interview agenda for all the interviews involved prompts regarding the difficulties that participants had faced when they first arrived in Sweden, and their impression of Sweden after having lived in the country for a few years. For example, participants were asked to list specific challenges and discuss how they overcame these challenges. They were

also asked to express their viewpoints about choosing Sweden as their destination and reasons why they remained in the country. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in Chinese with summaries in English to generate the textual data for this study.

c.   Data Analysis

The researchers individually and collaboratively conducted a thematic analysis of the textual data and 'searching across a data set' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86) for patterns and in response to the research question. Guided by the theoretical frameworks of Yakhnic (2008) and Kim (2004), we familiarised ourselves with the data, generated initial codes, searched for themes, reviewed themes, and defined and named the themes in order to produce the report. We relied on direct information obtained from the interviewees, and inductive reasoning (Arthur, 1994) to interpret the textual material and derive a coherent description of the adaptation of the interviewees' experiences of migrating to and adapting in the south of Sweden. We read and re-read the data and checked the transcripts back to the original audio recordings to ensure the accuracy of the analysis, note-taking and generating of initial codes (Novak & Gowin, 1984). For example, a Chinese lady commenting: 'I was just working for 8 hours every day and I did not know any Chinese friends… when I got home, I had nothing to do' was coded as 'bored leisure life.' We discussed and examined differences and controversies, and only themes upon which we all agreed were included in the final analysis to ensure reliability (Wang, 2009).

C.   RESULTS

The Chinese immigrants we interviewed had experienced several difficulties from the time since of their first arrival in the country and the time of the interviews for this project. The major challenge they identified was establishing social relations, which appeared to be persistent over time. This challenge was, for obvious reasons, related to the language and anxiety about the future upon first arriving in the country. Nonetheless, while participants experienced some difficulties adapting to the Swedish society, they also had some positive impressions of Sweden that helped them overcome the challenges and with the adaptation process. All participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity while maintaining their human dignity.

a.   Socialisation and Relationships

A major difficulty for the participants was the establishment and maintenance of social relationships. Despite all the interviewees having lived in Sweden for three or more years, they still found this stressor the most difficult to deal with. They commented that having good social relations was important to integrate with the Swedish society, to fill leisure time, and to establish friendships. It was also considered important for developing a

sense of belongingness. Eric (22 years) came to Sweden at the age of 16 years and before migration had already established his own friendship network in China. He had also learned how to make friends in the Chinese way and enjoyed the Chinese-style social activities (e.g., karaoke, hotpot dinner). However, he did not enjoy the social scene in Sweden, saying *'I feel very bored in Sweden. They don't have a lot of social activities and they prefer their personal space. My best friends are still Chinese.'* Swedish socialisation was different from that in China and he found it difficult to adapt. Linda, who worked in an international company and found it difficult establishing close friendships, whether with workmates or others, reiterated Eric's impressions of the social scene in southern Sweden:

> *'The first impression when I came to Sweden was boredom. I went to work every day and everybody went back home after work. Nobody suggested having any entertainment after work, which shocked me. It was not the case in China. In China, almost every day we had activities after work with colleagues and it really helped to develop closer relations between us. Even though you could not know everybody well, at least you could know the one who sat beside you. It was enough.'*

b.   Language

Similar to migrant in other host countries, the Chinese migrants to Sweden ranked the difficulties they experienced upon first arriving in Sweden as language and anxiety about the future as two important challenges. Language was a key issue as they felt an unfulfilled need to understand others and being understood. It particularly made socialisation difficult. A male participant, Mark (aged 20 years) immigrated to Sweden at the age of nine and indicated, *'Language is fundamental to everything, otherwise I can't understand and there's nothing.'* Mark's older brother, who immigrated a few years later, also commented about the troubles he experienced without sufficient language proficiency, *'At first, the largest difficulty was language. Because of language barriers, I didn't understand the customs… I did not know the other person and I didn't know how to express myself to let others understand me'* (Eric, 22 years).

Language could be learned, especially when immersed in an environment where Swedish was spoken everywhere. David (25 years), who had been living in Sweden for nine years, spoke fluent Swedish and considered language an important preparation for a smooth transition into the new environment: *'Language could be learned beforehand, and we could use one or two years to study it before coming.'* David had the motivation to learn the language quickly in order to integrate well in his work environment. However, without immersion one's motivation might not be present: *'I did not have pressure or motivation to learn* [the language] *it at first…. However, I had to speak it if I wanted to communicate with others'* (Ann, 30 years). For Emily (aged 44 years) who was married to a Swedish citizen the

most challenging was to express her emotions and deeper feelings in a language other than her native language:

> *'I learned Swedish fast after coming here. At home, I speak Swedish with my Swedish husband. However, sometimes when I have some specific emotions, which I could only express in Chinese … my husband could not understand me and neither could I find the proper Swedish words to say it. Swedish people are so simple and straightforward; they are not like me who am always so sensitive … like a poet.'*

c. Anxiety

Besides language, the Chinese immigrants we interviewed experienced anxiety about the future as another challenge upon first arrival in the Sweden. Anxiety is again not uncommon amongst immigrants in different countries. Nonetheless, for the Chinese immigrants there were the added hardships they experienced having to deal with their anxieties in a foreign language that often excluded them for social support systems that could help them overcome their anxieties. They described their worries about finding a job and uncertainties about long-term employment. Deanne, who gave up her senior level job in China to accompany her husband to Sweden, felt anxious because she had trouble finding a job that was equivalent the one she had in China, and to maintain her living standard. She also experienced discrimination amongst some Swedish people in her search for a job despite the country's proclaimed equal opportunity for all:

> *'I met an old Swedish man who was doing Real Estate business. He said to me "You are a Chinese. Even though you have a good job in China, you can only be a cleaner in Sweden". I was mad about what he said to me! I felt that my dignity had been trampled and I was so angry! I was determined to prove myself to him and to all the people who doubted me.'*

Ann, who was transferred to Sweden with a short-term job already settled prior to her arrival, experienced a different kind of anxiety. She did not have the pressure of searching for a job but had concerns about what would happen after completion of the short-term contract, saying '*I was under great pressure every day since I did not know what the next step to take was. Should I go back to China? Should I get married here? Should I continue to work in the company [that employed me]? Everything was uncertain.'*

Other participants expressed concerns about how to live their lives satisfactorily in Sweden. In China, the faced heavy competition, that has driven people towards struggling for a better life elsewhere and the reason why some have migrated to Sweden. Whereas tax policies in Sweden guaranteed a smaller gap between the rich and the poor, and people enjoyed much more equality and a higher quality of life in Sweden, David complained about this lack of competitiveness saying that it made them lose his edge and become lazy. Another participant who worked in a supermarket as a shop assistant complained:

'I worked in a factory before … it was not difficult to find a similar job with a better salary in Sweden. However, I felt anxiety and I lost my life direction since it was too comfortable here. I lost my energy and my dream. I did not need to work that hard and I could get a good salary which was impossible in China.'

d.   Positive views towards Sweden

Nonetheless, despite from the difficulties they experienced, the participants we interviewed were still happy about their decision to migrate to Sweden. Ann described her first impressions when travelling for a holiday in Sweden prior to migration: '*I felt so good … the air was fresh and not many people. And the food … we stayed only a short while … it was good and we tried everything'*. Mark also commented: '*I like a quiet life, so I think China is too noisy, too many people, I am more accustomed to a quiet environment … less complicated, the air is better, I feel better. I like the openness and big spaces in Sweden.'*

Furthermore, Sweden boasted an excellent education system and ample government support for children (Sweden.se, 2013). Schools and hospitals are easily accessible, and the police provided protection for all. Linda, who had a one-year old son, was particularly happy for this, saying:

'It is the paradise for children! Children have their freedom to develop what they like and it is highly encouraged by Swedish society. I think there are two important characters children can learn in Sweden but not in China, equality and sharing … In Sweden, parents teach their children to be independent from young age … and to play with other children sharing toys with each other.'

Ann also commented:

'I saw my child (her 2-year old daughter) loves kindergarten and I was not worried about losing my child like in China. Things became more stable here.'

The Chinese migrants also appreciated the social structure and the well-developed social systems in Sweden. A participant who worked in the local government claimed: '*People here are friendly and nice. They prefer to be middle class and are peaceful … try to avoid any conflicts. They are very simple and well ordered … they seldom break any rules.'* Ann commented on the support from the workers' union when she was transferred from a short-term contract to a more permanent job: '*They have a workers' union here and it is quite protective. It is very different from China. Here, if an employee cannot take a position, the company cannot fire him; instead, they need to give him another suitable position. In Sweden, it is very difficult to fire someone.'* Sweden also has good social welfare for children, students, and adults guaranteeing every citizen equal access (Bergmark & Miras, 2006). The participants all commented on the equality in the Swedish social system because of the tax policies aimed at closing the gap between the rich and the poor.

D.   DISCUSSION

Kim (2004) identified language as one of the most important elements in adapting to a new environment. As a social action, language provided a way of understanding the host culture and their way of thinking, while it also served an important function for social interaction and integration within the local society (Berry, 1997; Fletcher & Stren, 1989). It primarily affected the satisfaction and quality of foreign life for immigrants, also for the Chinese immigrants to Sweden. All the participants commented that language was the most pressing challenge when they first arrived in the country, and claimed that if they knew Swedish, they would have faced fewer difficulties, and it would have been easier to make friends and understand the local culture. Even though participants in this study had acquired sufficient language proficiency to perform in their work and function satisfactorily in their daily lives, they still felt unable to fully express the finer nuances of their emotions and establish long-term social relationships. The comments from the participants in this study were consistent with the claims by Kim (2004) and Yakhnic (2008) that language was instrumental to communication and to familiarising oneself with local customs. Inability to effectively communicate in a new environment produced stress and challenged the adaptation process for all.

Experiencing anxiety about finding a job or losing the competitive edge necessary to pursue one's dreams, added another challenge to Chinese immigrants' adaptation in Sweden. These anxieties caused instrumental and emotional stress that all the participants had experienced in the first few years after immigration (Yakhnic, 2008). Their worries could be interpreted as anxiety for the immediate problem of their livelihood, and concerns about adaptation and achieving long-term happiness in a strange country. Some interviewees also had difficulties convincing Swedish companies to accept foreign employees and to overcome unwarranted prejudices or discrimination (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2012; Castles, 1998; Lee, 1992) despite the country's emphasis on equality and non-discrimination. The prejudices participants in this study experienced slowed down their adaptation process although it also served as a motivation to strive for success and respect in the host country.

Yakhnic (2008) purported that social relations were a key stressor experienced by immigrants. This seemed the case for all the participants in this study. They all mentioned having experienced difficulties in establishing social relations, engaging in social activities for leisure, and developing close friendships with Swedish people. They still longed for the socialisation practices they were used to when living in China, and for the familiar ways of Chinese friendship formation. Chinese people preferred work-related activities with colleagues and clients after hours, doing things together and sharing food to show friendship (Swanson, 1992). The Swedish people preferred their personal spaces, and were not willing to share personal time or things with others, not even with their friends.

Socialising with colleagues outside of the office was not a common practice in Sweden. The participants found this practice strange as at failed to fulfil their need for social interaction with workmates and friends, and added to a lack of belongingness. Instead, participants seemed to have maintained their own ways of networking and preferred to socialise with people from the same background (i.e., Chinese immigrants and Chinese students). Rarely did their social events include Swedish people. In the social realm there was still marginalisation (Berry, 1997), and Chinese immigrants, particularly more recent migrants, experienced difficulty forming and maintaining close relationships within the host country (Ying, 2007). There seemed to be a divergence in the social relational patterns in the Chinese culture and in the Nordic cultures. This was consistent with Berry (1997) and Yakhnic's (2007) findings, that socialisation could be a major stressor, particularly if diverting from the social relation patterns of the country of origin. The Swedish culture is much more open and accepting of non-traditional lifestyles (e.g., same-sex relationships) and individualism, which are contrary to the interdependence evident and valued in the Chinese culture. Further research is recommended to explore this phenomenon more deeply and help Chinese migrants to the Nordic cultures adapt to the host culture.

Despite the difficulties participants mentioned in the interviews, they also expressed some positive views towards Sweden. The Chinese immigrants we interviewed appreciated the good environment, educational system, and the social structure in Sweden perceiving these to be much better than in China. Nordic countries are famous for their natural environment, and Sweden is no exception. In 2007, the BBC London awarded the city of Vaxjo the honour of being the greenest city in Europe (reference brochure). Sweden also has one of the largest forest coverage rates in Europe with almost 67% of its geographical area covered in trees and wild bush (Convention on Biological Diversity, 2010). With natural plants and protection against pollution, the participants all commented on enjoying the fresh air and natural scenery in Sweden, something they could only wish for in China with its deforestation, fast-developing economy and high levels of industrial pollution. With a population of only 23 people per square kilometre (The World Bank, 2012), Sweden also offered an abundance of wide-open spaces for living.

Parents felt more secure about their children attending school in Sweden, and they appreciated the values and the benefits of early socialisation for their children. In school, their children could learn independence, sharing, and equality, which were qualities absent in the Chinese education system. In China, parents had to compete for a good school (Shentu, 2008), while the Swedish education system guaranteed good school education for all children, even children from poor families and immigrants. Linda particularly commented on this, saying '*That is what I really appreciate. And the family just needs to pay a very small amount of money like 3 per cent of family income to support their children in school. If the*

family is poor, the government would guarantee all children have equal chance of education and pay for them.' Some participants also mentioned that Sweden was much more open, democratic and free-thinking compared to China, which still held on to a very traditional views (Song, 2009). The good social welfare made the Chinese immigrants we interviewed feel comfortable and secure even though they faced some anxieties and were challenged to fully integrate into the local society. They could rely on the government to support them, and stated that social welfare was a key point when they thought about Sweden as destination.

E.   CONCLUSION

In this project, we explored the challenges to adaptation and integration experienced by a small group of Chinese immigrants in the south of Sweden. The objective was to gain some insights into their experiences and to fill a gap in the literature for this growing group of migrants to Sweden. The Chinese immigrants we interviewed had experienced various challenges when they first moved to Sweden including language and anxieties about the future. However, they managed to overcome these challenges through concerted efforts and a sincere wish to adjust in the host country. Still challenging though was the difficulties they had forming social relationships and establish close friendships. Because of the different and mostly unfamiliar ways of socialisation, the participants failed to fully integrate with the Swedish society, and they experienced a sense of marginalisation lacking of a true sense of belongingness. Nonetheless, all our interviewees agreed that regardless of the challenges they had encountered, they were generally satisfied with life in Sweden and particularly appreciated the natural environment, education system, values, and social structure. The insights we gained from the Chinese immigrants we interviewed highlighted areas that could alert future Chinese immigrants to Sweden and the Swedish immigration office about the potential challenges and benefits of migrating to this country. Preparation is the key to successful adaptation and integration, not only for future migrants but also for the host country welcoming these immigrants into their society.

Some limitations in this study are worth mentioning. The small sample of seven participants from five cities in the south of Sweden did not warrant generalisation to the larger population of Chinese immigrants in Sweden. Most of the participants were also highly educated and/or held relatively high-profile jobs, which were not representative of other Chinese migrants to Sweden; especially those who were still struggling to find a job, or who were underreported. However, we gained some insights exploring the experiences of this small group of Chinese immigrants worth sharing and thus adding to the meagre literature on the topic Chinese migration to Nordic countries.

Further research is necessary that could include participants from more cities and different regions in Sweden, and would involve participants from a broader social spectrum and age range. It would also be pertinent to include other Nordic and European countries to gain a more comprehensive view regarding the challenges that Chinese immigrants faced when having to adjust and integrate to a host country. Research into the differences and similarities of experiences between those who migrated of their own choice and those who were stationed in a Nordic country because of business would also add to our knowledge about ways to make the move less challenging.

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Dehumanization in the Judicial System: The Effect of Animalization and Mechanization of Defendants on Blame Attribution

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Abstract

Personality characteristics of perpetrators were examined in the process of blame attribution in the context of a severe criminal case. We expected that dehumanization of a defendant would predict harsh sentence decisions. Two independent dehumanization types were considered: 'animalization' and 'mechanization'. Animalization occurred when uniquely human (i.e., high HU) capacities were denied in the target person, and the individual was assigned less sophisticated attributes. In contrast, mechanization was observed when naturally human characteristics (i.e., high HN) were denied in the target, and instead, the person was expected to possess unemotional and robotic personality characteristics. We prepared four different types of target descriptions along the dimensions of HU and HN. Participants were assigned to read one of the target descriptions and were asked to evaluate his capacity, impact of internal causes to the event, and sentence assignment when the target was explained as a defendant of a serious criminal case. It was revealed that dehumanization predicted the view of incapacity and internal causal attribution of the crime, and led to harsh sentence decisions. However, this effect was only observed for animalization. We discuss the theoretical importance of distinguishing HU and HN humanness dimensions, as well as the implications of dehumanization in the process of moral blame and punishment.

Keywords: dehumanization, blame, punishment, personality

A.   INTRODUCTION

Criminal behavior evokes third-party observers for blame and punishment. Take the case of an 18-year-old criminal who was found guilty of murdering a mother and her 11-month-old daughter in Hikari City, Japan. He was handed down the death sentence, while he was referred to as 'coldblooded, cruel, and inhumane' by the judges (Supreme Court of Japan, 2006). Like this example illustrates, third-party observers may interpret severity of the criminal behavior with a link to a deficit in the perpetrator's personality characteristics. In other words, the severity of criminal behaviors may evoke harsh punishment, but the inhumanity of the perpetrator's personality may also be added to the consideration of blame and punishment (Warr, 1989).

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Perceived inhumanity of the perpetrators is found to be an important determinant in judgment of blame and punishment. For instance, the dangerousness of a criminal can be inferred from information such as the severity and type of the crime, and lead to an assignment of harsh punishment (Sanderson, Zanna, & Darley, 2000). Moreover, in the judicial legal process, using languages to deny full humanness of the offender may lead to harsh punishment (Myers, Godwin, Latter, & Winstanley, 2004). Bastian, Denson, & Haslam (2013) observed positive associations between the degree of perpetrators' inhumanity and blame, jail sentence in years, sentence harshness, and unsuitability for rehabilitation. These findings indicate that punishment of criminal behavior should be considered with the perceived humanness of the offender.

The denial of full humanness to others can be explained through the notion of dehumanization (Haslam, 2006), which has been argued to justify discrimination and harsh treatment to the targets. For instance, in genocidal conflicts, both parties dehumanize each other so that they can legitimize their mutually harmful actions (e.g., Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990). Apart from such an extreme case of intergroup conflict, people often dehumanize others in the forms of prejudices and discrimination. Black people are implicitly associated with 'apes', even when implicit prejudices are controlled for (Goff, Eberhadt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008). Women are dehumanized while being denied their autonomy and moral consideration (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). The denial of uniquely human attributes of a target may lead to greater prejudiced attitudes and to less cooperation (Cuddy, Rock, & Norton, 2007).

Although dehumanization is observed in many interpersonal and intergroup contexts, theoretical elaboration has been relatively undeveloped in the study of dehumanization (see Haslam, 2006). Dehumanization has been argued to take place when secondary emotions are denied (i.e., the phenomena called infrahumanization; Leynes et al., 2003). Secondary emotions implicate *uniquely human* characteristics, such as morality, refinement, and intelligence. Persons who are perceived to lack these attributes called 'human uniqueness' (HU) are metaphorically described as 'animals', due to their perceived lack of sophistication (Loughnan, Haslam, & Kashima, 2009). Traits such as sympathetic, imaginative, and excitement are typical examples of HU characteristics. Denying these HU traits and instead assigning other traits, such as active and impulsive, is found in the process of 'animalization' of individuals or certain social groups (Loughnan et al., 2009).

Recent studies further show that lay perceivers not only link dehumanized targets to animals, but also to 'machines' (Haslam, 2006). Unlike animals, machines may certainly be highly intelligent, helpful, and refined, but may lack *naturally human* characteristics, such as warmth and compassion. This dimension called 'human nature' (HN) has been demonstrated to be orthogonal, both at the conceptual and empirical levels, to the

dimension of HU mentioned earlier (Haslam, 2006; Haslam, Bain, Douge, Lee, & Bastian, 2005). Individuals and groups are regarded as dehumanized along this dimension when typical HN traits such as openness, warmth, and emotionality are denied, and when they are characterized by 'mechanized' traits such as unemotional, helpful, and passionless (Loughnan et al., 2009).

Previous studies have demonstrated that dehumanization on HU and HN dimensions elicit different consequences of moral blame. With regard to human uniqueness, one predominant view of humanness perception suggests that perpetrators who lack HU characteristics were blamed less, compared with high HU perpetrators, for behaving immorally due to their perceived lack of inhibitive agency and controllability (Bastian, Laham, Wilson, Haslam, & Koval, 2011). Consider infants who are acquitted for their immoral behavior such as hitting. They can easily be pardoned because they are 'dehumanized' in the sense that they are regarded as too immature cognitively to control themselves compared to adults (Gray, Gray, & Wegner, 2007). As this example implicates, perpetrators may be excused from behaving immorally when they are perceived to lack human capacity such as intentionality. Even though this greater lenience for low HU actors is theoretically plausible, it may be limited to cases of relatively minor immorality. Specifically, the study by Bastian et al. (2011) demonstrated this effect, but the target issues were not extremely serious (e.g., not keeping a promise, pushing someone out of the way, and so forth). On the contrary, evidence from other studies suggests that a low HU individual committing a serious crime may be punished more harshly. For instance, black defendants were less likely to be justified for beating when their personality characteristics were associated with apes (Goff et al., 2008). Likewise, sex offenders were more likely to be punished when they were associated with animals (Viki, Fullerton, Ragett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012). In view of these previous findings, we propose that a greater punishment for perpetrators with 'animal-like' (i.e., low HU) characteristics is likely, particularly for a severe crime.

Turning to human nature, HN characteristics pertain to emotional and empathetic capacity of humans, and are regarded as essential and fundamental to humans (Haslam, 2006; Park, Haslam, & Kashima, 2011). Individuals with a high level of HN tend to elicit willingness by others to protect because of their high emotionality (Bastian et al., 2011), and can be viewed to have a higher chance to regret and rehabilitate. In contrast, those without HN characteristics, often metaphorically characterized as machine-like, may invite severe punishment because of the perceived lack of emotions such as pain and regret (Sanderson et al., 2000). However, the study by Bastian et al. (2011) did not find any association between HN characteristics and blame for immoral behaviors when other variables, such as HU, are controlled for. Because empirical evidence concerning the relationship between HN

and punitive tendency is still sparse, the present study attempted to explore this more thoroughly.

In the present study, we examined the influence of dehumanization (i.e., animalization and mechanization) on moral blame and sentence judgments concerning a hypothetical scenario of a criminal trial. Based on the theoretical argument of Haslam (2006), we examined the impact of animalization and mechanization separately on the dimensions of HU and HN, respectively. We hypothesized that an animalized (i.e., low HU) defendant would be recommended for a longer imprisonment compared with a high HU defendant in a case of serious crime. Likewise, a mechanized (i.e., low HN) defendant would receive a more severe sentence than would a high HN defendant. In addition to the sentence judgment, we also examined how perceived humanness influences the view of the defendant concerning his capacity to make a moral choice and to be corrected (i.e., intentionality and regret concerning the crime, and the prospect for rehabilitation). Furthermore, negative behaviors are likely to generate dispositional attributions rather than external and unstable attributions (Jones, 1990; Wong & Weiner, 1981). Particularly, internal attribution exerts decisions for punishment (Sanderson et al., 2000). Therefore, internal versus external causality of the event was also measured in the present investigation. Taken together, we predicted that capacity for control and correction, along with internal causality, would be perceived to the extent that humanness (HU in particular) is perceived in the defendant.

B.   METHOD

Defendant characteristics. In order to select adjectives that describe dehumanized and humanized perpetrators, preliminary studies were conducted to distinguish 40 adjectives in Japanese that described HU and HN dimensions (N = 72). Based on Bastian et al. (2009), the degree to which each adjective described the HU dimension of humanness was measured by asking the following question: 'Do you think the following characteristics are exclusively experienced by human beings, or can animals also experience them?' (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). In contrast, HN was measured by asking: 'Do you think the following characteristics are essential (i.e., necessary) for humans?' Participants were also asked to rate the degree to which they thought each adjective described an 'animal-like' and 'machine-like (robot-like)' personality, rather than a human-like personality. Participants were assigned to rate half of the adjectives for the four different questions. The order of the adjectives and the questions was counterbalanced between participants. By taking five adjectives that scored high on each question, we identified personality characteristics to describe high/low HU and high/low HN targets. In order to distinguish independent but theoretically related characteristics to describe human-like and in-human-like characters in Japanese, we did not select the adjectives that scored high on both dimensions.

Based on the five adjectives for each level of humanness dimension, four different descriptions of the target persons were created (see Appendix A). A high HU target possessed characteristics such as humble, polite, passionate, and reserved. In contrast, an animalized (i.e., low HU) perpetrator was depicted by characteristics such as active, timid, friendly, relaxed, and impulsive. A preliminary test with 17 participants revealed that the high HU (M = 5.76, SE = 0.57) and low HU (M = 3.35, SE = 1.99) perpetrators were distinguished on a 7-point-scale of asking the perceived degree of 'not animal-like'. A high HN target was described as ambitious, sympathetic, stingy, nervous, and thorough. A mechanized (i.e., low HN) target was unemotional, selfless, helpful, even-tempered, and irresponsible. The high HN (M = 3.59, SE = 1.76) and low HN (M = 2.65, SE = 0.99) were rated on the degree of 'not machine-like' in an expected direction. The scenarios were confirmed to represent different degrees and dimensions of humanness.

Procedure. In total, 99 Japanese participants were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions manipulated by different scenarios depicting characteristics of the target (see Appendix A for more detail). After reading a scenario, they were asked to rate the degree of dehumanization with respect to HU (i.e., 'How animal-like do you think the target is compared to humans?') and HN (i.e., 'How machine-like do you think …?'), on a 7-point scale (1 = human-like, 7 = animal/machine-like). After the ratings, they were presented with an additional scenario that described the criminal behavior. The scenario pertained to intentionally stabbing a boss at work (see Appendix B for detail). Then, using a 7-point scale, they were asked to evaluate the capacity of the defendant regarding perceived intentionality, regret, and the prospect of likelihood of rehabilitation. They also estimated causes of the criminal behavior (1 = internal, 7 = external). Finally, participants were asked to assign the appropriate length of sentence to the criminal. They were informed that the typical sentence would be a 10-year imprisonment, and then were asked to express their own sentence judgment. Finally, they were thoroughly debriefed and thanked for their participation.

C.   RESULTS

We analyzed the effect of animalization and mechanization separately along the respective dimensions of HU or HN on sentence judgment, the view of capacity, and causal attribution. Summaries of mean and standard deviation scores are presented in Table 1 (animalization) and Table 2 (mechanization).

a.   Animalization

Manipulation check. To reveal whether we successfully manipulated the target's animal-ness, we compared the ratings on animal-ness between high HU and low HU targets

using a *t*-test. There was a significant difference between high HU (*M* = 3.19, *SE* = 0.25) and low HU (*M* = 5.83, *SE* = 0.18) targets on animal-ness ratings, *t* (48) = 8.39, *p* < .001. In line with our intention to manipulate, participants perceived the low HU target as more animalistic than the high HU target.

Sentence judgment. We tested whether or not there were differences in the judgment of punishment. To evaluate the effect of animalization on the assignment of sentence, a *t*-test was conducted while the length of sentence assignment was a dependent variable. Animalized perpetrators were more likely to be assigned a longer sentence (*M* = 11.14, *SE* = 1.83) than high HU perpetrators, (*M* = 7.76, *SE* = 0.56), *t* (48) = 1.80, *p* = .08, although the difference was marginal. We found that the animalized defendant was punished more severely than the humanized defendant.

Perceived capacity. First, in order to test the effect of animalization across intention, regret, and rehabilitation possibility simultaneously, we conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). Box's test for the assumption of equal covariance matrices was satisfied (Box's *M* = 5.35, *p* = .55). High HU and animalized targets differed significantly with respect to the dependent variables, Hotelling's T^2 = 9.55, *F* (1, 48) =3.05, *p* = .038, η_p^2 = .17. A post-hoc univariate ANOVA was conducted to examine the differences between high HU and animalized defendants on each dependent variable. There was a significant difference between the dehumanization levels on rehabilitation estimate, *F* (1, 48) =8.46, *p* = .005, η_p^2 = .15. The animalized defendant was less likely to be expected to rehabilitate after imprisonment (*M* = 4.13, *SE* = 0.27) than the high HU defendant (*M* = 5.19, *SE* = 0.25). Moreover, a marginally significant effect of animalization was found on the ratings of regret. The animalized defendant was expected to regret less (*M* = 3.83, *SE* = 0.31) than the humanized defendant (*M* = 4.69, *SE* = 0.33), *F* (1, 48) =3.60, *p* = .064, η_p^2 = .07. Intention did not differ between the high HU and animalized defendant, *F* < 1. That is, animalization had an effect on the views of the defendant's capacity. Rehabilitation had the greatest weight on the difference between high HU and animalized defendants. In line with the findings of Bastian et al. (2011), animalization predicted incapacity in correcting own behaviors.

Causal attribution. Next, we conducted a *t*-test to examine the effect of animalization on causal attribution. Internal attribution of the cause of the criminal behavior implies an expectation of the influence of animalization. Results showed that there was a significant difference between high HU and low HU (i.e., animalized) defendants on the attribution of the cause of the event. Participants tended to attribute causes of the criminal behavior to internal rather than external factors for the animalized defendant (*M* = 2.96, *SE* = 0.32) than the high HU defendant (*M* = 4.00, *SE* = 0.35), *t* (48) = 2.20, *p* = .03.

Overall, the animalized defendant was blamed more than the high HU defendant. The animalized defendant was perceived as incapable of regret and rehabilitate, and the cause of his criminal behavior was apparently attributed to such incapacity.

Table 1. Mean Ratings (and Standard Deviations) in Animalization, Sentence, Capability, and

		low HU		high HU	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Animal-ness		5.83	0.87	3.19	1.30
Sentence		11.14	8.95	7.76	2.79
Capacity	Rehabilitation	4.13	1.33	5.19	1.27
	Regret	3.83	1.52	4.69	1.67
	Intention	4.29	1.99	4.31	1.64
External Attribution		2.96	1.57	4.00	1.77

Causal Attribution on the Human Uniqueness (HU) Dimension

Note. The low HU represents the animalized defendant

b. Mechanization

Manipulation check. We tested whether participants differentiated the humanness of the high HN and low HN target. A *t*-test was conducted to compare the ratings between the high HN and low HN target on the degree of mechanization. As expected, the low HN target (*M* = 6.17, *SE* = 0.40) was rated to be more machine-like than the high HN target (*M* = 4.40, *SE* = 0.19), *t* (47) = 3.98, *p* < .001. These results indicate that our manipulation was successful.

Sentence judgment. Sentence judgment did not differ between dehumanization levels on the HU dimension, *t* (47) = 1.19, *p* = .24. Although there was a tendency for participants to evaluate the mechanized defendant more harshly (*M* = 11.43, *SE* = 2.05) than the humanized defendant (*M* = 8.86, *SE* = 0.86), the difference was not statistically significant.

Perceived capacity. We conducted a MANOVA for different levels of dehumanization to simultaneously compare the ratings on rehabilitation possibility, regret, and intention. The assumption of equality of covariance matrices was satisfied (Box's M = 5.41, *p* =.54). There was a moderate difference between the dehumanization levels on the combined dependent variables, Hotelling's T^2 = 8.23, *F* (1, 47) =2.62, *p* = .062, η_p^2 = .149. Post-hoc univariate ANOVAs were performed to examine differences between high HN and mechanized defendants on each dependent variable. There was a significant effect of the dehumanization level on rehabilitation, *F* (1, 47) = 5.86, *p* = .02, η_p^2 = .11. The high HN

defendant was expected to rehabilitate better (M = 4.16, SE = 0.37) than the mechanized defendant (M = 2.92, SE = 0.31). Regret was also affected by the level of dehumanization, F (1, 47) = 6.58, p = .01, η_p^2 = .12. A stronger feeling of regret was expected for the high HN defendant (M = 4.16, SE = 0.37) compared with the mechanized defendant (M = 2.92, SE = 0.31). Intention was not predicted by the level of dehumanization, F (1, 47) = 1.26, p = .25, η_p^2 = .03. These patterns of results were similar to those found on the HU dimension. Dehumanized defendants were considered to be relatively less likely than humanized perpetrators to regret and to rehabilitate.

Causal attribution. Causal attribution was compared between the mechanized (low HN) and humanized (high HN) defendant. We did not find a significant difference in the direction of the causal attribution between mechanized and humanized defendants, t (47) < 1. The mechanized defendant's criminal behavior was attributed to internal factors (M = 3.42, SE = 0.31) to the same extent as that of the high HN defendant (M = 3.40, SE = 0.34).

Table 2. Mean Ratings (and Standard Deviations) in Animalization, Sentence, Capability, and Causal Attribution on the Human Nature (HN) Dimension

		low HN		high HN	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Machine-ness		6.17	0.92	4.40	1.98
Sentence		11.43	9.84	8.86	4.30
Capacity	Rehabilitation	3.67	1.20	4.64	1.58
	Regret	2.92	1.53	4.16	1.84
	Intention	4.88	1.78	4.28	1.79
External Attribution		3.42	1.50	3.40	1.71

Note. The low HN represents the mechanized defendant

D. DISCUSSION

In the present study, we manipulated different types of dehumanized criminals, and investigated the effect of it on judgment of the criminal's capacity, cause of the event, and punishment. We identified traits to describe different degrees and kinds of humanness, and successfully differentiated animalized and mechanized targets from humanized targets. An animalized perpetrator was more likely than a high HU perpetrator to be judged as 'animal-like', and a mechanized perpetrator was more likely than a high HN perpetrator to be judged as 'machine-like'. By using these manipulated scenarios, we demonstrated the direct influence of dehumanization on blame and sentence judgment. Furthermore, we found that animalization endorsed greater punishment. In contrast, mechanization of the criminal did not influence harshness of the sentence assignment. These findings are in line with Bastian

et al. (2011), who argued that the HU dimension is related to moral blame, while the HN dimension is not. We showed that the same criminal behavior could have been interpreted and judged differently depending on the perpetrator's personality characteristics, especially their animal-ness. The findings imply a critical influence of lay intuition about a defendant's personality on judicial decisions. Nevertheless, it is possible that the criminal scenario presented in this study elicited a unique effect of animalization on punishment. Indeed, using a knife to stab his boss was perhaps more likely to be associated with 'animal-ness' than 'machine-ness'. Further studies should consider the effect of other types of criminal cases in influencing blame and punishment.

The evaluations of animalization and mechanization differently impacted punishment, and this could be a result of the difference in the direction of causal attribution. Participants attributed the animalized defendant's criminal behavior to internal causes (e.g., personality) rather than external causes (e.g., working environment). It seems plausible that participants tended to punish the animalized target more severely than the humanized target because they thought his personality accounted for the criminal action. However, the influence of dehumanization on the internal attribution was not observed on the HN dimension. In other words, participants did not differentiate the mechanized and the high HN defendants on the estimation of causality, and this may have resulted in the non-significant difference in the severity of punishment on the HN dimension. These different patterns of results between HN and HU dimensions were observed probably due to the variability in perceived desire. Based on the argument of Malle (1999), behaviors are explained using mental status of the actor. Actors without sophisticated ability to control their own actions are interpreted to act based on their 'desire' rather than 'beliefs'. In other words, animalistic targets were expected to have 'desire' to perform the criminal behavior, while mechanistic targets were judged to have 'beliefs' to do so. The criminal act of the present scenario depicted urgent desire of a man to stub his boss. Because the act did not require rationality or deliberative thoughts, internal attribution was made when the target was animalized, but not when he was mechanized, due to the association between the criminal behavior and the perceived desire.

Furthermore, Bastian et al. (2011) argued that targets without high HU characteristics get a pardon from immoral behaviors due to their incapacity to control their own behavior. On the contrary, we observed a positive association between animalization and severe punishment, with animalization predicting the view of incapable defendant. One interpretation of this discrepancy concerns the difference in severity of the immoral behavior. While Bastian et al. (2011) used minor immoral behaviors (e.g., cheating), we used a serious illegal conduct (e.g., stabbing) in the scenario. It is possible that the low HU characteristics are more likely to be associated with severe crimes than with minor

wrongdoings. Another interpretation would be our use of 'animalized' characteristics instead of explaining 'lack of HU' characteristics. Indeed, HU characteristics and animal-ness characteristics correlate negatively, but they do not fully correspond to each other (Loughnan, et al., 2009). In other words, a target that lacks high HU characteristics is not necessarily equal to a target person who has animalized characteristics. Our findings are unique in the sense that they demonstrate, for the first time in the literature, a direct influence of animalization on punishment in a legal context. This indicates that the effect of animalization and perceived lack of HU characteristics are empirically distinct in terms of the effects on punishment (see Bastian et al., 2011).

As a new judicial system has been administered in Japan since 2009, ordinary citizens have begun to join professional judges to make sentence judgment. Lay perceivers' intuitive tendency to evaluate dehumanized targets as impulsive (i.e., in cases for animalization) may influence the sentence judgment, on top of objective facts about the criminal behaviors. It is especially important for a society like Japan to investigate the interactive effect between dehumanization of perpetrators and criminal behaviors on blame and sentence decisions.

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APPENDIX A

Target descriptions, each started with a statement 'Mr. X (28 years old) has been working as a full-time office worker since he graduated university'.

		Humanness	
		HU (Human Uniqueness)	HN (Human Nature)
Level	High	His **passionate** personality is illustrated at his work that Mr. X has been **working hard** to earn his best. 'Thanks to people around me' is what he often says, and he is always trying to be **humble** and says that he appreciates his colleagues for success in his work. His neighbors explain his **politeness** by saying that 'Mr. X usually greets us in a polite way.' He is also very **reserved**. He does not like to spend much money.	The **nervous** personality of Mr. X has been making him sensitive about his neighbors' sound. His work desk shows his **thorough** personality in that it is always neatly organized -- his folders are alphabetically ordered. He is also known to be **stingy**. He once asked for a penny when he was separating fees for dinner with his colleagues. His colleague says 'He must be **sympathetic** because I have seen him cheering up for his colleague who was in a trouble.'
	Low	Mr. X constantly **moves around** to chat with others. He is so **friendly** and **active** that his personality doesn't suit for desk work. Because of his **impulsive** personality, he sometimes cannot fight down his impulse to spend a lot of money on shopping. His colleague thinks that Mr. X is **timid** because Mr. X has once rejected his request to go skydiving.	Mr. X has **never got emotional** despite troubles at work. His boss thinks that he is **helpful**, saying that 'he always follows my order.' When there was a trouble at work, however, he **never admitted his fault** and said 'I just did what I was ordered to do.' This episode shows that he may be **irresponsible**. He is known to be **even-tempered**, and his colleague says that 'I never know what he is thinking about.'

APPENDIX B

A description of a criminal behavior

Mr. X has been holding grudges against his boss. One day, he was accused of making mistakes by the boss. This drove Mr. X into a fury. He took out a knife from his desk drawer and slashed the boss with the knife. His colleagues called an ambulance and the police. Despite being stabbed deeply, his boss did not lose his life.

Because he was hiding the knife in his desk, the police noted that Mr. X must have been prepared enough for the criminal behavior.

How to Incorporate the 'Time' Dimension in Social Psychological Research
—From a study of Indonesian care workers in Japan—

Minoura Yasuko, Asai Akiko, Miyamoto Setsuko

Abstract

This study, adopting a phenomenological approach, explored the process of career construction in an intercultural setting. Interviewed were 49 Indonesian care worker candidates coming to Japan through the IJEPA program. Their narratives, related to each of six bifurcation points at which they had to make a decision, were analyzed and interpreted from the viewpoint of how socio-historical time affected individual decision-making. This study suggested to the field of social psychology, which traditionally has dealt with phenomena at one point in time, a way to incorporate the two time dimensions and to reinstitute the agency of the individual.

Keywords: longitudinal research, case study, time, intercultural experience, acculturation

A. INTRODUCTION

Most social psychological studies have dealt with phenomena at one point in time. They have tried to understand the dynamics of various factors related to a phenomenon under study at one time despite human beings living in historical time. In this sense most of them were a-historical. Acculturation is a phenomenon that evolves along time and has been a focus of empirical research for approximately a hundred years in the various social science disciplines and has produced a voluminous literature. Even if we limited this review within psychology there has still been a vast literature, as shown by Sam & Berry (2006). We have reviewed only a few from the perspective of how they handled the time dimension.

Lysgaard (1955) described the process of psychological adjustment as consisting of three stages: the first honeymoon stage when sojourners experienced positive feelings of excitement and euphoria; the second stage when they faced emotional difficulties in adapting to a new environment and the third stage when they experienced a gradual transition to confidence. Markovizky & Samid (2008) examined how the time dimension was related to adjustment of new immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Israel by conducting two studies: the first one explored the course of immigrants' adjustment along a time axis by administering five kinds of questionnaires and the second one was a follow-up of participants of the first study. They concluded that Lysgaard's model of the second and third stage was found and that the first stage was the deterioration stage rather than the honeymoon one.

George (2005, chapter 2) described how Indian nurses from Kerala settled in hospitals in the United States with a help of networks formed during their days of nursing schools.

They eventually obtained respect for their excellent work and succeeded in maintaining their pride for their occupation, even if they faced difficulties and racial prejudice in and around their work places and conflicts over a gender role within their families.

Among all acculturation literature in psychology, Berry's (1997) two dimensional model has been the most influential in which one dimension was about whether or not immigrants wished to maintain their cultural heritage and the other was about whether or not they wished to establish relations with other cultural groups. A combination of yes or no to these two questions resulted in four categories of acculturative strategies (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization). Berry described how the course of acculturation was moderated by length of time, acculturative strategies, coping mechanism, social support, and societal attitude of a host society in addition to factors prior to come to a host society such as age, education, migration motivation, cultural distance, and personality.

Berry's model stimulated the production of various revised versions (for example, Ward, 2008) to compensate for its shortcomings. It should be noted that the studies carried out by Berry and his followers employed psychometric approaches using questionnaires with a focus more on the outcome of acculturation. Berry's model covered factors related to acculturation well, but the dynamic changes of intertwining relationships of these factors over time was not captured by their questionnaires.

Rudmin (2010) criticized this psychometric approach in terms of the validity of the measurements and as an alternative discussed the phenomenological approach to intercultural experiences. Phenomenological studies on acculturation have been concerned more with the processes rather than the outcomes and more with meanings in narratives of those amid intercultural experiences about their feeling and acting from a first person point of view. They have employed the interview as a major method of data collection.

Researchers with a phenomenological orientation have also conducted longitudinal studies. Mirdal (2006) interviewed 75 Turkish women of rural origin who came to Denmark to live together with their husbands in 1980 and re-interviewed 61 per cent of the same women 20 years later. She analyzed narratives in the two interviews, focusing upon how the meaning of shame was transformed in relation to gender roles. Her content analysis of the narratives suggested that there had been a change in the attitudes and behaviors that elicited shame, that is, from the shame related to proper conduct to the social and economic position that she and her family was able to achieved in Denmark. Andreouli (2013) examined how naturalized citizens made sense of their place in Britain and found that they negotiated their position within British culture at the macro-level in relation to a dialogical negotiation between identity positions within themselves at the micro-level. In

these phenomenological studies acculturation was conceptualized as a new meaning-making process.

This study aimed at proposing an analytical framework for longitudinal qualitative data. We considered everyday life as consisting of a series of various decision-makings along the irreversible time line from a trivial one to a serious one such as going abroad for work. As a method to analyze the cases, we borrowed two concepts from the *Trajectory Equifinality Model* (Sato, Yasuda, Kido, Arakawa, Mizoguchi, & Valsiner, 2007, hereafter TEM in short) of an equifinality point and a bifurcation point. The equifinality point was set by the researcher in relation to his/her research question, while the bifurcation point was defined as the point that required an individual's decision-making which differentiated various trajectories to the equifinality point. By examining the individual's decision and various passages we could identify socio-cultural, historical and personal factors involving in each bifurcation point. By uniting a series of bifurcation points along the time line we attempted to analyze longitudinal data, incorporating the historical time into the individual life history.

Intercultural experience was seen at the crossroads of micro-history and macro-structure since macro-factors such as international relations, the unemployment rate in one's country, and the government's immigration policies influenced individuals' decision for migration. Lonzano (1985) analyzed the migration process of Andalucians from South Spain to Hawaii and then to California from the historical-comparative perspective to explore how macro structural-historical factors influenced personal migration strategies. We borrowed her concept of micro-history in macro-structure to understand the interplay of the socio-historical time and the individual's life course.

This paper adopted a phenomenological approach with a focus not on the acculturation per se, but on the process of career construction in an intercultural setting. We employed the TEM to describe the experiences, related to career construction, of Indonesians who came to Japan through the IJEPA program by integrating the idea of a bifurcation point (hereafter, BFP in short) with a micro-history in a macro socio-historical structure.

Background of the study

The Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA in short) is a bilateral agreement between Indonesia and Japan not only to eliminate or reduce tariffs for goods but also to release rules to control direct investment, intellectual property rights, and to facilitate human resource exchange. Based on this, the program to introduce Indonesian nurses and care workers to hospitals and nursing homes for elderly people in Japan was started in 2008. Applicants for nurse candidates must have DIII (three years' postsecondary education after high school) in nursing or up, with at least two years' nursing experience,

while the IJEPA program for care work is, from the second batch on, open to anyone with D Ⅲ, but applicants without a nursing degree have to undergo four months' basic training for care work, to be eligible for the IJEPA program, while those with a nursing degree can apply directly.

Both the Indonesian applicant and the Japanese institution submit a list of ten names of their choice. Mutual choice leads to conclude a worker-employer contract. By this contract Indonesian candidates are entitled to enter full time Japanese language training as a part of preparation to work in Japan. In order to address dissatisfaction on the part of accepting institutions, the period for language training has been extended to nine months for the fourth batch in 2011 and then to one year for the fifth batch in 2012 and thereafter.

As of May 2012, 392 nurse candidates and 500 care worker candidates have come to Japan through this program of which this paper deals only with candidates for care workers. They are allowed to sit for the Japanese National Examination for Care Work (the Exam, hereafter) after three years' practical training. They remain as a candidate for a certified care worker until they pass the Exam. Upon failing they make a decision about whether they extend their stay to sit the Exam the following year or go home. Those who pass are entitled to obtain a working visa for three years, renewable without limit. They are also entitled to invite their family to Japan to live together with them.

B.   METHOD

Semi-structured interviews with 49 participants (14 males, 35 females) were carried out at various points of their stay from a half year to three, in Japanese, individually or in a group of two to four of IJEPA fellows of the same institution. Participants' attributes are shown in Table 1. We made an effort to interview the same participants more than one times to examine their changes over time. Twenty-three out of 49 were availed for a follow-up interview more than two times. In addition we interviewed eleven ex-IJEPA returnees in Jakarta to explore the impact of the Japan experience upon their career choice.

Table 1. Attributes of participants

job	sex	No	average age at entry	educational attainment		marital status		
				D Ⅲ	S Ⅰ	single	married[1]	mchild[2]
care	m	14	24.9	10	4	12		2
worker	f	35	24.0	27	8	32	2	1
	sub t.	49	24.3	37(75.5%)	12(24.5%)	44(89.8%)	2	3
married[1] married without a child				mchild[2]	married with children			

In order to examine how, why and what kinds of decisions they made at a series of bifurcation points, our interview schedule included questions such as 'How did you get

information about the EPA program?', 'What did your family say about your plan to go to Japan?', 'What was your first contact with something Japanese?', 'Could you tell your feeling when you started care work in Japan?', 'Could you describe how your workday goes by, for example, yesterday?', 'Tell me difficulties and joys you had since you came to Japan?', 'What is your plan after passing the Exam?', and so on.

The first step of analyses was to identify the bifurcation points at which participants had to make a decision. We examined the documents issued by JICWELS (2009-2013) as well as interview records. There were four points at which the IJEPA program itself required participants' decision and two bifurcation points which were more inherent to an individual situation.

The second step was to identify how, why and what decision each participant made at each bifurcation point. As Yin (2014) says, the techniques to analyze case study evidence still have not been well defined. We tried several times, therefore, to place cases one after another in order to discover a variety of trajectories and representative narratives of each BFP. Since the length of stay in Japan before our interview varied and since some of our interviewees had not worked long enough to be allowed to sit the Exam, only limited data were available at BFP 4 to BFP6, although data at BFP1 and BFP 2 came from all participants. Narratives related to BFP1 are coded into categories along with demographic data and analyzed as shown Table 2 and 3. We tried to understand the phenomenology of their intercultural experiences by quoting narratives that seem to be representative pertain to each BFP.

The third step was to examine socio-historical events mentioned by participants and socio-economic conditions in Indonesia as well as relationships between Indonesia and Japan during a period from 1980 to the present when our participants grew up. As Yin (2014) emphasized, one of the strengths of case study research was its ability to include the collection of data about contextual conditions surrounding the case.

C.   RESULTS

We examined experiences of our participants both in Indonesia and in Japan as well as meanings attached to this migration by employing the TEM, taking into consideration the historical contexts of both countries. In our study an equifinality point was the point for EPA Indonesians to resume their stable occupational and/or private lives after passing or failing the Exam. By our multiple-case study of Indonesians we found six bifurcation points until they settled in a new job either in Japan or in Indonesia.

The period of the pre-exam consisted of three BFPs: (BFP1) apply or not apply to IJEPA; (BFP2) matching or not matching; (BFP3) successfully negotiate with the reality of care work or not. This was only bifurcation point during their stay in Japan before the Exam,

since this study was not concerned with acculturation process per se. The period of the post-exam consists of another three BFPs: (BFP4) upon passing the exam, continue to work in Japan or go home; (BFP5) upon failing the exam, challenge again or go home; and (BFP6) occupational choices after returning to Indonesia. Before describing each bifurcation points, We would like to illustrate an entire trajectory covered in this study by using Anis' case. Names that appear in this paper are all pseudonyms.
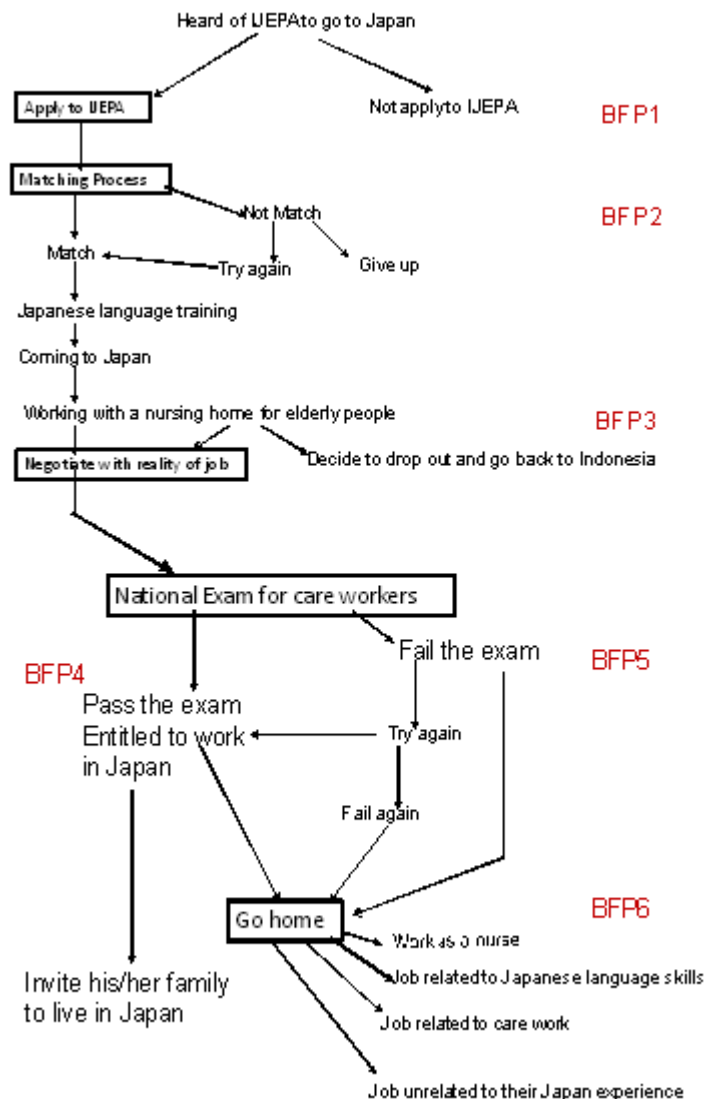

Figure 1. Trajectory of Life Course with Six Bifurcation Points

Anis, a holder of the DⅢ degree in nursing, had worked with a local hospital as a nurse for six months after her graduation when her grandmother fell ill. Anis' mother, a nurse by occupation, was the breadwinner and her sister was still in school. She was obliged to quit her job to take care of her grandmother. When an ex-teacher of her nursing school called

her to tell of the chance to go to Japan (BFP 1), she quickly decided to apply since she longed to live in a foreign country. Her image of Japan was of a good and efficient country of the bullet train and Doraemon. Although her grandmother passed away, her mother strongly opposed Anis to go to Japan. Anis obtained her mother's consent by promising that she would return after one year in Japan. She applied as a candidate for a care worker and was selected as the first batch to be sent to Japan. After six months language training she started working as an untitled care worker of a nursing home (BFP 3).

Anis stayed with the EPA program for three years and enjoyed good relationships with elderly people in her nursing home as well as with her colleagues (BFP 3). Since her score of the Exam was close to pass, her director suggested her to try again. However she returned Indonesia in June 2012 (BFP 5).

After her return to Indonesia she worked for a while with a company which sold high-function surgical clothing to hospitals and clinics. Then she challenged to become a nurse again. Thanks to her proficiency in Japanese, she was employed as a nurse by a clinic whose clients are mostly Japanese (BFP 6). She appreciated that IJEPA gave her a good opportunity to get acquainted with Japan and to make Japanese friends. Anis' case shows a fairly representative trajectory EPA care workers take.

a.   BF1: Decision to go to Japan

The first bifurcation point was the decision-making about whether or not they apply to IJEPA. Table 2 shows how they obtained news about the IJEPA program. Twenty-two percent of candidates hear of it through a nursing school, 18 per cent are informed by their friends and another 16 per cent encountered it on the internet. Upon being interested, they went to the home page of the National Board to obtain more details and an application form. Parents' reactions to their son's or daughter's desire to go to Japan varied. Some often took time to obtain parents' consent.

major	friend	school	family	work place	TV	Internet	others	no data	
nursing	7	11	2	3	2	7	2	4	38
non-nurse	2	0	0	2	1	1	1	2	11
subtotal	9	11	2	5	3	8	3	8	49
	18.4%	22.4%	8.2%	10.2%	6.3%	16.3%	6.3%	12.2%	100.0%

Table 2. How to get acquainted with IJEPA by major

Sigit, an ex-teacher of Japanese language in a high school, said:

'When I hear of IJEPA from my friend, I checked it on the internet and went to Jakarta to get more details and application materials. The office in charge told me, 'The basic training for care work will start next week' So I quickly decided to enter the program. I

asked my ex-classmate, a teacher of Japanese language, to join me since I consider this is a good chance to brush up our Japanese command.'

To the question about parents' reaction to his plan, he told:

'My father (a university professor), said 'It's a chance to learn good aspects of Japan', but my mother (a principal of an elementary school) recommended the graduate school rather than going to Japan. Upon entering the basic training for care work, for the first time I realized the job I expected to perform in Japan. Though, I continued to go along with the program.'

He was selected as one of 72 out of 320 attendees of the training course, to be dispatched as the second batch. He passed the Exam in 2013 and decided to continue working with the same institution.

Many employers considered the acquisition of language skill to take more time than that of care work skill and they tended to recruit those with relatively better proficiency of Japanese. This seemed to be why many graduates with Japanese major were recruited in the second batch.

Table 3. Motivation for applying to IJEPA

sex	career	interest in Japan	intercultural experience	earning money	recommended	s.total
male	1	4	5	4		14
female	7	4	12	7	5	35
sbtotal	8	8	17	11	5	49
	16.3%	16.3%	34.7%	22.4%	10.2%	100.0%

As shown in Table 3 there were five types of IJEPA care workers in terms of their motives to participate in IJEPA. Those who wanted to experience life in a foreign country consisted of 35 per cent while those who were especially interested in Japan consisted of 16 per cent. Adding up both, a half of them applied to the IJEPA program from longing for intercultural experience. Behind this there was the fact that a visa to Japan was difficult for an Indonesian youth to obtain. Therefore, for some applicants the IJEPA program was regarded as a means of getting in Japan. Besides, the individual decisions at BFP1 were related to two more macro factors. First, the currency exchange rate made a disparity in the wage wider between Indonesia and Japan that made the IJEPA program attractive. Second, favorable sentiment towards Japan existed among youth who grew up with Japanese anime. These macro-factors will be discussed later.

a.   BFP2: Those who were unsuccessful in matching at the first application.

The second bifurcation point was when they were notified the outcome of the matching process. Five out of 49 interviewees did not make a match in their first trial, but they tried again next year.

Yati went to Riyadh just after her graduation from a nursing school since she was employed by a Saudi Arabian family as a caretaker of the aged mother of a well-to-do businessman. She spent lonely days without a chance to meet other Indonesians in the same locale, though the employer-family was kind. She often browsed the website of the National Board and found the news of the IJEPA program. As soon as her contract ended she returned to Indonesia to apply to the IJEPA program, since she preferred working in a country other than Indonesia. Unfortunately she did not make a match for the third batch, but she decided to try again (BFP 2). In order to raise her chance to be selected she joined the Japanese language class.

There was a young man who challenged the matching process two times (BFP 2 in Fig. 1). Agus from Makassar, after finishing his D Ⅲ, came to Japan first as a factory worker from 2002-2005 through a three-year program managed by a job broker agency. By working overtime he saved enough money to go back to a university to obtain his S Ⅰ (the university degree of four-year education) as well as to build his house attached with a music studio. His family lived on the rent accrued from the studio. Disregarding the much lower cost of living in Indonesia, he said:

> *'I wouldn't feel like working in Indonesia because of its low wage. I can take any job in Japan since the wage standard there is high. When I heard of TV news about the first batch of EPA departing to Japan I immediately looked for a way to join and found I had to undergo the basic training for care work to be eligible for the IJEPA. I persuaded my wife. She was not happy with my decision, but I attended the basic care work training. I didn't match with any Japanese institution both in 2009 and in 2010. I tried third times and matched with one institution and came to Japan in 2012 as the fourth batch. My dream is to take my wife and child to Japan to live together when I pass the Exam. Japan would offer better chance for my child's future. No matter how much effort I make a salary in Indonesia remains very low. I don't like working in Indonesia.'*

To my question if he sent his child to a Japanese school, he said: *'I haven't yet thought of it.'*

Agus' case indicated the wage disparity between Indonesia and Japan drove him to head for Japan, while cases of Yati and Agus suggested that for some Indonesian youth it was nothing particular but a normal course of life to go abroad to work.

b.   BFP3: Decisions whether they continue to work or drop out from the EPA program

The third bifurcation point came during a period of working with a nursing home for elderly people. Those who went home before the Exam occupied 9.6 per cent for the first batch and 12.7 per cent for the second batch (JICWELS, 2013). Reasons for the drop-out mentioned by their employers were: 1) troubles derived from their family such as disciplinary problems of a child left with parents or illness of family members; 2) own health problems such as skin rash or low back pain and so on; 3) misfit feelings towards care work, and 4) anxieties brought about by the 2011 Tohoku Earthquake followed by nuclear accidents.

What follows is a discussion of the ways to negotiate a new work situation told by those who continue to work in Japan. Erika came to Japan as the second batch. Since then she extensively traveled all over Japan except Hokkaido and Okinawa as her wealthy family did not need her remittance. When one of the authors asked, *'You originally wanted to go to Australia, but came to Japan. Did you regret about that?'* She said, *'Decision to come to Japan is mine. I dare not think of it negatively. It may go really bad if I thought it negatively. Whatever job I do there are something difficult and something enjoyable. This is the same not only in Japan but also wherever I work. It's a good idea to go abroad and to expand your way of thinking. Of course I recommend if someone consults me about whether or not apply to IJEPA.'*

As illustrated in Sigit's and Tari's case (see BFP6), most participants applied to the IJEPA program with friends or ex-classmates or in some cases their siblings applied next year, and were accepted by the same institution, if not, by somewhere they could easily saw each other. This arrangement not only decreased loneliness in living in a foreign land but also helped them support each other to continue to work. In addition, daily use of ICT (Information and Communication Technology) such as Skype, Facebook and mobile phones to communicate with IJEPA fellows as well as family members in Indonesia mitigated acculturative stress (Minoura & Asai, 2013).

Those with a nursing degree who joined IJEAP without being aware of differences between nursing and care work were perplexed when they started to work with a nursing home, but most of them continued to work from their wish to send money to their families or to enjoy life in Japan. Those who negotiated successfully with their misfit feeling continued to stay with the program until the day of the exam.

c.   BFP4: Decision-making upon passing the exam

Indonesian EPA workers who passed the Exam faced a decision making about whether they would continue to work in Japan as a qualified full-fledged care worker (*kaigofukushishi*) or go back to Indonesia. Thirty-two out of 49 IJEPA Indonesian workers we

interviewed sat the National Exam once (second or third batch) or twice (first batch), of whom 23 passed the Exam as of April 2013.

Sinta, who graduated from a four-year university majoring in Japanese language, came as the second batch. She and Erika, her fellow EPA worker of the same institution, passed the Exam in 2013, but Erika quit a month after the notification of her passing. Sinta decided to continue to work because she felt obliged to do so since the staff of her institution had been so supportive to her preparing for the Exam.

Most institutions expected those who passed the Exam to continue to work as a *kaigofukushishi.* However, some decided to go back to Indonesia. Clara was such a case. Clara, with a nursing degree, initially wanted to go to Australia, but she failed because of her low IELTS score. So she applied to IJEPA without knowing the job description of care worker and was recruited for the first batch. After three years work she passed the Exam as well as the Japanese Language Proficiency Test at the N2 level thanks to the support given by the director of her institution, for that she was very grateful. When I asked why she returned, she said, *'It was a hard decision. At first I thought of taking my parents to Japan, but realized that my salary was not enough to support them to live together. Therefore, I decided to come home, since I am responsible for my aged parents as I am the oldest. My parents were so pleased with my decision. Luckily my ex-EPA friend introduced me to his company (Jakarta branch office of Japanese Consulting Firm). I was hired probably thanks to my N2 Certificate. I enjoyed my well-paid job.'*

These two cases illustrate that factors involving in a decision making at BFP4 were related more with family issues and to their feeling towards the institution. The prospect for a relatively well-paid employment opportunity with a Japan-related company, if one has a good command of Japanese, spread widely among EPA returnees.

d.   BFP5: Decision making upon failing the Exam

Those who failed had to decide whether they would challenge again next year or would go home. According to JICWELS (the agency responsible for the management of nurses and care workers coming to Japan through the EPA program), regarding 94 persons of the first batch, 35 passed and 59 failed and 18 out of 59 decided to try again, while 41 decided to return.

Factors affecting decision-making upon failing at BFP5 were three-fold. Firstly, personal factors such as the prospect for passing one year later judging from the score obtained as well as one's degree of challenging spirit. Secondly, the support given by the institutions. Thirdly, factors that suppressed their extended stay were the message from their family for early return, aged parents and/or sick persons in their family and the social

norm that marriage should be done before age 30. Again, the personal as well as workplace related factors were involved more in decision making at BPF5.

e.   BFP6: Occupational Choices after Returning to Indonesia

Upon returning they faced a task of how to make their career. Interviews carried out in Jakarta revealed four courses. The first course was to take advantage of their language skill and to seek a position in a Japanese organization related to medicine or in an ordinary company. The second was to utilize the knowledge and skills of care work acquired in Japan. The third was to return to the previous occupation and the fourth was to pursue an occupation that had nothing to do with their Japan experience.

Anis, introduced previously, was hired as a nurse by a clinic run by a Japanese doctor whose clients were mostly Japanese. When I asked about difficulties in resuming nursing practices after nearly four years' absence while in Japan, she said, *'I was anxious for the first intravenous drip injection to a patient, so I asked my colleague to observe my way of injection. I was still not confident in my second one, but by the third one I became to feel OK. My work experience as a nurse in a hospital before joining the IJEPA program really helped me to regain my confidence.'*

Tari was only person who obtained a position to utilize knowledge and skills of care work trained in Japan. She and her boyfriend came to Japan as the first batch. She said, *'I was shocked by the job of a care worker that was quite different from what I had in my mind. But I thought this was a good chance to get acquainted with Japanese style of a nursing home for elderly people. Upon failing the first trial of the Exam, my boyfriend and I decided to return and married. Both were employed by the same non-profit medical foundation (Yayasan in Indonesian), which ran a private hospital and a school for nursing. The president of this Yayasan foresaw a growing need for quality care for aged people among well-to-do Indonesians as well as neighboring countries and decided to establish a new department, equivalent to a Japan's college of care work. I was hired as an instructor to prepare a new department of care work and to construct its curriculum together with a woman who did care work in Australia. When I left Japan I discarded most of the books I studied for the Exam for a certified care worker. That I regretted. Now I need them very badly. Is it possible for you to get them for me?'* she asked us.

About her husband, Tari explained, *'My husband started working as a nurse in the hospital, but four years' absence was long enough to make him lose confidence in nursing. He quit and found a job as a coordinator-translator for an auto-factory under construction and now in Japan as part of pre-service training along with five co-workers. They are all ex-IJEPA.'*

What we found was that macro factors affected most individual decision-making indirectly at both BFP1 and BFP6. Decision makings at points of BFP2 to BFP5 were influenced more by personal factors, factors related to their family in Indonesia and Japanese employers. In the case of transnational migration the decision-making at the time of both entry and exit tended to be affected much more by the socio-historical time of sending as well as that of the receiving country, while, once they were in the migratory process, individual factors and factors related to their life context came into play more in their decision-making.

D.   DISCUSSIONS

This study dealt with the two kinds of the time dimension. The previous section focused more upon the individual time dimension. This section deals more with the socio-historical time affecting the trajectory of an individual life. By identifying individual's desires of coming to Japan we cast these desires against the historical back drop in which structural factors came into play.

Whether or not Indonesian youth applied to IJEPA was much influenced by macro factors related to socio-historical time, in addition to personal factors such as the strength of desire to go abroad, parental attitude, and their friends' enthusiasm to this program. Behind their desire there was a positive image of Japan prevailing among Indonesians. A BBC survey (2013) reported that the most favorable views of Japan were found in Indonesia as described with 82 per cent of respondents as positive, while 9 per cent were negative. Positive images towards Japan appeared to be cultivated through TV programs as well as Japanese products flooded in the marketplace. Many IJEPA Indonesians said that their first encounter with Japan was through anime such as Doraemon or Sailor Moon. The commercial broadcasting in Indonesia started in 1989 and Doraemon had been televised since 1991 (Shiraishi, 2008).

According to the World Bank (2000) survey in 1997, the diffusion rate of television sets in Indonesia was 134 sets per 1000 persons, which corresponded with Eri's and Yati's personal accounts. Eri, who was born in 1989 in Yogyakarta and whose father was a school teacher, said her family did not have a TV in her kindergarten days, but had it when she was in an elementary school. When Yati, born in 1987, was fourth grader, TV came to her house. The decade of the 1990s, when 87 per cent of our participants were in elementary school, was overlapped with the diffusion period of television as well as of the emergence of the middle class in Indonesia who were able to buy a television set (Sato, 2011). Most EPA candidates belonged to the first generation that enjoyed Japanese anime through TV. The Indonesian image of Japan used to be that of the occupation days of World War II, but that image changed in the 1990s under the influence of television broadcasting (Shiraishi, 2008).

This macro historical change seemed to help prepare a readiness for youth heading for Japan.

In addition to this favorable sentiment towards Japan, there was an obvious wage disparity between Indonesia and Japan. Eri presented a house to her parents, while others assisted siblings to go through university, and still others assisted the daily life of their family in Indonesia. The fact that the amount of salary earned in Japan was six to eight times more than that in Indonesia (a nurse freshly out of a nursing school earned about 20,000 yen in 2012 in Jakarta) naturally attracted many applicants to the IJEPA program. In addition parents tended to allow their daughters to go to Japan since the program was managed under the auspices of both governments and Japan was regarded as a safe country in their image.

On the other hand, Japan foresaw the shortage of care workers. Thirty-eight percent of directors of nursing homes we interviewed told us that they anticipated the possibility of employing foreigners in the near future and took advantage of the IJEPA to try out hiring foreigners and to examine problems involved with it (Asai, Minoura & Miyamoto, 2012).

Japan's immigration policy has been to open the door only to highly skilled workers. Therefore, after they passed the Exam they were regarded as skilled workers and were allowed to stay in Japan, while if they failed in the second trial they had to leave Japan. This policy of Japan caused much stress among IJEPA Indonesian youth, since they were not allowed to stay as an uncertified care worker.

Now we would like to discuss the impact of Indonesians' experience in Japan upon their career. When they pursued their occupational career in Indonesia, those who had confidence in their proficiency in Japanese took advantage of it and sought a relatively well-paid job in a company related to Japan, while only one returnee utilized the knowledge and skills of care work in Indonesian contexts. Behind these choices we recognized several macro factors.

As the middle class population in Indonesia increased, many Japanese companies launched their business in Jakarta and its vicinity. They needed Japanese-speaking personnel to mediate between consumers or local staff and Japanese mangers. For those companies, ex-IJEPA returnees were the best fit, since they were bilingual and bicultural. The work ethics prevailing in organizations to which they had been exposed while in Japan was carried back to Indonesia, which also helped them to be hired by Japanese daughter companies. They tended to employ IJEPA returnees with a salary much higher than that of Indonesian counterparts.

For Indonesia, Japan had been the biggest trade partner and the biggest donor of official development assistance. These economic relationships had been functioned very

positively for IJEPA returnees to find employment if they have a good command of Japanese.

Participants of this study incorporated the structural-historical developments occurred in both Indonesia and Japan into their own migration strategies as well as into their construction of a better life, either in Indonesia or in Japan.

E.   CONCLUSION

The time dimension in psychological research was handled by a longitudinal approach in which quantitative data at more than two points in time were analyzed and compared statistically. The case study method had not yet developed a good analytical framework for the longitudinal data except the time-series analyses (Yin, 2014). TEM was a sort of the time-series analysis, but the introduction of the bifurcation point helped us articulate more interplays between socio-historical time and the individual life course as well as the changes of their relative influences over time. This was a valuable addition to the time-series analysis. In addition, the concept of the bifurcation point provided us with a means of visualizing the individual time (Figure 1) as well as various trajectories. By examining the socio-historical time influencing decision-making at each BFP we could grasp the individual's phenomenology from a wider perspective. By doing so, social psychologists can thus incorporate the two kinds of the time dimension into their research.

Most psychological studies on intercultural contacts and acculturation have adopted the more or less assimilation-production approach that regarded immigrants and sojourners as passive recipients of the acculturative pressures of a host society. On the contrary to that this study paid more attention to agency and decisions at each BFP. This way of thinking might transform the concept of a person in social psychology that has tended to leave out the initiative of agency to change a situation. This study suggested one of ways to reinstitute agency in social psychology.

In the beginning we thought that Muslim Indonesians experienced a great deal of stress in Japan, but in reality they did not at least for the first three years of their stay. They took advantage of the EPA program to fulfill their desire of going abroad to earn and enjoy life there. The intercultural experience of IJEPA Indonesians had similar aspects to those studied by Berry and his associates (2006, p.217) in terms of one of their findings that acculturation was generally not stressful, although our participants were not immigrants. Their problems resulted not from the stress of living between two cultures, but mainly from the preparation for the National Exam. The development of ICT made possible frequent communications with other EPA members as well as people in Indonesia. We note how the shape and content of intercultural experiences nowadays has changed.

In an age of globalization, living in a foreign country becomes nothing particular but an ordinary scene of one's life course to some individuals. We have to reconsider our conception that culture contacts entails acculturative stress that affects one's mental health negatively. A new theoretical framework may be needed that focuses more on the positive aspects of intercultural experiences.

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